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BERNARDO SFREDO MIORANDO

**UNIVERSITIES GOING GLOBAL?
Comparative perspectives on the internationalization of
postgraduate education in Brazil and Finland**

Tese apresentada ao Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul como requisito parcial para a obtenção do título de Doutor.

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Orientadora: Prof^a Dr^a. Denise Balarine Cavalheiro Leite

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Porto Alegre, outubro de 2019.

À memória da Vó Júlia, da Vó Odila e do Vô Samuel,

Memória de necessidade, de luta e de acolhimento;

Para a Miti e o Dé,

Que acreditaram que eu poderia trabalhar com internacionalização e educação antes mesmo de eu acreditar;

E para todas as pessoas – de minha mãe à gurizada que ocupou escolas e universidades Brasil adentro, e hoje ocupa as ruas, passando por Elis Regina e Belchior – que me deram *a ideia de uma nova consciência e juventude.*



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Louvo a amizade do amigo
Que comigo há de morrer
Louvo a vida merecida
De quem morre pra viver
Louvo a luta repetida
Da vida pra não morrer

Agradeço, então,

A minha mãe, por me educar no valor de uma subjetividade inconformista e insubmissa ao autoritarismo e à normalidade.

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Louvo quem canta e não canta

Porque não sabe cantar

Mas que cantará na certa

Quando enfim se apresentar

O dia certo e preciso

De toda a gente cantar

Fazer a crítica dentro da situação vivida, uma crítica em nome de um saber (que se sistematiza e se quer científico), exige coragem. Para ser a consciência crítica por excelência do processo cultural, a Universidade – sem ser uma ideologia – deve reproduzir a realidade cultural, o meio histórico com seus problemas e conflitos, deve escutar as exigências do povo na ultrapassagem crítica da situação vivida e buscar solucioná-las. Assim, sem ser ideologia, a Universidade, até certo ponto, deve participar da luta ideológica, naqueles aspectos desta luta nos quais se joga sua autonomia cultural – ou seja, a autonomia cultural de seu povo, sem a qual não há autonomia cultural da Universidade. Por conseguinte, na América Latina, trabalhar pelo desenvolvimento, lutar pelo nacionalismo, pelo desenvolvimento cultural, contra o colonialismo, é lutar pela autonomia da cultura.

*Ernani Maria Fiori
(Professor da UFRGS,
expurgado na ditadura civil-militar)*

Quer dizer, um certo tipo de comportamento que foi imposto, importado ou implantado – não vem ao caso! –, auxiliado por esse esquema e por n outras coisas. E por um outro tipo de preocupação momentânea que a gente tinha, como reconquista de uma série de coisas perdidas e das quais a gente fazia muito caso, que eram muito importantes pra gente que fossem mantidas e que a gente as recuperasse. Essa manutenção da música mais o acesso da população, essa coisa foi se diluindo um pouco. A gente, na realidade, se distanciou um pouco do chamado grande público que não tem o mesmo tipo de preocupação que nós tínhamos numa certa hora: de rever nossos amigos, de reter nossos amigos, de brigar por uma série de coisas que nós julgávamos importantes. Nós éramos de uma outra geração que foi criada em função dessas coisas todas e nos sentíamos castrados porque nós tínhamos, então brigávamos pra que elas voltassem. Então, era importante essa briga pra gente. Isso fez, de uma certa forma, com que a gente se afastasse de uma linguagem mais clara, até porque ela não podia, em hipótese alguma, ser usada. [...] E de repente, sabe, quem falou mais fácil, quem chegou mais rápido, ganhou o espaço.

*Elis Regina
(a maior cantora do Brasil)*

To make criticism inside a lived experience, a criticism in the sake of a knowledge (which is systematic and wants to be scientific), demands courage. To be the critical conscience of the cultural process by excellence, University – without being ideology – must reproduce the cultural reality, the historical environment with its problems and conflicts, must listen to the demands of the people in the critical overcoming of the lived situation and search to resolve them. Thus, not being ideology, University must, to certain extent, take part in the ideological struggle, in those aspects of this struggle in which is played its cultural autonomy – that is, the cultural autonomy of its people, without which there is no cultural autonomy of the University. Consequently, in Latin America, to work for development, to struggle for nationalism, for cultural development, against colonialism, is to struggle for autonomy of culture.

*Ernani Maria Fiori
(UFRGS Professor,
expelled in the civilian- military
dictatorship)*

I mean, a kind of behavior that was imposed, imported or implanted – it doesn't matter! – aided by this scheme and by 'n' other things. And by another type of momentary concern we had, such as reconquering a series of lost things that we held dear, which were very important for us to keep and to recover. This preservation of music and the access by the people, this became somewhat diluted. We actually came a little apart from the so-called 'general audience', who does not have the same concerns we had at one moment: to see our friends again, to keep our friends, to fight for a lot of things we deemed important. We were from another generation who was raised in function of all these things and we felt castrated because we once had them, so we fought for them to come back. This struggle was important for us. This made us to come apart from a more direct speech, as it could not, by any hypothesis, be used. [...] And, maybe, you know, who spoke easier, who arrived faster, won the spot.

*Elis Regina
(Brazil's greatest singer)*

ABSTRACT

This dissertation discusses how individuals in Brazilian and Finnish contexts of postgraduate education are processing changes in university as internationalization takes place. It problematizes how change, power and political action unfold across the fields of social action – national policy, educational institution, academic work – that compose each context. The research supporting this dissertation was organized as a comparative case study based on the qualitative analysis of semi-structured interviews with Brazilian and Finnish policy makers, institutional leaders and scholars involved with the internationalization of postgraduate education. The theoretical background deals with the political character of university and of higher education change, combining higher education studies and Brazilian social thought, approaching authors such as Alvaro Vieira Pinto, Burton Clark, Darcy Ribeiro, Denise Leite, Ernani Maria Fiori, Florestan Fernandes, Jussi Välimaa and Paulo Freire. It also connects globalization and internationalization from a critical perspective, considering the works by Fred Halliday, Immanuel Wallerstein, Milton Santos, Sharon Stein and Simon Marginson. Situated in the critical paradigm, the research unpacked the category of change by exploring context and action schemes; and the category of power by interpreting technical mediation and political mediation. The individuals' consciousnesses about the relations between their work and internationalization were sought as a source for understanding what changes when universities go global. Among the multiple meanings which emerged from individuals' differential positions in the fields, it was possible to construe patterns that support understanding how individuals in Brazil and Finland relate to the global field of higher education. There are mismatches as to what universities are to accomplish with internationalization, and how to do that, both inside and among the fields of social action. However, the learning and the social capital resulting from internationalization experiences equip individuals with strategic skills to progress within the hierarchical scheme of institutions, strengthening their possibilities of entering arenas of decision where they can become agents of change. The structure of opportunities to do so is less unequal in Finland, where internationalization of higher education is more comprehensive, and networks of institutions act to achieve the goals of national and institutional strategies. In Brazil, postgraduate education is more dependent on steering by the state, and individuals and institutions face many challenges to go global – among them the difficulty to operate in English language. Overall, the change brought about by internationalization in universities relates to two fundamental ethical-political tasks: the interaction with the Other and the structure of opportunities to participate in decision-making.

Keywords: postgraduate education; critical internationalization studies; comparative higher education; Brazil; Finland.

RESUMO

Esta tese discute como indivíduos nos contextos de pós-graduação brasileiro e finlandês processam mudanças na universidade conforme a internacionalização ocorre. Ela problematiza como mudança, poder e ação política se desdobram através dos campos de ação social – política nacional, instituição educativa, trabalho acadêmico – que compõem cada contexto. A pesquisa que sustentou essa dissertação foi organizada como um estudo de caso comparado baseado na análise qualitativa de entrevistas semiestruturadas com formuladores de políticas, líderes institucionais e acadêmicos envolvidos na internacionalização da pós-graduação no Brasil e na Finlândia. A base teórica lida com o caráter político da universidade da mudança em educação superior, combinando estudos de educação superior e pensamento social brasileiro, abordando autores como Alvaro Vieira Pinto, Burton Clark, Darcy Ribeiro, Denise Leite, Ernani Maria Fiori, Florestan Fernandes, Jussi Välimaa e Paulo Freire. Ela também conecta globalização e internacionalização a partir de uma perspectiva crítica, considerando as obras de Fred Halliday, Immanuel Wallerstein, Milton Santos, Sharon Stein e Simon Marginson. Situada no paradigma crítico, a pesquisa desdobrou a categoria da mudança explorando contexto e esquemas de ação; e a categoria do poder interpretando mediação técnica e mediação política. As consciências dos indivíduos sobre as relações entre seus trabalhos e a internacionalização foram buscadas como fonte de entendimento sobre o que muda quando as universidades se globalizam. Entre os múltiplos sentidos que emergiram das posições diferenciais dos indivíduos nos campos, foi possível detectar padrões que permitem entender como indivíduos no Brasil e na Finlândia se relacionam com o campo global de educação superior. Há descompassos quanto ao que as universidades devem alcançar com a internacionalização, e como elas devem fazê-lo, tanto dentro quanto entre os campos de ação social. Contudo, a aprendizagem e o capital social resultantes das experiências de internacionalização equipam os indivíduos com habilidades estratégicas para progredir dentro dos esquemas hierárquicos das instituições, fortalecendo suas possibilidades de adentrar arenas de decisão onde podem se tornar agentes de mudança. A estrutura de oportunidades para passar por esse processo é menos desigual na Finlândia, onde a internacionalização da educação superior é mais integral, e redes de instituições atuam para alcançar as metas das estratégias nacional e institucionais. No Brasil, a pós-graduação é mais dependente do direcionamento estatal, e indivíduos e instituições encontram muitos desafios para se globalizarem – entre eles, a dificuldade para operar na língua inglesa. De modo geral, a mudança promovida pela internacionalização nas universidades se relaciona com duas tarefas ético-políticas fundamentais: a interação com o Outro ou a Outra e a estrutura de oportunidades para participar na tomada de decisões.

Palavras-chave: pós-graduação; estudos críticos de internacionalização; educação superior comparada; Brasil; Finlândia.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- APG** – Associação dos Pós-Graduandos / Graduate Students' Association
- Arcu-Sur** – Sistema de Acreditación Regional de Carreras Universitarias del Mercosur
/ Regional Accreditation System of University Programs for Mercosur
- BCU** – Brazilian Case University
- CamPG** – Câmara de Pós-Graduação / Chamber of Graduate Affairs
- Capex** – Coordenação para o Apefeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior /
Coordination for the Enhancement of Higher Education Personnel
- CFE** – Conselho Federal de Educação / Federal Council of Education
- CNPq** – Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico / Nacional
Council for Scientific and Technological Development
- CPA** – Comissão Própria de Avaliação / Commission of Institutional Evaluation
- Eclac** – Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
- FCU** – Finnish Case University
- HEI** – Higher Education Institution
- ISCED** – International Standard Classification of Education
- JYU** – University of Jyväskylä
- Mercosur** – Mercado Común del Sur / Southern Common Market
- MPB** – Música Popular Brasileira / Brazilian Popular Music
- OECD** – Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
- PDI** – Plano de Desenvolvimento Institucional / Institutional Development Plan
- PNPG** – Plano Nacional de Pós-Graduação / Postgraduate Education National Plan
- PPGEdu** – Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação / Graduate Program in Education
- SAI** – Secretaria de Avaliação Institucional / Office of Institutional Evaluation
- Sinaes** – Sistema Nacional de Avaliação da Educação Superior / National System of
Higher Education
- STEM** – Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics
- UFRGS** – Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul / Federal University of Rio
Grande do Sul
- Unesco** – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
- USA** – United States of America

SUMMARY

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1. Initial remarks: my mother's house

Some crazy lady made a phone call saying she read in an interview that I had said I was born in Rio. Why, ma'am! I was born in Mrs. Ercy's house in the Navegantes neighborhood. More importantly than the Navegantes neighborhood, it is to say that it was in Mrs. Ercy's house. Heck! Heck, will I deny where my mother's house was? What is this? You know what, darling? I shall never be an ungrateful daughter. [...]

In 1981, bub, gasoline expensive as it is! Come on! There are so many important things to say! We were talking about abortion, a dude speaks I don't sing 'Prenda Minha'. Why, this is crazy! Oh, ma'am, what are you doing you don't learn what you see in television every day?

Elis Regina

Elis Regina Carvalho Costa was born in Porto Alegre in 1945, and died in São Paulo in 1982. Allying technical competence and emotion in her performances, she is considered to be one of the most successful Brazilian musicians of all times. Elis was 'celebrated as the greatest star of Brazilian popular music' (NEDER, 2007, p. 61). She sought to bring Brazil into question by delivering songs about the national reality to people who would listen to the radio. Nicknamed '*Pimentinha*' – 'Little Pepper' – due to her hot temper, Elis was bound by loyalty to her roots and origins, and would not take easily any accusation of ungratefulness. Likewise, she wanted to discuss the pressing matters of her times, and not to enter an endless and sterile debate on cultural reproduction of parochialism, which still plagues her – and my – home state: Rio Grande do Sul. At the same time, she wanted to show that Brazil was – and is – more than the representation that is produced from its hegemonic center. Asked in an interview about the condition of Brazilian women, she would refer to her mother and grandmother as representative of the majority of female Brazilians and state: "Because Brazil is not made up only by Rio and São Paulo".

I feel the ethical-political stance from which Elis Regina delivered her speech is inspirational for the Brazilian researchers of our times – especially those who, like me, speak from counter-hegemonic loci. As an international relations analyst and a higher education researcher by training, my interest is on the changing categories of political action and on instituting agencies. In search of instituting processes, I look at how individual and collective actors' strategies in academic work, conditioned by the contextual dynamics of national systems through national policy, reconfigure the repertoire of political and pedagogical action in the educational institution. As such, I now invest myself in learning the trade of international and comparative education, through the making of this dissertation.

As the readers follow through these lines, they go over an English-written dissertation presented by a Brazilian doctoral candidate to a Brazilian education postgraduate program, the Graduate Program in Education (PPGEdu) of the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS). As trivial as it may be in European countries, in Brazilian education programs, it is not common to do that. In fact, this may be the first dissertation presented in English to this Program.

Only in 2014 did UFRGS's Chamber of Graduate Affairs issue a resolution allowing students to present their Master's thesis and dissertations in English or Spanish without further justification. As a student representative in that space, in the last years of my Master's, I had taken part in the discussion on the theme, and supported it. Later on, while I was studying for a new admission into the Program to pursue a doctoral degree, I followed my foreign Latin American friends' angst as they struggled for the possibility of defending their works in their mother tongue¹.

So, the fact that this dissertation is English-written is not to be taken for granted. It is not only a practical a matter. It is a statement, a political one. It says about the internationalization of Brazilian university, and the long path ahead. Resistances, shortcomings, well-grounded political concerns, prejudice all withhold internationalization efforts without being sufficiently addressed by the regulatory institutional evaluation that steers the postgraduate system by the enforcement of funding.

My English – my command of global science's language – is, of course, imperfect. It carries the accent of the underdeveloped and the tune of periphery. It marks a learning process, one to be carried with both modesty and ambition, boldness and humbleness, fear and dare (SHOR; FREIRE, 1987): I must have the learned ignorance to learn with the Other. This attitude is also present in my selection of the contexts that will be the objects of my comparative study.

As I strive to see beyond Brazilian experience, I do not seek a great power in the traditional sense, but an 'educational superpower', Finland. Brazil and Finland figure in

¹ The issue was voted in a session of the PPGEdu Council. As the event was narrated to me by my colleagues, one important voice that rose in consonance with international students' demand was that of professor Alceu Ferraro. Ferraro was one of the founders of the Brazilian National Association for Graduate Research in Education [*Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação e Pesquisa em Educação - ANPEd*] and part of the generation who constituted the academic field of educational research after pursuing postgraduate education overseas. Ferraro was once elected by UFRGS community to serve the University's rector, but was precluded from taking office by the decision of the Ministry of Education and Culture of the military government. In 2019, the same procedure of veto by the Ministry on the choices of university communities occurred in many Brazilian universities.

opposite ends of international educational rankings, and are opposite in most features. Harnessing soft power from its successful educational experience, Finland has become an object of attention for educators all over the globe. My interest in Finland, however, did not stem from the level of education assessed in international examinations, but from its institutional background for tertiary education. I had known Finland to be the home of a strong public system of higher education institutions (HEIs), with high participation and considerable internationalization, backed by a welfare state. When coming into contact with Jussi Välimaa's work, characterizing the history of Finnish higher education, I thought Finland could make up a good destination for a comparative study.

So, as postgraduate education in Brazil, under strong evaluative steering, has grown in such a manner that its current challenge is to internationalize itself, I understood it to be the case for a comparative study involving Finland.

I depart from the realization of the shifts that are occurring and that are to occur in a peripheral country's higher education and, considering a Latin American epistemology, like the modernists² did before I came into being, I set myself to explore the foreign world of internationalization with open arms and open eyes, in anthropophagic hunger. And as I move forward, I look at the world, I proceed not with colonial bedazzlement, but equipped with decolonial caveats to balance my sight of the North. I do not mean this kind of suspicion – the epistemological suspicion that suits a researcher – as any kind of ungratefulness towards my hosts. Rather, I mean that as the respect and loyalty we share as members of an academic community concerned with searching truths and knowing them to be limited, provisional, contextual, contingent. My intent in devouring North is to shed light on the practices we enact and live in the South, bringing up the possibility of new sense-making that can advance our experience of postgraduate education.

² The modernist art movement in Brazil sought to incorporate in Brazilian art new languages proposed by the European avant-gardes, however, rendered by Brazilian popular culture. A central value of the Brazilian modernist was anthropophagy, to culturally devour the foreign technics, to re-elaborate them with autonomy, regurgitating national content. The initial mark of this movement was the Modern Art Week of February 1922, an exposition that gathered artists dedicated to painting, sculpture, poetry, prose and music. Leite and Panizzi (2005, p. 274) suppose a 'relation between the Modernist Movement and the advent of the great universities, entailed by an innovative state of mind self-constructed from the Week of 1922, when the search for novelty and the rupture with the old structures of the past channeled energies for the transformations that would succeed in the political, social and educational fields'.

In this special time in history, when even globalization is said to flow back, I take inspiration on what I have come to call the “Elis Regina effect”. Once accused of not giving enough value to her homeland, Elis Regina harshly replied:

When I left the neighborhood, I only left because I didn't have where to work. Ball bands were over, orchestras were over, the Excelsior TV programming had invaded every place, we had nothing to do! Just like me, many people left, other stayed and died professionally, are frustrated and desperate until now, dreaming about a career that could have been something and wasn't. Now, I basically left Porto Alegre to be a singer, not to found a CTG [Center of Gaucho³ Traditions] (FARIA, 2015, p. 41-42).

So, what would this “Elis Regina effect” be? Elis Regina came into national prominence when she left her hometown, Porto Alegre, for the cultural center of the nation, coming to live in the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. As she recollects, in that time, which was also the period of the military coup of 1964, the market for musicians was deteriorating, cutting off the local possibilities of professional growth, or even survival. The mass media would only repeat cultural contents that were produced in the national hegemonic center which, in turn, would emulate the global trends. The artist decided to go where her voice could be heard. But she did not conform to the then-current standard, and was not well-received at first. She strived and allied herself with those who were making emerge a new musical paradigm, Brazilian Popular Music (MPB)⁴. By standing in the very center of Brazilian mass culture, she helped to shift the way Brazilian music was seen and heard, in the country and abroad. Elis Regina was able to work the center-periphery, local-global dynamics of culture to promote herself

³ The word *gaucho* designates someone originating from a social matrix that encompasses the *pampas* in Argentina, Uruguay and Southern Brazil. It also serves as a gentilic for people born in the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul. While I am, by birth, a *gaucho* in the latter sense, I do not consider myself to be a *gaucho* in the former meaning. As a critical scholar, I must also add I consider CTGs play an ambiguous social role, as they display a crystalized version of regional culture patterned after an exploitative, patriarchal and ethnocentric mode of production.

⁴ Brazilian Popular Music (MPB) is a music genre that developed in the 1960s, in an attempt to update former forms of musical expression, such as the Bossa Nova, an oversophisticated genre derived from samba by the cultural elites and middle-class sectors. While MPB was also a product of cultured urban middle classes, it reached for a national-popular, and sometimes folkloric, matrix, also absorbing influences from a wide array of musical expressions (NAPOLITANO, 2001). According to Neder (2007, p. 53), MPB artists ‘linked themselves to samba and to other popular genres, not trying to convert the subaltern population segments in a pedagogical and paternalistic fashion, but as a cultural expression germane to these sectors and/or as a simple search for popular success’. The author goes on to state that, as a contradictory terrain in which ideological and cultural conflicts took place, the MPB in the 1960, scenery in which Elis Regina rose to prominence in Brazilian art, would be a ‘disputed space, always in movement, never stabilized by the final dominance of a social or ideological group. Exactly because of that, it was so important for the expression of the political ideas and subjective desires in that moment, and continues to be fundamental for the understanding of Brazilian history’ (NEDER, 2007, p. 68).

and, in doing that, she brought about new cultural contents, and forms of understanding her context and expressing new interpretations about it.

Even before the *coup d'état* that took place in Brazil in 2016, the funding of higher education had suffered significant cuts. Afterwards, the government has signaled that the doors of public higher education in Brazil are to be deliberately shut, as investment is frozen for twenty years, the directive team of the Ministry of Education and of the National Council of Education is changed to favor the for-profit sector of education, and the menace of ending gratuity in public higher education institutions (HEIs) looms again. And if the feelings of melancholy and an unrequited hope now fill the hearts of true believers in Brazilian education, the lesson to be gained from the Elis Regina parable is that a restrictive context also informs new possibilities.

Rather than yielding either to the hopelessness that strikes Brazilian academia or to brain drain, one may invest on braving new fronts of study, fronts that may collaborate to improve the nation's university panorama. If current times are hard, they are also due for asking bold questions that may strengthen public education and can further the development of higher education that has characterized the last decade.

1.1. Research problem and objectives

'You know why? ', Denise asked me as she approved a new revision of my research goal and objectives, 'There lacks someone who says that the world is unequal and that internationalization is unavoidable, but there are transitions and comparative studies are indispensable for a serious analysis of what is happening'.

Denise Leite and I have worked together since 2011. Atop her successful career as a scholar and a long list of institutional, national and international achievements, Denise says she has always felt a 'fish out of water' among professors, as she was unwilling to commit to political or theoretical cliques. While she has kept up-to-date with knowledge produced in different spaces, she would not compromise her intellectual freedom for the sake of allegiance. She has, however, committed herself to the study of Brazilian references and Latin American authors. Developing work on innovation and evaluation in higher education by resorting to different authors while preserving a regionally-grounded perspective, she has been the major influence in the way I problematize university change.

Throughout time and space, universities have composed themselves as institutions with the affluence of students and teachers from abroad. In fact, as entities that developed inside medieval states, they had what we call today an 'international dimension' even before the rise of the nation states. Notwithstanding, this dimension had remained for centuries a collateral, accessory feature in the pursuit of knowledge and the construction of societal projects. Over the last two decades, however, the place of internationalization in higher education seems to have become something else.

As societal and international contexts have changed, the market – the global market – has risen and taken prominence over former state prerogatives and responsibilities. Provision of higher education by non-public actors has grown, as have the participation of cross-borders stakeholders in policy discussion and implementation. All this added up to a change of the states' roles, moving their focus from provision to quality assurance through evaluative processes.

This transformation appears to have been consolidated since the 1990s, linked to the affirmation of market competition as a state-endorsed ordering principle for higher education dynamics. Furthermore, it shows association with another trend that shapes the life of peoples and institutions in this time lapse: globalization. As important structures in society almost anywhere, universities have not stood averse to globalizing forces. Indeed, they turn up to be adapting to fit the new agendas with which they now deal. They seem to be 'going global'.

The coupling of evaluation and internationalization does not only mean that internationalization is now a paramount feature to be evaluated. It also means a displacement of the locus of decision on what is fundamental for higher education and on how to steer it. The state – through its evaluative policies – is not supporting only national projects anymore. It has also embraced other, global agendas. As a researcher in formation, I am puzzled by this contradiction in my everyday work. Postgraduate education is supposed to be the highest stage of schooling, and yet it seems to 'go global' without deeper consideration or conscious involvement by its stakeholders.

As I look at this phenomenon from my Brazilian perspective, I keep in mind that contradictions are even more striking at the periphery of the capitalist world-system. But this particular reality is not the total reality, and the real does not enclose all possibilities. If I am to understand and, as a stakeholder, intervene on what is being done to shape my country's higher education, I must look out to other contexts. Seeking

a society with a well-recognized educational system, I gaze upon Finland to develop a strategy of comparative education, contrasting both realities.

Hence, my research problem is expressed by the following question:

How are individuals in Brazilian and Finnish contexts of postgraduate education processing changes in university as internationalization takes place?

In attending to this problem, my objective is:

To understand, from a comparative perspective, how individuals deal with changes in university in the current phase of higher education internationalization, in the Brazilian and Finnish contexts of postgraduate education.

In order to study the national contexts of postgraduate education, I make use of the notion of ‘fields of social action’, as proposed by Ivar Bleiklie and Maurice Kogan (2006). According to these authors, national higher education systems are composed by a multiplicity of arenas which do not necessarily conform to the same social rules and values in their modes of operation. The dissimilarities are such that, more than different levels, these spaces may be understood as different fields, based in distinct institutions which shape particular manners of action. For the purposes of this dissertation, I work with the three fields of social action described by Bleiklie and Kogan (2006): national policy, educational institution and academic work. According to this perspective, social change in higher education does not flow evenly across levels of operation. It is subject to mismatches as objects of attention tend to be reframed according to the logics that govern collective action in each iteration.

In accordance to this comprehension, I pursue the following specific questions:

How can change associated to internationalization of higher education be identified in the different fields of social action?

How can power associated to internationalization of higher education be identified in the different fields of social action?

How is internationalization understood and practiced in the different fields of social action?

How do individuals organize their political action to effect internationalization?

What is the thesis defended here? As the reader shall see, internationalization of higher education is currently progressing from the individual academic work to the institutions’ functioning. This transition is boosted by national government induction. The configuration of new thresholds of institutional internationality is operated by a rearrangement of individual’s categories of political action. Understandings on what

university and academic work are about are in flux as individuals have to reorganize their relations to succeed as scholars in a globalizing world.

This dissertation aims to make a seemingly trivial, yet often understated point. Although the isomorphic forces of globalization exert a worldly pull towards a same model – that of the North American elite, ‘world-class’ research university –, universities race towards it from different starting points around the globe. Therefore, even if change – in the case of this dissertation, internationalization change – is proclaimed to advance towards a same direction, the distinct contexts in which it takes place affect its enactment. These dissimilarities are linked to how higher education is performed and the formative processes it entails. It is precisely this formative process – where the power of academic reproduction lies – that is the key to institutional change in university. I expect to showcase one dimension of university change, the one represented by internationalization. This is done by seeking to interpret individuals’ experiences, as they are the material support of an institution.

1.2. Justification

*‘When people think about the English language, they suppose they will have to talk according to the tune of the United States or of the United Kingdom’,
Pâmela commented, considering the international dimension of her work.
‘Not quite. I speak English because I wish to establish alternative dialogues
with people in Africa and Asia’.*

Pâmela Marconatto Marques was one of the first people to greet me into the Master’s in Education, back in 2012. A lawyer and a sociologist with a master’s degree in Latin American Integration, she was happy to see a fellow from the discipline of International Relations joining the group. Pâmela decided to study Education inspired by Boaventura de Sousa Santos’s approach to global cognitive justice and devotes her research to learning and speaking with the subaltern. One of the most promising and inspiring scholars of my generation, she has gone global from sound ethical and epistemological grounds. Pâmela is a potent and kind woman who guard with her intellectual lifeblood the subaltern’s right to scream.

Pâmela’s words synthesized for me the counter-hegemonic possibilities of globalization and internationalization of higher education. The use of English language has long been seen in Brazilian human sciences as a sign of capitulation before imperialist powers. It may be, however, a decolonial act of defiance. I take the global

language, the language of the colonizer, for my own purposes: developing Southern theory that can be communicated worldwide. This idea may be better grasped in the words by Pâmela Marconatto Marques and Maria Elly Herz Genro (2018, p. 240):

This mode of appropriating the terms through which one will dispute the stories told about oneself and their country sounds us, in this context, as a strategy to inscribe oneself in the Western world and appear on it effecting resistance, deviation, revanche. To write in French from Haiti to inscribe the brutal experience of the colonized in the language of the colonizer installs a kind of fissure in it. The writing emerges as a wound bursts on flesh, making it tear and, on tearing, admitting more complexity, more difference, more world [...].

It was Pâmela who prompted me to become a graduate student representative. In this position, I appropriated myself of institutional and field codes to defend democratic values that were important for me and my comrades, as they were important for Elis Regina and her comrades. I hold democratic citizenship and global cognitive justice dear and I am willing to take awkward steps in a foreign language and expose myself to international criticism to defend these ideals. One of the artists who Elis Regina brought to the fore of the Brazilian musical scene was singer and songwriter Belchior. In the song '*A palo seco*' – whose title expresses a bluntly simple style of singing – he describes what leads him to desperately scream in Portuguese. Although I write in English, I also do that *a palo seco*, and, coming from the same geographical stance – *sangue, sonho, América do Sul* –, *eu ando mesmo descontente* and *eu quero que esse canto torto feito faca corte a carne de vocês*⁵.

As signaled above, my personal motivation to carry out this research is linked to perplexities raised during my academic trajectory. Back when I was an undergraduate student, studying International Relations, I worked as an intern at UFRGS's Office of Institutional Evaluation (SAI). I had then my first contact with the management and problematization of higher education. I supported processes of institutional evaluation, mainly linked to undergraduate education, as the University redoubled its efforts to cope with the demands of the National System of Evaluation of Higher Education (Sinaes). As I already wanted to expand my training beyond my bachelor's degree, this work inspired me to pursue a Master's degree in Education, researching the

⁵ While the expression. '*a palo seco*' shall not be translated, only explained, the following words translate as 'blood, dream, South America', 'I have been discontent' and 'I want this singing, twisted as knife, to tear your flesh'. This challenge should not be taken as an attack on other loci of enunciation, but as an invitation to make them thicker with more blood and more world.

internationalization of institutional evaluation as evidenced by UFRGS's participation in Regional Accreditation System of University Programs for Mercosur (Arcu-Sur).

Since I started my graduate training, my friends prompted me to take part in student representation. I first assumed the position of representative in the Council of the Graduate Program in Education, its main, and broader, deliberative instance. Then, I was called to substitute a colleague in the student representation to the Directive Commission of the Program. During this time, I also got involved with UFRGS's Graduate Students' Association (APG). As a student representative for APG, I worked at UFRGS's Commission of Institutional Evaluation (CPA) and at its Chamber of Graduate Affairs (CamPG).

As an International Relations bachelor who was trained into higher education research by working with institutional evaluation during the 'golden years' of higher education in Brazil, my attention was caught, of course, by the growing phenomenon of internationalization. Having studied Brazilian foreign policy as based on the drivers of autonomy and development, I could not help noticing that internationalization of higher education was not quite steered in that way by evaluation policies. That was more striking as I entered graduate education and took part in the discussions of the instances of university administration. I perceived how draconian such policies were, and what a great role some resources of internationalization had played in structuring Brazilian higher education, especially, at the postgraduate level.

In my short academic life, I have been astounded by how scientists who take so much pride in their science-making hold some assumptions about higher education performance and management to be true with relative naïveté. Evaluative 'truths', such as the identification between internationalization and quality, go by unquestioned, and some concepts, such as 'excellence', are taken as valid organizers of social life, even if there is no clear description of what they should mean. With my years of blood, dream and South America, I am desperate and discontent with mainstream theory, perplex with how far some assumptions, which may hold true only in very specific contexts, go unquestioned.

Beyond my personal motivation, the justification for this research on internationalization of postgraduate education is grounded on elements of social and academic relevance. In the context of public policy, institutional evaluation remains keen on defining the future of postgraduate education as it conditions its funding. Internationalization, in turn, features prominently in the institutional evaluation of

postgraduate education, and being assessed as ‘internationalized’ is the milestone for a graduate program to access the top tier classification and, with that, additional funding. This association, which may induce universities to ‘go global’ is also supported by policies at different levels.

National policy, expressed in the Brazilian Postgraduate Education National Plan (PNPG) for the period of 2011-2020, set the strengthening of internationalization as a goal. The Evaluative Guidelines for the Postgraduate Area of Education also highlights internationalization as an important feature for the evaluation of programs. A recent development also reinforces the need for comparative studies on postgraduate education: the institution of the Carolina Bori Platform, a device aimed at expediting the processes of recognition of degrees obtained abroad by Brazilian universities. Moreover, the scenery of Brazilian postgraduate education has been impacted by a new policy development during the pursuit of this dissertation. The Coordination for the Enhancement of Higher Education Personnel (Capes), the federal agency governing the postgraduate education system, launched the Institutional Program of Internationalization (Print), a program to fund a range of international actions in order to consolidate the internationalization of selected Brazilian universities. While Print originally aimed to cover activities for a timespan of four years, governmental funding decisions delayed the execution of universities’ planning for another year.

Therefore, in relation to the public relevance of this research, it has the intention to collaborate with the current transformations undergone by Brazilian postgraduate system by producing scientific knowledge on internationalization. These transformations – which can be related to the globalizing move of universities and its consequences – include the review of evaluation standards and procedures, the institution of professional doctorates and the national and institutional initiatives to speed up the recognition of degrees granted abroad. At the international level, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco) established a Drafting Committee to elaborate a Global Convention on the Recognition of Higher Education Qualifications, making possible the emergence of a global regulatory framework for higher education. All these developments reinforce the case for international comparative studies in higher education.

In terms of the methodology devised to carry out this research, it is my intention to contribute to strengthen the area of international and comparative education in Brazil. I also expect to add to this literature by coming up with solutions to compare two

contexts that differ so much, Brazil and Finland, and by using an iterative design. By projecting this dissertation, my purpose is to subsidize public and institutional policies through the academic production of knowledge, one that is so linked to my academic trajectory and understandings.

I may also justify the pertinence and the viability of this research by the existence of sources, which will be detailed further on, in the methodological chapter of this dissertation. Employing interviews with subjects covering three fields of social action – national policy, educative institution and academic work – may allow methodological and theoretical insights on how local and global dispositions come together to reconfigure higher education through phenomena associated with internationalization.

Finally, as for the academic relevance of the theme, this research carries features of novelty and ineditism. Internationalization studies have become increasingly popular in Brazil in this decade, especially since the Science without Borders program was launched. However, if the field of higher education still has ground to cover, the research on postgraduate education is among the themes that have not been sufficiently explored. Although postgraduate education in Brazil has been subject to various kinds of studies, they have mostly focused academic work and production. Equally, the growing research on internationalization has been primarily concerned with student experience of mobility, mainly at undergraduate level. The sections below detail the paths Brazilian postgraduate research has taken in the topics approached by this project.

1.2.1. Previous postgraduate research on the topic

Although internationalization is an express strategic objective in Brazilian PNPG, and internationalization standards are present at the national regulatory evaluation as parameters for excellence, the question remains if they provide enough coordination to characterize a national policy of internationalization of postgraduate education that informs resource allocation or that instructs or aids universities to internationalize themselves. Print itself was conceived in the perspective of granting universities more autonomy over resources for internationalization. While the program was formulated on practical research on universities' internationalization, it is unclear

how – or whether – universities and programs draw on academic research to elaborate their internationalization strategies.

When reviewing what previous work on comparative higher education had been carried out in Brazilian postgraduate programs, I took as a reference the Capes's Theses and Dissertations Database. It records references on master's and doctoral concluding works presented all over Brazil, with registers reaching back to 1987. It can be considered an adequate search engine for a dissertation project that sets its scope on postgraduate education – it allows gauging which studies on the theme have been fostered by the very postgraduate programs. Within this framework, a search for the comparative education yielded limited results. In the year of 2017, when the project for this dissertation was written, a search for theses and dissertations finds 53 registers of works from the keyword 'educação comparada' [comparative education]. From this total, two were written in the 1990s, eight in the 2000s, and the other 43 in the 2010s.

Although this shows an increasing interest for the area, in the last ten years, period from which the theses and dissertations are available online, only nine of them approach higher education and work from an international comparative viewpoint. These works deal with themes such as: teacher training programs in country borders in Brazil and Uruguay (MARTÍNEZ, 2008); expansion of higher education and privatization policies in Argentina and Brazil (MOREIRA, 2013); initial teacher training in Argentina and Brazil (CORDEIRO, 2015); university rankings in Brazil, Chile and Spain (FRANCA, 2015); tutorial action in Brazil and Portugal (ALVES, 2016); teacher training in the discipline of history in Brazil and Uruguay (FARIA, 2016); social representations of the teaching profession in Brazil and Sweden (PINHEIRO, 2016). Only one of them had postgraduate education as its object, investigating international academic mobility in doctorates in Brazil and Mexico (QUIROZ SCHULZ, 2016).

A broader research, using a set of related keywords, was conducted by Gregório (2009) over the period of 1987 to 2006. The author found, within this timeframe, another set of 53 studies, most of which – eleven – had educational systems and policies as the main theme of comparison; six of them dealt with higher education and three of them, with evaluation. Most of the countries chosen for comparative studies were Latin American, followed by European ones. As general trait of this body of research, the author points out a tension between more traditional studies, focused on legal reforms as solutions to educational problems, and a more critical stance on the role of education in

national development, discussing the role of hegemonic models of education in international educational inequality. The use of analytical categories linked to the search for national autonomy would be a general trend, while the potential of comparative education for would be hindered by the adherence to functionalistic approaches proposed by multilateral agencies. However, there would be a tendency towards the growth of studies in the area, with the reinforcement those leaning towards social critique. These observations seem to remain valid for the present decade.

When dealing more specifically with internationalization of higher education without a restriction to comparative education, it was possible to find research on: the efforts of internationalization at the system level, focusing on Capes's action (ROSA, 2008), and more specifically, the Science without Borders program (SILVA, 2012); the possibilities of recognition of postgraduate degrees in Mercosur (GONÇALVES, 2012; MUNIZ, 2015); case studies on internationalization of postgraduate education, overarching several programs or an entire institution (LAUS, 2012; DELLA MEA, 2013; NOBREGA, 2016) or individual programs (FEIJÓ, 2013; FERNANDES, 2013).

In this group, the foci of the studies lean more towards the institutional level, with a significant presence of case studies. They point out that internationalization efforts usually play out from individual initiatives at the level of the programs, lacking a comprehensive, integrative strategy from the universities. This picture follows the image of evaluative policies for postgraduate education, which usually focus the fragmented reality of the programs and put little emphasis on their relation to the university in which they are offered. Thus, from the available body of research, internationalization of postgraduate education in Brazil seems to be a bottom-up construction that has yet to link a set of several disaggregate, isolate enterprises.

A recent work by Morosini and Nascimento (2017) reviewing theses and dissertations produced in Brazil on internationalization remarks that national scholarship on the theme is still small compared to the foreign one, but grows and evidences the presence of the Brazilian nation-state in higher education policies. When considering the different dimensions – global/regional, national and institutional – that these works approach, the authors note that the studies on postgraduate education, aimed at the training of human resources, depict a fragmented reality of research internationalization, insulated in 'island of excellence'.

The discontinuities of internationalization present in the ruling power of evaluation, observed in the everyday life of Brazilian postgraduate programs, seem

starker from the review of the theses and dissertations registered at Capes's database and are supported by Morosini and Nascimento's work (2017). National regulatory evaluation rules the system, and feeding data for its periodic assessment exercises is a constant preoccupation of postgraduate life. One of the decisive factors that influence the results of these exercises is internationalization. However, for all its power, evaluation seems to lag in steering internationalization of postgraduate programs in a coordinate manner. The result may be universities going global without a national alignment, and, instead of tending to a national project, they may haphazardly integrate themselves to the global knowledge economy as they strive to survive. As 'internationalization for survival' becomes the order of the day in a moment where the competitive horizons are progressively flattened into the global one, universities may not be presented by government agencies and ministries with a national project which to follow and implement. Even more, they may be quitting their historical mission of elaborating this very project by addressing national programs.

The review of Capes's database in terms of comparative education and internationalization in postgraduate education, seems to be supported by the findings by Morosini and Nascimento (2017) in evidencing the absence of studies that bridge the different levels of analysis. Furthermore, they seem to evidence the need for investigating the discontinuity at the institutional level – the very level where it would be possible to observe shifts in university ideation by the modes of operation that are prescribed, enforced through evaluative and funding policies and effected by local actors. This institutional level could be taken as meso-level of analysis where top-down system policies and bottom-up responses by the programs meet to enact the transformation of universities stances in the national-global tension. Enquiring about the concatenation of these policies and practices in prompting universities to go global may lead to new findings, strengthened by the resource to comparative analysis.

1.2.2. Reasons of experience

I am as far from the grandeur of Elis Regina as one can be. Nevertheless, I am a child of the middle classes which struggled and thrived – listening to MPB – at the same time she worked her career. So, I take inspiration on her. In a scenario of international control of science, dependency dynamics guide ideology in policy-making. Investment

in education and science is cut down and cognitive sovereignty is once again forfeited for the sake of remunerating speculative capital. As a result, knowledge production in Brazil – in the South – suffers setbacks, as did the musical scene in the 1960s' Porto Alegre.

I came to the Brazilian public university in its boom years to witness the current constrictions of 'fiscal adjustment'. In my training as an international relations analyst and an educator, I have become sensitive to the asymmetries that mark the global field of higher education. And I sought to learn from them. In my doctoral process, it seemed to me as one must leave for the center to be heard in one's own peripheral homeland. And to do that, one must also gain command of the codes of internationalization to use them without naïveté or emulation, but creatively, ingenuously, critically.

I endeavored to go global, and my steps took me to Northern Europe in the process. Choosing Finland as a destination, I knew I would be going through the looking glass. I did not know, though, my categories and assumptions would not hold in trying to understand social dynamics which were so alien in comparison to what I experienced my whole life in Brazil. Some assumptions that guided my dissertation project were crushed already in the beginning of fieldwork: I did not find a powerful evaluative state driving postgraduate education through managerial research assessments. Perhaps I should have known better, perhaps the experience of having to successively rearticulate my research problem taught me important lessons on comparative and international higher education.

It did help I had invaluable professors by my side. I already mentioned Denise Leite was my advisor during the whole doctoral training. To get to Finland, I could count on Jussi Välimaa, who, knowing me for but a few days and a few pages, agreed to aid me in securing a Finnish scholarship that allowed me to study and research Finnish higher education during seven months, based on the Finnish Institute for Educational Research (FIER) in the University of Jyväskylä (JYU). Both Denise and Jussi Socratically questioned my views on university, internationalization, politics and how I articulated my theory with the social phenomena I was witnessing in fieldwork.

Before I departed to Finland, when I defended the project for this dissertation, Professor Marilia Morosini, challenged me to understand and, if possible, theorize internationalization from the perspective of the Global South. I sought to do that, beginning by bringing to theory the South that composes me – its conditions, its theory. Therefore, the comparative study presented here bears a Brazilian-centered point of

view. The Finnish context is activated as a contrastive case to provide perspective on the internationalization of postgraduate education in Brazil.

I know my limits, and I knew back at the time of the project defense I could not live up to the full extent of Marília's challenge. But perhaps I can make a small contribution to discuss the internationalization of the oppressed, as I have been required. Tough I did not set off this dissertation to talk about conscientization, social reality – manifested in the categories I can operate as a Southern researcher and in the fieldwork – imposed the concept on me in the process of turning empirical evidence into data.

1.2.3. 'Political intentionalization'

In the song 'Querelas do Brasil' – Brazilian Quarrels –, Elis Regina would sing 'Brazil doesn't know Brasil / Brasil has never been to Brazil'⁶. It plays on the different writings and pronunciations of the country's name in Portuguese and in English. It conveys the idea that there is a disjunction between the deep interior of the nation and the representation that is composed by its internationalized elites, for export, but also for policy-making. We need to bridge the gap between reality and representation, so that all Brazilians can see themselves in Brazilian national image – and that foreigners can see the actual Brazil in its fully contradictory nature – (SFREDO MIORANDO, 2010) and that policy-making really address the actual life conditions of Brazilian population. Brazil is not Finland, and our national problems here are quite different. Academic policy and university management, too, must be aware of this.

This way, while this dissertation discusses internationalization of higher education, it also lays a debate on 'conscience and national reality', to use Álvaro Vieira Pinto's (1960) expression. There is a conscious effort towards bridging Brasil and Brazil in higher education. Such intellectual operation is not carried out without a *pathos*, and in that I evoke Vieira Pinto's words:

The rationality of critical consciousness does not consist in behaving in an exclusively intellectual manner, dismissing affective relations as naïve. This would be, actually, a proof of naïveté. Critical thinking is the eagerness to apprehend reality in the complete objectivity of things and happenings composing it; in such apprehension, however, it is included the knowledge of

⁶ The original lyrics are: 'O Brasil não conhece o Brasil / O Brasil nunca foi ao Brasil'. 'Querelas do Brasil' is a composition by Aldir Blanc and Maurício Tapajós. The Portuguese word for quarrel, *querela*, may also signify threnody.

emotional states that external conditions provoke in the individuals who compose the masses. However, it is not enough to say that rational thinking is able to properly represent the emotional fact [...]. It is necessary to equally feel with the liveliest emotion, with the vehemence justified by the situations, the reactions of indignation or enthusiasm, the drives of action and struggle, the passions and hopes, and include all these states in the consciousness without letting it decay in naïveté. It is necessary to fully live the presence of consciousness in the respective national reality, because only then, combining all reactions it evokes, it is possible to represent this reality. [...] Critical consciousness is not impassible, cold, distant, judicious. It is, on the contrary, the consciousness engaged in the ongoing national process and, as such, suffering the vicissitudes of the lived conjuncture. It does not intellectualize its passions; it lives it to the extreme, not wishing to abolish them or submit them to abstract criteria. It only apprehends with perfect clarity the fundamentals of its emotiveness, it knows that such reactions are unavoidable when reality is the landscape of backwardness and misery which defines the underdeveloped and semi-colonial country (VIEIRA PINTO, 1960, v. 2, p. 52).

My Master's training, advised by Maria Elly Herz Genro, involved the learning of the need for the political intentionalization⁷ of university. '*Intencionalização política*' – political intentionalization – is an expression used by Darcy Ribeiro in '*A universidade necessária*'. While Darcy does not directly conceptualize the term, he does indicate a series of steps which would constitute the political intentionalization of university.

University, by promoting a characteristic conviviality between generations and concentrating intellectual resources, is forced to promote in all its departments, as an ineludible task, the broadest and most responsible debate on the causes of underdevelopment and the perspectives the nation has to autonomously integrate in its contemporary civilization within predictable terms.

Such debate must highlight, primarily, the analyses of the classist interests crystalized in the current social order, to verify how far its agents act in connivance with the causal factors of national backwardness.

For these debates not to be simple academic contests, it is indispensable that the introduction of the national problematic, beyond enriching the thematic of university studies, also change the very academic attitude, from neutral and uninterested to active and participant.

Once this critical attitude is reached, each diagnosis of the causes of the backwardness must become a denouncement before society and political action in search for ways to overcome underdevelopment.

This intentionalization of university is imperative for underdeveloped nations, who cannot continue to allow the connivance of their academic institutions with the internal and external interests allied with the perpetuation of dependency and backwardness.

It is also ineludible for the university to realize its own potentialities as a nation-educating institution and a cultural creativity center for a people, what it could only achieve by integrating the movement for overcoming underdevelopment and dependency (RIBEIRO, 1975, p. 169).

⁷ Although the word 'intentionalization' does not exist in English language, I employ it to correspond the Portuguese word 'intencionalização', used by Darcy Ribeiro. Intentionalization describes the process by which a specific intentionality is applied to the development of an institution or action.

This again, comes from an ethical-political stance, and goes to a praxiological reading of university. In that sense, this dissertation does not embody the totality of my doctoral work. Albeit not registered, a great deal of it was the political action to foster and secure the right to voice of students in my Institution, making myself present and active in countless meetings. As I have understood, I had a part to play in using carefully grounded discourse to confront authoritarianism, so that my peers and I could speak. But political intentionalization also has to do with a specific reading of knowledge production, as always carrying some dimension of advocacy. In the decolonial terms of Paulo Freire:

What to know, how to know, why to know, in favor of what and of whom to know, therefore, against what and against whom to know are theoretical-practical questions and not intellectualistic ones, which education as an act of knowledge asks us. Fundamental questions, in dynamic involvement with others around the same act of educating, of its possibility, of its legitimacy, of the objectives and finalities of this act, of its agents, its methods, its content. [...] The preservation of the elitist character of education, with all it implies, has a meaning for the society which, leaving its colonial dependency, integrates itself into a neocolonial dependency and is 'governed' by a ruling national elite, linked to imperialist interests. [...] The background question is not, therefore, in solely replacing an old program, aligned to the colonizer's interests, with a new one, but to establish coherence between the society in revolutionary reconstruction and the education as a totality that should serve it. And the knowledge theory that it must practice implies a knowing method antagonistic to colonial education (FREIRE, 2013 [1978], p. 134).

In summary terms, I write for liberation, against oppression. As an Hinduist monk expressed as he greeted me when I crossed the Parque da Redenção to vote in the Brazilian presidential elections of 2018 carrying an exemplar of *Pedagogia da Autonomia*, I chose the books, not the guns. I set off my doctoral process to write against the agents of dependency within the academic field, believing internationalization should go beyond personal career interests to pursue autonomous national development. I was also appalled by the dynamics of subalternization that public universities – so-called democratic institutions – imposed on students. I was outraged that some professors who derive their scientific capital from international connections would move to block my Latin American comrades' right to write their thesis and dissertations in Spanish. I was also eager to prove that I did not contest the academic game because I could not play it, but because I saw it to be unfair and rife with foul play. But reality overwhelmed me and I saw my country quickly descend into fascism. This filled me with angst, made me sick and compromised my work. It made

me question the very possibility of a present and of a future for higher education in Brazil.

I turned to the writings of Ernani Maria Fiori. I had first had contact with them by going through Maria Elly's archives as I prepared for teaching practice in Philosophy of Education. I was shocked to know so little about an intellectual who spoke so deeply to me. I found him to say:

The contradiction between the emerging historical consciousness and the domination of consciousnesses by the established system produces the outbreak of the dominated and exploited people's class consciousness. The structural contradictions become demystified, manifested and accentuated in the sheer consciousness with which the dominated rise against domination. Then begins the awakening of the new man [*sic*] (FIORI, 2014 [1970], p. 103).

The peoples of the Third World, object of internal and external domination (conjugated in a system of mutual gratification), cannot think about developing their critical and committed consciousness through the education network in which the ruling system domesticates and imprisons consciousnesses. One cannot suppose the dominators will concede the conditions of liberation, yet we can take their tools of domination to turn ourselves against them (FIORI, 2014 [1970], p. 100).

So, why to bring up so many words of late gentlemen⁸ – Vieira Pinto, Fiori, Freire, Ribeiro? Because before getting on to epistemology and method, the honest social scientist must state in favor of what and of whom they seek knowledge of reality. With this dissertation I am not setting off to found the CTG of dead Brazilian thinkers, but I shall never be an ungrateful child. As in the verses by Atahualpa Yupanqui sang by Elis Regina, I bring 'en nosotros nuestros muertos, pa que nadie quede atrás'⁹. I am indebted to the potent intellectual tradition of my country and, in accordance, I must engage new audiences in South and North. I seek theoretical innovation in internationalization and I know, with Paulo Freire, inspired by Álvaro Vieira Pinto¹⁰, that 'the old which keeps its validity or which embodies a tradition or marks presence in time remains new' (FREIRE, 2014 [1996], p. 36-37). These authors, I believe, register

⁸ The word is intentional in marking all these are all male authors. Brazilian women such as feminist educator Nísia Floresta have written about national education at least since the 19th century. In the early 20th century, Cecília Meirelles was a pioneer of progressive education. But their writings concern mainly basic schooling. Women's writings about university in the 1960s and the 1970s must exist – I wonder why they have not reached me.

⁹ 'In us, our dead ones, so that no one is left behind'. The song in question is '*Los hermanos*' [The brothers].

¹⁰ Paulo Freire also states that 'in its production, new knowledge overcomes another one that was new before and became old and "is willing" to be surpassed by another tomorrow' (FREIRE, 2014 [1996], p. 30).

in social theory the important inequalities that make up the distinctive character of Brazilian reality and which are sometimes set aside in the production of narratives about the country's higher education.

Elis Regina once quipped about the predominance of artists then living in the country's richest city in national culture – herself included: 'Unsurprisingly, the ones in São Paulo, right? [...] Since 22, you know?'. Elis referred to the Modern Art Week of February 1922, which took place in São Paulo, and set the scene for a new discussion of cultural *brasilidade* (LEITE; PANIZZI, 2005). All through the 'long 20th century', São Paulo affirmed itself as the dynamic center of Brazilian economy (FURTADO, 2005 [1958]), and also centralized social thought. The most internationally-renowned Brazilian universities to date – Universidade de São Paulo (USP) and Universidade Estadual de Campinas (Unicamp) – belong to the São Paulo state system.

I am, however, essaying to tilt, however in a limited capacity, the discourses that circulate globally about Brazilian higher education. A Brazilian scholar concerned with their country, with its national project and projection, must ask: who speaks for Brazil, internationally? Who produces the international *imago* that will condition Brazilians' sense of self? A selective few Brazilian individuals could be pinpointed as pertaining to the global literature on higher education. These individuals are of course conditioned by the hierarchical patterns that mark their institutional positions. The issue of who can speak can then be presented as the matter of which loci of enunciation are validated as producing meritorious scientific discourse.

Fiori (2014 [1970]) reminds that internal and external domination are conjugated in a system of mutual gratification, one that would later be conceptualized as dependency. With the author, I understand that the tools of domination, however, are there to be tackled. Part of the political intentionalization of this work is to shift the balance of who can speak for Brazilian higher education in international arenas. As emergent, critical perspectives emerge in the global scene – by commanding English-based communication and hitting strategic marks in the field of knowledge – there is a chance to provide Other accounts and interpretations of Brazil that bring about more world. Of course, this task is not mine alone, and I have already met companions.

I am a small-town Latin American¹¹ lad whose conditions and theoretical e political choices have made me an outsider. I cannot abide traditional power games. I

¹¹ The wording again references one of Belchior's songs, this time, '*Apenas um rapaz*' [Just a lad].

seek knowledge on behalf of liberation and against systemic oppression. I research to bring about more democratic universities which could build a more just society. And as social justice is not fashionable in today's Brazil, I must also expose myself to other spaces. I conjure the 'Elis Regina effect' and it seems to somehow appear in the horizon. While in Finland, I was invited to represent Brazilian experience in an internationally edited book exploring the links between student engagement and quality assurance (TANAKA, 2019), being the only author not to hold a PhD. In this dissertation, I proceed to devour aspects of a Finnish experience to feed Brazilian perspectives. Whether I will be able to harness the 'Finnish/international' capital I acquired with my visiting researcher experience to my ends, it remains to be seen. In any case, as global as I may go, I shall never deny where my mother's house was.

1.3. Dissertation overview

'But I want to speak a foreign language like the foreigners speak Portuguese', Mother rehearsed her newly-crafted ironic protest motto as I read her through Álvaro Vieira Pinto's work, 'with a heavy accent'.

Mother, otherwise known as Miriam Isabel Sfredo, with her penchant for feminism and criticality, is in good deal responsible for my 'elective affinity' with decoloniality. She holds the degree of *Licenciatura Curta em Estudos Sociais*¹² by a then small-town-college. I must add that Mother is the daughter of Odila Pedrotti¹³ and Samuel Sfredo, who, although born in Brazil, did not have Portuguese as their native language. My maternal grandparents learned to speak in Talian, but became proficient in Portuguese still in their childhood. While my mother's family achieved a commendable command of the language, their speech, as mine, is marked by the

¹² The diploma of *licenciatura curta* represented a former type o degree which enabled to teach in lower secondary. While Mother never became a teacher, and usually refers to her higher education as a 'cultural abortion', sociological theory and evidence strongly indicate this two-year, night-shift program had an important role in my getting to a doctorate in an elite university. As Oliven (1990) describes in her seminal work, this was the available option for working class young adults in the upstate Rio Grande do Sul of the 1970s.

¹³ My maternal grandmother would be annoyed if political discussions would seize her kitchen for too long. Nevertheless, once in a while, she would state her wish for Brazilian politicians to behave like Leonel Brizola, who, as governor, would direct policies towards the working classes. Brizola first governed the state of Rio Grande do Sul and, later, Rio de Janeiro, where Darcy Ribeiro served as his vice-governor. *Vó* Odila also expressed her admiration for Wrana Panizzi, the first – and, so far, only – woman to be the rector of UFRGS. I cannot say for sure, but I believe my grandmother – who loved school as a girl, but could study only through the primary years, and then was trapped in a life of domestic work – felt represented by a woman defending education in times when national policy drained resources from federal HEIs.

mannerisms of upstate colonial region, which is perceived as a strange accent, subject to jest, in Porto Alegre, the capital city of Rio Grande do Sul. Mother's mockery might echo the Thracian servant's laughter: those who aim for the stars may fall by losing sight of their own territory.

The Merriam-Webster Collegiate Dictionary (2003, p. 7) defines accent as 'a distinctive manner of expression as [...] an individual's distinctive or characteristic inflection, tone, or choice of words' as well as 'a way of speaking typical of a particular group of people and especially of the natives or residents of a region'. Accent composes the *hexis* of the speaker, denoting otherness. My scientific productive process, like my daily speech, does not dismiss the accents I bear as marks of origin and belonging. On the very contrary, I count on my experience and my sensitive reflexivity to leverage meanings as I construct, explore and interpret data.

As the readers may have already noticed, I open the chapters of this dissertation with quotes by Elis Regina. Sub-chapters, in turn, recall phrases friends of mine said in my academic journey, composing vignettes (SALDAÑA; OMASTA, 2018)¹⁴. More than an aesthetic gimmick, I seek to use this resource to thread relations, showing how, in this scholarly endeavor, science has been fertilized by other types of knowledge – artistic, political, practical wisdom. In doing so, I furthermore stress that knowledge flows in more ways than paper citations. This also speaks of my gnosiological process in producing knowledge. I use my own lived experience as a heuristic operator (FREIRE, 2014 [1996]) to interpret the phenomenon of internationalization of higher education. I thread my reflexivity with the reflexivities of other people.

This makes this dissertation take up features of a piece of confessional writing, 'the researcher's first-person account of the subjective experiences she encountered throughout the project' (SALDAÑA; OMASTA, 2018, p. 287). As 'a reflexive, prosaic self-portrait of sorts that reveals the investigator's inner thoughts', this style admits 'the researcher's own emotions, vulnerabilities, uncertainties, fieldwork problems, ethical dilemmas, and data collection or analytic blunders' (SALDAÑA; OMASTA, 2018, p. 287).

In the quotes by Elis Regina, I decided to favor statements that deal with ethical-political matters. It is impossible to say what would Elis Regina say in the current

¹⁴ However, while Johnny Saldaña and Matt Omasta (2018) present vignettes as deriving from fieldwork observation – usually in ethnographic studies –, I do not draw mine from the research participants I interviewed. I take them from my own lived experience.

Brazilian conjuncture. I daresay nowadays she would be recording songs by Criolo¹⁵. Anyway, what one can indeed say is that she took sides – in favor of the oppressed and in favor of democracy. If deeds speak louder than words, in this historical moment, it may be the case to remember that, in 1978, Elis recorded ‘*O bêbado e a equilibrista*’¹⁶ became the hymn for the *Anistia* movement, expressing the sorrow of life under dictatorship and the dream that political exiles could return to Brazil. She raised funds to support the strike led by the *metalúrgicos do ABC*. In 1981, she joined the Workers’ Party, a membership she would retain until her death, in the next year. What can a singer do? Elis had but her voice to start with, and she chose to sing her country, stirring not only the musical field, but politics as well.

And as she sang her songs then, so I now must sing mine – ‘*el canto de todos que es mi propio canto*’¹⁷. This means through my voice, others speak. Not only the dead philosophers and social scientists of Brazil, but lively people with whom I am making my trajectory. I bring this informal voices in scholarly work to destabilize the hegemonic ideas of who can be an intellectual and in which situations. But I also want to bring light and life to Other aspects of *formação*¹⁸ that are too often overlooked when considering doctoral training. So many other factors cross and conform this work that I feel it would be a failure for a social scientist not to acknowledge them. And the flip side of a dissertation is a *bildungsroman* – a search for voice and authorship.

¹⁵ Rapper Criolo constructs his music drawing on hip-hop and samba, singing the existential challenges seen from the peripheries of São Paulo. As dissertation was being written, in 2018, Criolo issued the rap single ‘*Boca de lobo*’ [Sewer grate], with the lyrics: ‘The industry of disgrace / is a good business for the government. / [...] / Montesquieu suffers, / his faith was ruffled / [...] / If the three powers become business desks, / the government becomes a drug den. / Look, this is the poor people killing machine. / In Brazil, who has an opinion, dies’. In a former song, the samba ‘*Meninos mimados*’ [Spoiled boys], he sung: ‘spoiled boys cannot rule the nation’. Speaking about this composition he declared: ‘There are so many people who are so far away from the many realities that exist in our country. And many of these people have a very big power, but it seems they do not do any measure of exercise. Such as running in the street, to see how this street is, to see what is done of so many things that were built in a completely equivocated manner and what is to love in our country’.

¹⁶ A composition by Aldir Blanc and João Bosco, ‘*O bêbado e a equilibrista*’ [The drunkard and the tightrope walker] is to date one of the most expressive Brazilian songs. The lyrics go: ‘I know such a pungent pain / will not be pointless. / Hope dances in the tightrope with an umbrella / and in each step of this line / may hurt herself. / Never mind! / The equilibrist hope knows that every artist’s show / must go on’. Hope features prominently in Brazilian culture, as can be seen in Paulo Freire’s ‘*Pedagogy of hope*’ (2015 [1992]).

¹⁷ ‘The chant of all, which is my own chant’. The verse is part of the lyrics of ‘*Gracias a la vida*’, a song by Chilean artist and folklorist Violeta Parra. The song was recorded in many countries around the world, including a Finnish version, ‘*Miten voin kyllin kiittää*’, by Arja Saijonmaa. Elis Regina recorded the song with the original lyrics in Spanish.

¹⁸ The word *formação* does not carry its full meaning if translated from its original context in the Portuguese language to the English cognate ‘formation’. It is more akin to the German idea of *bildung*. In the Finnish context, the equivalent concept is *sivistys*, ‘civilization’.

A dissertation must present a novel contribution to advance knowledge in a given area. This work is being presented at a Postgraduate Program in Education, and thus relates to the educational field. More specifically, I situate this dissertation in the area of higher education studies. As I activate higher education theory produced in the context of interpretation of Brazilian reality, I relate to another area, Brazilian social thought. This interdisciplinary approach responds to the demands of the object and many theoretical elements were included reflecting the findings on fieldwork.

Higher education studies, or higher education research, compose a thematic area that addresses the functions, institutional settings and social context of higher education (TEICHLER, 2015). In terms of its epistemological situation, Ulrich Teichler (2015, p. 862) argues that:

Higher education research does not have the typical basis of legitimacy as classical disciplines within universities and other institutions of higher education. It is not viewed as having emerged from the logic of the knowledge system, but rather from practical demands for knowledge. As a consequence, it has to find ways constantly to be both, respectable as a discipline in theoretical depth, methodological quality, and breadth of field knowledge and as a provider of a valuable knowledge base for policy and practice.

In this dissertation, I draw on theory developed by Brazilian intellectual to respond to challenges of institutional and systemic change. This theory was produced before the Brazilian academic research was organized through the creation of a system of postgraduate education and is not bound to a sole disciplinary domain. Also not conforming to the division between scientific, philosophical and technological knowledges, it has been historically addressed as *pensamento social brasileiro* – ‘Brazilian social thought’. This kind of label is not unique to the Brazilian context. In the Finnish context, the word *tiede* has a broader meaning than ‘science’.

Brazilian social thought refers to a scholarship developed to understand how the Brazilian social reality works and what its fundamentals are. Social thought refers to an ensemble of contributions that cross Philosophy, History, Anthropology, Sociology, Political Science and Economy, encompassing Social Sciences and Humanities.

Nowadays, the area brings together issues of the past and contemporary inquiries, comprehending research linked to the great themes of study in the construction of Brazilian society in its various dimension, including modernization, modernity and social change, nation-state building and transformation, political culture and citizenship; as well as the different modalities of *lato sensu* artistic (literature, visual arts, photography, cinema, television and drama) and intellectual production and producers and the very

culture as a system of values and forms of language (SCHWARCZ; BOTELHO, 2011, p. 12).

As the field developed throughout the 20th century, this range of objects classically came to include university as a prominent institution in the national symbolic, cultural and political structure.

[...] as social life involves not only material structures and resources but also immaterial – cultural, symbolic and political – ones, it is necessary to advance now in the knowledge of how the latter, in contingent historical interaction with the former, can or cannot influence the social order of which they are parts, and also be relevant elements for the possibilities of collective action and social change (SCHWARCZ; BOTELHO, 2011, p. 13).

The knowledge proposed in this dissertation deals with the meanings of collective action and social change as seen from higher education. Inscribing itself in the intersection between two thematic areas of diffuse disciplinary foundations – higher education studies and Brazilian social thought – it does not claim a disciplinary scientific status, but recognition as a trustworthy formal academic knowledge.

In this essay, much like my advisor, to whom I alluded in the first subchapter, I am bound to categories that allow me to interpret social reality rather than to an author or school. In my endeavor to advance epistemic work, I make up the theoretical basis for this dissertation from my two interdisciplinary areas of training, international relations and education, taking position in the critical paradigm.

Critical international relation analysts ‘are concerned with the sources of structural inequality inherent in the international system, as well as the ways in which it might be overcome’ (GRIFFITHS; ROACH; SOLOMON, 2009, p. 161). As a consequence, researchers operating in this paradigm seek to expose in the historical conditions the material and ideological forces underlying inequality. Theory and practice are assumed as joint fields of thought and action throughout which to

[...] explore the complex connections between a formal ‘anarchy’ among states and an economic ‘hierarchy’ among social and economic classes. The rigid distinction between politics within states and ‘relations’ among social classes must be dispensed with. These thinkers expand the scope of international relations to include the forces at work in ‘global society’ (GRIFFITHS; ROACH; SOLOMON, 2009, p. 161).

Critical educators consider the social construction of consciousness to question existing knowledge and to problematize traditional power relations that marginalize groups and individuals. Critical researchers perceive the political character of

educational institutions and seek to expose their contradictions, committing to the emancipation of people and the practice of democratic citizenship. Furthermore, ‘critical pedagogical researchers often regard their work as a first step toward forms of political action that can redress the injustices found in the field site or constructed in the very act of research itself’ (KINCHELOE; MCLAREN; STEINBERG, 2011, p. 167).

The critical paradigm is of course informed by the fundamental categories of historical materialism. Historical materialism is not a common approach in higher education studies. Nevertheless, in Brazilian social thought, it has been influential in a set of authors, and is especially present among those who produced works on university, and who are referred in this dissertation. I understand that, while there are limits to what can be explained or interpreted in higher education by orthodox Marxist approaches, some core Marxian theoretical elements remain relevant to apprehend society as a totality:

Ideas, institutions, events within a social formation, do not take place in abstract or in isolation from this context of the underlying mode of production, but must rather be seen in relation to the totality and to this material determination within it, defined by the forces and relations of production (HALLIDAY, 2007 [1994], p. 75).

This is one of the reasons why this text has such a long introductory chapter. It also follows that, as much as I write with the angst of the oppressed, I operate along the guidelines of Fiori (2014 [1971], p. 119), ‘not judging the intentions of educators, but the terrible alienations of the established system’. One resource to fend off alienation is never to allow oneself to forget where their mother’s house was.

Chapter 2 sets the theoretical background for this study. It balances the weight of official culture, to provide input on the political character of universities and on critical perspectives on internationalization.

Chapter 3 describes the methodological strategy employed. It seeks to escape straightjackets and to promote class consciousness in the design of a comparative case study that interprets data in a qualitative manner.

Chapter 4 exposes the results of the investigation. It shows, through interviewees’ words, how individuals are getting amidst the imports and accreditations that mark internationalization of postgraduate education in two national contexts, Brazil and Finland, across the fields of social action of national policy, educational institution and academic work.

Chapter 5 presents the final remarks. It evokes participatory power to face our problems upfront, considering the research and political implications detected for internationalization in this study.

In this dissertation, I draw upon literature written in different languages. Whenever the source is not in English language, I have freely translated it from its original in either Portuguese or Spanish.

I opted to keep the Brazilian abbreviations in their original form rather than producing new ones, according to English version of the names of organs and instruments. I did so in order to preserve the official form of these abbreviations, but also to keep them tied to their original context.

As a final foreword, if my discourse sounds too bold, I ask the reader for comprehension of my historicity. I compose this dissertation through times of trouble in Brazil and in the world. But this, too, shall pass, and I, in time, shall mellow.

2. Theoretical background: the weight of official culture

I do not want, by any means, to be somehow labeled as a person who takes part in the so-called official culture, who will be singing this stuff to dilute its weight and its measure. [...] I think there is a time when we must acknowledge this weight we have as an official culture – even if we do not see ourselves as such or if we are not effectively part of it – and do not bestow a mistaken accreditation upon someone’s work. [We must] let this stuff blow, as this noise aids in what you are trying to put forward – and which by ‘n’ momentary reasons we cannot put forward.

Elis Regina

I understand ‘this noise’ to be the propagation of dissonance to an instituted *nomos*. ‘This noise’ is thus the manifestation of the processes taking place in a point of the structure where the paradigm is worn, and tends to break. When points of rupture develop in strategic parts of the structure, a systemic crisis becomes apparent:

The system has at that point what we may think of as choice between possibilities. The choice depends both on the history of the system and the immediate strength of elements external to the internal logic of the system. These external elements are what we call ‘noise’ in terms of the system. When systems are functioning normally, ‘noise’ is ignored. But in situations far from equilibrium, the random variations in the ‘noise’ have a magnified effect because of the high increase in the disequilibrium. Thereupon, the system, now acting chaotically, will reconstruct itself quite radically in ways that are internally unpredictable, but which lead nonetheless to new forms of order (WALLERSTEIN, 2001, p. 135-136).

In this chapter, I combine theoretical elements to compose a critical approach to study internationalization through comparative higher education. Understanding this is a time of redefinitions, this dissertation tries to capture noise where it is perhaps louder: in the borders of the system. It compares a welfare state nation to a dependent one, characterized by the ‘exacerbation to the limit of the inherent contradictions of the capitalist mode of production’ (MARINI, 2012 [1979]).

In this dissertation, I endeavor to bring attention to what is not being perceived by the ‘official culture’ of policy-making. As a scholar, I am inevitably associated with ‘the official culture’. As scholar interested in pedagogical innovation, I relate to tradition, and to how it is recovered and reconfigured to produce new answers to pressing challenges of present and future. Scholarly work involves salvaging past theoretical developments and calling upon them to interpret change, disassembling and reassembling epistemic components to respond to pressing issues in times of paradigmatic shift.

By questioning the phenomenon of ‘universities going global’, this dissertation contends that, with internationalization, universities process changes which can be perceived through the comparison of contexts of postgraduate education.

In doing so, it considers university as part of society’s superstructure, which emerges from the infrastructure shaped by its relations of production. As people exist within sets of social relations organized by both infrastructure and superstructure, they are subjects and agents of reproduction and change of said relations, and develop consciousness of these processes. I consider the seminal works by Karl Marx paradigmatic for a critical understanding of social dynamics of higher education. For the purposes of this dissertation, it is useful to re-present some of the author’s words:

In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. *The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of consciousness.* The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. *It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness.* At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or – this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms – with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution. The changes in the economic foundation lead sooner or later to the transformation of the whole immense superstructure. *In studying such transformations it is always necessary to distinguish between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, artistic or philosophic – in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. Just as one does not judge an individual by what he thinks about himself, so one cannot judge such a period of transformation by its consciousness, but, on the contrary, this consciousness must be explained from the contradictions of material life, from the conflict existing between the social forces of production and the relations of production* (MARX, 2008 [1859], p. 47-48, no emphases in the original).

This chapter comprises two subchapters. The purpose of the first subchapter is to inform mainstream higher education studies with elaborations from the Global South to present university change as a political phenomenon. In order to do so, it presents elements from Northern and Southern theory that subsidize the analysis of higher education change, discusses how Brazilian social thought offers contributions to think the relations between university and national context, and brings up theory that sheds light on how higher education must be understood in connection of the manner by which its national context is integrated in global international relations. The second

subchapter aims to characterize internationalization of higher education as a process of change linked to globalization, from a critical perspective. In order to do so, it defines and historicizes understandings of globalization, internationalization of higher education and critical internationalization studies. Through the study of internationalization, higher education theory is finally coming to terms with what has been a continuing effort in comparative and international education: the need to account not only for national differences, but to how nations' differential insertions in the capitalist world-system – with its enduring colonial features – conditions their possibilities of educational development.

2.1 Approaching universities with a Southern accent

'You are Brazilian, right?', Ana Luíza asked me as we made acquaintance, *'I could tell it from your accent'*.

I met Ana Luíza Mattos de Oliveira in Pushkin, Russia, as we attended the 'Summer School on Higher Education Research: Higher Education, Society and State', promoted by the National University Higher School of Economics. An economist of development doing her doctoral work at Unicamp, Ana Luíza stands in the left of Brazilian social spectrum. Her work deals with the transformation in higher education participation structures in Brazil in the previous decade, and how this change was interrupted by austerity policies. She would eventually make her way to India to aggregate a comparative dimension to her research. To gauge 'which kind of Brazilian' I was, Ana Luíza prompted the question that was in the air in that moment: 'Is it an impeachment or is it a *coup*?'. She was also impacted by the events, and many people there – an international audience of junior researchers and professors in higher education – were asking us what was going on in Brazil.

Ana Luíza's deduction of my nationality was an interesting surprise. I was told many times, in Europe and Brazil, that I did not look – by semblance or demeanor – like a Brazilian. And yet, born and raised, I am as Brazilian as the Brazilian pine. My '*brasilidade*' – if such a thing exists – shows in my discourse, as I anthropophagize core theory and combine it to Brazilian social thought, and as I bring together contributions from different disciplines in syncretic movement. Feeling out of place myself, I cannot

help but to question what the places of people and institutions are, and how that is decided. And that becomes evident in my work.

The anecdote is brought here to highlight a prominent feature of Brazilian public universities – common in other Latin American countries as well: politicization. Departing from traits that is exacerbated in a dependent nation may shed new light on what exists, under different conditions, in other countries. In this dissertation, I argue the point that higher education change is a political phenomenon. I do so with a Southern accent – that is, my discourse is marked by my training in line with some authors of Brazilian social thought. As there is a plethora of theorists under this label, I made choices. I cite authors whose texts I believe can be useful to understand contemporary university. And I work with Brazilian authors who chose sides. South, here, is not only a geographic condition, but also an epistemological attitude.

Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2016, p. 18) has advocated the umbrella term of epistemologies of the South: ‘an engagement with the ways of knowing from the perspectives of those who have systematically suffered the injustices, dominations and oppressions caused by colonialism, capitalism, and patriarchy’; ‘a crucial epistemological transformation is required in order to reinvent social emancipation on a global scale’. According to the author,

The global South is not a geographical concept, even though the great majority of its populations live in countries of the Southern hemisphere. The South is rather a metaphor for the human suffering caused by capitalism and colonialism on the global level, as well as for the resistance to overcoming or minimising such suffering. It is, therefore, an anti-capitalist, anti-colonialist, anti-patriarchal, and anti-imperialist South. It is a South that also exists in the geographic North [...] (SOUSA SANTOS, 2016, p. 18-19).

One of the accents marking this dissertation comes to the fact that I write from Porto Alegre. The city here bears both geographic and political coordinates. Since the city was the original host for the World Social Forum (WSF), Wallerstein (2004) has come to identify a ‘spirit of Porto Alegre’. The WSF, as a ‘movement of movements’, was designed as ‘a meeting ground of militants of many stripes and persuasions, engaging in a variety of actions from collective demonstrations that are worldwide or regional to local organizing across the globe’ (WALLERSTEIN, 2004, p. 86). By claiming ‘another world is possible’, WSF participants express both an ontology, that political options are real, and an axiology, that alternatives must be found for reversing the predatory character of the capitalist world-system.

If one looks for a framework which is at the roots of critical theory, Halliday (2007 [1994], p. 66) reminds that Marxism ‘contains an element of freedom, of volition, of possibility and of voluntarism’, and that some of its traditions ‘identify an ability by individuals and political forces to pursue an emancipation that challenges the objective constraints and contests, through conscious action, the limits of society’ (HALLIDAY, 2007 [1994], p. 67). The scholarly action in internationalization is layered in complexities, as it deals not only with the limits of a national society, but also with world-system structures. As Lawrence Saha (1998, p. 336-337) considers:

The relationship between universities and the national development of societies is multidimensional and complex. However, irrespective of which dimension of national development one considers, the ambivalence of universities stems largely from the fact that in structure and history, they are both international and national institutions. Universities and their members have their feet in two worlds – that of their own country and that of the international university community. [...] There is greater divergence between the two in the developing-country context, and the contribution of these universities to the national development of their own countries must be balanced by their simultaneous participation in an international university community.

The strategy that guides this balance is a political operation.

This subchapter comprises three sections. The first one gathers traditional conceptualizations that allow understanding higher education change in interface with theorization by Brazilian authors to underscore the political character of said phenomenon. The second one exposes how Brazilian social thought on university, in its genesis, tied this university to the need for national development in a global context of international asymmetries. The third one introduces associated theoretical developments that are fundamental to understand differences between Northern and Southern experiences in a comparative perspective: underdevelopment, dependency, world-system.

2.1.1. Universities as changing political institutions

Change has been an important topic in higher education studies since their inception. For the purposes of this dissertation, change in higher education is understood as the rearrangement of the sets of social relations that underpin institutional contexts which make academic work possible. Change derives from pressures both internal and external to higher education institutions, considering mainly the tensions

between state, market and academic forces, but not limited to those sources. Change in higher education responds and informs changes in society's infrastructure and superstructure, and may be linked to explicit or concealed purposes of conserving or disturbing established power relations. Change in higher education may carry different political meanings for different social class fractions and interest groups, as it reorganizes the flows of material and symbolic resources and, in that process, may modify the positions of power that arbiters such flows.

The lectures by Clark Kerr (2005 [1963]) are considered a founding mark for modern studies in higher education¹⁹. Kerr (2005 [1963], p. 9) saw universities at a hinge of history: 'while connected to their past, they are swinging in the opposite direction'. Universities have a conservative character, as they originated fundamentally as trade corporations dedicated to the defense of past things, but become an increasingly dynamic environment. In the 1960s, main changes included the growth of student body, according to national needs; fusion of academic activities with the industry; and rechanneling of new intellectual streams. The coexistence of diverse realities within a single institution leads to conflicting interests.

As a regime of 'productive anarchy' became no longer a politically viable solution, the federal government began to support academic work on a research project basis, yielding a new dimension to class struggle in university. This meant a growing influence of politics on the funding choices, so that decisions by governmental agencies, educational institutions, programs or departments and scholars produced a pattern of unequal development among the disciplines. Hence, the North-American university in the 1960s would already be a 'multiversity', with multiple loci for a fractioned leadership, related to the fragmentation of academic work and of the very space of the campus (KERR, 2005 [1963]).

As Burton Clark (1973) detected the establishment of a proper sociology of higher education in the 1960s, he identified four cores of interest: educational inequality beyond the secondary level; the social-psychological effects of college on students; academic profession; and governance and organization. All of them had been boosted

¹⁹ In 1962, Ernani Maria Fiori had already produced an essay on the political philosophy of university. However, Fiori was a UFRGS philosophy professor frowned upon by faculty because of his progressist views, speaking at students' seminars, in Portuguese, in Porto Alegre. Kerr's lectures were delivered by the president of University of California in Harvard University's School of Government. Another difference of relevance for this dissertation is that Fiori was not so quick as Kerr to dismiss Marx's contribution to social theory. It was also in 1962 that Alvaro Vieira Pinto had 'A questão da universidade' published by the Brazilian National Student Union, featuring class struggle as a prominent driver of university dynamics.

by the socioeconomic transformation which took place after World War II, when participation in tertiary education rose. This context was marked by the advance of production techniques, the strengthening of mass culture and the emergence of new forms of social activism, all of which bore consequences for the youth that attended higher education institutions.

Among Clark's (1973) considerations, two are of special importance for this study. First, academic concern with higher education as an object of study has been tied to the pulls of social change. Second, the fourth core theme of sociological literature on higher education identified by the author, dealing with higher education institutions and systems, was then expected to address 'institutional resilience and change', so it could 'highlight fundamental institutional trajectories and hence suggest the potentialities and limitations of current institutional forms as they face new demands' (CLARK, 1973, p. 10). Comparative work was to play an important role in bringing perspective to case studies, even though it was seldom carried out of the context of 'advanced nations'.

Further work by Clark (1983) characterizes the dynamics of higher education systems as a continuous tension among the vertices of academic oligarchy, state and market. Thus, professional and collegial, governmental and managerial, and economic rationales would be at play in shaping academic work. Although the social cartography of a triangle may be appealing for its representational power, and these forces may be present in all societies developing activities of higher education as they are contemporarily understood, other vertices may join the dynamics of dispute over higher education governance. Someone trained inside the Brazilian context may identify the need for considering non-academic corporations and social movements. Moreover, coming from the land of the 'cordial man' (BUARQUE DE HOLLANDA, 1995 [1936]) and the 'bureaucratic estate' (FAORO, 2001 [1958]), one must account for the prominent role that personal relations play.

Clark understands that innovation and adaptation mark higher education systems as processes of invention and diffusion are institutionalized in the grass-roots level, for instance, in the exchange that takes place within academic departments. While external influences do play a role in university change, they are mediated by boundary roles that operate at different levels. While these roles are usually observed in managerial positions, academia involves a constant bridging with the outside environment that is pulverized in the work by scholars: 'they scan and monitor external events; they engage in information gatekeeping; they transact with other groups and they link and coordinate

between the inside and outside' (CLARK, 1983, p. 235). Accordingly, the extensive division of tasks and powers brings about incremental adjustment rather than major reform results, in 'a mélange of actions out of which precipitate some flows of change' (CLARK, 1983, p. 235).

Change, then, is not easily visible, as it is fractioned through layers of organization. Likewise, in order to come into full effect, changes proposed by the top management need translating to dialogue with the interests of the bottom levels of academic work. They must deal with opinion and power, agendas of decision and procedures of daily operation. As such, 'structural change modifies who does what on a regular basis; and who decides regularly on who will do that' (CLARK, 1983, p. 236). Clark (1983) also emphasizes 'the heavy hand of history': 'desired changes attenuate and fail unless they become a steady part of the structure of work, the web of belief, and the division of control' (CLARK, 1983, p. 237).

Pierre Bourdieu (2004 [1997]) develops the concept of fields as more or less institutionalized microcosms of social life with a relative autonomy in relation to the social macrocosm. One measure of the field's autonomy is found in its ability to refract external pressures, such as political demands, translating them according to its own logics. The field's structure may change due to demographic pressures as well as to struggle for legitimacy that reposition its institutions. But it is the structure of objective relations among agents - an institutional mediation - within a field that determines what they can or cannot do. Hence, the dynamics of the university field are related to the the struggle for access to places wherein agents can exert judgment to grant prestige and legitimacy to other agents' works, regulating who has a right to what - an education, a scholarship, a degree, a publication, a job, a research grant, a leadership position (BOURDIEU, 2017 [1984]).

A different tension contributing to academic change can thus be perceived in the contending logics of subfields represented by disciplines²⁰. Considering the Bourdieusian perspective on the scientific field, Tony Becher and Paul Trowler (2001 [1989], p. 100) consider that incremental 'small-scale, steady and persistent' change is at the core of the academic profession, which holds progress and development as values over stationariness. Advancing knowledge in one's field is key to acquiring and maintaining reputation. University as an institution is thus concerned with supporting

²⁰ Bourdieu (2017 [1984]), in turn, borrows the idea of conflict of faculties from Immanuel Kant.

intellectual change and, at the same time, is marked by the agency of gatekeepers, people that determine ‘who is allowed into a particular community and who remains excluded’ (BECHER; TROWLER, 2001 [1989], p. 85). Academic life is organized by

[...] its promotion through the reputational systems, its concentration through differential recognition and the gatekeeping process, its evaluation through peer review, its promulgation through networking, its amplification through fashion, its containment through resistance, and its apotheosis through revolution. But the final and perhaps the most important point to be made about these various aspects of collective academic life is that they are projections into a particular environment of understandable, everyday social phenomena (BECHER; TROWLER, 2001 [1989], p. 101).

Ivar Bleiklie and Maurice Kogan (2006) combine Bourdieu’s conceptualization of social fields with Walter Powell and Paul DiMaggio’s (1991) definition of organizational field to develop the idea of ‘fields of social action’. In the authors’ formulation, ‘a field is an institutionalized area of activity where actors struggle about something that is of importance to them’ (BLEIKLIE; KOGAN, 2006, p. 11). They distinguish three specific fields of social action: national policy, educational institutions and academic work. While all these fields apply to the activity sector of higher education, they each have specific purposes, aspirations, values, legitimation and valuation procedures, vocabulary and rhetoric.

Consequently, the three fields of social action deal with different forms of knowledge, linked to differential deployment of categories of political action. Transformational processes within the fields are only partially coordinated, leading the authors to propose the existence of ‘gradual change where new structures and values imposed by reforms are grafted onto established arrangements in a process of meandering and sedimentation that gives policies and institutions their character of complexity and ambiguity’ (BLEIKLIE; KOGAN, 2006, p. 13-14). Moreover, ‘actors’ ability to induce change and the degree of structural constraints they face may vary over time and from place to place’ (BLEIKLIE; KOGAN, 2006, p. 14).

Researching how state policies and faculty politics interacted in the genetic process of a university, Maria Estela Dal Pai Franco, Marilia Morosini and Denise Leite (1992, p. 10) theorize the existence of a ‘transitional movement’ from a state intervention – the national policy – to its concretization in university – the educational institution. This would be ‘a movement constituted by concrete relations which link in a mutual and dialectic manner the whole that composes the institutional culture’, in which

‘are present dependency, and/or formalism, and/or critical knowledge as mediators of dispositions manifested by discourses and concrete actions’.

Franco and Morosini (1992, p. 40) propose that institutional responses to public policy are mediated by a specific culture ‘understood in the intertwining of relations between state, university and society and intrainstitutional relations’. This mediation, institutional culture, ‘addresses not only the precepts carried by educational policies, but also the knowledge on which university relies to fulfil its function. It also reflects the values of its members, as parts of a collectivity’ (FRANCO; MOROSINI, 1992, p. 41).

Educational institutions can thus elaborate different responses to national policy according to the categories of political action developed in academic work. Submission takes place insofar ‘values, goals and processes of educational policy and its instruments are internalized by university – whether by fear, convenience, comfort, or connivance’. Reactivity, in turn, is related to formalist strategies whereby university denounces or adapts the state prescription to preserve its practices. Finally, anticipatory resistance

[...] manifests through concrete actions reflecting university’s disposition to influence the educational policy and/or to establish its own academic-administrative procedures and goals before they are determined and perched by state intervention. Across the ‘*transitional movement*’ for the institutional culture of anticipatory resistance, the critical knowledge of interests, values and articulations that established policies entail, as well as the will to change them and replace them with other ones, considered more suitable, are present (FRANCO; MOROSINI, 1992, p. 41, emphases from the original).

In Brazilian social thought, higher university change is theorized at its deepest in the critical works produced around the decades of 1960 and 1970, when the higher education reform was within the range of possibilities and made it into the policy agenda. For Darcy Ribeiro (1975), university changes as it is confronted by crises of different orders: contextual, political, structural, intellectual-ideological. Change is a necessary part of university life as an institution, as ‘even to keep on performing its traditional functions, university has to change its ways of being and acting’ (RIBEIRO, 1975, p. 29). The direction taken by change is defined by a correlation of forces between the pressures for two opposite paths: reflex modernization and autonomous development.

While the modernizing policy aspires only to reform university, making it more efficient in the exercise of its conservative functions within dependent societies submitted to neocolonial spoliation, the autonomist policy intends to transfigure university as a step to transform the very society, in order to allow

it to, in predictable terms, evolve from the situation of *external proletariat* – limited to satisfying other nations' life conditions and prosperity – to the dignity of a self-determined people, master of its destiny and willing to integrate the emerging civilization as an autonomous nation (RIBEIRO, 1975, p. 26).

For Ribeiro (1975), in terms of the dynamics of the international system, reflex modernization corresponds to a 'historical update' that preserves the old position occupied by peripheral Latin-American nations in international affairs, but increases its efficiency through the emulation of modes of operation elaborated in advanced nations. Autonomous development, in turn, is linked to 'evolutive acceleration' and involves well-thought comprehensive strategizing of university's functions, according to contextual needs. In this kind of transformation, universities structures are changed to become more democratic, more research-based, more in touch with society and, thus, more effective in addressing national problems. As the option for one or another pathway depends on political decision, the political character of the university institution is crucial to understand its processes of change. The political relations informing this option are projected both externally, in the relationships that tie university to other entities in the social ensemble, especially the state, by whom higher education is regulated; and within the institution itself, among its multiple constituencies.

For Herbert Marcuse (1969, p. 56; 57), university is 'a political fact'; 'a political institution'. This is seen in its relations to national politics. University's installed capacity for research is utilized by the state and big foundations to manipulate people and control markets. Marcuse (1969) makes specific reference to the war waged by the United States on Vietnam, when university was instrumentalized for producing war technology. In this example, it is possible to see the use of university by the state in the pursuit of a national project that reinforces international structures.

According to Martin Carnoy (1998, p. 27), 'the political economy of education presents a perspective that places education in the context of economic power relations played out through the economy and the state'. For Carnoy (1998, p. 28), 'education is part of the public sector – the state – and reflects state policies. These policies, in turn, are influenced by political/social power conflicts'. The author interprets the modern roots of an international political economy of education:

[...] education developed in India, Africa and Latin America as an extension of colonial and neo-colonial relations between the metropolitan country and the periphery. As part of direct colonialism in India and West Africa, British

and French education for their colonial subjects was limited by the prescribed role of colonial economies in the international division of labour and the prescribed role of the subjects in administering that division. [...] actors in the periphery and metropolitan country are bounded by the structure of their relationship and the international division of labour. Some may want to change that structure through education, but there has to be a conscious knowledge of and attack on the structure to do so (CARNOY, 1998, p. 19).

When it comes to Brazil, there is accuracy in the affirmation Altbach (1998, p. 287) extends to the whole of the Third World: ‘universities are inevitably politically important institutions and are often centres for dissent and intellectual ferment’. In these contexts, Ribeiro (1975, p. 22) argues, university consists in ‘the last official institution where people and nation can propose a self-sustained, autonomous development project, since all the other ones have been affected by reflex modernization or recolonizing industrialization’. In this sense, ‘university does not only act as a passive multiplier of an exogenous culture, but has certain ability to press its mark on it and to propose rational transformation projects on the social totality in which it takes part’ (RIBEIRO, 1975, p. 14). This is especially noticeable in the positions faculty, staff and students take in transitional movements.

In the terms of Marcuse (1969), university can be seen as acting in a politicized way in its usual affairs. Actual change – change that breaks with the power structures – would be brought about by a counterpoliticization: the critique of an assumed positivist neutrality regarding study programs and scientific debate. This critique becomes a challenge to instituted practices and world-views. Ribeiro (1975, p. 266) takes up the idea of counterpoliticization to denote ‘equipping university to prepare the new modalities of specialists who correspond to the requirements of social renovation; and, above all, to infuse in the future professionals new types of loyalty oriented to the edification of a solidary society’.

While Ribeiro (1975) foresees the resistance against university change playing out in specific groups of individuals, Fernandes (1975 [1974]) elaborates a more structural view. For him, the dominant classes need for modernizing aspects of the social order for the national economy to keep up with the progresses of the world-system is in a historical contradiction with their desire to preserve social hierarchy. The result is the systematic screening, by the ruling elites, of innovations and social changes so as they do not endanger conservative control: ‘known technical solutions could not be effected because they were incompatible with their political reasons’ (FERNANDES, 1975 [1974], p. 167).

Ribeiro (1975, p. 248) affirms that the ‘the fundamental problem of reform is not in the technique of the new structure, but in the determination of the power content that will mark the transformation process’s direction and the rhythm’. The social struggle that takes place within institutional culture to define this power content is characterized by a disjunction between the idea, or model, and the practice of higher education embodied in the institution: ‘institution tries to suffocate, make static, the idea (which is in itself dynamic and which can never be imprisoned within institutional marks)’ (FIORI, 2014 [1967], p. 61). There is a decoupling of ‘historical subjects of culture, as a consequence of the separation, in our world, of the domains of knowledge and production’ (FIORI, 2014 [1967], p. 61).

Concerning the internal struggle, beyond the field competition described by Bourdieu (2004 [1997]; 2017 [1984]), it is important to perceive another layer of dynamism²¹. For Fiori (2014 [1962], p. 31), ‘in university takes place this encounter of old and new generations, a lively and dialectic encounter in the deep and conscious intimacy of the cultural process, aiming to create new forms of culture and civilization’. University changes, thus, with the continuous update of categories of political action, redefining its very way of being through reorganization of the social relations that cross its institutional space. Part of this change is intentional, elaborated and cultivated by the very university. Other part is due to changes in the social structures, and there is, therefore, modulation according to existing structural social forces.

Fernandes (1975 [1970], p. 205) furthermore expresses that the possibilities for university change are constrained by specific instances of ‘political control over cultural modernization and institutional innovation processes’ so that ‘norms and principles only translate the reach, the depth and the historical fitness of the diagnosis when they do not shock, directly or indirectly, the impositions or expectations of such political will’. Consequently, there is a ‘lag between the abstract consciousness of the higher education

²¹ Although not central to the object of this dissertation, I would like to remark the role youth activism played in higher education literature in the 1960s. Clark (1973) mentions that part of the works on social-psychological effects of college on students developed trying, in an almost functionalist urge, to understand and to placate the phenomenon, deemed a social abnormality. Fiori (2014 [1962]), Fernandes (1975 [1968a]), Marcuse (1969) and Ribeiro (1975) see it in a much more favorable light, as an almost necessary reaction to social contradictions. Fernandes (1975 [1968b], p. 14) states that: ‘it is my conviction that we leave an inhuman load for youngsters to carry, be they students, workers or intellectuals. They alone take risks in the combat frontline, as if national society did not possess other valid agents to defend its central interests and collective values. They fall victimized by incomprehension, defamation or punishments that reach physical elimination. They count only with family support and solidarity, however ‘extrapolitical’: a weak human solidarity that does not interact with emotions, motivations and life ideals which animate young people in struggle for “*a better society*”’.

situation and the juridical-political formalization of recommended solutions' (FERNANDES, 1975 [1970], p. 207).

The update of institutional practices can be averted by deeming it a 'too political' move for a higher education institution to make. Against the myth of political neutrality of the academia, Fiori (2014, p. 64) exposes that a university which 'intends to stay unscathed by any politicization, any ideologization, is a university which, liking it or not, organizes itself within certain ideological conceptions'. University is political not only in the relations to the state, or in its internal struggle, but in the social critique it is supposed to produce. University, for Fiori (2014 [1967], p. 57) is 'the maximal center for the conscientization of the cultural process'. Likewise, the author considers

If university is the consciousness of historical consciousness, if it is the maximal conscientization of cultural consciousness, it must also be also the maximal criticality, it must assume critique in its boldest dimension – only this way, it will demystify itself and take up its mission in the cultural process [...] (FIORI, 2014 [1967], p. 63).

Both in Fiori and Fernandes, university's ability to change is dependent on its ability to influence the social environment in which it is rooted. For Fernandes (1975 [1970], p. 240), the transformation of university 'is a political datum of change in the historical situation', and,

However, institutions change before the social order as whole and, frequently, their transformations create the necessary fermentation for the reorientation of spirits, for the calibration of the collective will according to strongly divergent inspirations and for the dynamization of tensions and conflicts in global society. In this respect, university anticipates, as a social microcosm that lives with greater freedom and relatively higher intensity, the historical destiny of the global society: it absorbs first the action of emergent social-historical forces, experiments first their political meaning and tests first their power to negate the existing social order (FERNANDES, 1975 [1970], p. 240).

Transitional movements do not have state and university as their single agents. They are also triggered by changes in the material base, and in the higher education constituency tied to social class. That is, there are political pressures which are not mediated by the state. Rather than becoming embodied in policies, these phenomena influence the context that will determine whether they will succeed and how they will be appropriated at different levels. Transitional movements imply that 'from the situation diagnosis to the plan of formulating norms and principles which will rule higher education' (FERNANDES, 1975 [1970], p. 205) alternatives are filtered by the categories of political action available in the mindset of the groups governing and

steering the different fields of social action. This implies that, when researching how educational processes are shaped within the power structures of higher education, one must

[...] surpass the naïve conception that academia make autonomous decisions on the structure of educational knowledge materialized on curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation. It is important to understand that, if such decisions materialize in this space, there is a former arbitrary that defines them; which is strictly linked to the power structure in society (CUNHA; LEITE, 1996, p. 83).

Such influence can be seen through the lenses of social dynamics of higher education (VÄLIMAA, 2008), regular patterns of interaction between a set of relevant actors, considering their collective action and political power, conditioned by temporal and spatial contexts; dimensional aspects of national higher education systems; relations among state, society and higher education institutions; and institutional traditions in higher education. When adopting a comparative perspective, paying attention to the generative character of social dynamics means to keep in mind ‘the fact that the ways systems of higher education function and operate vary between different countries because of the differences in their various cultural and geographical contexts and in the relationships between various actors’ (VÄLIMAA; NOKKALA, 2014, p. 423-424).

Looking at social dynamics allow seeing higher education systems as unique combinations of relationships between the actors that compose them. While equivalent actors, with equivalent functions may be found across different contexts, the relations among them are subject to a broader variation, influenced by a set of historical conditions, rendering diverse patterns of agencies and structures. Professional ethos, academic profession included, may be composed by the successive sedimentations of social dynamics that, lasting in time, build dispositions into scholars’ reflexive and practical repertoire. The different possibilities that are favored by social dynamics at different historical moments form historical layers, which

[...] are formed in and through everyday practices and negotiations taking place in higher education institutions, in departments and in academic work done by academic staff. Historical layers grow organically on top of previous historical layers in interaction with previous traditions and practices (VÄLIMAA, 2007, p. 73).

Such layers are characters of past which are still present, carrying their conflicts and contradictions over tradition. Each layer remains influential as long as it has been the institutional order that has given rise to the one that follow it, and ‘all new and

emerging knowledge is related to what was known and understood before' (VÄLIMAA, 2008, p. 69). These layers can be associated to how generational processes in university organize and make sense of change in the material conditions of life. As decisions on academic work are negotiated,

problems of pedagogical practice are not circumscribed to it, but are linked to the corresponding epistemological field in which the profession is inserted and which, in turn, is directly defined and controlled by the mode of production present in society's labor division (CUNHA; LEITE, 1996, p. 91-92).

2.1.2. University model and national project in Brazilian theory

In Brazil, universities were only formed in the 20th century. Unlike the Spanish settlers, the Portuguese did not install higher education in the colonies until the throne was transferred to the Americas in 1808 during the Napoleonic Wars. From then on, there were created isolated schools, identified with the Napoleonic model, aimed at professional training and at the formation of bureaucratic elites. Although there were efforts to organize universities during the first two decades of the 20th century, it was only after the Universities Act of 1931 that more integral institutions emerged, inspired by the Humboldtian model, aimed at knowledge production for national development (MOROSINI, 2006a; SGUISSARDI, 2006).

In that moment, the country underwent the changes derived from immigration, urbanization and national integration. Brazil started to project itself as a force to be reckoned at the concert of nations and needed scientific and technological capacities to back its renewed international insertion as a newly industrialized country. Some of the universities formed were composed from the already established isolated schools, merged under a new orientation to compose an institution dedicated to a plurality of areas of knowledge.

The convergence of these contextual elements marks two sets of characteristics for Brazilian universities. On the one hand, Napoleonic and Humboldtian features have been in constant conflict over the definition of universities' identities, disputing whether institutions will lean towards a professional training or a research model. On the other hand, national identity and development have been present as key features that shape universities' missions. The growing participation of the private sector, and of for-profit

institutions in Brazilian higher education may be leading the system towards a neo-Napoleonic configuration, distancing the general model of HEIs from research and from national implication.

Although state efforts and substantial public investments are a proposed pathway to craft world-class universities, they are not directly implied in addressing the national problems of a nation as former university models were. Rather, their contribution to their home nations is to enhance the country's competitive capacities in the competitive global market for knowledge products. For universities in developing countries, while this may be an important contribution, it also entails risks that these HEIs, 'by trying to emulate and compete with universities in the industrialized countries often become out of step with their own culture and insensitive to their own society's needs' (SAHA, 1998, p. 336).

This specific point could serve as a vantage point into inflections in the trajectory of higher education systems, as, in forming and reforming itself, universities have come to be linked to the design of national projects. Sousa Santos (2004), points out that this holds especially true for the public universities in most of Latin America in the 19th century and Brazil in the 20th century, as well as elsewhere in the Global South after the independence of African and Asian countries. Universities were tasked with conceiving projects for national modernization or development, aiming to foster the cohesion of the country as a well-defined geopolitical territory and an economic, social and cultural space. This would be achieved by producing knowledge, training elites and the state bureaucracies and nurturing the loyalty to the state with its national ideals and the solidarity among citizens as members of a same nation. The link would be so intimate that, for Sousa Santos (2004, p. 46), 'to question the national political project incurred in questioning the public university'. It is in this sense that the author claims that 'for peripheral and semi-peripheral countries, the new global context demands a complete reinvention of the national project without which there will be no reinvention of university' (SOUSA SANTOS, 2004, p. 49).

Brazilian social thought on university has paid attention through the decades on the role of this institution on devising national projects. In this scholarship, universities have been seen as institutions able to overcome the social maladies of the nation – mostly associated with inequality and underdevelopment – and ensuring scientific sovereignty and thought autonomy. This line of thought is linked to the broader tradition of conceiving a Latin American model of university.

The conception of a Latin American model of university hails back to Reform of Cordoba, in 1918. Argentinean student activists took over the eldest higher education institution of the country, the University of Cordoba, calling for its social responsibility, so that it would become ‘more democratic, more effective and more active in society’ (RIBEIRO, 1975, p. 122). Tünnerman Bernheim (1998) lists the postulates of the Reform as follows: university autonomy in political, administrative and financial terms; election of university authorities by the university community, with participation of its constitutive segments in the governance organisms; entrance examinations for the selection of faculty; free teaching; free attendance; gratuity of education; academic reorganization with modernization of teaching methods; social assistance for students and democratization of entrance; linkage to the national educational system; university extension and strengthening of university’s social function; and Latin American unity. What emerges from this proposition is a model of institution characterized by its social function:

In Latin America, universities had a unique role, very different from the rest of university institutions in the world. Beyond higher education and research, they took up significant social responsibilities, such as the formation of political leaders, the development of the most innovative ideological debates and the promotion of social change, the guarding of local culture and tradition, and the defense of artistic creation and of the humanities (MOLLIS, 2006, p. 94).

Although Brazil has not been as strongly influenced by the Latin American model as other countries in the continent, Leite and Morosini (1992) point out it has been particularly influential during the crisis of export substitution economic model, in the beginning of the 1960s. The convergence of factors such as economic difficulties, political democratization, the state’s need to coopt middle classes and the generalized yearning for social mobility through education in society led to the heightening of the discussion on the paths to social development, including the interrogation of university’s mission and the call for its reform. In this context, students, scholars, social activists demanded a Latin American model of a critical university of democratization, which could act towards the transformation of social order.

Before that, concerns with higher education in line with this model have been present in the country at least as early as of the 1930s, when its first universities were formed. The Manifesto of the Pioneers of New Education, a document written by progressist educators led by Fernando de Azevedo in 1932 brings this understanding.

University was then seen as redeeming institution that would organize knowledge production and political action to overcome the vices of chaotic uncultivated Brazilian society, channeling its entropic energies into a national development impetus:

The organization of universities is, thus, the more necessary and urgent the more we think that only with such institutions, charged with creating and diffusing political, social, moral and esthetical values, can we obtain this intensive common spirit, in aspirations, in ideals and in struggles, this 'national state of mind', able to give strength, efficacy and coherence to the action of men, whatever the divergences they may have due to diversity in outlooks on the solution of Brazilian problems. It is university, in the collection of its high culture institutions, applied to the scientific study of the great national problems, that will give us the means to fight the ease to accept anything; the skepticism of neither choosing nor judging anything; the lack of criticism, derived from lack of spirit of synthesis; the indifference or the neutrality in the ground of ideas; the ignorance 'of the more human of all the intellectual operations, which is to take sides', and the tendency and the easy spirit of substituting the principles (yet provisional) by the paradox and by the humor, these desperate resources (AZEVEDO et al., 2010 [1932], p. 57).

Still in the 1930s, Anísio Teixeira, who would later become the first president of Capes, understood that

The universities we need are those seeking to prepare the country's intellectual personnel, trained so far by the most abandoned and most precarious self-teaching. Schools of education, schools of science, schools of philosophy and letters, schools of economy and law and art institutes, with the disinterested objectives of culture cannot be too many in the country. Such Universities of cultural ends shall seek to develop knowledge in all its aspects, aspiring to become the country's great centers of scientific, literary and philosophical irradiation. [...] University socializes culture, socializing the means to acquire it. The identity of process, the identity of life and the very local unity will make that we cultivate ourselves as a society. That we gain in common with culture. That we feel solidary and united by the identity of objectives, of concerns, of interests and of ideals. And so on, that we fall as one community, governed by a common spirit and common ideals. The coordination of Brazil's spiritual life will not arrive without the cultivation of the university processes of higher education (TEIXEIRA, 1953, p. 105-106).

Universities were indeed organized in Brazil from the 1930s on. However, until the 1960s, they took an aristocratic form that was soon apparent to be archaic and incompatible with a country which aspired to social and technical development. The decades of 1960 and 1970 were ripe with thought on university reform. It is remarkable that in this scholarship, the students were frequently the subject of dialogue, entrusted with the historical task of modernizing Brazilian university and society. Most of this elaboration on what university in an underdeveloped or developing country should be was produced before the Brazilian university reform of 1968, and in the climate of social agitation that characterized the 1960s. This kind of work would lose momentum under the repressive regime of military dictatorship and especially after the reform was

consummated. Carried out with the auspices of an agreement between the Ministry of Education and USAid, the reform was successful in modernizing many archaisms of Brazilian university, but did so by emulating North American institutions and not by producing the university germane to Brazil as proposed by progressist students and scholars.

At that moment, a specific field of studies on higher education was not yet developed, and would only emerge between the 1970s and the 1980s. In the 1960s, a few intellectuals produced individual studies trying to formulate an idea about higher education and university meant and should mean in Brazil (BAETA NEVES; SAMPAIO; HERINGER, 2018). As so many elements of the social reality have changed, one can ask how the social thought developed in Brazil five decades ago can still be applied.

Notwithstanding, the fundamental contradictions of peripheral capitalism that structure Brazilian society were not overcome. The devisal of a genuine national project for Brazil was suspended in the 1960 and never fully retaken. Pre-reform characters still exist as historical layers in Brazilian university. Though organizational structures change more visibly, culture and values are still present as historical layers. Moreover, theory produced during the ‘development decade’ was very much concerned with reform, a category which, due to social-political conditions, was depowered and fell in disuse in subsequent times. Social thought on university reform aids the interpretation of change in higher education, in this case, the change linked to internationalization.

Although these texts were written before internationalization was constituted as an academic problem and a field of study, they reveal understandings about university as a political institution inserted in a national society which, in turn, is conformed by its position world-system. Position-taking in relation to ‘the international’, as a global totality can be glimpsed through the design of university’s role in a national project. After all, ‘there can be no theory on economy, the state and social relations that denies the formative impact, residual or recent, of the international’ (HALLIDAY, 2007 [1994], p. 18).

Before proceeding, it is important to note how different are the meanings that ‘nationalism’ took in Brazil in the 1960s and that it takes in the 2010s. The political clinamen and the ‘power content’ of the construct ‘nationalism’ vary in time and space, according to social-historical reality. Nationalism expresses a manner of promoting the nation in face of the foreign. Compositions of nationalism are conditioned by sets of

internal and external social relations that can react both to the presence of the ‘international’ in the ‘national space’ and to the position a country takes in its integration to the world-system. When Brazilian social thought advocates nationalism, it is not manifesting xenophobia, but reclaiming an articulation of policies that represent the interests of the nation as a whole – that is, of the people. This rationale is expressed by Ribeiro (1975, p. 40), in the following terms:

Nationalism is, for Latin America, the consciousness that its backwardness and poverty are not natural and necessary facts and that they persist only because some internal and external groups profit from them. It is also the consciousness that underdevelopment results from the mode of implantation and organization of national societies as foreign projects, destined to serve the others more than themselves. It corresponds, furthermore, to the perception that Latin-American relations in the world context, depending on their orientation, can contribute both to eternize external dependency and the resulting underdevelopment, and to overcome them.

Álvaro Vieira Pinto, addressing Brazilian higher education students, discussed in a critical work from 1962, the matter of transforming university:

It must be transformed *in essence*, that is, stop being a distributive center of cultural alienation to the Country, to be converted into the most efficient instrument of creation of the new student conscience, directly and exclusively interested in modifying the old and unjust social structure, substituting it for a another, humane and free. [...] the University reform in an underdeveloped country, which must shake off the yoke of the imperialist pressures that constrain it, and crate, with full freedom, its own culture, does not have a primarily pedagogical purpose, but aims above all a *political purpose*. The University of the oppressed nation in struggle for liberation sees itself constrained to pass through this phase of preferentially political action to achieve, when the Country will have consolidated a just and independent social reality, the phase in which it will be able to, as it is of its nature, commit fully to its cultural ends, identified, in such a moment, with the general politics of society (VIEIRA PINTO, 1962, p. 16-17, emphases from the original).

Also writing in 1962, in the context of a massive student strike, Ernani Maria Fiori considered:

[...] in a country with illiterate and undernourished masses, it is inadmissible not to attend the sectors in which the national needs are bigger and more urgent to cater to aristocratic specializations, perhaps in a merely decorative fashion. [...] We cannot afford the luxury of preferring technical applications that are not hierarchized according to human needs. That is why we should prioritize technical applications which favor processes of humanization of life. [...] university cannot enclose itself. All of its finalities converge into a last one, that of contributing to the common good, collaborating in the solution of national problems, forming the civic spirit of new generations, raising the intellectual level of the people and communicating the cultural values it carries to the social environment (FIORI, 2014 [1962], p. 35; 36).

Florestan Fernandes, in text first published in 1970 and derived from a conference proffered in 1968, considering the limitations of the university reform, saw the need to dynamize academic activity:

In schooling and, in special, in the creation of new institutional models of university, this would involve the passage from a state of passiveness and immobilism to a state of creator activity, conscientiously oriented by national interests and objectives. In these conditions, university would be set in service of development, instead of being a liability; and would have the means to influence it structurally and dynamically, imparting continuity, intensity and efficacy to its impact over autonomy as a historical-cultural process (FERNANDES, 1975 [1970], p. 114).

The author proposed the further development of academic activity depended on the positions the Brazilian intellectuals were disposed to take:

For better or worse, it depends on them – especially if involved in the routine of university life as teacher, researcher or student – the viability of the most advanced or efficient ‘technical solutions’ and its gradual inscription into the political ethos of underdeveloped and dependent national society. [...] the devisal of a new type of university and the threshold of a new style of communication with global society shall be born under the aegis of a pattern of knowledge positively critic, non-conformist and open to innovation. It remains to be seen if this component, insignificant in the Brazilian setting of the 19th century, will be able to prevail over the irrational or unpredictable elements of the current situation. And if, in the case of succeeding, it will be able to shape the growing Brazilian university to its image, as an authentic university of the age of science and scientific technology. We need this university. For in a time when other peoples conquer the unknown, we still struggle to conquer the threshold of human condition (FERNANDES, 1975 [1970], p. 122-123).

Darcy Ribeiro, expressing his views on university – first developed in Brazil in the 1960s – to a broader Latin American public, in 1973, expressed that

Besides this domain of the fundamental sciences and its fields of application through research allied to teaching, at postgraduate level, the University is called, in a very particular way, to exert creativity and criticism in two other spheres. One of them is the study of the general dependency phenomena; the diagnosis of the causes of the unequal development of societies; the analysis of increasing marginalization of huge population contingents who neither achieve integration to the economy nor to other institutionalized spheres of the national life. All this with the goal to define the paths by which the present condition of dependency and delay may be overcome in a predictable period. [...] The second sphere of transcendental importance is to contribute to cultural disalienation, aiding to shape a not only more realistic but also more motivating national image for all the underdeveloped peoples. This image must be built through scientific studies accomplished the objective to identify and eradicate from national culture the spurious and alienating contents it carries and which in many cases represent a weight that condemns to bitterness and hopelessness broad strata of the population. [...] Only this way the political intentionalization of the very academic activity will be achieved, transforming it too into a specific field of action for academics to struggle against backwardness and dependency (RIBEIRO, 1973, p. 45-46).

It is noteworthy that Ribeiro (1973) considered the postgraduate studies would represent the dynamic center of universities, setting forth the qualification of undergraduate training by educating higher education teachers as capable researchers working towards overcoming a situation of social inequality, economic dependency and underdevelopment. Thus, in the tradition of Brazilian thought, university has not been seen only as an institution that should respond to economic needs by providing skilled workforce. It has been rather proposed as a collective that should produce, systematize and transmit knowledge to overcome national problems, namely those associated with the country's underdeveloped and dependent condition.

According to the Brazilian scholars approached here, universities should therefore organize national culture; subsidize the transformation of national social and economic structure; and induce national productive sector's ability to innovate. This is much more salient as most of the scientific and technological research in Brazil is concentrated in higher education institutions. Furthermore, university has been seen as capable of operating a rather radical work: changing the way the people sees their own possibilities – individual, as citizens, and collective, as nation.

According to this perspective – Brazilian critical thought on university – to plan the development of universities should lead to addressing the nation's pressing issues. Paraphrasing Sousa Santos (2004), in this tradition, to think of university development has been to think of nation development. More contemporary scholarship on Brazilian university focused on the effects of neoliberal reforms on higher education (TRINDADE, 1997; SGUISSARDI, 2002). From the 1990s on, authors have been concerned with what was characterized as the 'capitalist redesign of university' (LEITE, 2002). This scholarship resisted the dismantling of public university in a context of state reform. Scholars were concerned with preserving public HEIs' gratuity, autonomy and quality, while the whole public sector was suffering with budget shrinking and privatization. They feared the forces put forward by academic capitalism (SLAUGHTER; LESLIE, 1997) as a new of financing higher education, in driving universities towards market competition, would lead to a drift from the mission of social cohesion they should serve.

Eventually, the arrival of the Worker's Party at Brazilian government in 2003 signaled new perspectives for higher education. For a decade, investment in public HEIs was boosted, with the expansion of existing ones and the creation of new ones. New horizons of reform were devised, and new projects for university emerged (ALMEIDA

FILHO, 2007; LEHER, 2010; DAGNINO, 2015). In this recent period, the international influence in the design of university reform also become more apparent, especially with the affirmation of the Bologna Process (LEITE; SFREDO MIORANDO, 2015).

This is why, among the ideals that have inspired the thought on university and university reform in Brazil, it is relevant to stress the notion of anthropophagy. According to Leite and Panizzi (2005), this notion was present in the *esprit du temps* that led to the formation of the first Brazilian universities in the 1930s, and was expressed by Brazilian modernist artists of the 1920s:

Among the essential elements of this ‘spirit’, it is possible to safely state the presence of internationalism versus nationalism, that is, the objective of anthropophagize what was good in European culture, keeping the American and Brazilian roots, adopting the international vanguard conquests seeking a national expression, thus creating a genuinely Brazilian culture (LEITE; PANIZZI, 2005, p. 283).

The authors argue thus that

[...] Brazilian university is born anthropophagic, living the dialectics of constructing-deconstructing values and conceptions, balancing between internal and external pressures that give it identity and form. We defend the idea that a university which is born anthropophagic, public and gratuitous must keep on, to date, self-reforming to dialogue with the world and reach the most innovative frontiers of universal knowledge, without losing its roots in the Country’s culture, preserving its specificities and cultivating the quality of its differences (LEITE; PANIZZI, 2005, p. 274).

Universities are therefore linked to the fostering of culture and national identity. Since the acknowledgment of the situation of underdevelopment, university has been seen as an institution that could, through its work over knowledge, lead to the overcoming of underdevelopment. As developmentalism rose and fell in the public policy, and gave space to other discourses such as those of neoliberalism, managerialism and knowledge economy, university’s place in the national project was subtly reconfigured from that of guardian of national culture, producer of a productive and solidary national identity – that is, of pedagogical innovation in political culture – to that of an incubator for scientific and technological innovation, integrated to global cultural and production.

It may seem as one would advocate a return to the nationalist terms of debate from the 1960s and 1970s. It is not case. Not only the material relations have changed, giving rise to a more internationally networked society. New categories were built in theory, in large part due to the efforts of subaltern group to access the spaces – both national and international – where theory is formulated. Categories which had been

historically suppressed – such as those of gender and race – came into evidence. The change in the parameters for the thought of society and university was also linked to university change. But a critical task to critical thinking is to know the historicity of its categories.

2.1.3. Universities, underdevelopment and dependency in the world-system

In Brazil, university was introduced as an object for academic research by intellectuals concerned with ‘national properties’ of social phenomena – social problems that should be addressed by national society. The parameters of thought were given by a previous period of industrialization and urbanization with the sedimentation of intermediary social strata during a brief democratic stint, which lasted from 1946 to 1964. University was seen as a fundamental institution that had to be changed alongside other social reforms. Brazilian social thought intellectuals from the 1960s, then, strived for a nation-building that would change the country’s position in the international order.

Alvaro Vieira Pinto took part in the creation of the *Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros* [Higher Institute for Brazilian Studies] (ISEB), in 1955, an institution devoted to elaborate an ideology that would support the Brazilian national development. Later, under Vieira Pinto’s direction, the institution would defend structural reform [*reformas de base*], to the point it would be shut down with the *coup d’État* in 1964. Ernani Maria Fiori was a professor at UFRGS, dialoguing with the student movement. After being expelled from the University in 1964, on the charges of ‘socialism’. Both Vieira Pinto and Fiori would find their way to Chile, where they would collaborate with Paulo Freire. Darcy Ribeiro had been responsible for the project of the Universidade de Brasília (UnB), an institution that was planned to serve as a flagship for Brazilian higher education, and its reform. The UnB project would be disfigured after 1964, but Ribeiro was by then an established higher education expert who would be invited to work in different countries. Florestan Fernandes aided structuring the field of sociology in Brazil in the 1950s and 1960s, and would produce many analyses of the university reform of 1968, being expelled from USP in 1969. He would then become a visiting scholar in the United States and Canada. They would all eventually return to Brazil, and, in the process known as ‘redemocratization’, Ribeiro and Fernandes would join the

Democratic Labor Party and the Workers' Party, respectively, and aid shaping public education law.

University devised in Brazilian social thought was, therefore, the redeeming institution necessary for development, one that would fight off dependency and rescue the country from the 'backwardness' of underdevelopment and the 'national problems' it implied. Latin American social thought of the period – from 'developmentalism' to the Marxist theory of dependency – contests modernization theories that were in vogue in the 1960s and whose influence can still be seen in international policy. This opposition can be seen as well in other authors of the time. For instance, in his magnum opus, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Paulo Freire would say: 'a society which is simply *modernized*, yet not *developed*, remains *dependent* on the external core, even if it assume, as a mere delegation, some minimal areas of decision' (FREIRE, 2018 [1968], p. 218, no emphases in the original). But Freire also approaches the terms of the debate in a more radical manner:

Underdevelopment, which cannot be understood apart from the relationship of dependency, represents the fundamental 'limit-situation' characteristic of societies of the Third World. The task to overcome this situation, establishing a different totality, development, is the basic imperative for the Third World (FREIRE, 2018 [1968], p. 132).

If the concepts of underdevelopment and dependency have somehow become overlooked by social theory, they made their way back, through winding ways, into the critique of internationalization of higher education. When critical scholars draw their theoretical agenda from Latin American intellectuals such as Walter Mignolo (2002) they are coming into contact with someone who was able to connect at least three strands of theory: Enrique Dussel's (2012 [1998]) philosophy of liberation; Anibal Quijano's (2014 [2000]) conceptualization of coloniality; and Immanuel Wallerstein's (1974a; 1974b) world-system analysis, which, in turn, took inspiration in André Gunder Frank, along many other social scientists who wove theory on dependency and underdevelopment from Latin American experience.

A first theoretical step was to realize that, contrary to what was proclaimed by modernization theories, the socioeconomic condition of the Third World – with its correspondent political features – was not a phase that would be progressively crossed to reach the development of the First World. It was a peculiar phenomenon which should be accordingly theorized. This work was carried out by economists like Celso Furtado, for whom

[...] underdevelopment is not a necessary step in the formative process of modern capitalist economies. It is a particular process, resulting from the penetration of modern capitalist enterprise in archaic structures. The phenomenon of underdevelopment is present in various forms and different stages (FURTADO, 2009 [1961], p. 171).

In Furtado's conceptualization, development is fundamentally linked to the domain of knowledge and technique. The distinction between developed and underdeveloped economies could thus be drawn also in terms of the autonomy they have in organizing such factor of production.

A developed economy's growth is, mainly, a problem of accumulation of new scientific knowledge and progresses in the application of such knowledge. Underdeveloped economies' growth is, foremost, a process of assimilation of the prevailing contemporary technique (FURTADO, 2009 [1961], p. 85).

As Furtado would later remark, his theory was informed by the explanatory model for Latin American economies developed by Raúl Prebisch:

In this effort to break with orthodox schemes and to achieve a clearer perception of the region's economic problems, the Executive Secretary of CEPAL²², under the guidance of Raúl Prebisch, played a decisive role. [...] In Latin America, the diagnosis of underdevelopment problems is linked to the consciousness about the phenomenon of external dependency and relied on the original work of its own economists, a work made possible when, in the United Nations' framework, teams gathered with people coming from different countries of the region (FURTADO, 1976, p. 204).

The key elements of Prebisch's framework involve characterizing the Latin American countries as presenting low productive diversification, with a specialization in the primary sector; productive heterogeneity, with different productivity levels among sectors; inadequate institutional development; and lack of entrepreneurial capacities (PREBISCH, 2011 [1949]). The differences between peripheral and core economic structures would yield a dynamic phenomenon, the deterioration of terms of trade, as demographic and technical factors would disfavor commodities-exporting countries vis-à-vis industrialized ones.

Prebisch's work endeavored to make explicit the mechanisms through which the international division of labor reproduced itself, with deleterious effects to a group of countries, the periphery of the system, while asserting others as the core. As he would

²² The Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC or CEPAL, in its either Spanish or Portuguese acronym) was created in Chile, in 1948, by the United Nations to promote the development of Latin America and the Caribbean and their integration to the post-war emerging international system.

later summarize, ‘the centripetal nature of capitalism’ ‘only propels peripheral development as long as it interests the ruling groups of the cores’ (PREBISCH, 2011 [1981]). This idea is historicized by Furtado, who starts resorting to the idea of dependency:

The international division of labor system, which allowed Latin American countries to start their development in the 19th century, created asymmetric relations translated in a close dependency of the raw material exporting countries towards the industrialized core. The development of international economic relations occurred not only as a growing exchange among nations, but also through the creation of command poles which withheld the control of financial flows; directed international capital transfers; financed strategic stocks of exportable products; interfered in the formation of prices, etc. The expansion of the exportable surplus in a Latin American country often depended on infrastructural investment financed by foreign capital, accessible when the entrance of the production increase corresponded to the expectations of the world economy ruling cores. That was a dynamics of dependency entailed by the very structure of world economy (FURTADO, 1976, p. 203).

Other authors would criticize Cepaline propositions and their take on development, elaborating on the concept of dependency. The work by this group, which comprised as their exponents Ruy Mauro Marini, Vania Bambirra and Theotônio Dos Santos, would be known as the Marxist dependency theory. According to them, underdevelopment is part of the same global process of capitalist development through which advanced economies achieved industrialization. Moreover, dependency is not only an external phenomenon; it also manifests itself in the dependent countries’ internal – social, ideological and political – structure (DOS SANTOS, 2002).

At the onset of the debate, Dos Santos would state:

By dependence we mean a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected. The relation of interdependence between two or more economies, and between these and world trade, assumes the form of dependence when some countries (the dominant ones) can expand and can be self-sustaining, while other countries (the dependent ones) can do this only as a reflection of that expansion, which can have either a positive or a negative effect on their immediate development (DOS SANTOS, 1970, p. 231).

Marini would characterize dependency as ‘a relation of subordination between formally independent nations, through which the relations of production of the subordinate nations are modified or recreated to ensure the increased reproduction of dependency’ (MARINI, 2015 [1973], p. 111). Marini and Dos Santos concurred that the characteristic feature of a dependent country was that the main part of its production is structured to supply the global market, as opposed to the internal one. As a

consequence, the worker plays the role of producer, but not of consumer. Also, the technological delay between the dominant and dependent countries would be in constant reproduction as, to buy advanced capital goods, monopolized by the dominant countries, dependent countries would have to generate surplus overexploiting their workforce, further depressing their ability to develop their internal markets and a more autonomous position in global markets.

Advancing into a comparative stance, Vania Bambirra (2012 [1974]) sophisticates the analysis by distinguishing different patterns of dependency. It means differential responses to international phenomena and different internal structures develop conjointly. Among the more industrialized dependent countries, where a significant part of industry is under foreign control, an additional complexity develops: the relationship between ‘national’ and ‘foreign’ interests of the capitalist class.

As the foreign capital appropriates the more important economic sectors and makes itself a fundamental part and a key element of national economies, a situation necessarily arises: because of its [the foreign capital’s] economic power, its interests impose themselves as part of the dominant national power. This way, the foreign capital, that is, the foreign business owners, become another component in the power amalgam that drives the destiny of dependent societies (BAMBIRRA, 2012 [1974], p. 200).

The matter of ‘partnership’ among national and foreign capital was explored by sociologist Florestan Fernandes. Although not traditionally identified as a dependency theorist, the author also wrote on the theme, with a Marxist orientation. Describing a phenomenon whose nature as a reproductive cycle would be later further developed by Marini (2012 [1979]) in economic terms, Fernandes (1975, p. 56) argues: ‘the capitalist accumulation pattern, inherent to dependent association, promotes at the same time the intensification of dependency and the constant redefinition of manifestations of underdevelopment’. Fernandes was concerned with the political workings by which the dependent pattern of capital accumulation was built into social structures:

Dependency, in turn, is not a simple ‘condition’ or ‘accident’. The structural articulation of external and internal dynamisms requires a permanent strategic advantage of the hegemonic economic pole, accepted as compensatory, useful and creative by the other pole. The moments of crisis and transition are the ones which better reveal the nature of the process. When the modern market, the commercial revolution or the industrial revolution irrupt, the internal partners strive to ensure the conditions desired by the external partners because they see in their [external partners’] ends means to achieve their [internal partners’] own ends. The internal partners do not consider themselves unable to ‘set up the game’: they think by using such method, they make the process ‘more profitable’, ‘faster’ and ‘safer’ (FERNANDES, 1975, p. 54).

The vivid intellectual debate on underdevelopment and dependency as foundations of Latin American social structure marked the thought about university in the 1960s, even if it would only crystalize in socioeconomic concepts in the 1970s. Dependency theory reached global dimension, as it would be recognized by Swedish economists Magnus Blomström and Bjorn Hettne (1984). This theory lost momentum due to the adverse intellectual climate of its time, even if its Marxist proponents could provide counterfire against their detractors (BAMBIRRA, 1977; DOS SANTOS, 2002; 2011; MARINI, 2015 [1978]). Many of its propositions, however, would be appropriated into the world-systems theory by Immanuel Wallerstein (1974a; 1974b), mainly through the work of André Gunder Frank²³. Wallerstein's work, in turn, would allow for some of these elements would to be carried into educational theory, notably by Robert Arnove (1980).

Wallerstein (2004, p. x) claims that 'the proponents of world-systems analysis [...] have been talking about globalization since long before the word was invented'. Wallerstein (2004, p. 16) uses the term 'world-systems' to designate systems 'that *are a world*', 'dealing with a spatial/temporal zone which cuts across many political and cultural units, one that represents an integrated zone of activity and institutions which obey certain systemic rules'. According to the author, the very term 'globalization' is linked to a prescriptive perspective at the same time it refers to what, in world-systems analysis, is the consolidation of a process of expansion through the whole globe of the capitalist world-economy which originated in the 16th century in parts of Europe and the Americas.

World-system analysis is concerned with epistemology, and, instead of locating itself within a discipline, it advocates the coming together of the historically-differentiated social sciences to understand phenomena over large spaces and long periods. As for its basic assumptions on human action,

[...] actors, just like the long list of structures that one can enumerate, are the products of a process. They are not primordial atomic elements, but part of a systemic mix out of which they emerged and upon which they act. They act freely, but their freedom is constrained by their biographies and the social prisons of which they are a part. Analyzing their prisons liberates them to the maximum degree that they can be liberated. To the extent that we each

²³ In Finland, the importance of this contribution would be recognized by historical sociologist Risto Alapuro (1977, p. 181-182, emphases from the original): 'What also is important in Wallerstein's analysis is, naturally enough, the strong emphasis on *relationships* and interdependencies – development and underdevelopment being understood only in terms of interdependence between different areas and groups, of different parts of a single world system'.

analyze our social prisons, we liberate ourselves from their constraints to the extent that we can be liberated (WALLERSTEIN, 2004, p. 21-22).

What do all these concepts have to do with the comparative study of university internationalization? This brief theoretical promenade serves to situate university change – especially the change linked to internationalization – as a political phenomenon, in a global political economic web. University is not immune to the effects of underdevelopment and is not away from the ‘game’ of dependency. This game is played in the world-system chessboard.

This perspective has been advocated by Arnove (1980). Connecting educational phenomena to the world-economy dynamics, world-system analysis presents the potential to better understand the global-local links that are present in the processes of change and conflict in education. In more structural terms, attention is set on the fact that ‘externally induced educational innovations may contribute to perpetuation of existing stratification systems within and between countries’ (ARNOVE, 1980, p. 62).

While Arnove (1980) called for more studies in macro and micro levels, the meso instance of mediation was apparently lacking. Nevertheless, the author’s perspective made the case for attention to networks as devices through which knowledge can be generated and transmitted across borders. Knowledge transfer between South and North would be as unequal a process as the exchange of material goods, in that underdeveloped countries, producing data and theory, would not benefit to the same extent as the metropolitan core. Drawing on concepts such as underdevelopment and dependency, Arnove (1980, p. 59) argued that ‘Third World researchers and scholars are presently providing policymakers and academics in the metropolitan centers [...] with alternative theoretical frameworks [...] and more accurate assessments upon which to make decisions concerning the Third World’. Within this framework, inequality is not confined to a static North-South divide: some Southern nations could also rise to prominence and become hegemonic sub-centers, as it is the case of Brazil in Latin America.

Revisiting his work, and reviewing several other studies, Arnove (2012 [2009]) exposes how, in the field of comparative education, globalization has been approached by world-systems analysts in terms of the differential powers of the actors in framing the phenomenon to direct policies and strategies. Globalization agendas are shown to have put forward an ideology according to which economic goals are over-emphasized, while social justice, democracy and equity are underplayed (CARNOY; RHOTEN,

2002; DALE, 1999). In doing so, globalized education, backed by many international organizations, would favor accumulation of capital by hegemonic actors rather than benefit the peripheral masses. This would be achieved mainly through nationally-implemented top-down educational policies, sponsored by transnational programs. These programs would be responsible for making education more responsive to changes in global economic dynamics, training the workforce with a particular set of skills and knowledge (ARNOVE, 2012 [2009]).

Tom Griffiths and Robert Arnove (2015) understand that, in the perspective of world-system analysis, these networks of organizations, policies and programs play a stabilizing role amidst the fundamental inequalities of the capitalist world-economy. One of such inequalities lies in the uneven capacities of the different nation states to shape the international agendas, or to resist the policy prescriptions they entail. Nations are differentially positioned in a world geoculture which, being inseparable from the capitalist world-economy, would try to legitimize structural iniquities. Consequently, the similar deployment of educational policies across different polities could be interpreted 'in terms of their shared beliefs in and commitments to national economic growth within the global capitalist economy' (GRIFFITHS; ARNOVE, 2015, p. 103). A world-systems analysis approach would focus on the complex interactions across the multiple levels in which higher education is nationally structured to perceive the global implications in the manner globalization is realized in academic work.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the recognition that underdeveloped countries went through a different economic historical process and that they were not only in a 'previous stage' of the development achieved by the capitalist core liberated the fields of macroeconomics and political science to seek referenced solutions that answered the contextual needs (FURTADO, 1978; VIEIRA PINTO, 1960). Now, Southern and Northern intellectuals starts to perceive how peculiar positions in the world-system calls for corresponding theoretical movements in the field of internationalization of higher education.

2.2. Approaching internationalization of higher education with a Critical accent

'Now, hearing you talk about Brazil, I notice' Giovanni remarked, as our conversation advanced, 'I never realized how Eurocentric I was'.

I shared a flat with Giovanni Covi for two weeks after my arrival in Jyväskylä. At the same time, a French student, Audrey Villin, was arriving to stay there during her year-long exchange term. Giovanni kindly showed us the way from the apartment to the University of Jyväskylä and to the Jyväskylä University of Applied Sciences. He also shared his experience and thoughts on Finnish culture with us. As a doctoral student in Mathematics, Giovanni had left his home country, Italy, for Finland in search of chances to pursue an academic career. Perspectives for young scholars – he told me – were not good in Italy. Moreover, much like me, Giovanni cared very much for some cultural aspects of his mother nation – and he was also displeased by its political culture and situation. He was also keen in embracing Finnishness, with all the differences from his original context. Quiet, orderly Finland seemed to suit him better than Southern Italy.

Giovanni's remark came up as I told him how Eurocentric education was in Brazil, and how recent curricular reforms had stirred controversy for trying to change the way history was taught at schools. Moreover, I told him how out of place our references seemed, with the example of Christmas decoration. Even though Christmas time could reach a temperature of forty degrees Celsius in Southern-hemisphere Porto Alegre, we would still use snow-themed ornaments. Of course, other Northern influences are at play. Someone remarked that even though Giovanni, Audrey and I all spoke Latin languages as mother-tongues, we were still communicating in English.

The anecdote is brought here to highlight a prominent feature of modern comparative research: inverting the traditional poles of observation may shed new light on global phenomena. The mainstream – or more visible and more cited – work on internationalization comes from the center. This leaves out interpretive possibilities that may emerge from other theoretical traditions and epistemic configurations.

It is no surprise that higher education, and its branch dealing with internationalization, is Eurocentric. University in its original, medieval form, was born with the students of Bologna and Paris. Its modern reinvention was proposed by Humboldt. And, in the 21st century, a time of North American preponderance, the Bologna Process is perhaps the foremost internationalization reference. As a result, not only much of what has been produced in terms of HE theory deals with European

systems, their histories and reforms. Granted, there is also substantial influence from the United States, the biggest higher education national system in the world. So, the frameworks to interpret internationalization of higher education draw mostly on categories that were developed from these social realities, and which may or may not apply to other contexts, such as those from Latin America.

In this dissertation, I argue the point that internationalization is a phenomenon marked by asymmetries. I do so with a Critical accent – that is, my discourse is marked by a choice of the critical paradigm. I endeavor to approximate perspectives on globalization and internationalization to the historical-material experience. I cite authors whose texts I believe can be useful to avert the fetishism of internationalization – to unveil the social relations that underpin it. And I work with internationalization authors who chose to see the abyssal lines that mark the world-system. Criticality, here, is both position-taking in the world and its related vantage point on social reality:

The problems of analyzing history while it happens and the challenges posed by the very theorization suggest that we need a more critical and ambitious approach to question the orthodoxies of politics and academic research. Here, academic analysis is linked to political action, particularly to the objective of subordinating economic and social processes to democratic control. This enterprise is necessarily international, because it must look through international structures and contexts within all states and societies must function, but also because it is through international dialogue, through continents and borders, and challenging cultural barriers that such rethinking can happen (HALLIDAY, 2007 [1994], p. 11).

International dialogue supposes recognizing the interpretive capacity of theory generated elsewhere. As powerful global standards, the social realities of higher education in Europe and North America can be critiqued, but not ignored. If one considers the task proposed by the epistemologies of the South,

Such epistemology by no means suggests one should discard North-centric leftist thought and politics and throw them in the garbage bin of history. Their past is, in many senses, a honorable past, and it has contributed in important ways for the liberation of global South. The imperative is rather to start a dialogue and an intercultural translation between the different critical knowledges and practices (SOUSA SANTOS, 2017, p. 107).

In the scope of this dissertation, one must consider how of internationalization of higher education is conceptualized. The most commonly used definition is the one by Canadian author Jane Knight (2008, p. 21), ‘internationalization at the national/sector/institutional levels is the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of higher education at the institutional and national levels’. The ubiquitous quotations of Knight’s

words seldom emphasize the understanding that, by ‘integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension’ in their work, universities are also incorporating themselves to globalization – that is, they are becoming verticalities in the world-system.

An alternative definition is proposed by Brazilian author Marilia Morosini (2006b, p. 97), who considers internationalization ‘any systematic effort to make higher education more responsive to the demands and challenges related to the globalization of society, economy and labor market’. What is at stake here is the connection between institutional change and a broader *aggiornamento* of the historic bloc. Going further, one could consider university responds to structural transformation at the same time it proposes updates in the manner the superstructure organizes the infrastructure. Internationalization is, for better or worse, a political intentionalization of university to integrate it – and the social relations supporting it and which it supports – to the global circuits of accumulation. As a phenomenon of change, it interferes in academic structures and processes as individuals continuously recontextualize the global structures conditioning their action in the banal space of quotidian. Internationalization allows for the remaking of the space-time of *skholè* as a condition for intellectual work.

The perspective defended in this dissertation is that of critical internationalization studies. Critical internationalization studies parallel, in a manner, Giovanni’s remark. They realize the unevenness of the field, and how some questions – namely, those related to ethical-political challenges – have been left behind in the study of internationalization.

This subchapter comprises three sections. The first one ties internationalization to globalization, considering the increasing alignment of HEIs to global structures is marked by an ideological association of politics and technique that fetishizes social relations involved in the phenomenon. The second one highlights internationalization’s character as a process of change in university associated to policy shifts, introducing conceptualizations derived from Latin American theory on higher education and its relation to the Finnish experience. The third one presents the emerging scholarship in critical internationalization studies and its analytical possibilities, bringing to discussion contributions from Brazilian social thought.

2.2.1. Globalization and the global field of higher education

The term ‘globalization’ is tracked to have entered the academic debate through an essay by Roland Robertson (1983, p. 10), as ‘the making of the world into a single place’. Robertson (1987) would later clarify that, by putting forward ‘globalization theory’ as an ‘elaboration of civilizational analysis’, he was endeavoring to dislocate the focus from Wallersteinian world-systems approach. Robertson thought Wallerstein’s propositions put too much emphasis on the economic-historical and implied a socialist teleology, while Robertson himself would rather oppose the idea of a cohesive system around the globe, focusing on a global culture as a mode of discourse.

The term ‘globalization’ would end up being incorporated in a more neutral form in scholarly work, though not without criticism. Much like world-systems analysts, authors such as Halliday (2001) date the roots of the process now known as globalization back to the 16th century. Skeptic about the narrative of globalization, Halliday (2001, p. 60) states that ‘many of the processes associated with globalization are largely confined to a few societies or economies – more regional than global, with large sections of the world almost entirely excluded’. What, then, would globalization be? According to the author,

At its simplest, globalization denotes three things: a marked *reduction in the barriers* between societies and states, an *increasing homogeneity* of societies and states and an *increase in the volume of interactions* between societies – be this in terms of trade, capital, volumes of currency traded or movements of tourists and migrants (HALLIDAY, 2001, p. 61, emphases from the original).

Halliday’s definition relates thus to quantitative transformation of already existing phenomena. The author also draws attention to the role of the states in the process and argues that what has fundamentally changed is the processes and the structures through which such entities are now exerting regulation over transnational flows.

Another critical author on globalization, Brazilian geographer Milton Santos has been a reference for those seeking alternatives, and is thus an inspiration for many who associate to the ‘spirit of Porto Alegre’. Santos (2017 [2000], p. 5) considers globalization ‘the apex of the internationalization of the capitalist world’ and characterizes it as a phenomenon resulting from more qualitative changes:

The factors that contribute to the understanding of the present architecture of globalization are: the unicity of techniques, the convergence of moments, the knowability of the planet, and the existence of a single motor of history, represented by globalized surplus value (SANTOS, 2017 [2000], p. 5).

Santos (2017 [2000]) also argues that there is no weakening, but rather a strengthening of the state – it is just working to satisfy the interests of international financial capital rather than those of local, national groups. In this shift, it is also important to pay attention to the ideological components of globalization which foster and naturalize competitive behaviors that favor transnational capital accumulation, what can be seen in the way the historical coupling of technique and politics is operated. This way,

[...] due to the marriage between normative techniques and the technical and political normalization of the correspondent action, politics itself ends up penetrating all the interstices of the social body, either as a necessity in the exercise of dominant actions or as the reactions to such actions. This is not exactly related to politics, though, but to a mere accumulation of particularistic normalizations promoted by private actors that ignore the social interest or that treat it in a residual manner (SANTOS, 2017 [2000], p. 13).

Globalization composes a particular time period, one in which crisis is structural, and structuring. The global crisis is evidenced by global phenomena and with particular manifestations at given countries and times. However, these local events are ideologically grouped and the banner of a single crisis, so that ‘all countries, places, and persons begin to behave, to organize their action, as if such a “crisis” were the same to everybody and as if the formulae by which they could be deterred were typically the same’ (SANTOS, 2017 [2000], p. 13). Universities, already being political institutions, can be counted among the fields of social action in which a new layer of politicization sediments with globalization, and which are prompted to provide a same response to a same definition of crisis.

The survival of non-hegemonic processes is limited to areas of social life and territorial fractions where they can maintain their own reproduction. However, these autochthonous practices are doomed to precariousness, as, in globalized times, they obtain lesser results and are threatened by competition with more powerful activities. Santos (2017 [2000]) views global dynamics affecting peoples’ lives through the vectors of verticalities and horizontalities.

Verticalities correspond to sets of points of a territory that form a space of flow, in order to be useful to the hegemonic productive tasks, characteristic of the economic activities that domain the global times. Such spaces of flow would hold an organizational type of solidarity according to which the aggregation and cooperation relations between agents are presided by factors external to the areas where these agents

exert their agency. According to the heteronomous logic of the verticalities, individuals must adapt their local behaviors to global interests. Vertical integration to the global lines results 'dependent and alienating, since the essential decisions concerning local processes are foreign to the locality and obey distant motivation' (SANTOS, 2017 [2000], p. 57) and corporate interests tend to prevail over public ones.

Horizontalities, on the other hand, express a 'banal spaces' in opposition to the economic space. These spaces would shelter all kinds of agents, in everyday experience. They are underpinned by the organic solidarity entailed by the spatial contiguity of sharing a common territory. Regulation is produced here by the need for the ensemble of social, production relations to survive. Economic, social, cultural and geographic internal solidarities produce an integral solidarity. Common action is adaptative and frequently follows tacit rather than explicit rules, marked by the peculiarities of the local set of social relations. Horizontalities follow logics different, and often contrary, to the hegemonic rationality. As forms of conviviality and regulation created from the very territory, they are able to preserve themselves vis-à-vis the unification and homogeneization trends that characterize the verticalities.

Nelly Stromquist (2002) also signals the political aspect of globalization, pointing out that, with it, the key actors of educational decision-making have changed, in a new consensus which is not being shaped by the most legitimate actors. Professionals involved in imparting education lose power over their work, students and their families' priorities are overrun by the logics of private firms and international financial institutions. Martin Carnoy and Diana Rhoten (2002, p. 7), exploring what globalization means for educational change, consider that question should be risen concerning 'how globally inspired paradigms and policies mix with locally defined structures and cultures'. According to the authors, globalization entails an 'ideological package' (CARNOY; RHOTEN, 2002, p. 2), which changes the way states operate, including in terms of educational policies, increasingly prescribed by international organism. However, if and when these policies are endorsed by states, their appropriation depends on the historical capacities and structures developed within national spaces. As a result, 'the outcomes of globalization as they relate to education are mediated and constructed by the various structural contexts that filter the process' (CARNOY; RHOTEN, 2002, p. 8). Therefore, a single international, global, policy prescription may produce a diversity of local practices, as their implementation is shaped by national politics.

This kind of perspective leads John Aubrey Douglass (2005, p. 2) to affirm ‘all globalization is local’. The effects of globalization on university are seen as the resultant of tensions among ‘global forces’ and ‘countervailing forces’. The factors driving change towards a global environment for higher education include: changing recruitment markets for students and faculty; international networks of academic researchers replacing national and institutional cultures; international collaborations; organizational convergence; instructional and computer technologies opening new markets and changing traditional university organizations; rise of non-traditional and alternative higher education providers; repositioning of existing institutions into new markets and mergers; and international frameworks related to education services. But there are also countervailing forces, such as: differences in nations’ economic wealth and political stability; specific local balances of existing institutional providers and local market demands; national regulation and initiatives; cultural pride, biases, and needs not served directly by global providers; internal academic cultures and organizational behavior; and empowerment of local/regional institutions by information technology. In the balance between the two groups of forces, significant institutional change would only happen if responses to globalization were to be planned in a strategy linked to a university’s mission, integrating international initiatives to the traditional tactics it employs to meet broader societal needs.

The ideas put forth by both Carnoy and Rhoten (2002) and Douglass (2005) can be approximated to the phenomenon Massimiliano Vaira (2004) names ‘organizational allomorphism’. The concept tries to bridge macro and micro approaches, proposing allomorphic change occurs both at national policy and educational institutions levels. In the first case, states incorporate and translate ‘global’ guidelines into policies that rule national systems through funding and regulation. In the second one, as institutions go through an analogue process of incorporation and translation of the national policies into local practices, they adapt them according to their own institutional cultures. As the responses to global designs go through the successive filters imposed by national and local conditions, institutions could be becoming local variants of the same global archetype.

Stromquist (2007) follows the same direction as Morosini in terming internationalization a collective denomination for university responses to globalization. Through a case study, the author identifies changes brought about the search for global projection in a North American university. Focusing on four areas of university work –

governance, research, teaching, and student and faculty selection –, Stromquist (2007) reports an imitation pattern by which the social relations in university change with globalization, becoming more entrepreneurialist and firm-like. Academic leadership in internationalization is thus linked to the training of workforce for multinational firms. Interdisciplinary research units prompted to generate their own funding through applied research emerge. A ‘star system’ of scholars also gains momentum in recruitment practices. Consequently, new hierarchies are shaped as internal differentiation grows between units more aligned to market demands, able to generate more revenue, and the rest.

At this point, it would be useful to discern between globalization and internationalization. One such distinction is present by Simon Marginson and Marijk van der Wende (2007, p. 11), for whom

Internationalisation can involve as few as two units, whereas globalisation takes in many nations and is a dynamic process drawing the local, national and global dimensions more closely together [...]. Globalisation goes directly to the communication hubs and to the economic, cultural and political core of nations; remaking the heartlands where national and local identities are formed and reproduced; while also refashioning the larger higher education environment across and between the nations. Internationalisation is an older, more limited practice. It assumes that societies defined as nation-states continue to function as bounded economic, social and cultural systems even when they become more interconnected.

If Marginson and van der Wende (2007) argue that globalization refashions the higher education environment, Imanol Ordorika (2007) adds this is a process shaped by hegemony. There is a shift in the balance between the public and private functions of university, emphasizing, in the latter, the market-oriented production of published knowledge, such as papers and patents. Values of efficacy, competitiveness and productivity increase the weight of a culture of assessment. At the international level, a market is structured, and parameters are set to rule competition. The devisal of a global hierarchy of universities favors English-speaking countries, as this is the dominant international language in science. Elite research universities with big budgets are considered to be the ideal type of higher education institution. The pressures to conform to this model push for greater scientific output in terms of measurable, marketable products at the same time they ‘alienates universities from their autochthonous historical commitments and minimize their role as builders of institutions and state and national projects’ (ORDORIKA, 2007, p. 165). This shows how the ‘ideological package’ of globalization reaches higher education:

Hegemony is ideologically expressed in the normative character assumed by the idealization of the American model of research university and the competitive and highly stratified public/private higher education system, which combines a high level of participation and an extreme concentration of wealth, academic authority, material and academic resources and social status in the leading universities (ORDORIKA, 2007, p. 165).

With the ordering of universities according to productivity standards derived from the activity profile of North American elite research institutions, for HEIs to achieve international power and status they must redesign their diverse projects and traditions to conform to the global *nomos*, imposed by competition. From the author's words, it is possible to see a kind of dependency phenomenon, in the sense that dependent universities can only develop as far as they subordinate their development to the dominant ones' designs. So, when Rosemary Deem, Ka Ho Mok and Lisa Lucas (2008) ask in whose image higher education is being transformed with the adoption of the 'world-class university' model, they consider the general situation in East Asian societies such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan and China to affirm:

The introduction of English as the medium of instruction, the adoption of curricula from Australia, the UK and the USA, sending home students to study overseas and establishing international exchanges, coupled with the quest for the world-class universities as predominately defined by the Anglo-Saxon world, have not only created a new 'dependency culture' but also reinforced the American-dominated 'hegemony', particularly in relation to league tables, citation indexes and the kind of research that counts as high status (DEEM; MOK; LUCAS, 2008, p. 93).

Deem, Mok and Lucas (2008, p. 21) consider that in some globalizing funding decisions, 'the national role of universities may be ignored in favour of the international role' and ask if there is such a thing as one 'international standard'. If the globalization discourse often implies one internationalization standard and one international role for universities, then, the following questions would be who sets this standard, where, and how. There is another dimension of 'localness' in globalization here. All 'global' directives originate at negotiations which take place in some point of the space and are enacted by people who also originate in a point of the space.

Ordorika (2007) state such models are propagated by supra-national institutions such as the World Bank and OECD, which condition loans to underdeveloped countries to the adoption of educational policies. However, there is also a strong ideological component that acts on the shaping of academic elites' conceptions of what is desirable or even necessary. Especially in times when the state fails to support HEIs, universities need to ensure budget from internationally-funded research projects. To be invited into

or to successfully propose such projects, academics must be headquartered in institutions which command international visibility and prestige. They must be integrated to the verticalities of globalization. So, where does this integration take place?

Simon Marginson (2008, p. 303) considers national higher education systems have an increasingly important ‘global dimension’, which connects ‘each national system of higher education while being external to them all’. According to the author, in Bourdieusian terms, there is a global field of higher education, a bounded domain which is structured by the international activity of HEIs. Beyond bilateral relations, this field comprises a set of modes of movements which converge marked by relations of power. In this sense, ‘global higher education is not a level playing field’ (MARGINSON, 2008, p. 304). In this field, institutions are distributed between poles of autonomy and heteronomy, which occur both between and inside national systems. Some institutions enjoy larger freedom of action, deriving global predominance from their position within their national systems, which, in turn, occupy a dominant international position.

According to Marginson (2008, p. 305), ‘the global power of these institutions rests on the subordination of other institutions and nations’. These universities are able to control tradition, and accumulate hegemony in worldwide networks through which they set scholarly and managerial agendas and, in doing so, establish institutional models. In the current international context, this is the case of North American elite research universities. It is against this standard that other HEIs will be measured and measure themselves. Elite global status and its associated power are secured by research performance, which in turn is gauged in terms of productivity in the language and the patterns of the science produced in the United States.

In, the absence of a superior authority presiding over states in the world-system, league tables have emerged as arbiters of the competition within the field, organizing international institutional competition. According to Marginson (2008, p. 311), ‘global rankings are a technology for securing hegemony’. As Imanol Ordorika and Marion Lloyd (2015, p. 386) recall, the overbearance of rankings emerged in the 2000s, when rising power China ‘sought to determine how Chinese universities stacked up against “world-class universities” around the world’. The parameters of comparison were derived from leading United States institutions, and serve well the hegemonic logics of hierarchical managerialism. In Latin America, rankings have been criticized both for methodological and ideological flaws and, nevertheless, they have been appropriated by

public policy. Ordorika and Lloyd (2015, p. 400) conclude that ‘aspiring to the ideal of a “world-class” research-intensive university may mean forgoing other priorities’ and ‘the contest over the rankings reflects broader efforts to challenge the hegemony of a dominant model of universities in the twenty-first century’.

This model, as Jung Cheol Shin and Barbara Kehm (2013) argue, is that of the ‘world-class university’ – a status that is not solely underpinned by hard indicators, but rather by reputation. In the race for this status, ‘as leading research universities enter the ranking game and their followers are confronted with an identity crisis, all universities have to realign their functions to focus on research and internationalization’ (SHIN; KEHM, 2013, p. 279-280). After all, the division of labor between HEIs imposed by the use of rankings as policy drivers and world-class universities as models also leads to dysfunctions in academic society, linked, among other issues, to sacrificing ethics to meet productivity goals, raising tuition fees, and downplaying community service. This is aggravated as the world-class universities of the rankings become embedded in another model: that of the global knowledge economy, with its global market for higher education.

Ellen Hazelkorn (2018, p. 4) highlights how rankings have become an influential voice in global policy, no longer simply advising where to study, but speaking increasingly ‘about geopolitical positioning, for universities and nations’. The author also remarks that the rankings phenomenon exposes the vulnerability of higher education discourse and policy to external agendas, beaconing changes in the relations between the state and higher education.

This facts has opened space for criticism on to whom the world-class model may ultimately favor. Robertson (2012), for instance, points out the great publishing houses responsible for circulation of journals, the auditing and consultancy firms, the bibliometric businesses, the industry of new means of publication, the international agencies of the ‘developed world’, and the hegemonic projects of local technocracies. The author situates the sought for world-class status at claims

the claims that are *mobilized* (we ‘want’ to be world-class), *mediated* (we have ‘a list of who is’ world-class), and *marketed* (we ‘are’ world-class), as institutions manage their images, resources, and strategic engagements with investors, students, and wider communities (ROBERTSON, 2012, p. 238, emphases from the original).

Representations such as the recognition of world-class universities by international rankings would make up a reputational capital able to set forth educational policies and practices that

[...] resides in their capacity to project a singular solution to an imagined system problem (competition, efficiency, world-class, quality), and in doing so, invite observers in to react to the features of the reflected, represented reality, rather than to the embodied, pre-reflexive occurrences. [...] they simultaneously frame education problems, offer a desired re/solution, project outward with considerable global spatial extension, reinforce new social practices over time because of further rounds of data gathering and projection, and tap into emotions (shame, pride) that change behavior – deep inside national territorial states and institutions (ROBERTSON, 2012, p. 244).

Another phenomenon harboring change for such relations is the emergence of discussion to set forth a global framework for recognition of academic qualifications. Eva Hartmann (2015, p. 106), in approximating international relations and higher education studies from a Gramscian theoretical background, argues for paying attention to the role of internationalization of higher education in hegemony, considering it ‘requires a transnationalisation of the system of solidarity between intellectuals’. This solidarity is reinforced by the devisal of frameworks for the recognition of academic qualifications. Much like hegemonic dynamics at a national level, this process often abstracts from the specificity of national and local contexts, making invisible a diversity of cultures, traditions, customs and practices.

For Hartmann (2014), the conditions for global competition lie in a process of fetishization, that is, the dissociation of a commodity from its context of production. In the author’s words,

The fetishism of commodities is not a simple fiction but a social process of dissociation that makes it possible to displace something from its original context into another setting. Through the exchange the social division of labour is realised, while at the same time the community with its individual commodity producers becomes invisible. The fetishisation thus stands for the simultaneity of presence and absence of the relationships among people (HARTMANN, 2014, p. 188).

In a context of commodification of higher education, Hartmann’s (2014) reasoning can be applied to the global competition for ‘world-class’ status. The creation of global standards operates both economic and extra-economic fetishization processes to produce chains of equivalence that make products and activities from different contexts comparable and thus exchangeable. These processes are social in that they

involve a gamut of organizations and individual actors act in a multitude of platforms, to redefine ‘what counts as the average conditions of production, with a given social average intensity and average skill of the labour employed, which are needed to produce a particular product’ (HARTMANN, 2014, p. 194). Global standards are this way fetish in the sense they suppose a same result is to be achieved in spite of very unequal social dynamics. They furthermore fixate one social conformation as the ideal and render particularities related the other social contexts as deviance from the ‘most productive’ form.

The abstraction in this context essentially builds on the ignorance of the subaltern’s reality and privileges the dominant intellectuals’ world view. It contributes to establishing a necessary unevenness of complex unity and has disempowering consequences for the subalterns. It also contributes to a passive revolution which ensures that subalterns remain fragmented and incapable of developing an alternative to the prevailing hegemony. Conversely, the more the sending and host countries have an equal say in the establishment of standards of equivalence, the more truly transnational and democratic the system of solidarity between international intellectuals becomes. This has major consequences for the quality of the emerging hegemony and the ideational framework it establishes for defining global reality (HARTMANN, 2015, p. 107).

World rankings serve as an example of how global developments have roots in the national contests for hegemony, which in turn is linked to class struggles, with their international dimensions. The definition of frameworks for the recognition of academic qualifications, as multilateral endeavor, emerges as an arena for the dispute among national influences for the definition of the global standard. The influence – that is, the power – of such devices exists only as long as the schemes they propose to apprehend and organize reality are appropriated by policy makers and somehow converse with the local values of academic work. This means that they have different effects in the different fields of social action.

It is important, therefore, to bear in mind that ‘global’ influences – that is, the forces resulting from international disputes – do not impact universities directly, but rather through a series of mediations by different entities. The first and foremost among them is the one provided by the official maker of national policy, the state itself. Marek Kwiek (2005) understands that the effects of globalization on university occur via the transformations of the state, including the social order on which it is built and the citizenship it warrants. Sally-Ann Burnett and Jeroen Huisman (2010) consider institutional culture plays an important role in shaping HEIs response to globalization. David Hoffman, Jussi Välimaa and Terhi Nokkala (2016) identify the occurrence of

different orientations among scholars, considering they devise differential forms of international engagement according to their competitive horizons.

It seems fair to say that theory so far points to a political reconfiguration of a series of ‘filters’ as a way to process the global-institutional dialectics. Such filters select possible strategies and viable alternatives, careers, policies or institutional designs. Marginson and Ordorika (2010; 2011) stress the role of unequal flows of people and capital leading to concentration of power in hegemonic poles. They propose, nevertheless, that within material-historically conditioned structures, there is still space for agency. This would be the case for exploring, in the terms of Santos (2017 [2000]), the possibilities of an Other globalization.

In this sense, Hazelkorn (2018, p. 20) criticizes the fact that ‘HEIs have transformed themselves into self-serving private entities less engaged or committed to their nation/region as they eagerly pursue their world-class position and shout about the public good’ while they should work as a ‘intellectual force to bridge the gap between local, national and global’. This view is consistent with Ordorika’s (2007, p. 169) proposition that, in globalized times, universities should serve as

[...] a privileged place for the articulation between global trends and national identities, as well as for the construction of new social interactions and pacts among diverse cultures and world perceptions at local or national levels; among distinct ethnical groups; among autochthonous and migrant populations or nationalities; among genders, social classes and other social differentiations [...].

Whichever direction they follow to seek, universities are not simply answering to globalization. They are actively disputing globalized futures for society. Universities, of course, do not exist as autonomous, monolithic entities. They are formed by people with conflicting agendas. Internationalization, as other higher education phenomena, is moved by rent-seeking and self-serving interests as well as Other forms of academic solidarity and societal engagement. If internationalization is mostly seen in the aggregate fields of national policy and educational institutions – in their respective numbers and texts –, it is in academic work, in the ways it is changing and reflects change in the lives of individuals, that the materiality of internationalization can be grasped.

2.2.2. Internationalization as change in higher education

The word ‘internationalization’, according to Jane Knight (2014), was popularized in higher education studies in the 1980s, and Hans de Wit (2014) observes that, while it was already in use in the field in the 1970s, it would only be developed as a notion, term and concept in the 1990s, when it would be highlighted, among other authors, by Teichler (1996). The term would take over from ‘international education’, in a shift reflecting both the increasing importance of international dimensions of higher education and its growing institutional comprehensiveness (DE WIT, 2014) and its processual character, as ‘change that is at the same time reactive, proactive and strategic to local and global environments’ (KNIGHT, 2014, p. 86).

Marvin Bartell (2003) likens internationalization of higher education to globalization as an evolving process by which HEIs progressively incorporate foreign audiences. In this sequence, an initial domestic phase is characterized by the provision of higher education based on national criteria and audiences. In succession, a multidomestic phase is marked by the need to address external audiences separately and differently, through specific programs. A following multinational phase involves the establishment of institutional units with mission differentiation, inside the HEI or overseas. Finally, there is the global or transnational phase, in which the entire research and scholarly enterprise is globalized, addressing changes in the organization and production of knowledge and expertise globally. The author understands that

[...] internationalization may be viewed as occurring on a continuum. At one end, internationalization is limited and essentially symbolic, for example, internationalization may be reflected, in this case, by a relative handful of students from several distant countries having a presence on a campus. At the other end of the continuum, the process of internationalization is conceptualized as a synergistic, transformative process, involving the curriculum and the research programs, that influences, the role and activities of all stakeholders including faculty, students, administrators, and the community-at-large (BARTELL, 2003, p. 51-52).

This second end of the continuum is akin to what John Hudzik (2011, p. 6) would term ‘comprehensive internationalization’:

[...] a commitment, confirmed through action, to infuse international and comparative perspectives throughout the teaching, research, and service missions of higher education. It shapes institutional ethos and values and touches the entire higher education enterprise. [...] It is an institutional imperative, not just a desirable possibility. Comprehensive internationalization not only impacts all of campus life but the institution’s external frames of reference, partnerships, and relations. The global

reconfiguration of economies, systems of trade, research, and communication, and the impact of global forces on local life, dramatically expand the need for comprehensive internationalization and the motivations and purposes driving it.

As Knight (2014, p. 75) remarks, ‘not only has internationalisation transformed higher education, it has dramatically changed itself’. And, as it keeps changing, linked to globalization, ‘the debate continues about whether internationalization is an agent or a reactor to globalisation; the truth is that it is probably both’ (KNIGHT, 2014, p. 75). For the author,

The critical question is whether internationalisation has evolved from what has been traditionally considered a process based on the values of cooperation, partnership, exchange, mutual benefits and capacity building to one that is increasingly characterised by competition, commercialization, self-interest and status building (KNIGHT, 2014, p. 76).

Internationalization has grown to comprise a large gamut of initiatives, and among the many taxonomies that have been developed to study the phenomenon, the distinction between internationalization abroad and at home can be activated to provide perspective on different profiles of international insertion. Jos Beelen and Elspeth Jones (2015, p. 69) propose as a definition that ‘Internationalization at Home is the purposeful integration of international and intercultural dimensions into the formal and informal curriculum for all students within domestic learning environments’. This mode of internationalization would aim to ‘to develop international and intercultural knowledge, skills and attitudes for all students, regardless of whether they also take part in mobility opportunities’ (BEELEN; JONES, 2015, p. 70). The authors understand that this kind of internationalization requires specific institutional policy directed towards staff development at department level. In the terms of Bleiklie and Kogan (2006), the formulation, implementation and evaluation of such procedures could be considered as demanding a dialogue between fields of social action of institutional education and academic work. Internationalization at home thus involves different aspects of institutional change than internationalization abroad, which focuses on international academic mobility, ‘whether it is people, programs, providers, or projects moving across borders’ (KNIGHT, 2008, p. 23).

Reviewing her previous works and dialoguing with De Wit, Knight (2008) proposes the existence of four categories of rationales for internationalization: social-cultural rationales; political; economic; and academic. The author argues the boundaries between such categories are increasingly blurred and rationales may be more

distinguishable when considering national and institutional levels. The first category would comprise human resources development; strategic alliances; income generation through commercial trade; nation and institution building; and sociocultural development and mutual understanding. The second one would consider international branding and profile; quality enhancement according to international standards; income generation; student and staff development; strategic alliances; and knowledge production.

However, the grouping of emerging rationales at the national and institutional levels leaves a theoretical gap on why individuals engage in internationalization. It is also noteworthy that an explicit discussion on the ethical background of internationalization is lacking in the picture. This view on rationales eschews the materiality of human action composing institutional dispositions. Agency in academic work remains a missing link in the study of university change brought about by internationalization of higher education.

What can be seen from this perspective is a growth of profit-driven internationalization initiatives vis-à-vis the ‘traditional’ ones – i.e., those linked to a Mertonian communitarian scientific ethos – motivated by academic pursuit of knowledge. At the same time, more concern is being dedicated to garnering prestige than to capacity building. That is why Knight (2014, p. 78) argues internationalization ‘is having an identity crisis’, while, at the same time, de Wit (2014, p. 92) considers it ‘might require reconceptualisation in view of the changing dynamics of the field and the world’. Considering such challenges, de Wit (2014, p. 95) proposes

[...] to bring internationalisation a step further and look at its accomplishments, its misconceptions, the changing global landscape and the related debate about internationalisation as a ‘Western concept’ or as a repetition of the old by the new players, internationalisation for a small elite or for all, the similarities and differences between intercultural and international and global and other fundamental developments and values.

Furthermore, this plea for a deeper understanding of internationalization seems to call for a search for the missing nexuses between the emergence of a global environment for higher education and the multi-level dynamics it entails. The phenomenon of internationalization occurs within universities and programs situated in different points of the global field of higher education (MARGINSON, 2008), mobilizing varying strategies and being affected by distinct national dispositions. As these institutional changes go on, they prompt and are prompted by national policies:

In addition to the mobility of students and staff, higher education institutions are becoming key players in the global knowledge society. Increasingly, they are driven by economically oriented rationales, which may be related to improving the international competitiveness of the higher education institutions or the sector itself, or to enhancing the international competitive position of the national economy. [...] Regulatory frameworks are being adapted and the international dimension is gaining importance in national policies for higher education. [...] However, different national contexts, constraints and priorities explain a great deal of the diversity that can still be observed (LUIJTEN-LUB; HUISMAN; VAN DER WENDE, 2005, p. 11).

This way, the very use of term internationalization

[...] assumes that nation states continue to play a role as economic, social and cultural systems, but that they are becoming more interconnected and activities crossing their borders are increasing. Cooperation between nation states is expanding and national policies are placing a stronger emphasis on regulating or facilitating border-crossing activities (LUIJTEN-LUB; HUISMAN; VAN DER WENDE, 2005, p. 12).

The diversity of responses to globalization, shaping a variety of internationalization processes, reflects a ‘globalization of internationalization’ (JONES; DE WIT, 2012), which requires attention to:

1. A vast increase in the scale of operations, for example, an increase in the number and types of offshore campuses and other cross-border activity;
2. Global competition for students and talents [*sic*]²⁴;
3. A wider range of regional practices;
4. Geographical variation in social and economic needs resulting in differentiated local and regional responses;
5. Ethical issues in global engagement and sustainability of practice;
6. The importance of careful consideration of the local context and culture when engaging in cross-border activity (JONES; DE WIT, 2012, p. 39).

In fact, as Northern, central scholars recognize, internationalization, both as a social phenomenon and as a research theme, ‘is still primarily driven by rationales, strategies, approaches and activities from the traditional regions’ (DE WIT, 2014, p. 96). The stories about globalization and internationalization told from traditional viewpoints have limits on accounting for complexity of power dynamics and alternatives – and how individuals are building them in the grassroots (CANTWELL; MALDONADO-MALDONADO, 2009).

²⁴ I use *sic* to mark my understanding that the very use of the word ‘talent’ in social science is problematic. Its usage is tied to common sense belief that some people are endowed with ‘natural’ abilities that they develop on their own merits. I would rather propose that what is commonly seen as ‘talent’ is actually closer to the radical meaning of the word: money as a form of capital. That is, what is perceived as ‘talent’ is rather the result of a trajectory of opportunities – based on social capital – in which the individual invested or was led to invest.

Authors have approached the power exerted in the unequal and combined development of internationalization in the North and the South. For instance, Rajani Naidoo (2007) warns that research in international higher education must take into account the relations of power between high and low income countries, which play out in the influence of international organizations in the marketization of higher education fields of the dependent countries, which are in turn explored by foreign providers. F. Maringe, N. Foskett and S. Woodfield (2013) find, with a global survey, that university staff in Sub-Saharan and South American nations tend to be more critical of the effects of globalization in their institutions than their ‘peers’ from the Anglophone countries, considering the risks of reproduction of uneven relations and the consolidation of Western epistemic dominance. Susan Robertson and Janja Komljenovic (2016) analyze the process of market-making by which financial capital headquartered in the Global North commodifies higher education to obtain profits from Global South students and advise ‘to view neither the north nor the south as ontologically flat in terms of power and social relations’ (ROBERTSON; KOMLJENOVIC, 2016, p. 206).

Rethinking internationalization of higher education calls for looking at experiences of the South and, perhaps more important, listening to voices from the South. It is about time to expand discourse to encompass possibilities other than those elaborated by the developed, dominant center. This is not an operation limited to objects of research. It is an epistemological matter, linked to the question of how – in whose terms – research problems can be framed and how social reality can be interpreted when dealing with internationalization of higher education. What are authors in the South saying themselves? Marilia Morosini, Marilene Dalla Corte and Alexandre Guilherme (2017, p. 110), analyzing Brazilian research on the theme, contend there is an emphasis in internationalization as academic mobility and ‘the current system is therefore biased towards the North and unless something is changed, the South will continue to be dependent on the North for “international cooperation and development”’.

Whereas I cannot pretend to comprehend the range of theories generated in this part of the world, I can bring some contributions from my part of the globe: Latin America. In fact, Latin American authors have been alerting for the dangers and opportunities beacons by internationalization for at least one decade. The presence of both solidarity and marketization – also colored by imperialism and colonialism – has been in their attention in different terms.

Concern about university's role in international integration was renewed in the 1990s with the advent of regional integration blocs such as Mercosur, created in 1991. In this phase of globalization, Latin American thought on internationalization registers at least as early as the following year. Based on seminars developing at UFRGS since 1989, Denise Leite and Marilia Morosini (1992, p. 24) considered the importance of building on Latin American historical layers to achieve

[...] a university in accordance with its times, where institutionalized knowledge and science occupy the spaces of articulating relations, strengthening the emerging Latin American blocs and broadening, in non-competitive bases, the cultural and social relations among the countries.

Along the lines of Latin American tradition, such university could 'contribute to labor unions and social movements to discuss the new internationalized capital-labor relations, as well as become involved in the analysis of labor processes' (LEITE; MOROSINI, 1992, p. 24). But the discussion of capital-labor relations remains mostly absent of internationalization activities. Such discussion is likewise silent or silenced in most debates and strategies on internationalization.

In the same year of 1992, from Venezuela, Carmen García Guadilla devised scenarios for the Latin American university amidst the dynamics of globalization and integration. Considering alternative paradigms of development to assess the possible directions of change, the crucial difference between the paths that university transformation would take would be conditioned by 'the particular form taken by the insertion of non-advanced countries in the globalization processes' (GARCÍA GUADILLA, 1992, p. 1). The author considered that historically, Latin American universities' processes of internationalization have been directed towards establishing relations with their peers in advanced countries, lacking connection with their peers in the region or even in the same country. Consequently, García Guadilla (1992, p. 12) reiterated the importance of then-emerging 'activities of academic cooperation and creation of regional networks directed towards the strengthening of Latin American integration'.

In the following decades, social thought in the continent would go on to discuss globalization and internationalization, with a normative orientation towards cooperative regional integration. Twenty years later, García Guadilla (2012, p. 8) points to the consolidation of a world geopolitics of knowledge marked by heterogeneity and stratification, implying 'high concentration of knowledge and high absorption of talent

[sic] in some regions and countries’. According to the author, if this is not a new phenomenon in academic history, it is marked by some distinctive features, such as the measurement of university by indices of publication, foreign students and world ranking – all favoring world-class universities, ‘the ones that assure the global corporations the innovations and knowledge which impact global economy’ (GARCÍA GUADILLA, 2012, p. 8). García Guadilla (2012, p. 9) considers the problem lies in that ‘in the heterogeneity of the world configuration of universities’ there are ‘asymmetries whereby concentration exceeds dispersion and redistribution’.

The issue of geopolitics of knowledge has been dealt with by Marcela Mollis (2002; 2006; 2014), from Argentina. It proposes the world-system is marked by a division whence Southern, dependent countries

[...] consume the knowledge produced by the countries that economically and culturally dominate globalization, which in turn reassign the peripheral HEIs to the economic function of training ‘human resources’. This new condition, in which knowledge is increasingly situated as a key factor for accumulation, implies questioning the character of university-produced knowledge as public good, and the right that society holds over them. One of the rhetorical forms this dispute assumes is the calling to academicize university, what allows discrediting any interpretation that acknowledges its urgent political condition. In this case, the finalities of academic work are imposed as pre-established ‘missions’, leaving the scholars solely with the responsibility to execute them (MOLLIS, 2014, p. 34-35).

In Latin America, the reproduction dynamics associated with this geopolitics manifested in the 1990s and 2000s as national regulatory frames were reformed under influence of transnational forces. Doctrines emanated by international organizations found their way into national policies through dependent elites in academic and public administration, inducing higher education reforms. There was an endeavor to change university to make it more functional to an intensified transnational capitalist accumulation. The ensuing devaluation of scientific labor and intellectual culture was therefore part of the same agenda that privatized natural resources, restricted public services and made labor relations more precarious. In this mark, reforms have been associated to transformation in the pact among national state, civil society and educational systems, redesigned under a neoliberal-modernizing identity (MOLLIS, 2014).

From Uruguay, Rodrigo Arocena and Judith Sutz (2005, p. 585) diagnose the structural problems of university-society relations in terms that resemble the propositions of dependency theory. They characterize a ‘neo-peripheral’ reinsertion of

Latin America in the world economy, based in the export of products and services of comparatively low knowledge-added value, in forms of internationalization that are ‘not based on endogenous capabilities for generating, transmitting and applying advanced knowledge’ (AROCENA; SUTZ, 2005, p. 585). This happens because

[...] it is quite difficult for universities to co-operate with other institutions and social actors in the application of knowledge to development. The fundamental cause of this situation is that there are very few partners willing to play the game and, more generally, that endogenous production of knowledge is not highly valued by the economic and political Latin American elites (AROCENA; SUTZ, 2005, p. 585).

The resulting scenarios for change are based in the partial international integration of scholars in global dynamics, according to their possibilities of collecting revenue from their research. Authors call for the renewal of universities’ perspectives, considering a social commitment to engage with usually forgotten social actors that go beyond the state and the market. In this decade, these propositions have recently been re-elaborated to seek for inclusive development (AROCENA; GÖRANSSON; SUTZ, 2014), one that addresses social problems of underdevelopment through the democratization of knowledge, identifying the need to bridge of institutional gaps between knowledge production in university and its use in society. In this model, internationalization appears as an external factor in the constellation of influences that drive change. International academic relations are considered ‘simply vital for a university in an underdeveloped country’ (AROCENA; GÖRANSSON; SUTZ, 2018, p. 244), as long as they are founded in intellectual collaboration rather than on the North-South transfer of research agendas, evaluation systems and academic values.

The conceptualization of horizontal international cooperation had already been proposed one decade earlier by Axel Didriksson (1997, p. 1071), from Mexico, who considered ‘cooperation must focus on support to profound changes in the higher education institutions, backed by a series of coordinated academic cooperation efforts’. In horizontal terms,

The basic purpose of international cooperation is, therefore, the strengthening of the key components of integration and the coordination of the subjects, institutions, agencies and resources to guarantee a type of shared horizontal cooperation and avoid substituting, altering or directing the local initiative. The development of one’s own capacity or its local, subregional and regional strengthening, must be the central objective of the new forms of cooperation. This means that the local actors are the ones upon whom the principal responsibility of designing and formulating the proposals, programmes and projects of change is incumbent and are the principal actors in the process of their implementation. [...]

Cooperation for change must not be seen as something which the rich countries or donor agencies do to please the governments of the developing countries, but as a process of mutual collaboration in projects of shared interest to strengthen a sustainable, endogenous and increasingly symmetric development (DIDRIKSSON, 1997, p. 1072).

Didriksson (2012) argues that regional articulation and international cooperation should be on the very basis of a structural change in higher education that fosters academic networking as a basic organizational principle. This proposal is associated to a vision of universities reaching higher thresholds of knowledge production by tackling the local social problems that affect the lives of their communities.

Morosini (2011) compares traditional – linked to the enhancement of competitiveness and the prospection of costumers – and horizontal – linked to solidarity and international consciousness – modes of international cooperation in Brazilian experience. In this context, internationalization activities are peripheral to HEIs' activities, concentrated in the individual activities of postgraduate programs. This implies asymmetries in the internationalization of programs between and within universities. As Brazil is a more developed higher education system than its Southern partners, the risk exists that vertical relations of subordination arise. The author concludes for the need to 'keep vigilance so that relations between countries and HEIs taking part in an exchange are not characterized by colonialism, but by collective production and knowledge interchange for the social-economic development of both parts' (MOROSINI, 2011, p. 109).

At this point, it is important to remark that Latin American thought deeply associates the ideas of cooperation and integration to internationalization. A normative dimension also crosses the lexicon, with the political principles of solidarity, citizenship, pertinence or relevance being required to deal with the deeply asymmetric social realities of the region, marked by the persistence of coloniality and underdevelopment, with the associated maladies of an unequal and unfair social context.

In previous decade, authors such as Hebe Vessuri, from Venezuela, established a sustained debate on the peculiarities of Latin American systems of higher education and science, technology and the differential effects that a subordinate integration in the international division of labor has on them (VESSURI, 1990). This debate implies universities have 'moral social obligations', referring 'to the need to reduce poverty, to integrate socially marginalized groups and to generate employment' (VESSURI, 2003, p. 10). Such opportunities for higher education to promote social changes, however, are

hindered by the fact that, in a global world, ‘techno-science and higher education, which have traditionally been instruments for universalizing a hegemonic modernizing project, seem increasingly to be at one and the same time arenas for negotiation, loans and exchanges, displacement and reconfiguration of transnational processes’ (VESSURI, 2003, p. 15).

Vessuri (2014; 2015) situates the update of categories to understand the struggles of Latin American university in the current phase of globalization in the perspectives of social sciences from the Global South. The author concurs on the uneven experience of globalization, as global stratification patterns mediate access to places of prestige or power. One of the distinctive traits of contemporary metropolitan elites is that they achieved a higher threshold of integration and seek a greater control over global networks (VESSURI, 2014). On the other hand, a feature of contemporary social science is the rethinking of theory by African, Asian and Latin American scholars, who base their propositions on phenomena emerging in their global regions. Social change thus influences the progress of social sciences, establishing new tensions – now with acknowledged geopolitical influence – that may reformulate social theory by bringing together different viewpoints. Then, learning with the internationalization experiences from the South could bring about new forms of knowing, as alternative frameworks that can inform ‘an international social science that may include in its analysis the recognition and debate of the conflictive and contradictory processes of domination-subordination that have organized its differential epistemes and silenced so many others in the world’ (VESSURI, 2015, p. 308).

More recently, Sylvie Didou-Aupetit (2017a; 2017b), from Mexico, offers a prospective evaluation of the efforts accumulated on the internationalization of universities in recent times. However important, the series of externally-induced internationalization projects that took place in the continent was not able to constitute institutional devices, as the results were limited to the duration of the funding, and did not sustain reforms in institutional or public policies in the medium-term. Institutional deficits, such as the difficulty to generate and appropriate data from experience, are among the reasons for that. This author also considers the need for the region to conceive and operate internationalization in a horizontal and solidary way, stating that internationalization initiatives should be concerned with democracy, inclusion and intercultural understanding (DIDOU-AUPETIT, 2017a).

Didou-Aupetit (2017b) considers the potential of internationalization for organizational change has not been met in the region in the recent decades, and a comprehensive approach should be adopted. This would mean the transition from ‘an aspirational internationalization to a pragmatic one with an endogenous character, i.e., entrenched in the institutional territories and legitimate for all the actors of university life’ (DIDOU-AUPETIT, 2017b, p. 330). In Latin America, universities should proceed with networked institutional analysis of the organizational barriers for integrating the different international processes.

This way, internationalization’s ‘identity crisis’ (KNIGHT, 2014) seems to have been processed in a different way by the Latin American authors – thinking from different points of the continent – reviewed here. In their works, internationalization appears to have always been a complex intertwinement of elements that can both perpetuate colonial dependency – by preserving the unfair social structure of capitalism through market mechanisms – and promote the conditions to overcome a situation of backwardness – through solidarity and horizontality in international endeavours. In this effort, there is no appeal to assistentialist formulae of international aid, but wariness, and academic mobility is understood as one of the many elements that compose the internationalization process, with emphasis in institutional networking.

There is thus a mismatch between the postgraduate works reviewed by Morosini, Dalla Corte and Guilherme (2017) – focusing on academic mobility and the change of individual curricular and career paths – and the internationalization theories produced in the region since the 1990s – focusing on the development of institutional capacity to effect social change. The bias detected towards the North may be linked to the dominant visibility of analytical tools that have been manufactured to look at less unequal social realities, where universities have other concerns. A crisis may not be located in the conceptual plane, but in the misrecognition of the contradictions of social life in contexts historically marked by dependency and coloniality, which demand the integration of Southern concepts to make Northern, mainstream approaches context-sensitive.

This exercise does occur, and has been deployed to explore a range of topics that consider how globalization and internationalization have changed academic contexts. Among them, the experiences in specific regional integration processes may be the most visible dimension. Estela Miranda and Dante Salto (2012) approach the challenges of the region in terms of international academic cooperation by analyzing one Argentine

university's engagement to two multilateral networks. Daniela Perrotta (2012; 2016a; 2016b) debates the theoretical operations demanded by the peculiar traits of regionalism in Mercosur. Julieta Abbas and Berenice Corsetti (2016) use Latin American theory on internationalization to study two experiences of HEIs, in Brazil and Cuba, that were politically intentionalized to promote Latin American integration. Soledad Oregioni and Fernando Piñero (2017) propose fostering institutional networks to promote a non-hegemonic – solidary, endogenous and collaborative – regional integration. Lara Thiengo and Lucídio Bianchetti (2018) expose connections between internationalization processes and an emerging ideology of excellence, based on the world-class model, in Brazilian universities.

Underlying these studies, there is a tension between the perspectives of market-like or citizenship integration (MOROSINI, 2015). More or less explicitly, authors acknowledge Latin America occupies a subaltern position in the world-system. This fact is further explored by Denise Leite and Maria Elly Herz Genro (2012). The authors detect the power of evaluation – related to accreditation dynamics – as a carrier of global tendencies.

In Europe, a similar phenomenon would be explored by Hartmann (2017). That means the North is not quite shielded from the same influences that affect the South. While it comes as no surprise that one of the most privatized higher education systems in the world, the Brazilian one, was subjected to a capitalist redesign of universities during the rise of neoliberalism (LEITE, 2003), academic capitalism (SLAUGHTER; LESLIE, 2001) also made its way to the almost-entirely public Finnish higher education. Ilkka Kauppinen and Tuukka Kaidesoja (2013) describe this process of transnational academic capitalism: an entanglement of academic interest and strategies with those of the private actors in the international market that is mediated by state institutions and further propelled by international organizations. They find it to take place unevenly among disciplines and to coexist with other regimes of academic production and reproduction, being more visible in policy discourse and institutional conditions. The authors understand this coexistence leads to contradictions in academic work, and call for further study on the tensions affecting scholars. They may be dealing with the superposition, on the individual action, of conflicting historical layers (VÄLIMAA, 2007).

The changes brought about by globalization have been observed in a set of elements which characterized policy reform in Finland, strengthening managerial

steering (KAUKO; DIOGO, 2011; PIIRONEN, 2013; VÄLIMAA, 2012) and adhering to the world-class model (CREMONINI et al., 2014), leading to the profiling of universities and the promotions of mergers (TIRRONEN; NOKKALA, 2009; URSIN et al., 2010; VUORI, 2015). Underlying these changes, is the perceived need to make Finnish universities more competitive institutions with a high performance in the knowledge economy (NOKKALA, 2007; SCHATZ, 2015). In this manner, global trends have affected the way scholars understand university as an institution, as well as their own work (URSIN, 2017).

The conditions in which internationalization has been strategically framed have changed as well. According to Yuzhuo Cai, Seppo Hölttä and Jussi Kivistö (2012, p. 218),

Hölttä (2007) has classified the internationalisation of Finnish universities to five consecutive but overlapping modes: 1) traditional individual based mobility, 2) internationalisation based on bilateral institutional agreements, 3) programme based internationalisation, mainly in the framework of the European Union, 4) internationalisation based on institutional and disciplinary networks, and 5) market based internationalisation. The internationalisation of Finnish HEIs has been traditionally characterised by the features of the modes two to four.

However, since 2009, the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture has encouraged the ‘export’ of higher education, thus favoring mode five. However, the results obtained in the first years following this strategy were limited (SCHATZ, 2016; HELLSTÉN, 2017).

An associated feature of the education export strategy was the introduction of tuition fees for some international students. As of 2009, changes in Finnish higher education laws allowed HEIs to charge tuition fees from students coming outside the European Union (EU) since 2010, on an experimental basis. This became a generalized practice in 2017. The repositioning of higher education from public good to service export entails institutional change, as it requires a redesign of the coordination between government, HEIs and industry, as well as in the relations between higher education and its stakeholders (CAI; KIVISTO, 2013). Jussi Välimaa and Leasa Weimer (2014, p. 708) consider this introduction of tuition fees to further express a shift in Finnish national, which ‘has become more economic and political as policy makers view international students as a source of revenue, highly skilled labor, and as a means to be globally competitive’. The authors also note a disjunction between the logics operating at national policy and program levels. Jaakko Kauko and Anna Medvedeva (2016, p.

110) reiterate this observation, arguing ‘those who plan and those who implement internationalisation are different groups with insufficient communication between them’.

These events make Finland a case of a context witnessing shifts in internationalization policy. Jani Haapakoski and Sharon Stein (2018) link this change to a shift in higher education imaginaries. In this case, considering how policy documents deal with the dimensions of knowledge economy, students as commodities and global responsibility, the authors argue that it is possible to detect a move in the way internationalization of higher education is framed in discourse: from a civic to a corporate imaginary. The reminiscence of civic principles – which can be likened to a historical layer embodied in institutional culture – would then mark room for negotiation and contestation.

While it is probably too early to assess the full range of the effects of the policy shift in Finland, it is possible to gauge how universities are changing with internationalization – a phenomenon which, with its processual character, is continuously changing itself. As both Kauko and Medvedeva (2016) and Haapakoski and Stein (2018) observe, at least in the Finnish case, this transformation seems to be occurring with the top-down reinforcement of its marketization features. However, this is a process that does not happen without modulation. Policy implementation is subject to translation between levels, subject to political recontextualizations according to the values, possibilities and interests available at each field of social action. Reading institutional changes require attention to how people are reconfiguring the institution through their work. Moreover, it requires attention to ethical-political character of such changes.

2.2.3. Critical internationalization studies

Especially in this decade, the call for a critical approach to higher education studies has been noted by several scholars around the world. For instance, Krystian Szadkowski (2013, p. 210), uses the label ‘critical university studies’ to describe research pointing out that ‘the university is not at all a neutral institution and it serves hegemonic, social and economic interests’ and that academic knowledge cannot be separated from the social embedment and the political engagement of the subjects who produce it.

Among other examples, in 2010, the journal *Globalisation, Societies & Education* published an especial issue on ‘The New Research Agenda in Critical Higher Education Studies’, edited by Eva Hartmann. As Hartmann (2010, p. 169) notes in the Editorial, a critical stance towards the global dynamics of internationalization of higher education must account for ‘the broader context and the strategic selectivity, transformation and struggles within which the object of analysis is to be placed’ considering how the varying socio-historical contexts produce different functions for higher education. The analyses of experiences situated outside the hegemonic areas of European Union and United States – in the case of such issue, including the countries of Brazil, Chile, China, Mexico, Singapore and South Africa, as well as the region of Sub-Saharan Africa – offer new venues to develop critical studies in higher education, as

A close examination of who actually has a say in defining the function of higher education is the first requirement. The meaning of a norm or a concept cannot be detached from its underlying social structure. Consequently, even emancipatory norms risk being detrimental to emancipation as long as the social groups addressed by this political endeavour have not participated in the design of the project (HARTMANN, 2010, p. 172).

In this issue, Denise Leite (2010) advocates the need to address the lasting inheritance of coloniality when approaching Brazilian higher education, and to consider the specificity of Southern experience. Some years later, in an article published in the same journal, Alexandre Guilherme, Marilia Morosini and Pricila Santos (2018) apply a Fanonian approach to experiences of African students in Brazilian higher education, finding that

[...] the historical process of colonisation, experienced for centuries by the Great South, has impinged on the outlook held by individuals from the Great South, who tend to understand that the Great North is the desirable option. Consequently, this attitude has directly affected South-South relations and the

cooperation between developing and emerging countries (GUILHERME; MOROSINI; SANTOS, 2018, p. 2).

The authors conclude that coping with this trend ‘requires that emerging economies in the Great South, like Brazil, do not reproduce a colonialist attitude towards other countries, and this represents a great challenge which must be met if relations are to be truly built on mutual respect and cooperation’ (GUILHERME; MOROSINI; SANTOS, 2018, p. 12). These results are convergent with those by Upenyu Majee and Susanne Ress (2018), who adopt a decolonial framework to compare colonial legacies in internationalization of higher in South Africa and Brazil. Through field research, the authors verify the invisibilization of the African continent – its nations, institutions, and scholars – in Brazilian academic discourse. Majee and Ress (2018, p. 12) recount that

In 2012, when a Brazilian professor at the university under study explained to a roughly equal mixture of Latin American, Asian, and African students that internationalisation is studying abroad in Portugal (and did not bring up the international students in her classroom), the sense that the collaboration with Africa might somehow not constitute internationalization repeated itself.

Paying special attention to race and geopolitics, in accordance with decolonial propositions, Majee and Ress (2018, p. 13) conclude that

Worldwide-operative discourses, approaches, and frames of reference for internationalization privilege the needs and realities of universities in wealthy, industrialised countries in North America, Europe, and Asia. Thus, depoliticised conceptualisations of internationalization hinge on global competition, which disenfranchises historically marginalised Black South Africans and poor Brazilians (the majority of whom are considered to be mixed or Black), who – due to exclusionary and elitist policies of apartheid and colonisation – are saddled with weaker K-12 backgrounds and often face financial limitations.

These findings show the persistence of abyssal lines in the global world as internationalization is perceived and practiced. Such division is linked to conceptualizations of wealth and poverty, and the relative ability to speak from spaces associated with differential power. Pâmela Marconatto Marques (in press) – also drawing from Caribbean author Frantz Fanon, among other Southern ones, especially from Africa – advocates the need to search theory and policy for ‘the colonial trail in the hegemonic discourses’, considering

It is in the wake of this critique that the need to rehabilitate the place of enunciation of those who speak from spaces labeled as ‘failures’ is imposed. Not only because doing so do we stop wasting their experiences, we make them exist and apt to be translated among the peoples of the South, but

because doing so implies enabling these narratives, resulting from other experiences of conceptualization [...]. In this way, the inhabitants of these interdicted spaces can not only achieve a greater autonomy in the way they are represented, but also in the way in which they can relate and propose social models not necessarily mediated by Western historicity and episteme (MARQUES, in press).

So, when dealing with internationalization of higher education, how can critical theories contribute to a better understanding – and, further, enunciation – of this reality? Frances Vavrus and Amy Pekol (2015) argue for the role of critical social theory in questioning structures of inequality which mark internationalization practices with material and ideological forms of exclusion. The authors argue that ‘individuals and institutions in the Global South experience internationalization differently, and sometimes only marginally’, as their positions in the global political economy are quite different from those of the Global North actors (VAVRUS; PEKOL, 2015, p. 7). Consequently, if ‘critical social theory insists on attention to relations of power that shape the encounter between self and the cultural Other, and between institutions with different degrees of prestige and financial resources’ (VAVRUS; PEKOL, 2015, p. 8), critical conceptualizations of internationalization should deal with the dimensions of representation, symbolic capital and international political economy to bring about views on the phenomenon committed to promoting equity, ethics, and social justice.

Chrystal George Mwangi and colleagues (2018) consider criticality’s presence in comparative and international higher education is linked to the address of issues of inequality and power differences, as well as to the presence of an agenda for emancipation or interruption of oppression. This has been done with resource to the critique of colonialism, accounting for the historical effects of colonization, but especially for how academic standards reproduce international hierarchies in knowledge production. Consequently, research using critical lenses is more likely ‘to challenge the “new normal” of internationalization as having predominantly beneficial outcomes’ (GEORGE MWANGI et al., 2018, p. 1102). Bearing in mind ‘critical worldview is change-oriented and action-focused’ (GEORGE MWANGI et al., 2018, p. 1102), there are critical challenges for researchers both in knowledge production and refereeing, such as using more explicit definitions of internationalization and recognizing and interrupting Western epistemic dominance in academic publishing practices.

The incorporation of decolonial caveats to higher education studies on internationalization has prompted new epistemological articulations. One venue through which it has been influent is the Ethical Internationalism in Higher Education in Times

of Global Crises (EIHE) project, funded by the Academy of Finland, which comprises researchers working from different theoretical perspectives, among them, decolonial critiques of capitalism and the nation-state (ANDREOTTI et al., 2016). By tracing a social cartography of current discourses on university, the authors posit

A critical discursive orientation seeks to interrupt violent patterns of power and knowledge. It highlights capitalist exploitation, processes of racialization and colonialism and other forms of oppression at work in seemingly benevolent and normalized patterns of thinking and behaviour. This configuration is also located within the civic university imaginary, emphasizing the need for the inclusion of more diverse voices, and for radical forms of democracy. [...] it aims to transform, pluralize, or replace these narratives through historical and systemic analyses of patterns of oppression and unequal distributions of power, labour and resources. This orientation tends to see the university as an elitist space, an ivory tower, and call for its accountability towards empowering and giving voice to marginalized populations, emphasizing the public role of the university and its mandate in relation to the public good (ANDREOTTI et al., 2016, p. 91).

Sharon Stein (2017) proposes engage with a specific area of research, which – borrowing from Metcalfe – the author terms as ‘critical internationalization studies’. This stance is concerned with the political aspects of the phenomenon of internationalization, namely, with how it can reproduce ‘uneven global power relations and resource flows’ (STEIN, 2017, p. 4). Critical internationalization studies thus question the commensurability between ‘global’ and ‘local’ interests, as well as the neutral tone with which globalization and global capitalism are often addressed, lacking attention to the regional differences in the effects of said phenomena. They consider these limits may ‘flatten colonial realities and reproduce myths about the universal, global applicability of what are in fact the particular, local designs of the West’ (STEIN, 2017, p. 9).

In Finland, a number of critical internationalization studies can be found, linked to the Ethical Internationalism in Higher Education project led by Vanessa Andreotti. Meeri Hellstén (2017) compares policy statements and interview data across Finnish and Swedish contexts, considering there is a contrast between the international higher education imaginary and the actual world of social actors. According to the author, the dataset from Finland translates a more structured approach to internationalization than the one from Sweden, but evidence from both contexts suggests the presence of aligned international epistemes.

Jani Haapakoski and Karen Pashby (2017) research across Finland, Ireland, Sweden and United Kingdom shows differences in the way internationalization is

perceived in Nordic and English-Speaking European higher education contexts, as the latter have more emphasis on incoming degree academic mobility. Across all contexts, the authors detect the dominance of a neoliberal discourse orientation in the tension between civic and corporate imaginaries of higher education.

Haapakoski and Stein (2018) compare Canadian and Finnish internationalization policies, finding the knowledge economy framework permeating higher education rationales. For the authors, while both countries enact exceptionalist discourse with which they endeavor to distance themselves from colonization and colonialism, there are still lingering traits of coloniality, linked to the perception of Western knowledge superiority and universality and the consideration of Western nation-building as a goal to orient internationalization.

In Brazil, critical perspectives on internationalization in line with decoloniality can also be found in recent years. For instance, Danilo Streck and Julieta Abba (2018), with an anthropophagic inspiration, propose passing from the critique of internationalization to a critical internationalization, seeking resources to understand and model the phenomenon in Latin American pedagogic thought, confronting the region's colonial inheritance and valuing interculturality and solidarity.

Critical internationalization studies are more explicitly adopted as a research orientation by Fernanda Leal, Mário Moraes and Soledad Oregioni (2018), who propose a reflexive analysis of internationalization deploying categories related to hegemony and counter-hegemony in global higher education. According to the authors, a counter-hegemonic agenda for internationalization is built bottom-up, contextualized through horizontal dialogues in the demands of democratization characteristic of the Global South, unfolding solidary cooperation according to an emancipatory paradigm.

From Brazil, Leal and Moraes (2017) also apply Brazilian sociologist Alberto Guerreiro Ramos²⁵'s concept of sociological reduction to the study of internationalization. According to Guerreiro Ramos (1996 [1958]), the sociological

²⁵ I adhere to Leal and Moraes (2017) viewpoint on the importance of the author's work for the topic. Unfortunately, I was not able to delve in the depth of Professor Guerreiro's theory in this dissertation. Shamefully, his writings were absent from my whole training. I would only come in contact with it in recent years by hearing a speech by Martín Zamora, a comrade from the Graduate Students' Association, and by dialoguing with Fernanda Leal. Nevertheless, I would like to stress the role Guerreiro Ramos played in world scholarship. He was one of the authors of the concept of conscientization. He was influential in Ruy Mauro Marini's conceptualization. As the group of the Marxist dependency theory influenced the modernity/coloniality group, one can trace the genealogy that sets Guerreiro Ramos as an ancestor to decolonial thought. Guerreiro Ramos also represents a role in Brazilian intelligentsia as one of the founding black intellectuals who contributed to nation-building social thought – he was a member of Iseb influenced by Abdias do Nascimento.

reduction consists in depurating foreign intellectual production, considering the elements that inform its contextual and relational genesis, so that, in a critical and assimilative attitude, it can be properly used in distinct national contexts. For Leal and Moraes (2017, p. 17), the translation of this concept to the study of internationalization means for Southern countries ‘to produce alternative objects and ideas, consistent with their socio-historical context [...], allowing these nations to see themselves as their own center of reference’. The authors consider, furthermore, that

[...] the literal import of pre-packaged internationalization models, unadjusted to concrete development needs, will hardly contribute to attain meaningful levels of curricular internationalization and, in a broader perspective, to the mitigation of the historical process of exclusion of such countries (LEAL; MORAES, 2017, p. 19).

From Argentina, Oregioni (2017) proposes a situated perspective for internationalization of Latin American universities. The author points out internationalization studies from a counter-hegemonic perspective should account for dimensions that are missing or understated in mainstream approaches, such as: power relations underpinning the conflictual definition of what the ‘global’ is; core-periphery power relations in knowledge circuits; the questioning of a supposed ‘universal’ and ‘neutral’ character of knowledge; the qualitative traits of international bonds; the technocratic ideology in internationalization discourse; the predominance of market transnationalization in the framing of the questions; tensions between socio-cognitive and political-institutional dimensions of academic work; contextual differences informing university performance.

Considering critical internationalization studies both in the North and the South, internationalization’s ‘identity crisis’, as diagnosed by Knight (2014), seems to be rather linked to the awareness of how theory and practice have appropriated a misrepresentation of social reality. Mainstream approaches to internationalization have not sufficiently accounted for the structures of inequality in the capitalist world-system, and how phenomena taking place in this scenario are prone to reproduce exploitative dynamics unless consciously steered otherwise. This is linked to what I call the fetishism of internationalization.

The critique of fetishism²⁶ is in the roots of the critical paradigm. Marx (2010 [1867], p. 72) defined the fetishism of commodities as the phenomenon whereby ‘there it is a definite social relation between men, that assumes, in their eyes, the fantastic form of a relation between things’. Moreover, for the author,

A commodity is therefore a mysterious thing, simply because in it the social character of men’s labor appears to them as an objective character stamped upon the product of that labor; because the relation of the producers to the sum total of their own labor is presented to them as a social relation, existing not between themselves, but between the products of their labor (MARX, 2010 [1867], p. 74).

Therefore, in a Marxist perspective, fetishism is the occlusion of conflictual and uneven features of social relations involved in production and circulation of products of human labor which allow them to become commodities. As Hartmann (2014) notes, commoditization in a global scale requires fetishization in a global scale. This means occulting not only the relations between people and their work, but also the differential relations between institutions and nations, in an unequal international division of labor.

When individuals realize internationalization as something that exists outside of their own labor, as something with its own ‘neutral’ and ‘global’ – i.e., uninterested non-local – valuation procedures, as a quality standard in itself, it becomes fetish. Fetishism of internationalization is thus a decoupling of internationalization results as assessed and measured by states and institutions through policy or market mechanisms from the historical-material structures which condition academic work, consciousness and agency in distinct national contexts, which are differentially inserted in globalization processes. Fetishism of internationalization also has ethical consequences. When the power differentials between people, institutions and nations are not accounted for, inequality structures are reproduced within process of academic production and exchange, with the coupling of policy and management technique and a globalizing ideology which proceeds a meritocratic masquerading of social injustice.

²⁶ The very root of the word fetishism – fetish – derives from the use of the Portuguese word *feitiço* in the colonial encounter with Guinean societies. Interpreters of Marx’s works kept on elaborating on the concept of fetishism. In one of these formulations, Norman Geras (1991, p. 191), considers: ‘In capitalist society, Marx argues, material objects have certain characteristics conferred on them in virtue of the prevailing social relations, and are regarded as if such characteristics belonged to them by nature. [...] They constitute real powers, uncontrolled by, indeed holding sway over, human beings; objective ‘forms of appearance’ of the economic relationship definitive of capitalism. If these forms are taken it is because their social content or essence is not immediately visible but only disclosed by theoretical analysis. [...] The illusion of fetishism stems from conflation of the social characteristic and its material shapes: value seems inherent in commodities, natural to them as things. [...] What is actually social appears natural; an exploitative relationship seems to be a just one. It is the work of theory to discover the essential hidden content in each manifest form’ (GERAS, 1991, p. 191).

In the critical perspective advocated by Stein (2017), the theoretical ‘wholeness’ of internationalization as a concept or notion can be restored by foregrounding its ethical-political dimension (PASHBY; ANDREOTTI, 2016; STEIN, 2016) and resorting to decolonial frameworks (ANDREOTTI et al., 2015; STEIN; ANDREOTTI, 2016; 2017; STEIN et al., 2016a; 2016b). In my view, as critical internationalization studies activate decolonial theoretical inspiration to enable dialogues of otherness, two main challenges arise. In a normative level, theory must not be neutral vis-à-vis an unfair social order, one that is not bound to national frontiers. It must be concerned with ethics and social justice, and must not be functional or complicit to reproduction of inequalities within the very grounds of higher education. In an analytical level, it must portray and interpret the action of individuals in institutional contexts as an agent-structure engagement whereby policies can be recontextualized. Alternatives emerge as people have to deal with their social positions and reciprocal relations.

As critical internationalization theorists warn, to analyze both ethical challenges and agency, researchers must move ‘beyond the “national container”’ (SHAHJAHAN; KEZAR, 2013, p. 20). The national container is understood as the use of nation-state as a self-contained unit of analysis, a normative and analytical bias according to which ‘higher education scholarship has been limited by a tendency to reproduce methodological nationalism, which takes for granted the nation-state as a bounded entity and as the assumed scale of social relations and responsibility’ (STEIN, 2016, p. 8). In this sense, Riyad Shahjahan and Adrianna Kezar (2013, p. 27), call educational researchers ‘to not conceive higher education as exclusively associated with the nation-state or internally driven, but as constructed through the complex workings and interplays of complex social processes that are multidimensional and also geopolitical’.

Critical theories in international relations theory have longed challenged a static approach to national boundedness (GRIFFITHS; ROACH; SOLOMON, 2009; HALLIDAY, 2007 [1994]), considering the transnational character of capital accumulation and class dynamics. World-system analysis has made this point by incorporating the main tenets of dependency theory, among which national development cannot be understood without resorting to the constitutive character of systemic international relations. But there is also an internal feature of the national container that must be tackled:

The ‘national container’ historically and currently reinforces unequal power relationships among groups and also masks responsibility (i.e., responding to

the needs) for social groups inside/outside the national container.⁸ The nation-state through its projects of unity and assimilation, though liberatory for some, has in many instances oppressed (vis-a-vis exploitation, marginalization, cultural imperialism, and assimilation) those social groups that did not fit neatly into this normative face of the nation and this oppression played out differently depending on context (SHAHJAHAN; KEZAR, 2013, p. 24).

In this sense, the effort to unpack the ‘national container’ must be twofold: first, outwards, as nation states are not equal units in the world-system, and their historical constitution and transformation is tied to ‘external’ influence; second, inwards, as national projects do not present the same opportunities for social groups – the main differences being highlighted by critical theory in terms of social class, gender and race, though other differences exist²⁷. This, too, is to go against the grain of fetish, as it unveils internationalization of higher education as relations among groups of people with not necessarily convergent interests rather than flows between monolithic entities, whether nation-states or HEIs.

In my understanding, critical internationalization studies affirm that, more than billions of dollars invested in academic mobility, piles of institutional agreements and terabytes of co-authored publications, internationalization is people struggling against material need and discrimination to cross boundaries and be with one another to seek alternatives to deal with the maladies of a world-system marked by social exclusion. These efforts are conditioned at all times by social differences, many of which are directly imparted by the very social origin of individuals. That not every person has the same opportunities, or departs from the same start line, to go global is a social fact whose obscurement serves a meritocratic ideology functional to the reproduction of inequality.

As this interpretation is unfolded, the perspective adopted in this dissertation is marked by the prevalence of the radical branch of critical internationalization studies, in the terms of Stein’s (2017, p. 15) cartography: ‘radical critiques of internationalization

²⁷ Throughout this dissertation, my discourse ascertains that geographical situation within a given country is also a mark of distinction and, moreover, sets differential higher education opportunities. It is not the same thing for a person to be born in Erechim or Porto Alegre or São Paulo. In Brazil, to change cities to study is still somewhat of a class privilege. A significant – and theoretically underrepresented – part of it is due to the sheer material obstacles of moving a life – body, affections, social relations, assets, responsibilities – between cities, let alone countries. Geographical difference is too often subsumed under social class, notwithstanding its peculiarities. While much of the difference is linked to the differential acquisition of social codes, there are more factors affecting the possibilities of academic transit. These issues, too, play structuring roles and define the lives of people. As someone cognizant of contemporary debate, I cannot miss the issues of age, religion, dis/ability and sexuality as further differences subject to discrimination.

problematize how educational institutions contribute to the highly stratified global division of labor and uneven distribution of resources'. With an emphasis in social conflict, radical critique seeks to identify, analyze and respond to the roots and vectors of oppression that occur between and within national social contexts and affect internationalization, often associated to a colonial pattern of knowledge production. As for the devisal of alternatives, 'radical critiques of internationalization demand that marginalized voices be centred within curricula, and that international partnerships operate on the basis of solidarity with oppressed peoples and in contestation of Western and/or capitalist power' (STEIN, 2017, p. 21).

Stein (2017) also ties radical critique to traditions of protest and resistance by student movements, collective actors that voice some of the aforementioned marginalized voices. Concerning this class of actors, while the author considers the importance of international students as a topic as they are a center for much of internationalization efforts, I underscore the analytical and normative importance of approaching their experiences. This is connected to the vulnerable character of youth, as described by Fernandes (1975 [1968b]), and also to its regenerative potential, as noted by Fiori (2014 [1962]).

In analytical terms, it is impossible to dissociate the study of internationalization as an educational phenomenon from the consideration of the formative processes which cross over individuals. Internationalization is not 'up for grabs' – it involves sophisticated knowledge subject to gatekeeping. Individuals learn the codes and categories of internationalization through formative processes which do not necessarily coincide with the boundaries of formal schooling. These codes and categories are updated in the continuous socialization brought about by teaching and research, and so is the consciousness of such codes and categories.

In normative terms, as internationalization becomes a 'universal' requirement to obtain prestige in higher education, the conditions to attain internationalization processes are not universally available. Moreover, the codes for internationalization remain exclusive as long as they remain unwritten in official curricula and procurable only to those whose social origin or relations grant access to such knowledge. This occlusion is, again, an unwritten part of the meritocratic discourse which composes the 'ideological package' of globalization.

The link Vieira Pinto (1962) exposes between the intergenerational conflict between teachers and students and class struggle factors into such interpretation. By

manifesting class antagonisms, university disputations reflect contradiction common to the whole of the national social reality – not bound by the national container, but inserted in world-system dynamics. This conflict has multiple layers and entails shocks between students and teachers, among teachers and among students. In dependent countries, more than in developed contexts, the national elites restrain the possibilities for autonomous academic work and hinder the very possibilities of field reproduction. Students become conscious that their scholarly aspirations – whether revolutionary or conservatist – can only be achieved by contesting the dominant order, and in order to empower themselves to do that, it is necessary to resort to extra-academic resources. *Mutatis mutandis*, Vieira Pinto's (1962, p. 107) seem to remain valid:

In the dependent and despoiled country the student's preparation comprises two tasks: the first, to study as much as they can, to acquire the indispensable knowledge for the future work; the second, to ensure the conditions of the proper performance of this work when they start it. The latter one takes the objective form of political struggle, thus understood as a normal part of student duties during their passage through Faculties.

In the times when the Brazilian University Reform was being debated, the author identified what could nowadays be called extra-field capital with the political alliance with social movements. In the current phase of globalization of higher education, however, success in field struggle seems to be more related to the possession of symbolic capital reinforced with international academic valuation. Higher education policy shifts towards neoliberalism discipline, normalize and reify this struggle as they curtail public funding and direct it to those scholars and institutions held to resemble the 'world-class' quality standards – a move characterized by Thiengo and Bianchetti (2018) as the ideology of excellence. Again, the fetishism of internationalization is imparted by the ideological package of globalization, as it flattens as epistemic and technical struggles which are very material and political. That is, it erases from the relations between knowledges their worldly grounding in the relations between people striving for resources from differential labor conditions.

From a critical viewpoint, internationalization is driven by more than convergent forces linked to the progress of knowledge. Tensions driving change in university internationalization also have to do with how newcomers try to assert their positions in multiple national academic fields connected in a global interface. Likewise, they are related to the strategies of established scholars and social groups deploy to defend their positions. It is perhaps in the trajectories devised by and for future professors –

represented by the experience of postgraduate education – that the intersection of class and field dynamics are in more evidence. This is consistent with Vavrus and Pekol's (2015) call for integrating studies of representation²⁸, symbolic capital and international political economy.

As Bourdieu (2001) points out, the success of any endeavor – however subversive or heretic – to move within the field depends on the actor's command of its ruling codes. In the case of the global field of higher education, this code is the one practiced by its hegemonic institutions: the elite research universities of the leading powers in the world-system. The spaces where this code is learned are usually bound and accessible only to transnational social elites. Actors vying for change in the field must dispute its futures from within places of power such as top-tier journals, research centers, academic associations and networks, all of which are advantaged loci from which to inform institutional and state policies.

Breaking with the fetishism of internationalization requires acknowledging that access to these spaces – that is, the credibility and legitimacy to speak as a representative of the field – is not simply related to the quality or relevance of a scholar's work. It is related to the ability to carry oneself through a set of distinctive social filters which are configured by exclusionary transnational class dynamics. Critical acknowledgement of geopolitical imbalance also involves recognizing academic fields do not work in equal conditions. But further differentiation exists inside academic fields, in the stratification of HEIs and scholarly credentials. The critical task for social theory dealing with internationalization consists then in questioning who can occupy the positions of decision about higher education and how to do that – i.e., through which political movements it is possible to go global.

Even authors regarded as structuralists, such as Bourdieu (2001) and Marx (2010 [1867]; 2008 [1859]), preserve a margin of action for the individuals in their analyses of social reproduction. People can engage structure to effect change when they become critically conscious of the arbitrary character of social conventions and able to detect fragilities in the seemingly unchallengeable compound of social determination. Halliday

²⁸ Vavrus and Pekol (2015, p. 11): 'The different representations of Global North and South universities—as academic centers and peripheries, or as world-class or not—affect their desirability as sites for study abroad and for research partnerships. These representations also tend to minimize and marginalize the contributions of scholars in the Global South in the production of 'world-class' knowledge and in international university partnerships. Viewing these two forms of internationalization—study abroad and international university partnerships—through the lens of representation highlights the very different positions that Global North and South universities occupy within the field of international higher education'.

(2007 [1994], p. 66) remarks ‘in spite of defending the “iron laws” of history and of determination by the socio-economic context, Marxism contains an element of freedom, of will, of possibility and of voluntarism’ since the pages of the *Capital*. Further Marxist theoreticians ‘identified an ability in individuals and political forces to pursue an emancipation that challenges the objective constraints and contests, through conscious action, the limits of society’ (HALLIDAY, 2007 [1994], p. 67).

Therefore, for the further development of critical internationalization studies, I take up Vieira Pinto’s (1960) contribution to the study of consciousness. In trying to devise the requirements for development in the underdeveloped national reality of mid-century Brazil, the author produced a theoretical framework around the concept of critical consciousness²⁹, ‘*the one with clear consciousness of the factors and conditions which determine it*’ (VIEIRA PINTO, 1960, v. 1, p. 83, emphases from the original). Consequently, this kind of consciousness

[...] enquires about the rationales and procedures by which it produces the representation of a national reality, not only to appreciate the psychological genesis of such representation, but to discover the nature and extension of the actions exerted by the factors which condition it (VIEIRA PINTO, 1960, v. 1, p. 84).

Critical consciousness, Vieira Pinto (1960) theorizes, has an anticipatory character in that it is constantly enquiring about the conditions and outcomes of the movements of social reality, constantly questioning the legitimacy of claims on this very reality. Sensitive to the historical dynamics, it is able to capture the process of reality in its fluency due to the use of appropriate categories to analyze and express the world. It is able to process shifts in its categories as

[...] it is a consciousness driven towards objectivity, open to things and to events, directed to the conviviality with men [*sic*] and always willing to see itself as a resultant of the world, to explain itself in terms of historical dependency, to feel conditioned by the social process, to justify itself as variable in its content, according to shifts in reality (VIEIRA PINTO, 1960, v. 1, p. 85).

Open and dynamics, critical consciousness refuses the reification of social relations. Understanding itself as a product of an opens historical process and as a resultant of the force that act in a given place and situation, critical consciousness lends itself to a constant revision of its own criteria of action.

²⁹ Vieira Pinto (1960) opposes the critical consciousness to the naïve consciousness, unaware of the factors and conditions that determine it, which will not be explored here.

It is qualified as critical because, in fact, it is a consciousness permanently attentive to denounce the influences it receives and to critique them. It is critical in the etymological sense of the word, as it proceeds to ‘crisis’³⁰, that is, to the separation of the variables, and it is able to assess the signification of each one, the strength of their respective motivations and, in a general manner, their results, expressed in the judgements it bears according to its insertion in the historical context which underpins its attitudes and its mode of thinking (VIEIRA PINTO, 1960, v. 1, p. 84-85).

The critical character leads to another one: the problematic nature of this mode of consciousness, which, by questioning reality, produces an inventory of the conditions that constrain and configure action. In a deeper level, critical consciousness relates to the awareness of the connection between the individual’s possibility to represent and enquire the world and the processes of the national reality in which they are inserted. The link between consciousness and national reality produces leaps in understanding through rearrangement of categories in critical moments.

[...] sooner or later, the backward country undergoes shifts in its material structure, often due to the installation of devices of external exploitation, aimed at better exploiting it, which end up to suggest to one or another individual the transformation of consciousness, which leads to the critical thinking on reality. [...] The intensification of colonial exploitation determines the accumulation of small material variations on reality, culminating in a crisis at some point of the traditional primary structure. With crisis, begins the individual reflexivity on the situation [...]. The modification of the real creates a qualitatively new representation, and this one, in its turn, fosters the substitution of its underdeveloped material supports (VIEIRA PINTO, 1960, p. 92).

One of the categories of critical consciousness, for Vieira Pinto (1960), is that of freedom. Freedom expresses itself in ‘limit-acts’, which are ‘actions of substitution, founded on the denial of the given situation, in its refusal, and are driven towards the creation of the inexistent unprecedented’³¹ (VIEIRA PINTO, 1960, v. 2, p. 283). Limit-acts are the conjuration of freedom in face of a ‘limit situation’.

A ‘limit-situation’ is socially constituted when the community, touched by the escalation of the real life conditions framed by underdevelopment is led to become conscious of itself and faces a violent conflict with the material world in which it finds itself. What must be sociologically defined as a ‘limit-situation’ is not the failure, but the protest. It is the state of the collective consciousness that does not wish to be what it is anymore, which does not accept to keep on existing in the habitual circumstances anymore and

³⁰ According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, the word crisis comes ‘from Greek *krísis* “act of separating, decision, judgment, event, outcome, turning point, sudden change”, from *kri-*, variant stem of *krínein* “to separate, choose, decide, judge” + *-sis*, suffix forming nouns of action or process’.

³¹ ‘Inexistent unprecedented’ is the literal translation of Vieira Pinto’s wording ‘*inédito inexistente*’, in which the word *inédito* [unprecedented] is transformed from an adjective into a noun. This expression is likely the root of the Freire’s (2018 [1968]) of ‘untested feasibility’ [*inédito viável*], which, in Freirean philosophy, equates utopia.

expresses a *new understanding of its being as a vehement protest against reality* (VIEIRA PINTO, 1960, v. 2, p. 284, no emphases in the original).

The process by which a limit-situation can lead to a limit-act bringing about critical consciousness would later be explored³² by Freire (2018 [1968]) as conscientization [*conscientização*]. In further work, the author would claim

Conscientization implies surpassing the spontaneous sphere of apprehension of reality to reach a critical sphere in which reality exists as a cognoscible object and in which man³³ assumes an epistemological position. [...] Conscientization cannot exist outside ‘praxis’, or rather, without the action-reflection act. [...] For this reason, conscientization is a historical commitment. It is also historical consciousness: it is critical insertion in history, it implies that men take up the role of subjects who make and remake the world (FREIRE, 1979, p. 26).

Conscientization in Freire (2018 [1968]; 1979) is to take ownership of and responsibility for reality. In Brazilian social thought, owning one’s reality is to acknowledge the underdeveloped and dependent character of national society, and how ‘the resulting superstructure reflects the inauthenticity of the infrastructure’ (FREIRE, 1979, p. 64). This is a limit-situation:

Without this, these societies will continue the experience of the ‘culture of silence’, which, having resulted from structures of dependency, reinforces these very structures. There is, therefore, a necessary relation between dependency and ‘culture of silence’. To be silent is not to be devoid of an authentic word, but to follow the prescription of those who speak and impose their voice (FREIRE, 1979, p. 62).

Conscientization, then, is linked to the limit act of bringing about a new expression of the world and of one’s situation in it. It is about discovering one’s own authentic voice and expressing it. What does conscientization have to do with internationalization? For internationalization to take place with fairness, there must be dialogue. For genuine dialogue to take place, each part must be able to say their own word. Without this condition, internationalization falls into the old ways of dependency and coloniality.

³² Freire (1979) disclaims authorship on the concept, assigning it to a team of professors at Iseb – including Alvaro Vieira Pinto and Alberto Guerreiro Ramos – around 1964. He also reposes the Hélder Câmara with diffusing the term. As Freire would be declared the patron of Brazilian Education in the early 2010s, so Câmara would be declared the Brazilian patron of Human Rights in 2017. In 1978, Dom Hélder, as the Catholic archbishop of Recife, celebrated a mass in favor of the liberation of the leftist student leader Edson ‘Cajá’ Nunes da Silva. Elis Regina, then in the city to present a show, made a point to attend the mass, singing the chants and making acquaintance with the priest.

³³ While in the first decades of his works Freire would follow the tradition of the philosophical genre to use the words man and men to signify person and people, in later years, he would heed feminist critique and advice to always employ men and women.

The ability to say one's own word can be further enhanced by internationalization as the movements required to process internationalization – transiting among contexts – involve procedures of codification and decodification – and further recodification – by which reality is apprehended and critiqued.

Globalized information permits a vision of distant occurrences, even if only in flashes. *The knowledge of other places, even if superficial and incomplete, whets curiosities.* Although undoubtedly a subproduct of a biased general information, this knowledge, when supported by a systemic comprehension of the global happening, permits a vision of history as a situation and a process, both critical. Given this phenomenon, the crucial problem is *how to go from a critical situation to a critical vision and, consequently, to reach a condition of consciousness.* For this to occur, it is necessary to live one's very existence as something unitary and true, but also as a paradox: obey in order to subsist and resist in order to be able to think the future (SANTOS, 2017 [2000], p. 63, no emphases in the original).

For individuals coming from dependent contexts, internationalization allows a re-encounter with the limit-situation of underdevelopment. It whets critical consciousness. It is my understanding that critical internationalization studies should dedicate themselves to this 'whetting', to developing conscientization. Underdevelopment, being a product of an international system, cannot be dealt with only within national terms. On the contrary, internationalization can be fostered as a vector for limit-acts, acts of protest questioning whose words count and why. As Freire (1979, p. 64) posits, 'to understand the "culture of silence", one needs first to analyze dependency as a relational phenomenon which originates different forms of being, thinking, expressing, those of the culture of silence and those of the culture which "has a word"'. This means taking issue with the historical dependency of the very internationalization process in relation to colonial power arrangements. From there, this goes on to unveiling the dialectics between the material support and consciousness.

Throughout this chapter, I hope to have demonstrated that my culture – Latin American, Brazilian – has a word. It has had words on what we nowadays know as globalization even before the phenomenon was thus named.

I tried to establish that a fundamental task of critical theory, taken up in the radical branch of critical internationalization studies, is to use the consciousness of being conditioned by structure to act upon its very conditioning factors. I argued that this can be done by acknowledging the political character of universities and of the changes that take place in them. I exposed how this is well documented in Brazilian social thought, and how it connects to the totality of the world-system that informs what

takes place within national higher education systems. I showed the new impetus taken both in policy and scholarship as the globalization discourse developed from the 1980s on and the studies on internationalization took off in the 2000s. I took notice of how both Latin America and Finland registered emergent and critical perspectives on the changes brought about by internationalization and its prospects. I finally tied all these threads together by employing tenets of conscientization theory to set up venues through which one can observe how, through internationalization, globalization affects people in universities.

As Santos (2017 [2000]) proposes, the coupling of technique and politics to produce progress in capitalist accumulation leads to new developments, such as those to which Vieira Pinto (1960) refers as producing turning point for the rise of critical consciousness. The reconfiguration of the logics that organize the banal space of everyday life through materiality of work – with the displacement of visible agents of change and power – provokes cognitive labor as the individual must make sense of a world whose reproduction can no longer be confined to the boundaries they apprehended at first.

The person, group, firm, and institution constitute the agents from the inside of the place, which they communicate with above all by the mediation of the technique and of production itself. At the same time, the world is for the person, group, firm, and institution something from the outside of the place, and the communication between world and place occurs through political mediation. *Technical mediation* and the correspondent production, local and directly experienced, may not be fully comprehended, but are *experienced as an immediate given*. Concurrently, *political mediation*, often exerted from far away and whose objectives are not always evident, *demand a more philosophical interpretation* (SANTOS 2017 [2000], p. 62-63, no emphases in the original).

I understand it is a task for critical internationalization studies to grasp this political mediation and to provide the bases for its philosophical interpretation. In order to do so, I constructed this dissertation around the problem of how people in different contexts process changes related to internationalization.

As I introduced this study with the allegory of the ‘Elis Regina effect’, I tried to show the possibilities of human action by describing the movement of a peripheral agent through the field, changing the hierarchy of objects. For an individual to successfully establish oneself in the field, achieving the powers to not only conduce reproduction, but also to spin change, they must bear a particular consciousness of the transitional movements and of the categories at play at the moment of such events.

The consciousness involved in the study of categories of political action in university internationalization is linked to the ability to proceed to crisis (VIEIRA PINTO, 1960) to listen to the noises crackling in the system (WALLERSTEIN, 2004). It is a dialectic meander on which to tap to, in Elis Regina's words, 'let this stuff blow, as this noise aids in what you are trying to put forward – and which by n momentary reasons we cannot put forward'.

I am aware of many of my limitations as a radical critical scholar, and of the new frontiers that are being opened by liminal critique (STEIN, 2017), which tackles the phenomena of coloniality with the potency of subaltern voices. However, I shall not sing this stuff to dilute its weight and its measure.

I am just a Latin American lad who learned from Latin American higher education it is 'impracticable to be radical, or even progressist, about society without being it, as well, inside university, about its problems of autonomous development' (RIBEIRO, 1975, p. 29). For me, this university, which I see, with Leite and Morosini (1992), as an institution for democratization must, as Fiori (2014 [1962]) puts it, 'begin, in its own plan, the democratization we want to extend to all the sectors of social life'. With Fiori (2014 [1970], p. 100), I understand education as 'a permanent effort of disadjustment' and conscientization as a 'struggle for disalienation' (FIORI, 2014 [1970], p. 94). In Freirean terms, this utopia, demanding critical knowledge, is an act of knowledge: 'I cannot denounce the de-humanizing structure if I do not enter it to know it' (FREIRE, 1979, p. 28). This is why I produce knowledge. I am only interested in the global higher education that promotes a global democratic life.

3. Methodological strategy: straightjackets and class consciousness

And when you hear that the crisis exists because Brazilian artists lack creativity, you go mad. I am not up for straightjackets. Now, this is also a very difficult problem to solve, because its solution would depend on consensus. Consensus depends on assembly. And [if one calls an] assembly, three [people will] come. [...] While the stock market is provided ammunition³⁴ to maintain our brilliant future, free of bigger risks, we will never even have the possibility to organize an assembly, let alone to debate a subject. [...] We are manipulated to the point of fighting for the boss's interest. Few people have class consciousness.

Elis Regina

While Elis Regina spoke from the artistic field in the 1980s, as a musician who had strived for unionization of musical workers, her words are not less truthful for the Brazilian academic field in the 2010s.

The government that took office in 2019 claims that massification of higher education was a catastrophic policy, that public universities are not doing their jobs – they would not be faring well in the rankings! – and, rather, are doing ‘mess’ [*balbúrdia*]. The very president calls students ‘stupid’ for defending the preservation of educational budget. Are we? Or are the straightjackets of hegemony ever-ready to cast away those who question the eagerness to fight for the boss’s interest, to maintain our brilliant future through policies guided solely by stock market short-term profits?

The problem with which Elis Regina was dealing then was one of capital-labor relations, the ones that enveloped the relations of production and circulation of cultural goods in Brazil, a market depressed by the overexploitation of workforce. Her words carry inspiration to interpret the world in times when our ‘brilliant future’ seems more dystopic than ever.

If Elis Regina was worried about musicians waiving their rights to get jobs that would allow them to pay the bills, I am worried about what universities might be waiving to go global – and what that means for individuals in the banal spaces of their lives. At the same time, I am also interested in what they gain through international engagement. Brazilian public universities have increased manifold their publication

³⁴ The word used by Elis Regina in the original Portuguese form is ‘*municuada*’, the participle form of the verb ‘*municuar*’. This verb’s literal meaning is ‘to provide someone or something with ammunition’. While I could have used a more neutral equivalent such as the verbal form ‘equipped’, I opted for the expression ‘provided ammunition’ because it translates better Elis Regina’s apparent intention in this enunciation: to declare the violence perpetrated through stock markets, likening these institutions to weapons. The following mention of a ‘brilliant future’ is, of course, an irony on late capitalist teleology.

outputs. Yet, outcomes in terms of class consciousness – such as those expected by Leite and Morosini (1992) in the onset of the 1990s – remain a taboo.

In order to better understand what is happening to universities as institutions as they go global, I asked my research problem:

How do individuals in Brazilian and Finnish contexts of postgraduate education process changes in university as internationalization takes place?

I asked this question heeding de Wit's (2014) advice; the problem focuses on the 'how' of internationalization. I looked at a superstructural phenomenon, the reconfiguration of an institution – university – in a historical phase – globalization – through a specific process – internationalization. In this chapter, I make explicit the elements involved in the general research design: how I dealt with individuals exerting acts of consciousness to go global. In this chapter, I expose how I essayed to capture the resulting 'noise' to which I alluded in the previous chapter, quoting Wallerstein (2004).

My exploration of the 'how' of internationalization was guided by my research questions.

How can change associated to internationalization of higher education be identified in the different fields of social action?

How can power associated to internationalization of higher education be identified in the different fields of social action?

How is internationalization understood and practiced in the different fields of social action?

How do individuals organize their political action to effect internationalization?

The first two questions imply the use of two broad categories – power and change – on the object. The latter ones draw attention to how social action in the different fields of social action is informed by the broader context and the immediate influences of technical mediation in the, on the one side, and leads to action schemes and political mediation, on the other side. They provide a view on what is – or is not – being debated 'to maintain our brilliant future'.

Straightjackets here refer to the processes of structural constraint acting over consciousness, but also to how social questions demand a creative use of theory and methodology in the interpretative effort. In times of adversity for universities, it is public intellectuals' – and especially, critical scholars' – ethical-political duty to question, at the very least, the diagnostics and prognostics of the crises for which they

are blamed. Class consciousness remains the utmost resort on which workers count to fend off for themselves against the social injustice of capitalist exploitation and to establish solidary bonds across national containers. I am not outside the historical process of my nation and my training tasks me with producing the soundest possible theory to back assemblies that raise consciousness against

I understand it is then up to the qualitative comparatist to promote the assemblage of categories and registers of social reality, as only through the relational exploration of possibilities can solutions for social problems be achieved. I brought together two distant cases to understand my object. I devised a theory-supported emergent approach to my problem. I sought in people the emergent meanings of internationalization of higher education. I organized them in categories according to a qualitative content analysis. The process is detailed as follows.

3.1 Research design

'Don't you think, Bernardo,' Tiffany asked me as we crossed the streets of Jyväskylä, 'there is stuff going on here that goes by unsaid?'

As I first got to the Faculty of Education of the University of Jyväskylä, I was informed that a Fulbright scholar was also arriving to study under the guidance of Jussi Välimaa. I would soon make friends with Tiffany Viggiano during the CHER Conference. A social scientist trained at the University of California, Riverside, Tiffany is a critical scholar with whom I share many assumptions. She was a partner in researching internationalization in Finnish higher education, and as we reached our partial findings, we would confer to check for congruence in our analyses.

Tiffany's work on global responsibility in higher education sparked a conceptual debate in a research group session. She brought up the issue of equity, which caused some perplexity. Equity – in Portuguese, *equidade* –, we learned, did not exist as a word in Finnish, a language in which this very idea was conflated with equality – in Portuguese, *igualdade* – in a same word. While this could be tied to the homogeneity and egalitarianism of the Finnish context, it limited the possibilities to discuss policy implication in issues of diversity and matters of social asymmetry. What did the absence

of the concept communicate? We lacked field knowledge to know if our critical lenses were providing insight or overinterpretation.

Another example of a mismatch of concepts between contexts is the fact that a same Finnish word can alternatively be translated as reform or innovation. This concept is incorporated in the social dynamics of Finnish higher education as a usual part of the policy cycle. In Brazil, either reform or innovation would mean an exceptional event. Reform, in Brazil, signifies such a drastic system-level transformation that it has become something of a lost category. Innovation, in turn, carries a different tone, being linked to a rupture with mainstream didactic practices and a reorganization of traditional pedagogies (LEITE, GENRO, BRAGA, 2011). I thus prefer to operate with the broader category of change in university. Change, as a concept, has a greater plasticity that allows for application in both contexts under study.

This is not only a matter of translation, as ‘there are limits to narrowing a concept in international work, as concepts are not equally available across national contexts’ (SFREDO MIORANDO, 2019, p. 73). This is not to say that national contexts display static repertoires of categories with which to operate. In fact, comparative education can be a very venue through which conceptualizations can flow across contexts and theory.

Halliday (2007 [1994]) comments on how the political conditions of production and circulation of theory of international relations enabled some concepts to bloom while disenfranchising others. I understand this to be case of globalization and dependency, respectively. Marginson and Mollis (2001, p. 581) make a similar observation about comparative education approaches and add: ‘at the heart of comparative international education research, education intersects with power’. Välimaa (2008, p. 145) remarks that in comparative education, political arenas of decision-making ‘extend their influence inside the academic fields of research, owing to the fact that they tend to support intellectual traditions and research styles, which give causal explanations for social phenomena’. Robert Cowen (2012) considers that changes in the academic work agenda affect the very epistemes with which comparative efforts deal. In his words,

With the shift in the agendas of attention and anxiety, there is also a shift in *episteme* – the academic perspectives utilized in analyses or in description alter. [...] It is not merely what the global actually is; it is how the global is read which also defines the agenda of attention in comparative education (COWEN, 2012, p. 408).

Episteme is also about the limits of what is – or can be – considered. Agendas of attention are characterized not only by what is said, but also by what goes by unsaid. While I cannot theorize on the unsaid, I can interpret mismatches between what is said by people in context and by theory. I can listen to the noise within and between cases, signaling cracks and adjustments in the system.

The discussion here highlights the process of change in the very categories used to practice university, and how it is affected by globalization. There is an endeavor to be open and sensitive to context, allowing different dimensions of categories to emerge – ‘after all, existing hierarchies never constitute an absolute closure of the social imagination’ (MARGINSON; MOLLIS, 2001, p. 582).

3.1.1 Comparative education and the global

According to Erwin Epstein (1998, p. 31) comparison is ‘the cross-national method of discovering invariant relationships between education and aspects of society’. As an educator who was first trained in international relations in a dependent country, I refer to world-systems analysis (WALLERSTEIN, 2004) to assume one such constitutive relationship is that between education and a society’s insertion in the international division of labor. This can be considered an external factor. My experience as a Brazilian researching higher education in Finland showed me another, internal factor, which would refer to the conditions for the enactment of educational policy in the specific polity and politics of a national context.

Global agendas, however structured they are, cannot gain material existence inside national institutions without the alignment of a set of players and institutions. As national contexts and their historical experiences differ greatly, the mediations between global trends and local practices in higher education provided by the attention to social contexts may yield important insight on how societies can respond to emerging challenges. To pursue international comparative research in higher education means to investigate the different national/institutional/local responses to the same global trends by comparison:

[...] the logic of comparison incorporates both sameness and difference. First, any act of comparison assumes an a priori notion of difference, whether difference of degree, as in unequal quantities of the same kind of object, or

difference of kind, as in the contrasting of objects with varying qualities. Second, comparison involves a search not just for variations between cases but also for resemblance between them. Comparison is only possible on the basis of common criteria, including the identification of units for comparison, the quantitative and qualitative methods used in making comparisons, and the theoretical framework linking the criteria together. Neither sameness nor difference can be absolute (MARGINSON; MOLLIS, 2001, p. 585).

Proceeding and international comparative higher education research also implies recognizing that

[...] comparative research is not a branch of research with a unique theoretical background; rather, comparison is a *basic logical approach* of observation and interpretation. Additionally, comparative research establishes a *borderline between a familiar cultural and social space and other non-familiar cultural and social spaces*; thereby, most frequently a nation is viewed as the familiar space, and comparative research is ‘international comparative research’ in comparing phenomena across nations (TEICHLER, 2014, p. 394, emphases from the original).

In the case of this dissertation, the international comparative research investigates the phenomenon of internationalization of higher education across the familiar space of Brazil and the non-familiar space of Finland. Among the different types of comparative studies, the one designed here intends to be a thematic comparison, which ‘might include specified objectives of the comparison and gather common data in order to generalize on the basis of those data. They attempt to establish regularities in different patterns of administration and deviation from this pattern’ (KOGAN, 1998, p. 42). The aim here is not to provide a comprehensive generalization, but rather to understand ‘the extent to which one force [...] is driving the system’, while also paying attention to how ‘forms of knowledge, feeling or value become shaped and structured into procedures, processes and structures’ (KOGAN, 1998, p. 43; 44).

I follow Kogan’s (1998) claim that the comparative method can be used to locate and explore a phenomenon still insufficiently understood. I also consider Teichler’s (2014, p. 394) understanding that ‘higher education research is an area of research prone to pay attention to international comparison because higher education is a social arena in which border crossing (knowledge transfer, mobility and cooperation) is a matter of procedure’.

The comparative movement between the contexts under study intends to better capture the social dynamics of higher education, that is, ‘the fact that the ways systems of higher education function and operate vary between different countries because of the differences in their various cultural and geographical contexts and in the relationships between various actors’ (VÄLIMAA; NOKKALA, 2014, p. 423-424). It heeds Välimaa

and Nokkala's (2014, p. 426) advice that comparative research should not be limited by the search of lexical equivalence, but should instead strive to find effective, or functional, equivalence:

Instead of aiming to find the actors with the same name in different systems of higher education we should try to find higher education actors which serve the same purpose in different systems of higher education, or in the higher education institution compared.

Another aspect to pay attention to is the political character of international comparative studies in higher education, as the objects of study are politicized ones. Therefore, the authors remind that it is important to keep in mind that actors in systems of higher education have distinct motivations; that the political influence of actors and their role in higher education policy-making vary between countries; and that the relationships between actors vary from country to country. So, as space, time and context must be addressed, one should look for size and higher education system characteristics; language; societal actors or stakeholders; societal traditions of universities and higher education; and colonial traditions (VÄLIMAA; NOKKALA, 2014).

To enquire about 'universities going global' is to ask about how institutions experience a transformational process whereby the references for academic work shift from these societal contexts delimited by the boundaries of the nation-state to a global field, while 'the global' does not have an overarching regulatory apparatus parallel to that of the national space. In this process, 'governance remains national in form, and nation-states continue to be central players in a globalizing world, but partly as local agents of global forces, for the nation-state now operates within global economic constraints' (MARGINSON; MOLLIS, 2001, p. 601).

Universities depart from a reading of the global to go global. As Cowen (2012, p. 407) states,

'Reading the global' in comparative education is the selection of an agenda of academic attention, the naming of anxieties and puzzles embedded in an interpretation of those foreign parts of the world which are 'seen'; in the sense that those places are deliberately raised to visibility.

Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2002, p. 74) considers that 'the global takes place locally'. At the same time, 'what we call globalization is always the successful globalization of a specific localism', as 'there is no global condition for which we cannot find a local root' (SOUSA SANTOS, 2002, p. 63). This would mean that a

global standard is usually a local standard that became hegemonic. In Marginson and Mollis's words (2001, p. 599),

Global hegemony in comparative education does not mean the extinction of the national dimension and its replacement by abstract universalism so much as the worldwide elevation of the educational practices of one nation-or rather, an idealized version of those practices. Other nations do not vanish. They are subordinated. The strategic objective is to render their governments the instruments of hegemony.

This is what is in question when authors ask: 'for whom' the world-class model is being proposed (ROBERTSON, 2012) or 'in whose image' is higher education being transformed (DEEM; MOK; LUCAS, 2008). As universities have had to deal with state authority all through their history, since their medieval roots, this transformation of the university cannot be dissociated from a transformation of the state. This does not mean that 'the state' is yielding all its sovereignty to foreign agendas when dealing with the politics of university. It means that both the struggle for the control of the state and the struggle in the global field of higher education direct policy towards emulation of hegemonic models. This can be related to what Robertson and Dale (2017, p. 869-870) call 'rescaling':

[...] strategic actors relocated themselves, or ceded some of their authority, to a new scale – above or below the nodal scale that had been a key passage point, or site of authority, for governing in order to drive these new political initiatives forward. [...] However policymaking capacity – or some element of sovereignty – was also moved above the nation-state, to the regional and the global, so as to advance particular projects with rather different interests.

The authors argue that the global scale may be 'invoked as a higher form of authority and rule' as well as enable 'policy projects to advance quickly – unencumbered by institutions and other actors who might have different views about the probity or not of these policies' (ROBERTSON; DALE, 2017, p. 864). In some cases, this can be considered a phenomenon of dependency, in light of Dos Santos's (1970; 2002) formulation. This is also consistent with world-systems analysis's view of 'the sovereign nation state and its institutions as being created historically within, defined by, and deriving legitimacy from, an expanding interstate system managing the global division of labour within the expanding capitalist world-economy' (GRIFFITHS; ARNOVE, 2015, p. 93).

Integrating the perspectives of Wallerstein (2004), Santos (2017 [2000]) and Halliday (2001), the phenomenon that has been called globalization could be found in the vertical relations that hold together the different sub-units of the capitalist world-

system. Moreover, from a historical-materialist point of view, the reorientation of universities toward a global environment could be grasped where the institution is enacted in the social relations between individuals, that is, in academic work. It is in this relational space that one could look for the incidence of the interaction of verticalities and horizontalities (SANTOS, 2017 [2000]), driving change.

Anna Tsing (2005, p. 1) calls this interaction ‘friction’, ‘the grip of worldly encounter’ or ‘the sticky materiality of practical encounters’. This notion calls for attention to the contingent, historical, contradictory character of social relations that defines movement, cultural form and agency in global flows.

Yet the closer we look at the commodity chain, the more every step – even transportation – can be seen as an arena of cultural production. Global capitalism is made in the friction in these chains as divergent cultural economies are linked, often awkwardly. Yet the commodity must emerge as if untouched by this friction (TSING, 2005, p. 51).

If fetishism occults historical power structures that conform the social relations underpinning material production, the metaphor of friction may direct the gaze precisely to the multidimensionality and unpredictability of the process that enable social reproduction: ‘as a metaphorical image, friction reminds us that heterogeneous and unequal encounters can lead to new arrangements of culture and power’ (TSING, 2005, p. 5).

Roads are a good image for conceptualizing how friction works: roads create pathways that make motion easier and more efficient, but in doing so they limit where we go. The ease of travel they facilitate is also a structure of confinement. Friction inflects historical trajectories, enabling, excluding and particularizing. The effects of encounters across difference can be compromising or empowering. Friction is not a synonym for resistance. Hegemony is made as well as unmade with friction (TSING, 2005, p. 6).

If internationalization is a road connecting universities and global capitalism, this road is not devoid of friction. The processes of change in higher education entailed in internationalization are thus marked by the friction which takes place through the awkward links between different fields of social action which compose a context of postgraduate education.

Tsing’s idea of friction allows to shed light in some aspects of globalization that are frequently overlooked, a practice Robertson and Dale (2011; 2017) term as spatial fetishism, a dichotomization of local and global, compressing the relational and strategic nature of space and ‘failing to problematize space, or to see that space itself is both constituted by, and constitutive of social relations and structures’ (ROBERTSON;

DALE, 2017, p. 863). Therefore, when dealing with ‘the global’, one should avoid treating globalization as an ossified category. When considering the national frontiers, the institutional boundaries and the individual subjectivities, globalization is ‘in here’ as much, or more than, it is ‘out there’. Globalization is not a process without subjects, but one made up by struggles that take place in multiple scales. Consequently, changes within the national contexts occur with more nuances than self-evident global outcomes.

Hence, the interpretation proposed here draws on the theorization by Santos (2017 [2000]) about verticalities and horizontalities in the geographical space. The same points in space may align to global flows in verticality as well as reproduce the banal processes of local life in horizontality, and these movements are concomitant in a given place.

Thus, horizontalities admit, beyond the rationalities typical of the verticalities that cross them, the presence of other rationalities (called irrationalities by those that would desire the hegemonic rationalities to be the only ones present). In fact, they are counter-rationalities, that is, forms of coexistence and of regulation created from the territory itself and which rest in this territory regardless of the will for unification and homogenization, a will that is a characteristic of the hegemonic rationality typical of verticalities (SANTOS, 2017 [2000], p. 60).

Individuals are subject to both logics – and to the interaction between them. In this interaction, friction happens. Seeking global friction within contexts of postgraduate education is, therefore, to seek how these rationalities and counter-rationalities condition the incorporation of the structure in the individual, as consciousness is developed in the relation between individuals and globalizing contexts. In my perspective on comparative education, the global gains material existence as this friction affects practices inside national higher education systems, institutions and individuals. It follows that the global needs to be examined from its underpinnings in different postgraduate contexts.

3.1.2 Different contexts of postgraduate education

I use the term ‘context of postgraduate education’ to describe postgraduate education activity that takes place within a contextual unit of analysis. As an educator trained within a national tradition and an international relations analyst, I take the boundaries of the state to delimit the context. After all, regulations on postgraduate

education are still enacted and enforced by the states. When speaking of postgraduate education, I refer to the highest level of formal training of an educational system. Of course, my views of this object are modeled by the national context in which I have been educated, and my core conceptualization of postgraduate education is built from a Brazilian viewpoint.

In Brazil, it has been legally understood on the bases set by a document known as the Sucupira Report: the Report 977/1965 by Brazilian Federal Council of Education (CFE), authored by Newton Sucupira. Although this definitions were given as early as 1965, as stated by Jamil Cury (2005, p. 18; 10), this is the ‘founding text of systematic postgraduate education in Brazil and, after it, there seems to be no other text that articulates doctrine and normative on the matter with such impact on this level of education in Brazil’ and that ‘from the doctrinal viewpoint, in official matter, this report is still the major, if not the only, systematic reference of postgraduate education in our country’. His remark, now more than a decade old, remains valid as no new legal opinion or normative has changed the dispositions set by the Sucupira Report³⁵.

The Sucupira Report conceptualizes postgraduate education as a ‘cycle of regular programs following undergraduate education that aim to develop and further the formation acquired in the undergraduate programs and that lead to obtaining academic degrees’ (BRASIL, 1965, s.p.). This training should lead to the achievement of a ‘high standard of scientific or technical-professional competence, impossible to acquire at the undergraduate level. However, beyond these immediate practical interests, postgraduate education aims to offer, at university, the environment and the resources for the free scientific research, where to affirm the creation of the highest forms of university culture’ (BRASIL, 1965, s.p.).

One important orientation by the Sucupira Report that lasts to date was the division of postgraduate education between *lato sensu* and *stricto sensu* programs. The *lato sensu* track is comprised by programs of ‘specialization’ and ‘enhancement’, with technical-professional specific goals, focusing on professional specialization rather than on the broad scientific training on the totality of a field of knowledge. The *stricto sensu* track, in turn, is composed by Master’s and Doctoral programs. These have academic nature and scientific research goals, and are the highest status in the hierarchy of

³⁵ In fact, in 2014, the Coordination for the Enhancement of Higher Education Personnel (Capes), the agency that funds and regulates postgraduate education, established a digital repository to collect data for the evaluation of postgraduate programs. This resource was called Sucupira Platform.

university training. The Master's is seen as a preliminary stage in the achievement of the Doctoral degree, the terminal one. The doctorate is defined as a broad and deep scientific and cultural formation, developing research ability and creative power in the different fields of knowledge. Other important difference in terms of accreditation is that while *stricto sensu* programs confer degrees, *lato sensu* ones confer certificates (BRASIL, 1965). In this research, I am concerned with what is known in Brazil as *stricto sensu* postgraduate education.

Maria da Graça Ramos e Maria Estela Dal Pai Franco (2006, p. 266) summarize *stricto sensu* postgraduate education as a 'regular program that adds to undergraduate education with a systematic organization and the objective to develop and deepen the scientific or cultural education obtained in undergraduate education'. These programs are 'academic and research-based in nature, and lead to an academic degree' (RAMOS; FRANCO, 2006), granting the diplomas of either master or doctor. Still according to the authors,

The *stricto sensu* postgraduate programs, including master's and doctoral programs, are subject to the exigencies of authorization, recognition and renewal of recognition, granted by a limited time, depending on a favorable decision by the Chamber of Higher Education of the National Council of Education, based on the results of the evaluation proceeded by Capes, and homologated by the minister of Education (RAMOS; FRANCO, 2006, p. 267).

In the Brazilian case, Sucupira devised a project for postgraduate education heavily inspired in the foreign experience of the developed countries, most notably the United States. The influence of the USA would sooner be reinforced as the Brazilian university reform of 1968 was based in the Plan Atcon and grounded on agreements between the Brazilian Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) and USAID. While the Plan Atcon resulted from a study by North American consultant Rudolph Atcon under MEC's auspices, the assistance provided by USAID was inscribed within what the pioneer Brazilian higher education historian Maria de Lourdes Fávero (2006, p. 30) termed a 'strategy of hegemony' of the USA over Latin America.

It came as no surprise, then, that when I referred to my study about the internationalization of postgraduate education, people in Finland would probe me: 'so, you mean postgraduate education in the North American sense, right?'. This question prompts three considerations. Firstly, as a dependent society, Brazil emulated a foreign model of postgraduate education. Secondly, in spite of all discourse on globalization and convergence, national traditions still mark distinction between models of

postgraduate education, to the very core of what people mean by the term. So, postgraduate education is still not a stabilized concept in ‘global higher education’, and, hence, it is subject to friction. Thirdly, and most importantly for this dissertation, the experience of a dependent country could not, in a first moment, be communicated in its own terms to a foreign audience. In order to establish relations with other experiences, the ‘particular’ of the periphery had to resort to the mediation by the ‘universal’ of the core. Herein, lies a quintessential dimension of the pedagogy of the oppressed in the terms of Freire (2018 [1968]) and Fiori (2014 [1970]): in order to say my own word about my world, I had to resort to a lexicon that was not mine. This involved a process of coding and decoding different national experiences, learning with the other, in a movement of consciousness.

All of this also involves contradiction and alienation, what is further complicated as, for me to make the comparison feasible, I had to impose my lenses on the Finnish context as I constructed the object. Finland has its own conception-practice of postgraduate education and its origins and sources are different from the USA-inspired Brazilian one. In Finland,

The aim of postgraduate education is that the student: (1) becomes well-versed in his/her own field of research and its social significance and gains knowledge and skills needed to apply scientific research methods independently and critically and to produce new scientific knowledge within his/her field of research; (2) becomes conversant with the development, basic problems and research methods of his/her own field of research; and (3) gains such knowledge of the general theory of science and of other disciplines relating to his/her own field of research as enables him/her to follow developments in them (FINLAND, 2004, p. 7-8).

The postgraduate level of education in Finland is comprised by two degrees: doctorate and licentiate ones.

To be awarded a doctorate, the student must: (1) complete the required postgraduate studies; (2) demonstrate independent and critical thinking in the field of research; and (3) write a doctoral dissertation and defend it in public. [...]

A student admitted to postgraduate education may be awarded the licentiate degree when he/she has completed the part of the postgraduate studies assigned by the university and the specialisation education possibly included in the degree (FINLAND, 2004, p. 8).

The great difference from the Brazilian context is that the master’s degree is not located within the scope of postgraduate education, but rather characterized as a ‘higher university degree’. As such, in a Finnish master’s,

The education shall provide the student with: (1) good overall knowledge of the major subject or a corresponding entity and conversance with the fundamentals of the minor subject or good knowledge of the advanced studies included in the degree programme; (2) knowledge and skills needed to apply scientific knowledge and scientific methods or knowledge and skills needed for independent and demanding artistic work; (3) knowledge and skills needed for independently operating as an expert and developer of the field; (4) knowledge and skills needed for scientific or artistic postgraduate education; and (5) good language and communication skills (FINLAND 2004, p. 3-4).

If the difference does not appear at the level of conceptualizing master's and doctoral degrees, then it speaks to academic tradition and registers in who is entitled and expected to complete a master's. It is also noteworthy that the Government Decree on University Degree states

The university shall have the duty constantly to evaluate and develop degrees, degree studies and teaching. Attention shall be especially paid to the quality of degrees, instruction, guidance counselling and studies, to educational needs in society, to the national and international equivalence of degrees and studies, and to the effectiveness of education (FINLAND, 2004, p. 10).

Therefore, I put on checks to make sure that functional equivalence underlay semantic divergence. I asked interviewees about their conceptions of master's and doctoral training. The similarity with which they were described in both countries allowed me to retain the master's within my scope. I also considered the efforts on the comparability of higher education degrees carried out within the scope of international organizations.

Internationally, Unesco's International Standard Classification of Education (Isced) recognizes this level of education in the figures of master's and doctoral levels, classified as the highest levels of instruction, numbers 7 and 8, respectively.

Programmes at ISCED level 7, or Master's or equivalent level, are often designed to provide participants with advanced academic and/or professional knowledge, skills and competencies, leading to a second degree or equivalent qualification. Programmes at this level may have a substantial research component but do not yet lead to the award of a doctoral qualification. Typically, programmes at this level are theoretically-based but may include practical components and are informed by state of the art research and/or best professional practice. They are traditionally offered by universities and other tertiary educational institutions (UNESCO, 2012, p. 55).

Programmes at ISCED level 8, or doctoral or equivalent level, are designed primarily to lead to an advanced research qualification. Programmes at this ISCED level are devoted to advanced study and original research and are typically offered only by research-oriented tertiary educational institutions such as universities. Doctoral programmes exist in both academic and professional fields. [...] ISCED level 8 usually concludes with the submission and defence of a thesis, dissertation or equivalent written work of

publishable quality, representing a significant contribution to knowledge in the respective field of study. Therefore, these programmes are typically based on research and not only on course work. In some education systems, ISCED level 8 programmes contain very limited course work, or none at all, and individuals working towards a doctoral degree engage in research mostly independently or in small groups with varying degrees of supervision. In some education systems, doctoral research is undertaken by individuals employed by the university as junior researchers or research assistants, in addition to their being enrolled as doctoral students (UNESCO, 2012, p. 59).

Indeed, master's and doctoral degrees are rooted in the imaginary, in the culture and in legislation of university as the highest step in the pursuit of knowledge. They are now characterized by being grounded on research work, aiming at knowledge production.

Postgraduate degrees have been conferred since medieval times, as testified by the experience of the University of Bologna. The first academic diplomas were originally licenses to teach – *licentia docendi* – obtained by the students from the professors. To certify higher attainment, the degrees of master – *magister* – and doctor – *doctorem* – were granted. These were the official diplomas that allowed one to enter the professors' guilds which characterized the university as of then (HASKINS, 1957). In medieval Bologna, doctoral degrees were conferred to candidates who completed at least six years of study and underwent private and public examinations. At that moment, research work was not involved as the core part of the training (ULLMANN, 1994). According to the Verger (1992), the public examination that led to the awarding of master's degrees and doctorates was 'an act of corporate significance, which showed that the graduate was suited to teaching and which marked his solemn entrance into the body of doctors, his recognition and admission by his peers'. In this historical context, the conferral of such degrees affirmed the autonomy of university, that would recruit whoever it wished, according to its own standards.

If they are likewise present in contemporary universities as the highest titles, the meaning of such degrees, however, has changed with times – as the role of universities has also changed. As noticed by Nerad (2010), postgraduate education is still tasked with training people to acquire a significant knowledge in their area of study and to develop skills and competencies in research so as to contribute to knowledge with original work. Beyond academia, those completing a postgraduate education should become the next generation of professionals and scholars that will, on one hand, plan and build the nation's infrastructure and, on other hand, promote its engagement with

global issues, whether academic or economic. Furthermore, in times of globalization, new trends emerge at the macro-level of systems:

(1) a change in the mode of research production; (2) the increasing importance of translational skills; (3) the increasing standardization of doctoral education; (4) a quest for greater accountability; and (5) increased global communication and creation of international networks (NERAD, 2010, p. 5).

This way, in times when the knowledge economy and knowledge society discourses gains momentum (ROBERTSON, 2005; NOKKALA, 2006), postgraduate education, the locus of formation of researchers, may be subtly in the way of shifting its role. More than an affirmation of the authority and autonomy of universities, postgraduate degrees attest that HEIs have served their social function of preparing citizens to assume a sophisticated productive role in society. In fact, these future leaders are being trained in an educational environment where competition – neoliberal global competition – has become the motto that structures an academic newspeak, which has internationalization and institutional evaluation as central vectors to consummate ‘global’ agendas (LEITE; GENRO, 2012). This is observed not only in Brazil, but also in other countries around the globe. In this scenario, national narratives of higher education are ‘confronted with a hypercompetitive, economic global ethos in which new higher education hierarchies – in the form of social and institutional stratification subtly emerge’ (HOFFMAN; NOKKALA; VÄLIMAA, 2016, p. 248). Such stratification can be perceived based on how individuals or basic units of higher education position themselves in competition for resources, considering the dynamics of reproduction and transformation inside a discipline.

As democratization trends lead to the expansion of access to higher education, the higher levels of training may become the new spaces where the elites are trained, forging not only academic leaderships, but also political ones. As postgraduate education is also the level of education where connections with other nations are most present, postgraduate students tend increasingly to be educated with a more international outlook, perceiving university as more of a global institution. In this respect, it is possible that

the history of universities has come full circle: from medieval universities that were centres of learning that functioned in the common language, Latin, and served an international clientele of students, to the nation-state universities of the 19th and 20th centuries that pursued national interests, to once again, universities that are emerging as international centers of learning

and scholarship, in addition to serving particularly regional interests (NERAD, 2010, p. 2).

As seen in Brazil and Finland, the pursuit of ‘national interest’ led to different paths of development of postgraduate education – not least, influenced by geopolitical affairs. What, then, composes the ‘context of postgraduate education’ to which the research problem refers? How can a context inform what is going on with the internationalization of universities? To address contexts of postgraduate education, I talked to people situated in different spots of two higher education systems, all of them involved in some capacity with this level of education: policy-making and implementation, curriculum development, training. Thus, in this dissertation, the idea of context speaks to people enacting social relations in spaces which, however separated in everyday experience, are vertically integrated in a same ensemble – a polity that allows for postgraduate education to take place. In this sense, ‘context is not a primordial or autonomous place; it is constituted by social interactions, political processes, and economic developments across scales and across time’ (BARTLETT; VAVRUS, 2017a, p. 911).

I based my construction of context of postgraduate education in the concept of ‘fields of social action’ by Bleiklie and Kogan (2006): different arenas where actors struggle employing varying repertoires of categories. According to the authors,

The reach of decisions made by groups or individuals defines the different fields within higher education politics. This reach may vary from decisions that concern national policy choices, via those affecting individual higher education institutions, academic disciplines or individual departments to those that concern only the individual academics themselves. Our dependent variable, accordingly, is change within three different fields of social action: national policy, educational institutions and academic work within different disciplinary settings (BLEIKLIE; KOGAN, 2006, p. 12).

If one applies Santos’s (2017 [2000]) approach to globalization to this formulation, it is possible to consider that the three fields entail horizontalities – banal spaces – which are simultaneously affected by the verticalities – spaces of alignment to larger-scale flows – of globalization. This means that a national context of postgraduate education will present not only convergent, but also divergent pulls when dealing with internationalization. This will produce outcomes that are not streamlined, but rather modulated differentially appropriated in the friction between individuals and institutions acting within and between the fields. This friction, the way in which actors coordinate actions driven by distinct values, rationales and finalities within and across fields in a

same system, characterizes the social dynamics of higher education (VÄLIMAA, 2008; VÄLIMAA; NOKKALA, 2014). In this sense,

Processes of change at the level of national policy, within academic institutions and disciplinary groups, are only partially co-ordinated. Changes within the fields of social action are driven by different social forces. It is thus an open question how and to what extent academic institutions and practices are affected by major policy changes. This depends on the extent to which the changes are welcomed by, relevant to, moulded and absorbed by academic institutions and practices. Conversely, academic disciplines and their development may for instance be formed by processes such as academic drift that may go unheeded by national political actors (KOGAN et al., 2006, p. 175, emphases from the original).

Here, contexts can be grasped by the way the individuals deal with ‘transitional movements’ (FRANCO; MOROSINI; LEITE, 1992). National policies of postgraduate education and internationalization express the direct action of the state over the functioning of academic work. Between these two fields, institutions compose a locus of mediation where top-bottom policies of the national system and bottom-up higher education practices interact to shape university models, in a confluence that shows how new modes of operation of HEIs come into play. This is the place of institutional culture (FRANCO; MOROSINI; LEITE, 1992), where the local social actors experience the superposition of these three contexts. However, they are not only affected, as their act in the formulation and implementation of the very policies that impact on them, by behaviors of support, compliance or resistance (FRANCO; MOROSINI, 1992). Therefore, the context is characterized by the constant friction among the fields, as they deal with changes such as internationalization from different concerns and with different categories of political action.

3.1.3 Comparative case study

This dissertation’s research problem centers on ‘how’ a phenomenon happens. This kind of inquiry is usually identified with the qualitative approach. In pursuing a qualitative study, I took up the understanding of

*[...] qualitative research as an umbrella term to refer to several research strategies that share certain characteristics. The data collected have been termed *soft*, that is, rich in description of people, places, and conversations, and not easily handled by statistical procedures. Research questions are not framed by operationalizing variables; rather, they are formulated to*

investigate topics in all their complexity, in context (BOGDAN; BIKLEN, 2006, p. 2, emphases from the original).

I also followed Bogdan and Biklen's (2006) considerations that a qualitative researcher acts as a key instrument in collecting data from the natural setting as a direct source, taking up a descriptive and inductive stance that is more concerned with the process than with results or products. Still following the authors, I understood meaning and sense-making by the subjects to be essential concerns of qualitative research. More specifically, 'qualitative researchers influenced by critical theory are interested in either how social values and organization get reproduced in schools and other educational institutions, or how people produce their choices and actions in the society' (BOGDAN; BIKLEN, 2006, p. 23).

The research was planned based on the logic of a case study, originally inspired in Lesley Bartlett and Frances Vavrus's (2014) proposition of a 'vertical case study'. This strategy was later revised and expanded by the authors to be presented as a 'comparative case study (CCS)' (BARTLETT; VAVRUS, 2017b). In summary,

It encourages simultaneous and overlapping attention to three axes of comparison: horizontal, which compares how similar policies or phenomena unfold in locations that are connected and socially produced; vertical, which traces phenomena across scales; and horizontal, which traces phenomena and cases across time. This revisioning has the potential to strengthen and enhance case study research in our field (BARTLETT; VAVRUS, 2017a, p. 914-915).

While Epstein (1998, p. 37, emphases from the original) argues 'the case study technique *per se* has no particular epistemological foundation', the works most frequently used to guide case studies are either positivist or constructivist in orientation (YAZAN, 2015). CCS, in its turn, is grounded on critical theory, considering it

[...] aims to critique inequality and change society; it studies the cultural production of structures, processes, and practices of power, exploitation, and agency; and it reveals how common-sense, hegemonic notions about the social world maintain disparities of various sorts (BARTLETT; VAVRUS, 2017b, p. 39).

Within a process-oriented approach, there is an ambition to establish a distinction between phenomenon and context as part of the heuristic character of CCS. This is important as

[...] the traditional comparative map of the world, in which all nations are formally similar and ranked according to their level of development on a single scale, is more inadequate than ever. It eliminates global phenomena, it fails to explain power relations among nations, and between national and

global, and it hides qualitative national differences. This suggests the need for a new geopolitical cartography that traces the flows of global effects and the patterns of imitation, difference, domination, and subordination in education policy and practice (MARGINSON; MOLLIS, 2001, p. 612).

In this dissertation, I essayed to establish a qualitative heuristics of difference, as signaled by Marginson and Mollis (2001). Among the strategies that were available to me in methodological literature, I considered the comparative case study the one that provided the best support to answer my research problem. I took Bartlett and Vavrus's (2014; 2017a; 2017b) proposal as a template to my research design, and recast it employing theoretical contributions by other authors (BLEIKLIE; KOGAN, 2006; ROBERTSON; DALE, 2011; 2017; SOUSA SANTOS, 2002; SANTOS, 2017 [2000]; VÄLIMAA, 2008) to 'read the global' (COWEN, 2012). Thus, my research took a somewhat different approach to the horizontal, vertical and transversal dimensions proposed in the CCS.

According to Bartlett and Vavrus (2017b, p. 53), 'horizontal comparison requires attention to how historical and contemporary processes have differentially influenced different "cases", which might be defined as people, groups of people, sites, institutions, social movements, partnerships, etc.'. Cases, the authors argue, are not found, but constructed. In this dissertation, I composed two cases of internationalization in different postgraduate education contexts. Whereas in the original CCS perspective cases would be horizontally compared mostly within the same national context, I set the horizontal axis to span across national frontiers.

The cases of Brazilian and Finnish contexts are brought together in this dissertation with the explicit purpose of producing contrast. In the terms of Patton (2002), these cases can be considered intense and politically important, also selected based on theory. There is heuristic value in the fact that the cases present variations on the manifestation of the phenomenon of internationalization, yielding rich information on difference while retaining enough resemblance as contexts to allow a comparative perspective. There is political importance in the cases as Brazil is my country, a country currently looking towards the internationalization of its postgraduate education, and Finland has developed educational export as an economic sector. As such, these cases attract attention and increase the usefulness and relevance of the information in a research that could only take on a limited number of cases. Finally, the theory-based character of the cases is linked to the manifestation of theoretical constructs of interest – the contrast between a dependent country and one situated in the periphery of the core.

Following Bartlett and Vavrus (2017b, p. 74), ‘the vertical axis reminds us to follow the phenomenon itself, be it a practice or a policy, as it enlists and engages actors whom one might otherwise assume operate in bounded spaces’. In this research, I vertically explored each of the two cases by dealing with national policy, educational institution and academic work. In doing so, I dislocated the original perspective of CCS, which deals mainly with international, national and national levels, to approach the fields of social action as proposed by Bleiklie and Kogan (2006). This means going further in revising the boundedness of each scale that composes the cases.

Vertical comparison, as proposed by Bartlett and Vavrus (2017b), reminds national governments – and I would add institutions and individuals – comply with or resist to policy recommendations according to their positions within policy networks, which in turn are linked to their differing degrees of economic and political power vis-à-vis upper tiers in the polity. The heuristic modeling of fields of social action, on the other hand, reminds that there are not only quantitative power differences between scales. There are also qualitative distinctions, as each field may present variations as to how and for what individuals struggle. Moreover, as Bleiklie and Kogan (2006, p. 11) contend,

The theoretical point we make here is that while admitting the obvious existence of a formal hierarchy, we seek to retain an analytical openness that is particularly important in a field of social life where multiple forces so clearly work together in forming the system. The significance of the autonomy of academic institutions, the role of academic disciplines and academic professional interests testify to this.

The challenge lied in establishing homology between the fields of social action across both contexts. As semantic equivalence played a very limited role, I had to search for effective equivalence in the position of individuals acting in the three fields. To gauge the field of national policy, I sought individuals in key positions dealing with postgraduate education and internationalization of higher education in governmental organisms. To understand what was going on the field of the educational institution, I sought individuals involved in the administration of one university in each of the countries. These HEIs are referred in this dissertation as Brazilian Case University (BCU) and Finnish Case University (FCU). Within these institutions, I sought individuals working with postgraduate education – that is, relating to master’s and doctoral programs – and linked to internationalization inside BCU and FCU Faculties of Education.

Bartlett and Vavrus (2017b) propose to connect the horizontal and vertical axis of a comparative case study by paying attention to a phenomenon's change over time. While I did not pursue a longitudinal research, I explored the temporal aspect of the phenomenon under study in two manners. First, I provided historical background for the postgraduate education contexts. Second, I situated change – as it is happening – at the center of inquiry. In doing so, I paid attention to the multilayered aspect of change: how policies were changing in the way they direct internationalization of higher education; how universities as institutions are changing in managing internationalization; and how people are changing their categories of political action. This is done by operating the category of change in the interpretation of individuals' accounts of their experiences with internationalization. Consonant with a critical approach, in a more subtle note, I sought how power crossed these processes.

There are challenges to the construction of commensurability across places and scales, that is, across the horizontal and vertical dimensions. The transversal axis articulates comparison by dealing with the materiality of practice that supports contexts. It highlights friction within and across scales. While contexts and phenomena such as globalization and internationalization do not talk – they are theoretical constructs –, people do. I located them and listened to what they had to say.

Whereas a traditional study in comparative higher education would focus on contrasting the morphology of two or more national educational systems, detailing the institutional features and presenting quantitative data, in my research, I set the spotlight on individuals' perspectives and actions. This means that the comparison is not taking place between structures, but between the manners agency and structure interact in different scenarios as individuals struggle to insert their work and their universities in a global field.

3.2. Data interpretation

'But I do not quite see', Priscila pondered as we walked into the corridors of the Faculty of Education, 'why to operate such a division between conceptions and practices. Does not every practice carry within it its own conceptions?'

Soon after I joined the research group Inovação e Avaliação na Universidade (InovAval) to learn educational research, Priscila Bier, then an undergraduate student in Pedagogy, was hired as a research apprentice. Priscila and I thus became companions working to turn empirical material into data. Mechanical solidarity turned into friendship. Much of what I would learn about education and schools, I would gain from talking to her, as we exchanged ideas. Priscila moved to grasp an international experience of the world, studying in Argentina and working in Canada. She would later go on to obtain a master's degree in Education and to work as a school supervisor in the public system of the municipality of Canoas.

I quote here phrases she said as we discussed her master's project. Priscila's words signal towards historical materiality, towards the dialectic movement in which conceptions and practices are held together in acts of consciousness evoked by the need to transform the world through work. In Argentina, Priscila learned not only about education in schools classes – she also learned about Argentinean polity and politics by talking to her colleagues and roommates. Her master's work dealt with how public policies were effected into schools with the mediation of university actors.

I stressed how critical scholars are concerned with exposing how power is established in circuits of oppression. Notwithstanding, this is but one side of our work. We also set ourselves the pedagogical task to learn how empowerment happens, and how to promote it to favor emancipation. This is linked to what Freire (2018 [1968]) calls 'illuminating action': exposing the objective reality that provokes it and making clear its finalities. Hence, the need for praxis, as 'no reality transforms itself' (FREIRE, 2018 [1968], p. 55). The author relates these remarks to a quotation by Marx's (2002 [1845], p. 100) third thesis on Feuerbach³⁶:

The materialist doctrine that men [*sic*] are products of circumstances and upbringing, and that, therefore, changed men [*sic*] are products of changed circumstances and changed upbringing, forgets that it is men [*sic*] who change circumstances and that the educator must himself [*sic*] be educated.

This kind of education – developing consciousness beyond the chains of structure – is conscientization, as theorized by Freire (1979; 2018 [1968]) and Fiori (2014 [1967]; 2014 [1970]). Fiori (2014 [1970], p. 97), who was influential in the elaboration of the pedagogy of the oppressed, would argue that 'the *logos* does not precede the *praxis*, nor is it its product: it is its interior luminosity'. Conscientization is

³⁶ The formulation of the phrase was further elucidated by Friedrich Engels in a publication in 1888.

learning to say one's own word – 'word that says and transforms the world' (FIORI, 2014 [1967], p. 80). Fiori (2014 [1967], p. 78) means that 'the word, as a human behavior, signifying the world, does not only designate things, it transforms them it is not only thought, it is *praxis*. Thus considered, semantics is existence and the living word fulfils itself in the work'.

Individuals in this research are saying their world – signifying it the in its transformational possibilities. My way of generating and interpreting data is therefore influence by the theory of conscientization. I understand the materiality of practice organizes and reorganizes conceptions by demanding what I call 'acts of consciousness'. Acts of consciousness are movements of subjectivity (GRUGINSKIE; GENRO; SFREDO MIORANDO, 2018) typical to the dynamics of conscientization. These movements, which Freire (2018 [1968]) call emersion and insertion, occur when individuals engage with their own situationality to produce new solutions for limit situations. They are part of 'limit acts' (VIEIRA PINTO, 1960). Moreover, they are not purely individual, but also collective, due to the common nature of human work. As Santos (2017 [2000], p. 59, no emphases in the original) puts it,

The survival of the ensemble, despite the divergent interests of the different agents, depends on the exercise of *solidarity*, which is indispensable to *collective work* and makes visible the *common interest*. Such an action undertaken in common is *neither necessarily the result of explicit pacts nor of clearly established politics*. The proper existence, which adapts itself to situations where *the power of command often evades the respective actors*, ends up requiring a permanent *state of alert* from everyone in the sense of *apprehending changes* and discovering *solutions thought to be indispensable*.

An intellectual operation takes place that is not entirely explicit or thought through. It belongs to the order of practical wisdom. Through it, individuals respond to change from a position of limited freedom of action, constrained by power lying elsewhere. It moves activating the social bonds that hold the social ensemble together. As such, this action also entails a measure of power, and may produce further change.

I do not assume individuals to be entirely defenseless against the straightjackets of structure. If, as Marx (2008 [1859]) assumes, it is the social existence of individuals that determines their consciousness and therefore consciousness must be explained from the contradictions of material life, these very contradictions present individuals with opportunities to update their categories of political action (MARX, 2002 [1845]). In the terms of Fiori (2014 [1970], p. 83), 'structures can imprison man or enable his liberation; however, who liberates is the man himself. Conscientization, as a process

which is internal to structural contradiction, can be a relevant factor of sociocultural transformation [...]'. I understand human action in shaping higher education as political action, since national policies, educational institutions and academic work all take place in and relate to polity, and contribute to the reproduction or transformation of social structures. What is at stake here, then, is the interpretation of the meanings carried by human action against the backdrop of history and theory.

Since all higher education systems are embedded in their traditions and their societal contexts, there is no escape from historical perspectives. It is equally important to understand the important actors in all the national systems of higher education and how they interact with each other. This requires, in turn, the application of sociological or political theories of human behaviour for understanding the motives of different political actions (VÄLIMAA, 2008, p. 152).

Interviews allow grasping acts of consciousness as they lead individuals to organize their social representations. In exposing conceptions, interviewees articulate fragments of their practice. In describing practices, they show how their conceptions express themselves in experience. Through a qualitative content analysis of their words, employing critical categories, I can understand how they are processing changes in university as internationalization takes place.

3.2.1. Interviews

As mentioned before, one of the aims of qualitative research is to address contexts in their complexities, processes and differences. (BOGDAN; BIKLEN, 2006; BARTLETT; VAVRUS, 2017b; MARGINSON; MOLLIS, 2001). I was originally interested in how the very idea, the model of university as an institution, changed with internationalization. This led me to propose an emergent qualitative design which, in a first project, would encompass multiple data sources.

However, the very research process led me to center the inquiry in people and how they made sense of their experiences. While internationalization can be and has been investigated through document analysis, I had a unique opportunity to, *in situ*, talk to multiple people and, through interviewing, produce empirical material for analysis.

Asking people to recount their experience in internationalization of higher education allowed me a closer perspective to the question formulated by Välimaa and Nokkala (2014, p. 429): 'what happens in the social life of academia?'. Thus, I could

also develop some field knowledge about Finnish higher education and deepen the one I had about the Brazilian academia. As Teichler (1996) remarks on the importance of field knowledge in comparative education, Välimaa (2008, p. 152) expands the idea by stating that

[...] field knowledge is often knowledge on ‘how things work in reality’. Field knowledge can be gained by living in a (certain) system of higher education, but this in itself is not sufficient as an academic goal. There is a need to systematize the relevant categories of field knowledge on higher education.

Thus, in striving to do comparative education, I perceived myself to develop field knowledge whenever I noticed I could no longer interpret Finnish case interviewees’ answers resorting only to the categories I would apply based on my ‘feeling for the game’ formulated in the familiar Brazilian academic field. A systematization of categories across contexts is made possible as conducting interviews allows ‘to gather descriptive data in the subjects’ own words so that the researcher can develop insights on how subjects interpret some piece of the world’ (BOGDAN; BIKLEN, 2006, p. 103). As such, it is possible to grasp aspects of ‘contests over meaning and practice’ (BARTLETT; VAVRUS, 2017b, p. 10), making the research resonate, however partially, the perspectives of social actors.

In accordance with Bogdan and Biklen (2006), I took a qualitative approach to interviewing, relying in a small number of participants. This group is not considered to be representative of the academes of both countries, but rather to be in position to provide information from strategic vantage points. They were thus selected purposefully, through theoretical and snowball sampling.

For the Finnish case, interviews were conducted between November of 2017 and of March of 2018. For the Brazilian case, interviews were conducted between September of 2018 and April of 2019. The interviewees are listed below.

Code	Position	Code	Position
Field of social action: National Policy			
BR-NP-1	policy maker in internationalization of postgraduate education	FI-NP-1	policy maker in internationalization of higher education
BR-NP-2	policy maker in internationalization of postgraduate education	FI-NP-2	policy maker in internationalization of higher education
BR-NP-3	policy maker in internationalization of postgraduate education	FI-NP-3	policy maker in higher education, science and technology
BR-NP-4	policy maker in postgraduate education	FI-NP-4	policy maker in higher education, science and technology

Field of social action: Educational Institution			
BR-EI-1	leader in institutional evaluation	FI-EI-1	leader in quality manager
BR-EI-2	leader in a commission on postgraduate education legislation	FI-EI-2	leader in vice-rectory of education
BR-EI-3	leader in deanship of graduate studies	FI-EI-3	leader in graduate school
BR-EI-4	leader in strategic planning for internationalization	FI-EI-4	leader in secretary of international relations
BR-EI-5	leader in secretary of innovation	FI-EI-5	leader in international office
BR-EI-6	member of print's leading commission	FI-EI-6	leader of international office
Field of social action: Academic Work			
BR-AW-1	national doctoral student with international experience	FI-AW-1	national doctoral student with international experience
BR-AW-2	foreign doctoral student	FI-AW-2	foreign doctoral student
BR-AW-3	foreign doctoral student	FI-AW-3	foreign doctoral student
BR-AW-4	foreign master's student	FI-AW-4	foreign master's student
BR-AW-5	master's program coordinator	FI-AW-5	graduate program coordinator
BR-AW-6	professor with experience in international cooperation	FI-AW-6	professor with experience in international cooperation
BR-AW-7	international liaison	FI-AW-7	coordinator of former international exchange program
BR-AW-8	professor with experience in international cooperation	FI-AW-8	professor with experience in international cooperation
BR-AW-9	professor with experience in international cooperation in a leading position within the faculty	FI-AW-9	professor with experience in international cooperation in a leading position within the faculty

The basic criterion for selecting interviewees was seeking people who experienced internationalization in different capacities, according to the structures of the studied social realities. Considering my object of study, I sought people who worked – whether through policy-making, administration, teaching or studying – with postgraduate education and had an international dimension associated to their work, attested by their academic trajectory or reputation. I also paid attention to interviewees' position concerning their ability to make decisions that affect postgraduate education and its internationalization. I essayed to construe equivalence between the interviewee's positions within each case, observing relations of similarity or correspondence.

Nevertheless, some asymmetries between the interviewees' positions were unavoidable, considering the very theoretical-practical limitations in establishing equivalence across unequal contexts. For instance, in the Brazilian case, the informants for national policy are all linked to a single agency dealing with postgraduate affairs. In Finland, on the other hand, interviewees from this field of social action were contacted in different governmental institutions. Both in the Brazilian and in the Finnish case, the number of interviewees grows as the research approaches 'street-level' work. This is in accordance with the fact that there are more people acting in academic work and in the management of educational institutions than in national policy and, consequently, a

larger diversity of meanings and positions is found as one listens to individuals who are increasingly distant from the core of top-level bureaucracy.

Before the recording began, interviewees were presented an informed consent form, which can be found in the attachments. They were then presented the interview guide, with the questions for conversation. One of the interviewees requested to see and revise the interview transcription. Interviews were conducted mostly through face-to-face conversation, with the exception of two of them, for the Brazilian case, being held through videoconference. Interview time ranged from 25 minutes to 2 hours and 10 minutes, according to the interviewees' availability and will to speak.

In interviewing informants, I took a semi-structured approach, with standardized open-ended questions (PATTON, 2002). As Bartlett and Vavrus (2017b, p. 55) claim, 'semi-structured and unstructured interviews are more consistent with the CCS approach because they more fully attend to the processual nature of conversation and the social dimensions of knowledge production'. I chose the semi-structured technique because its structured component allowed for consistency and comparability across interviews, while its open-ended component allowed for qualitative exploration of the processes.

Among the caveats Bogdan and Biklen (2006) present about doing interviews, two are particularly relevant for the way I collected empirical material. The authors consider that 'with semi-structured interviews you are confident of getting comparable data across subjects, but you lose the opportunity to understand how the subjects themselves structure the topic at hand' (BOGDAN; BIKLEN, 2006, p. 104). I noticed that while using an interview guide directed and focused conversation, it, at times, broke streams of thought that were leading to insightful observations. So, at times, I switched the order of the questions, and I always tried to introduce the new questions by bridging them to the comments the interviewees made on the previous ones.

Bogdan and Biklen (2006, p. 107) also advise that 'the very wording of the question will evoke different responses among different respondents. The words have different meanings to different subjects'. This matter was further complicated for me as, conducting an international research, I had to use different words to pursue a same inquiry. Conducting interviews in Finland, I operated in a language that was neither my native language, nor one I use to speak in my daily life in Brazil. At the same time, it was not, in most cases, my interviewees' first language. This meant, in a few cases, they would employ a concept that required explaining me its original wording in Finnish and

hence its meaning. In Brazil, the international students I interviewed were not native speakers of Portuguese, so, many times, they paused to think about the word they wanted to employ and asked me if they were using it correctly. In any case, as I coded the interviews for the Brazilian case, I translated the significant excerpts to English, not always finding perfect correspondence. While both cases represent situation in which constraining text to English means there will be a loss of meaning, they also represent the friction of global encounters. They are, therefore, an important aspect of international comparative education research to account for.

How to deal with that? Again, Bogdan and Biklen (2006, p. 106) offer sound advice: ‘good interviewing involves deep listening’. In my interpretation, ‘deep listening’ involved sitting in front of the interviewees, looking into their eyes, occasionally nodding to show I was following their reasoning. I spoke the least possible, only to ask the question, explain what I wanted to know when I was not clear, and deploy probes when looking for examples of what the interviewees were saying. I immersed myself in the interviewees discourse, taking notes about insightful key terms they used, probing if I had captured their intended meaning. These expressions were often the basis for open coding procedures. The relation I tried to build with the subjects was therefore consistent with the proposition by Bogdan and Biklen (2006): egalitarian, guided by empathy, with emphasis on trust, treating the subject as friend through intense contact.

The questions for the interviews were developed to allow a comparative perspective on the social dynamics of the contexts under investigation, trying to grasp change in the actual social life of academia (VÄLIMAA; NOKKALA, 2014). The questions were formulated trying not to directly induce the categories into the respondents’ answers, but to capture their experiences to decant the social processes from their statements.

3.2.2. Categories

In seeking to understand how individuals in Brazilian and Finnish contexts of postgraduate education process changes in university as internationalization takes place, I approach internationalization as institutional transformation and explore it from a critical perspective. This leads me to center my analysis in the intertwined issues of

change and power. There is an assumption – guided by theory, mainly by Vieira Pinto (1962), Fernandes (1975 [1968]) and Ribeiro (1975) – that change takes place modulated by social filters that denote the existence of academic power. But how to make sense of change and power in the internationalization of higher education?

I understand interviews present common features that can be grouped together. Categories identify patterns that can be connected to theoretical concepts. They can both guide what is observed in the empirical material, and thus coded, and assemble observations with common characteristics under a unifying meaning (SALDAÑA, 2009). I associate the construction of new, emergent, categories – derived from the interaction between theory and empirical material in the analysis of interviews – to what Stein (2017) denominates ‘radical critique of internationalization’. What are these approaches about?

Radical critiques of internationalization problematize how educational institutions contribute to the highly stratified global division of labor and uneven distribution of resources (STEIN, 2017, p. 15).

Radical critiques are committed to identifying these structures, subjecting them to in-depth analyses, and responding with proposals for reorganizing and reorienting institutions toward the pursuit of greater justice (STEIN, 2017, p. 16).

Radical critiques of internationalization demand that marginalized voices be centred within curricula, and that international partnerships operate on the basis of solidarity with oppressed peoples and in contestation of Western and/or capitalist power (STEIN, 2017, p. 21).

I situate myself in a radical critique of internationalization by salvaging the theory by Brazilian critical authors. Coming from peripheral higher education systems, these voices problematize power in higher education and demand solidarity in society. I recuperate the categories then developed to think about university reform as they allow conceptualizing internationalization as change in higher education. Vieira Pinto (1962), for instance, understands the dispute for university policy as an internal shock which reproduces in the terms of higher education, the political and social struggle for opportunities offered by the state to individuals of different classes. In this struggle, it is ‘only possible to change the nature and function of university by changing the social forces which manipulate it’ (VIEIRA PINTO, 1962, p. 113). According to the author, ‘this is why there is no point in any theory on university reform that dissociates it from the country’s general cultural process, which, in its turn, represents only the

superstructural aspect of its social and material development process' (VIEIRA PINTO, 1962, p. 134).

Could Brazilian social thought on university be translate to other contexts? Mainstream higher education theory seems to point so. The canonical work by Clark (1983) borrows from the Durkheimian perspective an adaptive view of universities, recognizing internal and external pressures of change in higher education structures. While the author, he contends: 'but the capacity to "bend and adapt" is clearly aided or restricted by the specific forms institutionalized in national systems' (CLARK, 1983, p. 187). Hence, the change that takes place is not necessarily the proposed one, but rather the one made possible by an epoch's power correlations:

The struggle between stability and change appears operationally within systems as a clash of old vested interests and groups seeking to vest new interests. [...] The outcome of the struggle and hence the extent of change is determined largely by the relative power of the stability agents and the change agents (CLARK, 1983, p. 217).

Nevertheless, two observations must be added about such interests and agencies. First, they cannot be precisely identified with individuals, once people may not only present contradictory dispositions but also pursue agendas that favor change in some respects, while enforcing stability in others. Secondly, they are not bounded within a 'national container'. Clark (1983) acknowledges international transfer – through imposition or 'voluntary' importation – was a driving force in the constitution of higher education systems throughout many underdeveloped countries. The author argues that, in the case of colonial imposition, 'the basic forms thereby put in place provided a division of work, a set of beliefs, and a structure of control that defined, with many unspoken assumptions, what higher education should accomplish and how it should be implemented' (CLARK, 1983, p. 228). One can follow that core traits of universities, laid down to be functional to the preservation of the international distribution of power, keep on constraining the possibilities of change.

Years before, Darcy Ribeiro (1975) had theorized how Latin America faced the same question – one that is fundamental for radical critique of internationalization. Ribeiro's work lays out notions that can be activated to understand Brazilian and Finnish experiences in a comparative manner. Comparing contexts in unequal situations in the world-system requires operationalizing the issues of change and power accounting for their ties to the phenomena of development and dependency. Higher education systems which do not enjoy a central position in the global field of higher

education are required to organize the political tensions that cross them in order to, somehow, keep pace with global developments and perhaps address national problems. Ribeiro devises, as polar opposites, two policies that can coalesce in the academic community.

One is reflex modernization, underpinned on the assumption that, adding specific enhancements and innovations, we will see our universities get closer and closer to their advanced peers, to the point of becoming as effective as these. The other policy, which we call autonomous development, assumes university – as a substructure inserted in a global social structure – tends to operate as an agency for the perpetuation of social institutions as long as it acts spontaneously. In these conditions, it can only play an active role in the effort to overcome the national backwardness if it intentionalizes its forms of action (RIBEIRO, 1975, p. 25).

According to the author's understanding,

[...] such options present themselves not only to the university, but to society as a whole, demanding from all influential sectors the decision for one or another way. Moreover, the autonomist option affects huge interests, as the maintenance of the *status quo* would naturally benefit the sectors already benefited by the current structure and its change could risk at least some of their privileges (RIBEIRO, 1975, p. 26).

Thereupon, power issues start to become more apparent. Ribeiro (1975, p. 231, emphases from the original) argues university's internal life is conditioned by some imperatives which, in its connections to social structure, impose a number of limitations.

First, the ineludible function of training the highly qualified cadres that will occupy important positions in society, influencing the power structures. *Second*, the hierarchical character of academic structure, which conditions students for the disciplined and submissive attitudes they shall assume, eventually, in social life, before other hierarchies grounded on wealth and power. *Third*, the vicissitudes of university community's internal organization, divided in bodies differentiated according to specific interests, prone to operate as pressure groups which can be explored by its diverse factions. *Fourth*, the circumstances of university being more accessible to the 'gentry' whose eases in life and corresponding availability of time to study, along with a better upper secondary schooling, allow them to be better students. In fact, university is only prepared to accept and appropriately cater to these students, providing them with the titles they aspire in due time, and tending to choose among them their future cadres.

Ribeiro (1975) thus makes explicit how the 'country's general cultural process' alluded by Vieira Pinto (1962, p. 134) as a 'superstructural aspect of its social and material development process'. Change appears then as a resultant of sequenced decisions taken by the university cadres in crucial positions. In these critical points, it is possible to observe power in the application of specific social filters.

Florestan Fernandes (1975 [1968], p. 71) enounces ‘university’s structural and dynamics requirements’ through which university’s answers to the civilizational, technical and ideological, demands of its times are processed. The first one deals with the organization of higher education as a system of opportunities, considering who can access it, and how it articulate undergraduate and postgraduate training. The second one relates to intellectual traditions in a national system, concerning the professional possibilities of a graduate, as a practitioner after undergraduate training or as a scholar after postgraduate education. The third one concerns the place research occupies in university and society as a driver of development through the reorganization of technique, and the conditions in which it is performed. The fourth one refers to university policy and management which structure the labor relations in the institution, dealing both with the organization of administrative services and the power distribution among units, professors and students.

All four of these structural and dynamic requirements imply dependency of university change on two general sociological categories: ‘on one hand, the limits of material, financial and human resources and the insufficiencies of cultural tradition. On the other, the structural-functional interferences of the existing schemes of higher education organization [...]’ (FERNANDES, 1975 [1968], p. 75). In both of them, it is possible to see social structure constraining individual agency and defining the properties of university as ‘the expression of social forces which manipulate it’ (VIEIRA PINTO, 1962, p. 113).

I retake the opening paragraph of section 2.1.1 to make more explicit the relation between change and power.

For the purposes of this dissertation, change in higher education is understood as the rearrangement of the sets of social relations that underpin institutional contexts which make academic work possible. Change derives from pressures both internal and external to higher education institutions, considering mainly the tensions between state, market and academic forces, but not limited to those sources. Change in higher education responds and informs changes in society’s infrastructure and superstructure, and may be linked to explicit or concealed purposes of conserving or disturbing established power relations. Change in higher education may carry different political meanings for different social class fractions and interest groups, as it reorganizes the flows of material and symbolic resources and, in that process, may modify the positions of power that arbiter such flows.

I also repeat Clark’s (1983, p. 236) notion that ‘structural change modifies who does what on a regular basis; and who decides regularly on who will do that’. Fernandes’s (1975 [1968]) and Ribeiro’s (1975) takes on university politics also guide

my search for power happening into individuals' actions as they deal with internationalization of higher education.

As theory proposes, due to the political character of higher education, change in university takes place in association to the deployment of power in different levels. Although internationalization is a single phenomenon, it is possible to analytically distinguish between a more superficial level of what is going on and a deeper one about how individuals deal with the structural fundamentals to organize the possibilities of action. This demands the construction of categories.

Analyzing interviews, I classified strings of the interviewees' speech into the two broad categories of change and power. I depart from a succinct definition based on the structural-functionalist approach by Clark (1983) to apply a critical interpretation to them. As meanings emerged from interview analysis, I organized them in subcategories within each category. These subcategories were elaborated based on the research questions and connected to theory. In this case, I used Fernandes's (1975 [1968]) general sociological categories for university reform, as this author connects functionalist inspiration to critical interpretation.

I also found meanings that could not be accommodated to any category and, resisting categorization, demanded another emergent formulation. They express what I call 'categories of political action in internationalization'. Categories of political action are notion that individuals use to organize their apprehension of social reality – that is, to understand, express and transform the world in their social relations. As notions, they are *logos* within *praxis*, arranged and rearranged by acts of consciousness provoked by the limit situation that emerge from the contradictions of material life. They are not only directed towards practice, but elaborated from and through it. The categories an individual develops are not entirely rational and bound to the locus of enunciation that a situationality outlines. A set of categories of political action is a repertoire of position-taking resources, such as world-views and values from which to devise alternatives.

Categories of political action in internationalization of higher education are differentially deployed according to fields of social action. They organize ways to process internationalization in conjunction with globalization. By employing their categories of political action, individuals define what is in and what is out of consideration, and how to exert agency. They materialize and shape institutionality, influencing structure. They react to policy, be it in submission, reactivity or anticipatory

resistance (FRANCO; MOROSINI, 1992). Such categories relate, thus, to politics, polity and policy.

3.2.3. Analysis

Once I had collected the empirical material through interviews and defined the categories for analysis, I had to establish rules of procedure to explore and make sense of the content I had generated. When dealing with the techniques of analysis employed in comparative case studies, Bartlett and Vavrus (2017b, p. 122) advise that ‘qualitative data collected with a process orientation requires an emergent, iterative approach to analysis’.

While much of qualitative content analysis takes up quantitative procedures – such as counting the frequency with which a word or meaning has emerged in the material –, in order to attend to my research problem, I had to employ a qualitative data analysis which was fundamentally qualitative in its procedures. However, I could not find in literature a specific recipe for structuring the empirical material into data the way I needed to pursue my research questions. Rather I found a call for creativity and the description of several procedures that could be combined to make up ‘an emergent, iterative approach’. So, I based myself on authors linked to a qualitative approach to qualitative data analysis (BOGDAN; BIKLEN, 2006; GOMES, 2012; GUBA; LINCOLN, 1981; HSIEH; SHANNON, 2005; LINCOLN; GUBA, 1985; PATTON, 2002; SALDAÑA, 2009). These authors subsidize the use of bounded categories in naturalistic inquiries.

I situated myself under the umbrella of content analysis – ‘any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings’ (PATTON, 2002, p. 453) –, or, more specifically, qualitative content analysis: ‘a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns’ (HSIEH; SHANNON, 2005, p. 1278). Within that range, I employed what Hsieh and Shannon (2005) classify as a directed approach, as I used theory to identify key concepts which served as the base to formulate concepts which would be used as the initial codes. In this case, study starts with theory, codes are defined before and during data analysis, deriving from both

theory and relevant research findings. As described in the section above, operational definitions were assigned to the initial categories of ‘change’ and ‘power’.

I structured the findings through analytic induction, that is, assigning the emergent meanings to subcategories derived from theory (PATTON, 2002). These were the subcategories of ‘context’ and ‘action schemes’, attending to the category of change, and ‘technical mediation’ and ‘political mediation’, relating to the category of power. By applying these two rounds of data classification, I pursued a two-cycle coding, in the terms of Saldaña (2009). The first cycle juxtaposed structural coding in the broad categories of change and power with descriptive coding, capturing emerging meanings within each broad category. The second cycle employed axial coding, grouping emergent meanings into dimensions around which I composed subcategories through and theoretical coding.

For example, as I read through BR-AW-5’s interview, I noticed an excerpt that presented insightful information on internationalization in the Brazilian context of postgraduate education, at the level of academic work. I delimited the sequence of phrases that conveyed the message as the unit of analysis and started coding it. It reads:

We still have many challenges, many barriers in relation to the models of internationalization that are often presented. And this kind of internationalization as we know it in the Program or in [BCU] is more evident in the more individual trajectories of specific researchers who may have undertaken their doctoral studies abroad. [...] Maybe due to the themes they study, maybe due to their knowledge and support networks, maybe due to funding [...] which allow broader circulation. But also because of a formative ethos established in the past which, today, some have.
 [BR-AW-5] >> Change > Continuity

In the first cycle of analysis, I began by structural coding, considering whether this text belonged to the category of change or power. That is, in Clark’s (1983) terms, I asked myself: is the interviewee speaking here about a modification on ‘who does what on a regular basis’ – change – or about ‘who decides regularly on who will do that’ – power? I decided to place this unit in the change category, as the interviewee is talking about professors who regularly engage in international activity. Then, I proceeded descriptive coding, and assigned a label to the emergent meaning I captured from the message: ‘internationalization as part of individual formative ethos’.

In the second cycle of analysis of analysis, by applying axial and theoretical coding, I grouped this emergent meaning to others so that they would express a dimension of a subcategory. In the axial aspect, I coded the dimension, in this case,

‘continuity’. In the theoretical one, I coded the unit into the subcategory of ‘context’. I did so by asking myself whether the message related to ‘the limits of material, financial and human resources and the insufficiencies of cultural tradition’ or to ‘the structural-functional existing schemes of higher education organization’.

While the axial coding relied in the approximation of the emergent meanings captured by descriptive coding, the theoretical coding was, like the structural one, based on a question constructed from theory. Thus, while descriptive coding, in the first cycle, and axial coding, in the second cycle, are more related to the open coding of grounded theory, structural coding, in the first cycle, and theoretical coding, in the second cycle, are closer to an inductive analysis approach.

My choice of procedures was guided by three main reasons listed by Saldaña (2009) as directing the analyst’s work. Paradigm and theoretical approach guided the structural coding in the first cycle. An emergent conceptual framework was developed as I proceeded to the second cycle, spiraling back and forth between theory and empirical material to produce data. In both stages, methodological needs were influential. I could not code all material into data, as I performed a ‘lone ranger research’ (BOGDAN; BIKLEN, 2006). In this mode of work, typical in dissertations on educational research, one sole researcher conducts the interviews and their coding.

Data generation through coding was supported by the use of software. In the first cycle, I used QSR NVivo to proceed the structural coding. With fragments of the interviews classified into the broad categories of change and power, I further applied descriptive coding by attributing to them a label that would describe their emerging meanings. In the second cycle, I used Microsoft Excel to dispose the first-cycle coded fragments of text in columns, grouping them in axial coding to provide the dimensions that would make up subcategories. I finally arranged these columns so that these dimensions would make up a subcategory. The change from one software to another is due to the fact that while NVivo is more suited to operate with large chunks of text, creating spreadsheets was a tool for visualizing how excerpts expressing different meanings interacted. The whole process was characterized by a movement of codification and decodification (FREIRE, 2018 [1968]).

There resulted a construct matrix as follows.

Broad category	Subcategory	Dimension	Emerging meanings
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Change	Context	Continuity	...	
			...	
	Action schemes	Shifts	...	
			...	
		Drivers		...
				...
	Constraints		...	
			...	
Power	Technical mediation	Personal relations	...	
			...	
		Resources		...
				...
	Political mediation	National positioning	...	
			...	
	Political responsibility		...	
			...	

Although many emerging meanings were identified through descriptive coding, I decided to represent *verbatim* only a few fragments of the interviewees' speeches for each dimension of each subcategory. When discussing the results for the fields of social action of national policy and institutional education in both contexts, I used only one excerpt for each dimension, plus strings of text that could characterize the general tone of change and power in each case. However, in the social field of action of academic work, a multiplicity of meanings contrasted the more attuned discourses of national polity and institutional administration. Therefore, I exposed a broader gamut of statements and meanings. They were chosen among the most illustrative examples of each dimension, as not all coded data could be presented in one dissertation. As I did with the quotation by BR-AW-5, above, I present the interviewees' speeches in a detached box, with a different font.

4. Results: imports, accreditations and getting by

Evidently, this is all part of a process which goes way further than this little discussion we are having. The decharacterization³⁷ of a culture, of a race, of a whole people's manners of thinking and behaving is not solely determined by the kind of music to which they listen to, do you see? It is [determined] by n things, all them imported or accredited to be implanted. So, it is something much broader than a simple popular music singer can determine. It is not I who determines this. It is kind of a long process. It is a process that has already taken some years and which was implanted by reverse, transverse ways – some simple, other harder, other more violent. And we, in a manner, had to get by inside all of this.

Elis Regina

Elis Regina worried that Brazilian popular music was losing space in the cultural field to other artistic expressions with lesser national authenticity, or at least less attuned to national reality. I worry that, in performing internationalization, universities may be failing to assert their connection to their once-fundamental task of tackling national problems, which involves being paragons of a democratic civilization. Of course, the internationalization of higher education, seen here in the scope of postgraduate education, is something much broader than a simple doctoral candidate can grasp. After all, universities' work, with their institutional culture in change, is conditioned not only by the national and the local, but also by 'by n things, all them imported or accredited to be implanted'.

Nonetheless, I made an effort to see how this process of social accreditation unfolds through the different fields of social action in higher education. Because we, scholars – as workers – must, in way or another, 'cope with all of this'. And it is best if we do so by making informed and conscious choices, considering how we are conditioned by social structure. This process of import and implantation in higher education has been characterized by both Clark (1983) and Ribeiro (1975).

The struggle with which Elis Regina found herself coping with in the Brazilian musical field was two-fold. The deterioration of labor relations was one side of it. The other was the decay in the very possibilities to express social reality through popular music. Categories that had been experimented on in earlier decades were being impoverished by a sweeping monoculture of a 'global' culture. This dealt less with language than with genre and style of communication. In my view, it means the use of

³⁷ In the original Portuguese language, the word used is 'descharacterização', which means the process of depriving something or someone of their fundamental and distinctive character.

English language constrains less the work of the Southern analyst than – self-imposed or referee-mandated – restriction to a set of canonical authors, theories and categories.

Cunha and Leite's (1992) research on curricular decisions by professors would lead to conclusions akin to Vieira Pinto's (1962, p. 113) claim that 'university is organized according to an ideological pedagogy, a superstructural phenomenon of the dominant class'. Leaving the power represented by pedagogical decisions – such as those involved in internationalization – unconnected to the historical material processes which produce legitimacy in the global field of higher education – such as rankings and other mechanisms associated to the ideological package of globalization –

[...] is precisely the convenient game for the dominant class, as, forcing the debate to take place in the surface of reality, leaves untouched the objective underpinnings, the economic fundamentals of the member of this class, fundamentals which are sheltered from any shock, because they are never even mentioned (VIEIRA PINTO, 1962, p. 113-114).

Conversely, it is by delving into the power mechanisms that are mobilized in enacting change that is possible to understand how internationalization is processed by different contexts of postgraduate education. Thus, this chapter essays to approach, or at least mention, the fundamentals of the two very distinct national realities of Finland and Brazil. It proceeds the comparison between the Finnish and the Brazilian cases, exploring how individuals, in the different fields of social action, are 'getting by', living the internationalization of higher education in global times. How to understand their experiences and make sense of 'a process which goes way further than this little discussion we are having'?

What the student has to do is to install oneself from the beginning in the field of the general process of Brazilian reality, in whose discussion will be defined the fundamental ideological attitudes, from which to descend to the analysis of the question of university (VIEIRA PINTO, 1962, p. 119).

4.1. Contexts of postgraduate education

'Now, it is not my will or your will that is at stake', Ana declared, with the usual mix of wisdom, sensibleness and indignation in her eyes, 'it is the fate of a whole country'.

Although Ana Danielle Santana Cavaleiro and I had both worked at the UFRGS's Secretary of Institutional Evaluation in different periods, we only had a real conversation as we met at the World Social Forum of 2016 to hear Boaventura de Sousa Santos. As one of the first black students to graduate in Public and Social Administration at UFRGS, Ana was invited to speak during her graduation ceremony's speech. Among cheers and boos, she denounced the *coup d'État* that had occurred in Brazil in its deleterious effects for the most affected people – working class black women in the peripheries, like herself. Ana is my girlfriend and yet, we could have lived worlds apart if Brazilian university was not turned – through historical social struggle – into a place of encounter across class, race and gender.

With the words I quote, Ana referred to the 2018 presidential elections in Brazil. Although what transpired here was sometimes framed as a manifestation of a 'global phenomenon', the 'rise of nationalisms', an insiders' perspective knows things to be more complicated. The country was not carried away by a passion for defending 'the national' against 'the foreign'. It was seized by an atavism, a drive to regress to a former state of affairs. The current decharacterization of the social progress achieved in recent decades is beyond what a higher education can do for a nation. But universities still are places where we can move beyond our individual wishes to discuss the country's fate. And amidst hard and violent ways, before ever thinking about going global, we must cope with the national reality that was imposed on us.

Ana went on to further master's studies in Sociology, dealing with social movements and institutional activism shaping the right to the city. Brazilian social movements argue, 'only the struggle changes life'. But who gets the upper hand in this struggle, and how? Young critical scholars such as Ana Danielle, Priscila, Tiffany, Ana Luíza, Pâmela and I have inquired about this and, as Vieira Pinto (1962) advised, we have done so by questioning objective underpinnings and understanding academia from the general process of national realities – the social structures upon which superstructural phenomena such as higher education take place.

National realities, however, are not disconnected constructs. As theories dealing with dependency, world-systems and coloniality offer support points from where to rupture the national container and seek the category of totality, they also provide tools to unpack the uniqueness of country experiences. In this dissertation, I argue this combination is not contradictory, but rather complementary. There are fundamental

differences in policy-making and implementation follow the differential position of countries in the same world-system that has informed their historical trajectories

The ambition to make an exercise of comparative history between Brazil and Finland is beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, as Välimaa (2008, p. 152) posits, ‘there is no escape from historical perspectives’. A first contextualization of each country to introduce the constitution of postgraduate context in each case lays a few elements of historicity which allow exploring the registers offered by the statement of individuals in the different fields of social action.

Of course, my account of Brazil is deeper than that of Finland. I was a welcome guest in Finland during seven months. I have lived – enjoyed and suffered – Brazil as a citizen for over 30 years now. I have studied Brazilian history since I learned how to read, and I have been a part of it even before. Nevertheless, I must essay to provide an elementary account of each context.

4.1.1. Brazil

Postgraduate education in Brazil has a non-linear, scarce history before 1965. There are records of Master's degrees being conferred at Jesuitical seminars in the 17th century. However, during colonial times, different from elsewhere in America, higher education was prohibited in Brazil by the metropolitan authorities (as were press and most industrial activity). There was but some higher training inside the Church and the military. With the coming of the Portuguese royal family in 1808, and the independence, in 1822, the first colleges - Law and Medicine - were established. These higher education institutions followed a Napoleonic fashion: professional training, no research included. This is a lasting trade in Brazilian higher education as, up until the last decade nearly every undergraduate program corresponded to a profession or trade. Some graduate studies were performed by some college teachers, who worked mostly part-time with a limited scholarly background. But no graduate courses or programs were in effect. In fact, many people from these professions - lawyers, physicians, dentists - are still referred to as 'doctors' as a mark of distinction, even if they do not have a doctoral degree (medicine is an undergraduate program usually followed by a *lato sensu* program of studies and internship). This began to change by the 1930s, with the establishment of the first universities, inspired by the Humboldtian model. Many of

these universities were 'made up' by merging 'professional', Napoleonic-style colleges - Law, Medicine, Engineering, Pharmacy - and adding a College of Philosophy, Sciences and Letters, chiefly devoted to train secondary-level teachers. This genesis is still marks the functioning of these universities and of the academic field in Brazil.

Between the 1930s and the 1960s, as the country began to change its rural and agrarian character to a more urban, industrial one, Brazil made efforts to acquire and apply technical and scientific knowledge, and institutions were created or reformed. Education was successively reorganized, and the first national law with bases and guidelines of education was passed in 1961. In the fifties, the developmentist government of Getúlio Vargas created the National Council for the Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq), and other science and research policies were implemented. The priority were the science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) areas, as they were understood to be pivotal in repositioning Brazil in the international labor division. This period would later be associated to the 'import substitution process' and some of its assumptions were in line with the ideas advocated by Raúl Prebisch, from Economic Commission for the Latin America and the Caribbean (Eclac), about the 'deterioration in the terms of trade'. STEM areas' hegemony in the Brazilian academia sector was thus established back then, through research funding and management and would reinforce itself in subsequent periods. In these times, different incipient endeavors at postgraduate education were pursued at universities. They aimed to develop faculties' academic abilities and to provide continued professional training. It is in this context that Capes was also created, dealing with the education of university teachers, specially through financing their postgraduate education abroad. Hence its full name: Coordination for the Enhancement of Higher Education Personnel. This was kind of a capacity building phenomenon linked to a developmentist effort that would later accumulate critical mass to allow and demand the publication of the 'Sucupira Report' in 1965, already one year into the military dictatorship. Newton Sucupira, a member of the Federal Council of Education, would elaborate a doctrine to organize postgraduate education. From his propositions, the Council formally structured postgraduate education in two stems: (1) *stricto sensu*, programs leading to master's and doctor's degrees; (2) and *lato sensu*, comprising more flexible programs, designed for enhancement and specialization within a professional area. Postgraduate education would take momentum with the university reform of 1968, heavily subsidized by USAid, as the conservative modernization of Brazil by the military governments was

brought about in cooperation with USA. This reform, having departmentalization and development of postgraduate education as milestones, brought Brazilian university organization closer to the North-American model.

The reform, however, did nothing to counter-weight, and perhaps exacerbated, a striking feature of Brazilian higher education: the division between the public and private sector. The private sector is highly diversified, both in terms of institutional organization and quality. The public sector is mostly high quality and comprises universities and polytechnics (federal institutes of education, science and technology). Successive governments have only fostered the growth of higher education through private offer, if so much, to a point that currently, the private sector concentrates 75,7% of undergraduate enrollment. Notwithstanding, 16,7% of postgraduate students are enrolled at public institutions. Alas, these institutions represent most of the country's scientific activity and investment in technology and innovation. There is limited investment in these activities by firms. Though many times underfunded, postgraduate education, especially through public channels, is the root and the main body of science, technology and innovation in Brazil. In fact, government is responsible for injecting resources to support private graduation courses. The current Brazilian laws enforced by regulatory evaluation require that at least a minimum share of a higher education institution's faculty have a Doctor's degree, then another share at least a Master's degree, then finally a share with at least a *lato sensu* degree, depending on its organizational status.

So, *stricto sensu* postgraduate education carries out basically three tasks: (1) training researchers; (2) producing knowledge; and (3) conferring degrees that qualify people for teaching in higher education.

Indeed, Capes requires its grantees to develop a minimum time of teaching practice during their education, with no further systematization. Some programs do require this from all of their students. However, *stricto sensu* programs have scarce teacher training activities, lack interaction with other sectors of economic activity or education and sometimes even with university undergraduate itself. In fact, many *lato sensu* programs focus indeed in training teachers to work in higher education.

There is disjunction in Brazilian higher education that is not that apparent to us, who are immersed in it. Undergraduate education is mostly professional, market-oriented and, though a concluding essay is required, it is possible to be awarded a bachelor's without getting involved with research. Postgraduate education, however, in

its more structured and regulated – evaluated – form – *stricto sensu* programs – is academic, research-based. *Lato sensu* programs, which are more linked to professional training, neither have continued offer, nor are subject to evaluation. In the last decade a new, hybridic form of Master's has become more common: the Professional Master's. However, it still lacks a deeper systematization both in theory and in practice.

As for evaluation of postgraduate education, it began in 1976, little more than 10 years after the Sucupira Report. Since then, Capes has performed this role, with a strong steering function. It also elaborates, since 1975, multiannual national plans for the development of postgraduate education. This activities, however, deal only with *stricto sensu* programs.

Evaluation is mandatory, regulatory: without a positive evaluation, programs' diplomas have no official value. Evaluation conditions direct governmental funding of programs (both public and private) and the number of grants provided. Regulatory evaluation of programs has always been conducted by Capes – a national authority. There are many areas of knowledge – among them Education – and a commission is designated to conduct evaluation in each one. Within this framework, it seems that what takes place in Brazilian higher education is a very peculiar iteration of Clark's triangle of coordination: academic peer evaluation inside a state structure that operates according to market rules.

The current evaluation format was introduced in 1998 and, until 2012, comprehended 3 years of program activity. In the last period, this time lapse was expanded to 4 years. So, in 2016, we are now in the last year of the first 4-year cycle. In each cycle, a 'Document of the Area' is issued, evaluating the state of the area in national terms and defining the assessment criteria. Programs are classified in a 1 to 7 scale. The minimum grade for a program to remain in activity is 3, and 6 and 7-rated programs are considered of 'international level' of quality, and receive additional funding.

Though these evaluation demands programs to describe some sort of self-evaluation in their reports, self-evaluation practices are seldom reinforced and frequently overlooked. The most significant (most valued) element is publication by the faculty. Assessment is carried out based on documentation and the evaluation commission has no dialogue whatsoever with the professors, students or non-teaching staff of the programs. The focus is on products rather than on processes. Internationalization is considered both a quality criterion and a quality threshold, but is

loosely defined and policy documents say more about what is demanded than offer guidelines for programs to internationalize themselves.

By defining funding through a highly competitive – and not always rational or productive – system/game, evaluation defines the life and death of postgraduate programs. Thus, evaluation also rules the everyday life of postgraduate students and professors with its goals, workloads and deadlines. As postgraduate education is the cornerstone of knowledge production in Brazil, evaluation of postgraduate education determines which kind of knowledge production is worth funding and, consequently, possible. As internationalization is increasingly set as a paramount criterion and evidence of quality, going global seems to be only way to go for a Brazilian program who wishes to survive in a competitive, hostile policy environment.

4.1.2. Finland

Consonant with Finland's political history, higher education in the country was first established in Turku by the Swedish empire in the 17th century, being later transferred to Helsinki under Russian rule in the 19th century. This institution, which would eventually become the University of Helsinki, remained for decades the sole university in the country, a feature which would imply an enduring feature in terms of the postgraduate training in the higher education system. In terms of institutional models, Välimaa (2004, p. 33) remarks that

There was a new conception of university influenced by German humanism (known later as Humboldtian ideas) that emphasised the importance of academic freedom and students' moral growth during their studies. It was important for the future development of the university that the model of higher education adopted in Finland was not based on the French idea of a higher education system with specialized and vocationally oriented higher education institutions in addition to traditional universities.

By the end of the 20th century, Sakari Ahola, Osmo Kivinen e Anu Kokko (1999) considered that the history of postgraduate education in Finland could be divided alongside the general lines that marked the trajectory of the Finnish higher education system. This meant the existence of a period of 'academic-traditionalistic university' until the 1960s; a period of 'steering state', from the 1960s until the late 1980s, and, from then on, a period in which state control receded in favor of an opening towards

markets and surrounding society. This way, the point of departure for the organization of a postgraduate culture was one of privilege:

During the period of ‘academic-traditionalistic university’, there was no organized science of higher education policy. Postgraduate activities were of individual academic cultivation in nature, and the training characterized by a relationship between apprentice and master. [...] the university served only a small but powerful elite, and postgraduate education functioned mainly as an instrument for the reproduction of the professorate (AHOLA; KIVINEN; KOKKO, 1999).

Nevertheless, it was still in this cycle that the Academy of Finland was founded, in 1947. This institution would become the main national funder for research and postgraduate education. The event was consistent with the transition Finnish society was experiencing after World War II. Finland, which had been mostly an agrarian society, started to experience demographic transformations into the 1950s, marked by industrialization, with the reconstruction and expansion of the country’s infrastructure.

Change in society was also linked to the building of consensus around the need for developing a welfare state. Higher education and research grew as part of this endeavor (AHOLA; KIVINEN; KOKKO, 1999), associated to the ‘regional policy principle’, that is, regional communities, through different social actors, lobbied for the establishment of universities in all major provinces of Finland between the 1960s and the 1980s, as ‘the founding of a university was seen not only symbolically but also culturally and economically important to the development of the given region’ (VÄLIMAA, 2004, p. 38). Further transformations of this period include a comprehensive school reform that broke with the rigid tracking of secondary education, which ultimately stratified the educational opportunities of reaching higher education, and the requirement of a second-cycle degree, the master’s, for teacher in basic schools.

From the 1980s on, Finnish educational policy increasingly converged with international standards, namely the European ones and those from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). By 1987, an OECD review of Finnish science and technology policies found Finnish postgraduate training to lack organization, and, in 1993, an international evaluation of the Academy of Finland called for the reform of postgraduate education (AHOLA; KIVINEN; KOKKO, 1999). The solution found then was to organize national networks that would bring together programs in individual universities to collaboratively set guidelines for postgraduate training. These changes can be associated with the project the country devised for itself

in its international economic insertion, as well as to stresses within the field of higher education, as Ahola, Kivinen and Kokko (1999, p. 76-77) put it:

Finland made a strong commitment to the ‘information society strategy’ impelled by the European Union. PhDs were given the role of ‘guarantors’ of the innovation system and economic growth. However, pressures to expand postgraduate education did not solely come from the changing economy. Graduate schools were also reactions to the inevitable massification of higher education and the anticipated graduate unemployment.

Jussi Kivistö, Elias Pekkola and Taru Siekkinen (2017, p. 295) consider that only with the introduction of such reform in 1994 did doctoral education in Finland leave the traditional, elite model to assume a modern semblance, with its social function changing ‘from socializing new members of academia to educating experts in order to achieve a knowledge-based society’. Between 1994-2011, a different transition took place, as there was an essay to elaborate nationally patterned PhD programs. From 2011 on, universities were prompted to organize their own doctoral schools, in the expectation that more cohesion would be achieved in doctoral processes.

While the authors consider the three reforms made use of loose regulative instruments, from 2011 on, Kivistö, Pekkola and Siekkinen (2017) detect the additional presence of informational instruments in the steering of postgraduate education in Finland. Furthermore, as Helena Aittola (2017) assesses, the ground is still open for further reform, and that was a concern by policy-makers by the time I researched Finland.

4.2. National policy

‘While a Gramscian approach works well in Southern societies’, Jussi contemporized, ‘it may not have such explanatory power in Finland, a society of trust with soft hierarchies’.

I first met Jussi Välimaa at the same time I first met Ana Luíza, in Pushkin. In the Summer School activities, Jussi was described by his colleagues as someone ‘very Finnish’ and ‘proud to be a Finn’. While he would not dispute – and rather smilingly acquiesce to – this claim in Pushkin, in another situation, in Finland, he would later tell Tiffany and me that he did not conform to the regional behavioral stereotype of his province of origin. Likewise, Jussi would be reluctant to subordinate the whole of

national experiences to an overarching explanation, as they are constituted by diverse social dynamics and historical layers.

Of course, an important learning for those who experience and study internationalization is to go beyond stereotypes and not to establish necessary synecdochical bonds between individuals and nations. Likewise, those doing international comparative studies must acknowledge interpretive schemes cannot be easily transferred through uneven polities. Not only the relationships between actors vary in different systems (VÄLIMAA; NOKKALA, 2014) – the power content of these relationships is also context-dependent.

Some of these distinctions emerge as I explore statements by individuals from different contexts of postgraduate education positioned in the field of social action of national policy. An underlying issue is the fact that university autonomy does not mean the same thing in Brazil and Finland. Likewise, the role of universities in the postgraduate education is not the same.

Brazilian postgraduate education is organized in a system where postgraduate programs are assigned specific places by regulatory national evaluation. The system operates under the aegis of Capes, which steers programs quite directly by controlling their funding. Universities may have little interference in the relationship between Capes and the programs, and not necessarily promote their convergence in a single institutional strategy. This state of affairs is one of the concerns that informed the emergence of the Institutional Program of Internationalization (Print) as part of national policy efforts towards the internationalization of postgraduate education.

Finland does not have a postgraduate system as such, but rather postgraduate activities conducted within HEIs' master's programs and graduate schools for doctoral studies, which are steered as part of the national strategies for the whole higher education system. In Finland, national policies feeding into the internationalization of postgraduate education may have different sources, such as the Ministry of Education and its Finnish National Agency for Education. Furthermore, Finland is under influence of supranational dispositions by the European Union, and networks with neighboring countries through Nordic cooperation.

Therefore, interaction between internationalization of higher education and national policy plays out differently in these two contexts. This is due not only to distinct legal frameworks and institutional arrangements, but to the historical traditions that conformed such structures. These traditions speak of cultural dispositions

sedimented not only in explicit regulations, but also in implicit representations of the academic profession. As such, the sense-making of national policy by policy makers can lead to glimpses of change and power in internationalization that are not often stated in formal discourse.

4.2.1. Brazil

In the Brazilian case, at the moment the interviews were conducted, change linked to internationalization in the field of social action of national policy could be perceived in some policy shifts underway in the system of postgraduate education. These shifts involved the implementation of Print and the reform of evaluative instruments. Overall, individuals at this level express the concern that policy shifts must foster internationalization of Brazilian postgraduate education to evolve from individual relations in academic work to a set of collectively consolidated networks operated by educational institutions.

We do not walk alone, the world walks in a manner and we have to know how to play the game. [...] Print came exactly with this purpose, to show: 'look, now this is our idea, our focus, our institutional goal discussed with everyone and accepted; this is our scope and we will invest on it'. Doing this, I understand Capes and the [higher education] institutions can strengthen the national system of postgraduate education, bringing about innovative capacities. [...] We notice some changes will be necessary, because it [Print] fosters this process, and change is the *abre-alas*³⁸. If change does not happen, Print will not be able to prevail and the institutions will notice that. [...] This is our understanding, but this is complicated for the institutions. [...] Some institutions have not yet understood Print's philosophy. [...] We notice, for instance, that some institutions will have to make small adjustments in their proposals, because when it began, they thought it to be something, and they later understood it was not about that. [...] So, the experts, Brazilians and foreigners with great experience, they see a proposal and know that it will have to be adjusted, but that will happen over time and is foreseen. [...] As the goals are met, with our follow-up, we, Capes, see the real possibility of change in institutions.
[BR-NP-3] >> *Change*

When change is represented as the *abre-alas*, it is posited not only a consequence of internationalization, but as a requirement. Change is situated within a necessary effort to keep up-to-date with international developments – what could also be seen as a catch-up of the Brazilian system *vis-à-vis* the state of the global field. And a first threshold to be reached with this effort is then intentionalization of universities'

³⁸ In the Brazilian culture of Carnaval, the *abre-alas* is an ornament, banner or parade float which opens the ways for a samba school or Carnival bloc to march and dance. This expression is composed by the imperative form of the verb *abrir* [to open], 'abre', and 'alas', the plural form of the noun *ala*, which, in this meaning, designates a set of objects or people,

internationalization through the formulation of consensus within the local academic communities. National policy aims to foster the educational institution's planning capacity.

However, such intentions may not be fully grasped by the HEIs' politics. This means the actors are not only intentionally shaping policy implementation with a clear agenda. They may be unwittingly holding change back by reading change policies with the categories they are used to operate. The resulting difficulties can be associated to the tension between historical update and evolutive acceleration (RIBEIRO, 1975). Nevertheless, academic actors have the ability to update their categories of political action, and policy can instrumentalize that, allowing for changes in the very process of change, supported by experts and steered by the state. As these interfaces are established, the analysis of change must pay attention to how effectively actors can communicate across the fields of social action (BLEIKLIE; KOGAN, 2006).

If change is the *abre-alas*, amidst what is it making room for internationalization? The deployment of the subcategory context illuminates elements of continuity in infrastructure and tradition.

But I think the great knot, the great problem of the proposal is that internationally, incoming student mobility may be the most valued variable in terms of internationalization. If you look at these many international rankings, the number of foreign students in the institution is a key variable. Evidently, it is through the presence of foreigners that you establish direct contact with students from other places and you create new contacts when they go back, opening doors. This is the great knot for Brazil, because there are no ways to properly incentivize the coming of students from other countries. In order to do so, you would have to invest in housing, orientation processes, classes and professors who use English, because it is the most internationalized language. And this is the most problematic part: the variable that is possibly the most important one for internationalization is the one that will not be as emphasized as it should be.

[BR-NP-4] >> Change > Context > Continuity

Knots designate bottlenecks, limits and insufficiencies in the system, the persistence of structural traits that hold change back. BR-NP-4 lists traits that evidence a critical shortcoming of Brazilian higher education: the lack of focus on students and the lack of consideration for their social condition. This relates to the very materiality of life when it comes to housing; to issues of pedagogical models, orientation; to the curriculum, classes; and to didactic methodologies, the use of English. The fact that these matters are not being brought to due consideration leads to the hypotheses that students neither have the power to set internationalization agendas, nor are represented in their interests by other actors with the power to do so.

The policy-maker considers the centrality of international students – especially the incoming ones – for internationalization efforts. However, they express concern that this centrality is lost as actors struggle for the resources devoted to internationalization. Hence, the problem of internationalization relates not as much to inability to devise technical solutions as to the political difficulties to enforce them (FERNANDES, 1975 [1968]). To enable internationalization to become less *ad hoc* and more comprehensive would require leveling the institutional playfield so that conflict could play out with more even rules of engagement. This, in turn, would require the crafting of institutional arenas where internationalization presents and futures could be disputed by the various classes of higher education stakeholders.

So, if change is the *abre-alas*, how is it opening passage for internationalization? The other dimension of context, shifts, points out to rearrangements at once triggered and required by change.

Internationalization will now receive a greater emphasis exactly because Print, with its concern with the institution's internationalization, is one of Capes' main programs. It replaced Science without Borders and, instead of emphasizing individual mobility, it is the institutional internationalization policy that will now be emphasized. So, the idea is that postgraduate programs must relate to this institutional policy. One of the changes Capes intends to introduce is to value not only internationalization, but the Program's rapport to its own institution. So, we will consider how the Program connects to the university's plan of institutional development and how coherent the Program is with such plan. Capes will encourage institutions to produce a specific chapter about internationalization for the plan of institutional development, or a stand-alone document by the deanship of graduate studies to deal with the strategic planning of internationalization.

[BR-NP-4] >> Change > Context > Shifts

There is a need to reorganize the tradition of internationalization in the Brazilian academia – one whose individualistic features were left untouched, or perhaps reinforced, by the program Science without Borders. This means the national policy may be inducing shifts in where internationalization is politically located: it can no longer be dealt with only as matter limited to individual endeavors of academic work, but must be accounted for in institutional planning.

As Print demands a more intensive relation between programs and HEIs, it may produce shifts in institutional administration. Capes' policies had historically eschewed this dimension of institutional rapport and collective institutional planning, privileging the direct contact between the organization and the programs. An important shift that needs to be addressed for internationalization to take hold is the establishment of 'missing links' between agencies in the postgraduate education system. This way, to

cope with the demands set by internationalization, the system may need to redirect the relations between and among actors, characterizing a shift in its social dynamics (VÄLIMAA, 2008; VÄLIMAA; NOKKALA, 2014).

Why are people promoting the *abre-alas*? Delving into individuals' action schemes, it is possible to devise elements of rationales that question higher education structure.

There is a strong demand from universities to participate in this process [of internationalization policies]. Print came about with all these issues on the table [...], trying to tend to these anxieties. What does it bring as an innovation? It is perhaps the only program that asks universities to stop, think and define strategies and priorities. This is not something usually asked from Brazilian institutions and, considering our structure, we know it is not simple, it is not easy to do. I have this civil servant attitude: I believe in the program, I defend it, I believe it has many potentialities and I truly think it is a change in the manner of approaching internationalization.

[BR-NP-2] >> Change > Action schemes > Drivers

Here, a meaning of critical consciousness (VIEIRA PINTO, 1960) irrupts, characterizing agency as individuals separate the context's variables to impart change. Individuals acting in national policy are socially metabolizing 'anxieties', a pathos, through 'civil servant attitude', an ethos. This leads them to problematize internationalization as an enhancement of higher education. Hence, the potential for innovation exists when agents engage the institutional background – connecting agendas across levels of operation and classes of agents – to break with former modes of operation. Internationalization is not innovative *per se* if it simply reinforces old strategies and priorities by adding an international dimension to it. It becomes innovation when it promotes a deep enough change that restructures decision-making structures.

This means the internationalization process may or may not give way for new concerns to establish them as objects of political attention. What difficulties do people perceive in proceeding with the *abre-alas*? Some of them are illuminated by the dimension of constraints that compose action schemes.

It often looks like a matter of cultural change. It is difficult to change mindsets. Many times, interacting with academia, I have the impression that we are very enclosed. Very enclosed in the sense that: 'we produce here, we publish here, what we have is very good'. It is like we were to diminish ourselves by establishing foreign relations. But this is not the idea [behind national policy]. I truly believe that, if you have an international look, it empowers your work in the national context. So, we have institutionally insisted in the matter of language. It is difficult to use English, it is difficult to publish in English, and we

know this is a big national challenge. [...] But if we want to insert ourselves in the world in a better position than we find ourselves today, in a strategic position, in dialogue with other players, we need to produce and show our ability, engaging in peer-to-peer conversations. [...] There are data that come from evaluation, but the need for additional sources persists. Because evaluation does not present a robust dataset on internationalization.

[BR-NP-2] >> *Change > Action schemes > Constraints*

BR-NP-2 presents challenges that cross the action schemes of actors in the field. Some of them are more evident, such as the difficulties to operate in English or to gather data on internationalization – a process that has historically been by large dispersed and scarcely politically intentionalized. Even the greatest driving force in the Brazilian postgraduate system – evaluation and its associated funding formula – is not able to provide solid ground on which to compose sounder internationalization perspectives. But these apparent issues relate to deeper ones, such as methodological nationalism (STEIN, 2016) and the vision of the academic field's relation to other sector of national life as taking place within a national container (SHAHJAHAN; KEZAR, 2013).

Scholars' representations of their own work compose thus one of the social forces that manipulate higher education. I argue there is a problem when this representation does not account for the international influences that conform such situationality. If Brazilian scholars do not factor the country's national positioning in the global field – and how their work relates to it – into their perspectives, how can the peripheral situation of Brazilian academia be overcome? At the same time, how will scholars proceed such intellectual operations if there are not socialized to contemplate such matters? Paralleling the words by Vieira Pinto (1962), if scholars do not set about reading their own position within the globe, and acting from this reading, they will leave untouched the objective underpinnings of international class dynamics that subordinate their work in a global scale. And these are fundamentals of power.

To move from the category of change to the category of power means to enquire who can steer the *abre-alas*. As I introduce the category of power, I must once again resort to confessional writing (SALDAÑA; OMASTA, 2018). I had the opportunity to interview BR-NP-4 as I attended an international conference. The structural conditions that allowed the very dialogue to take place did not escape the interviewee's analysis.

Within the budget [postgraduate] programs receive, they can use a part of this money to fund student participation in international conferences. So, I hope this will intensify and, again, as we incentivize

English learning, this [participation] will be enhanced. Why are you here? Because you speak English. People who do not speak English do not come to an organization such as this, to a conference like this, and cannot participate. The world's biggest conference in the area of Education is the American Educational Research Association [meeting], which is annual, and is an immense thing. Here, there are 3.800 people. AERA has twice this number. But how many people from Brazil attend AERA? I mean, it is the world's most important event and few people from Brazil attend because they do not speak English. [...] I had not spoken like this for many years, but nowadays, I am thinking one must promote English if one really wants to promote internationalization. I make a distinction between an international relation [...] and being internationalized. Because, for me, internationalized means you can circulate in any academic context in the world. It means you can attend meetings in diverse parts of the world regardless of the language. If you command English, you will be able to have space, but you cannot do that with other languages in the same fashion. [...] How can one go to China if they do not speak English? How can one go to India if they do not speak English? [...] I think if Brazil really wants to internationalize, it has to do two things: it has to promote English more, without this resistance, and it has to recruit students from other countries to study in Brazil. Beyond the passive wait for someone to appear, [Brazil must] recruit [...]. If you do not have foreign students in your institution, it is difficult to imagine the institution as really internationalized.

[BR-NP-4] >> Power

At this point, the category of power appears in its manifold complexity. A first methodological aspect concerns the production of discourse in qualitative research. Interviews are traditionally described as situations in which interviewers hold power over interviewees. This is not an accurate representation of my experience. In several events, people interviewed for this research confronted me with my own experience in higher education internationalization and my situationality within the academic context. They deftly captured my movement as an international scholar to prove their points. Their reasoning elicited acts of consciousness.

This statement by BR-NP-4 was one of the most representative cases. These cases may not be central to the heuristics of this dissertation, but I understood that it was an ethical challenge to represent at least one of such occurrences. As I speak English, I have 'the power to participate'. And power evokes responsibility. What I shall do with my skill is not only up to structural constraints. It is also up to my sense of duty.

Beyond my own ethical implication in the social reality under investigation, the words in question express how individuals acting at the social field of action of national policy see the structures of opportunity for individuals acting in the social field of action of academic work. The meanings conveyed in this message emerge quite directly and relate to an underlying problem of this dissertation: who can speak for Brazil, globally?

Power has global locations, and international conferences are one type of them. They work as network hubs and facilitate the flow of individual opportunities and collective research programs. And taking part in such events does not mean only hearing and being capture by global discourse. It presents the opportunity to instill

breeches in academic agendas. This has been done by critical educators, such as Freire (2018 [1968]), dependency theorists, such as Dos Santos (1970), and decolonial authors, such as Mignolo (2007).

English is one of the main thresholds to participate in such global dialogues. Although not sufficient in itself, English is a necessary condition for internationalization. It is atop a hierarchy of languages that may provide opportunities for establishing bilateral international relations, but which do not allow for worldwide circulation. The question then becomes who is able to speak English in Brazilian context of postgraduate education and how. Who does the Brazilian educational system present with the opportunity to become internationalized? And who and which agendas are held back by Brazilian scholars' resistance to the language?

Power is a relational phenomenon, and it appears in the immediate context of work as technical mediation. The first dimension of this category encompasses personal relations as a key to understand the historical construction of social processes.

For instance, we established an agreement with Yale. Full tuition-free doctorates in Yale for our students. We consider this a great victory. Because tuition is very expansive in American universities, and you can imagine how [expansive] it is in Yale, ivy league. We managed to close a deal with them. But this emerged from a more specific department and was directed to a more specific area. So, it depends a lot on the international cooperation conditions, on the timing, on what is proposed, and, on the basis of everything, on quality. [...] There are subjects which are considered the edge of educational research and that we still do not develop in Brazil, and we may not be looking with due attention. There are still mismatches in the proposals we receive, but, at the same time, there are no guidelines on what should be considered a priority area. [...] The main [change in internationalization with Print] is seeking to depart from a model that became too centralized in the individual to arrive at a model that is centered in the higher education institution. [...] We had this perception: Science without Borders was good for those who went [abroad], but, for those who did not go, what were the results? What was the result for institutions? What were the results in terms of curricular structure? How is the system? It is not only about the individual experience. [...] We noticed [HEIs] lacked self-knowledge, there were communication difficulties, etc. So, this led to [...] the idea of internationalization as a more comprehensive matter, as having an international reality inside universities, available for the students that had the opportunity and willingness to travel, as well as for those who did not want or could not [travel].
[BR-NP-2] >> Power > Technical mediation > Personal relations

Much like in other phenomena of public life, in internationalization of higher education, when frameworks for action are not widely available, it is the concerted action of strategically positioned agents that will align inputs – networking, timing, planning, knowledge – to produce favorable outcomes – international cooperation. But the ability to proceed such alignment is not a datum of the field. The prevalence of an *ad hoc* state in internationalization can be related to the absence of guidelines, priorities, institutional self-knowledge and communication. Such state of affairs can benefit

individuals, but not the collectivity. In order to overcome mismatches and make internationalization comprehensively available for all students, some sort of concertation is needed.

All the institutions that were approved in Print's first call reported one thing in our follow-up visits and in visits to Capes. The institution, the provost, said: 'I want to thank Capes and Print. We may not achieve the goals we set, mas the possibility for me to get to know my institution was worth the effort'. Because she said that all the work they had, the sweat they broke to bring everyone together, gather all the [postgraduate] programs, discuss which were the objectives, discuss what the university needed, convince some that it was not those programs' time, convince others they should join [the Print application] because they already had installed capacity and they could or should help... She said this, alone, set Print's worth. [...] One of the first things Print achieved, in our perspective, was exactly that: to put the whole institution in debate. Obviously, it is not an easy job. In a first moment, the tendency is to divide the resources equally. It is easier, you do not create hostilities. In a second attempt, they notice that, doing that, there is little progress, limited to those who already have some degree of internationalization. Now, if you make a proposal, call the institution and say: 'look, we are going to work this way. This quadrennium, we have to achieve these goals, this is our focus, society is demanding us this work, this answer...'. [...] Capes' public is society. Actually, Capes uses HEIs and postgraduate education to achieve its objectives and its proposal, but Capes' goal is to fulfill society's needs.
[BR-NP-3] >> Power > Technical mediation > Resources

BR-NP-3 identifies concertation as the 'sweat' – i.e. intensive effort – involved in the political work of promoting a discussion about an institutional project. Resources such as time and political articulation are consumed so that decisions can be made on how other resources – funding – will be deployed. A fundamental element of power is the allocation of scarce resources. If these resources must be used in a manner that ensures societal benefit, new question emerge. Who is society, and how its needs are gauged and organized by academia? Which actors can make themselves represented in academic politics and how concerned are HEIs with promoting democratic deliberation? To put the whole institution in debate to promote internationalization proves a difficult task – more so because the process may raise issues that can disturb traditional hierarchies.

When the connection is made between the immediate work of the individuals and broader societal aspects, the lenses on power can be dislocated to capture the subcategory of political mediation, starting with its dimension of national positioning.

So, we have a number of [knowledge] areas which are [internationally] recognized, but I think we can do more. Because if we do not put ourselves on the front, we will not be sought [by international partners]. So, we have been working to show the good things Brazil has. [...] [So far], we have worked too much in the matter of passive internationalization and not in active internationalization. [...] We have to stop buying services and invest in collaboration, because Brazil has a lot to offer. But if we keep on assuming we have to pay, we will never advance. So, we see the need to insert ourselves in international

collaboration networks, to do collaboration projects with universities, strategic partnerships and not simply arrive there and 'I'll pay for this'. This one of the great changes in attitude we have proceeded. [...] Brazil has a lot to offer to those who want to collaborate. And we have received many agreements, the answer is very positive in this sense of leaving a buyer attitude and present ourselves as partners. It is important for to know who we are.

[BR-NP-1] >> Power > Political mediation > National positioning

In BR-NP-1's, statement, the international profile of Brazilian scholarship is still to be built. This entails not only the assessment of the field and the devisal of communicational strategies, but an assertion of the national scientific community's worth. While former internationalization programs put Brazil in evidence in the global field of higher education, they did not break with the country's peripheral position in it. Individuals making national policy understand Brazilian position-taken must be changed. In terms of bilateral cooperation, Brazilian HEIs must move from a consumer to a partner role. In an aggregate perspective, this would mean to reposition the system, vying for recognition in international arenas. Such movement would require the mobilization of institutional capacities to elaborate and implement strategies of active internationalization. It would as well demand Brazilian scholars to 'know who we are' – that is, to perceive the possibility of existing in Other terms than those determined by the foreign agendas.

Our biggest program, for instance, is the sandwich doctorate. It has worked more in terms of the student's or the advisor's demand and not according to a demand of 'I need to do something abroad in this area to aid me to bring back to Brazil a quality enhancement of what is being produced'. We applied a huge survey on internationalization of Brazilian postgraduate education. We asked: 'what do you demand from the person who goes abroad?' and it is mostly only a report, a lecture. Is this what the country needs – a report and a lecture? No. How will I usefully apply that knowledge? So, we have worked for the good use of public money. We have to present a return for society of the investment that is going on. [...] University must take responsibility for internationalization, not the person Because when we see someone going abroad, it is related to individual benefit, but we have to institutionalize this benefit. So, we have worked for universities to be accountable for use of internationalization to enhance quality. And it must be more active than passive, looking at internationalization at home, internationalization of the curriculum. [...] Science without Borders was very individualistic and very passive, so we are trying to change this scenario.

[BR-NP-1] >> Power > Political mediation > Political responsibility

Individuals' commitment to promote their country's international position can be tied to political responsibility with which they engage postgraduate education. In the social field of action of national policy, this means reviewing policy considering where the accountability for internationalization should lie and who is responsible for organizing such accountability. The implication is national policy-makers should

enhance the effects of internationalization by, among other movements, changing the procedures of evaluation deployed the policies. Two examples stand out: the manner the sandwich program is conducted and the change in perspective from Science without Borders to Print. In both cases, the terms through which the scientific field can assess knowledge gain through internationalization – traditional outputs such as lectures and reports – are not enough to attend to societal needs. Reflection on how to make internationalization useful for society can lead to rethinking the very parameters of institutional *eidós*.

It seems clear enough for the policy maker that for internationalization to advance, it is necessary to question the liberal individualistic ethos that considers the pursuit of individual good will eventually bring about collective, public good. What seems to be missing from the picture is how to transition from the individualistic and passive mode of internationalization to a comprehensive and active one; and how national policy can foster such transition in HEIs. As mentioned by the interviewees, Capes surveyed educational institutions to evaluate how to better depart from the Science without Borders model. Could additional guidelines for Print be elaborated considering the anxieties of scholars directly involved in academic work, especially students? Asking this question is not just a matter of procedure in the policy cycle. It is a necessary inquiry which can harness internationalization change to tension the democratization of the institutional framework that crosses the fields of social action and conforms the system of postgraduate education.

4.2.2. Finland

As in Brazilian system, in the Finnish case, at the moment the interviews were conducted, the field of social action of national policy was marked by policy shifts in the internationalization of higher education. In the Finnish social reality, however, this change was not solely focused on postgraduate education. The shifts were marked by a repositioning of national internationalization strategy, departing from the *topos* of global responsibility to that of education export. Overall, government announced the intention to leverage Finnish international reputation as a high-quality educational system to lead HEIs' international partnerships to enable the development of a new sector of international trade. At the same time, ministerial actors dealing with

postgraduate education were concerned with making this level of training more efficient.

That is what we try to do all the time, more and more so: to see our higher education and research interacting and developing the whole higher education community and the system and research affairs. [...] We are now more and more developing an open way of studying in our higher education institutions, [...] so that there would not be only degree students, but to enhance lifelong learning, continuous possibilities of competence building of adults and those who are in working life but need an update. For instance, because of changes in the working life, in the working conditions, change of jobs because the world of work is changing. [...] And that is why we are now trying to figure out what would be the best way to help people to get this new information that they need for better careers and for better employment. [...] We cannot develop higher education nor science in a vacuum. So of course, there has to be kind of big picture in mind that what is happening in the global context and internationally. Actually, [...] this vision for higher education 2030 started with identifying the global challenges. [...] Now, we are trying to think what should be done next, because the world is not ready yet, but there probably are not so obvious next steps as there were in 1980 and 1990, when we started. Now, it is more difficult to try to figure out what is the problem, why we are not still more international, why there is not more mobility, why our higher education institutions are not cooperating internationally as much as they probably could. So, it is not that easy anymore. Yesterday, we had this meeting. Again, we tried to figure out that what are the next steps. They are related to the changes of the working life, to digitalization, artificial intelligence and so on. But they are only a small part of those challenges that we have to tackle, of course. And they are not only challenges, they are possibilities, these global transformations of work. There is more interdependencies between countries have never before.
 [FI-NP-1] >> Change

In this setting, change is to be pursued by planning next steps, considering the global scenario in which national reality is inserted and the shifts in the world of work, the material underpinnings of social life. This kind of steering by the national policy appears as part of the tradition of Finnish higher education politics. It concerns reviewing the societal role of higher education by proposing new relations to its audiences – both in terms of students and of other people whose work will be affected by knowledge produced by academic science.

The sets of social relations that involve higher education change involve its international relations. In this respect, change in internationalization becomes more complex as it unfolds over former layers of change. Nevertheless, the international environment appears as a space of cooperation and possibilities. The active planning and interrogation of conditions, trying to promote an active role for the system in tackling global challenges, seem to point to essays of autonomous development (RIBEIRO, 1975).

Next steps are taken as part of a trajectory, conditioned by the steps that were taken before. These former steps both limit and enable future developments, as it can be seen by applying the subcategory of context.

And maybe one aspect, if we look at this geographically, at least as far as the education side is concerned, then, we can say that what Finland and Finnish higher education institutions the students are doing is rather Europe centered, according to the statistics compared to similar countries. So, now I can speak about European and global. I could be more global, perhaps. I do not know so much about these doctoral students. [...] At least part of the explanation is that funding plays a role here and the funding for European cooperation has been increasing. And our national funding, for example, to promote cooperation with other parts of the world is still at a relatively low level here at our agency, at least. Of course, universities can decide what they do. And there are other funding bodies.

[FI-NP-2] >> Change > Context > Continuity

A dimension of continuity is identified in the patterns of international engagement. The changes in higher education linked to internationalization in the Finnish context occur in a setting that has been intentionalized towards international interaction for two decades. From FI-NP-2's statement, the internationalization of Finnish higher education can be situated in an ambiguous geographical threshold. At the same time the developments of the European Higher Education Area provided a support for Finnish internationalization, they bounded it to this Area.

Roots of this continuity can be traced to funding. As internationalization emerged as a topic for Finnish higher education policy in the 1990s, it soon found a venue in the Bologna developments and thus became historically linked to the political project of European integration. Thus, the bulk of international academic flows became concentrated in Europe, rendering a pattern of internationalization through regional integration that can be distinguished from wider internationalization efforts with a global reach. This does not mean that connections to other continents do not happen, but that they are less visible as systemic features.

The starting point from the Bologna Process was that, when we started to get more international, [...] our Finnish citizens wanted to study abroad or foreign students came to Finland, we realized that our systems in Europe were so different that they were not enhancing mobility and international cooperation. So that is why there was an urgent need to enhance the transparency between European higher education systems. And the Bologna Process was built for that. And there have been quite good steps we have taken together in the Bologna Process. [...] I was part of a process where we wrote internationalization guidelines for our higher education institutions in 2009. It started in 2008 if I remember right. And these were the guidelines for 2010-2015. And in that process, we talked a lot about global responsibility. [We discussed] that Finland, as a country which is known for good level education, has to carry global responsibility and has to be there where there is an urgent need for educational services. At that time, we were not talking that much about our education export. It was more under the headline of global responsibility. And this global responsibility meant and still means also that our higher education institutions have to be part of those processes where you try to find solutions to global challenges. That is required in educational institutions' important job. So that you are not [only] trying to solve Finnish problems or problems that are related to Finnish society, Finnish higher education and so on. But you have to be part of this international change and part of a solution. [...] We still believe that that Finnish

higher education institutions and Finnish researchers have to be part of this solution. [...] But recently, we have been talking also more of education export, so that all these services that Finnish players are serving abroad do not have to be free of charge for everybody. So there has to be also possibilities to work abroad so that somebody pays for your services and so one of the aims of the current government is to increase the level of income from education export. [...] The government has kept it important that that we develop our service sector so that the higher education institutions can be part of that. [...] So both this altruistic world and then also the possibility to benefit from work that our organizations are doing. [...] Actually, there has not been any drastic change or one timeline. [...] But it has kind of gradually become more and more common that we are talking about education export instead of international cooperation because sometimes in the projects and the processes, there is both. So there is cooperation, and then there is a possibility to sell your services. [...] And you can see these possibilities in other parts of the world where you can you can act and help competence building, for instance, in other countries. But you don't have resources to do that. So, in a way, internationalization itself has raised this question. So there is a two-way movement.

[FI-NP-1] >> Change > Context > Shifts

FI-NP-1's narrative can construe the dimension of shifts in context. The Bologna Process provided a framework for the systemic internationalization of the Finnish higher education. It prompted questioning which would be the next steps would take in the global field of higher education. These steps were framed in terms of global responsibility and education export, which could evoke the images of Finland as a donor and a seller.

At this point, the importance of methodology in the study of internationalization policies becomes apparent. Relying on interviews with policy makers allows adding to the analysis of policy documents which leads to the identification of policy shifts (HAAPAKOSKI; STEIN, 2018). Information from interviewees illustrates how this kind of shift does not mean that one guiding principle is simply substituted by another. Rather, internationalization *topoi* such as global responsibility and education export coexist, and are differently evidenced according to the priorities of the field, which are in turn influenced by political climate. FI-NP-1's statement expresses how global responsibility and education export may occupy the same spaces of practice, differentially emphasized according to the country's perceived possibilities and needs.

The Finnish context of higher education bears evolving constellations of actors and practices that make up changing patterns of international cooperation. At the moment of the research, these patterns seemed to conform different international relations according to a geo-economic zoning of the world: peer-like collaboration with Europe, education export to emerging countries and development aid to least developed countries.

The subcategory of context thus illustrates how the next steps of change are taken in the continuity of a trajectory, but with the inflection of policy shifts. In its turn,

the subcategory of action schemes allows perceiving what drives the individuals who promote internationalization and which constraints they perceive to limit this change.

Currently there's a phenomenon ongoing that young people are not that willing to leave the country. [...] So this is something that we have to actively promote and incentivize. Any type of seeing the world during your studies as a part of your studies is very healthy and I am talking about my own experience. There are multiple political targets we have with this, but it is always very fruitful to see how things are done elsewhere. [...] It is good for you to see something else. [...] [The main goals for Finnish postgraduate education] would be to gain competence is that are useful both for the individual and also for the society. This is currently a very timely topic. And – what does the working life expect from the higher education graduates? The expectations are huge, but so are the competences and how the expectations and the competences would match? This is under active discussion right now. So, we need scientists, we need people that do not leave academia, but we also need the competences created in that type of education elsewhere in the society. [...] Universities have approached the ministry three times now and asked that something should be done about the graduate education. Because you probably know that the average time that it takes to finish a PhD is seven to eight years, which, if you compare to any country, is a long time. But there has not been political will to conclude [the discussion] and to do something about the issue. I think we will start discussion in in the group I am heading, the vision group on research and innovation. [...] We will start the discussion on international comparison of our system to other postgraduate systems. Because that is the only way to get political consensus on that. We have to do something; that thirty five years average age for thesis defendants is too high. It is not a competitive asset to have that old newly graduated doctors in the system. [...] It has to be more effective. And everybody, all graduate students, they have to have supervision. And there should be some standards. And I know that most universities already use this four-year standard, but if we talk about real graduate schools, like the systems, different systems they have in place in in the United States, for example, they differ from the from our system very much. [...] Something has to be done. I think there is much more options for you if you are young and you get out of the university as a trained researcher.

[FI-NP-4] >> *Change > Action schemes > Drivers*

FI-NP-4's statement also shows how individuals acting in the social field of national policy see their ability and duty to arrange solutions for educational issues framed by their life experiences. FI-NP-4 values internationalization for the learning opportunities it provided them in their training. At the same time, in their experience as a policy maker, they witnessed how problems in postgraduate education remained unsolved for lack of consensus. FI-NP-4 concludes 'something has to be done' both to enhance individuals' opportunities and to dynamize societal investment.

In the process of devising solutions to make higher education more attuned to societal needs, internationalization appears as both a political target and a resource for policy change. Knowledge of international dynamics and foreign contexts serve as mechanism to leverage competences at the local work and to promote political consensus around policy decisions.

I would say [Finnish higher education] is not very internationalized. And what could we do? We have tried for 25 or so to get the young to leave the country temporarily so that they would come back. And

that does not seem to work. And on the other direction of flow is that we would get more international students here and internationalize the system that way. Also the if the PIs [principal investigators] or the group leaders are international in their work, that is a way to internationalize the students at home. But I guess we have not paid that much attention to this type of internationalization that takes place at home. And of course during the last 25-30 years, the situation on the infrastructure in Finland has gotten much better, at least in certain fields. We do have very competitive infra here. We also have international personnel that helps internationalizing the students here at home. There is no obligation for all students to leave because it well could be that the best place for them to be is here at home. And we tried ten years ago also to get more international graduate schools, so that there would be different countries, especially from Europe, including Russia. They worked as long as the group leaders that were dedicated to the work were doing it. But when they changed jobs or something else happened, the graduate schools vanished. So, we have tried different things. I would guess that one of the features affecting this development is that we are not an English-speaking country, and, well, we always say we have a lot of nature, it is very safe here, the air is relatively clean and all that, but it is not very tempting for everybody to come here.

[FI-NP-4] >> Change > Action schemes > Constraints

The dimension of constraints shows that change may be guided by successive steps aimed at overcoming bottlenecks. These advances – such as in infrastructure and international personnel – may in turn reveal other constraints that were not apparent at first – such as the need for attention to internationalization at home. From a national policy point of view, constraints to internationalization may be observed in the very dispositions of the individuals, such as youngsters not wanting to leave the country, where policy does not have direct impact.

At the same time, beyond state boundaries, a modernization of higher education national traditions according to supranational standards is being carried out through integration in the Bologna Process. However, the influence of structural-functional schemes of higher education organization still carry its weight. In the case of postgraduate education, this is related to the historical absence of strongly institutionalized schemes of structuration of graduate schools. The deep forces of history play a role of conservation, and may dispel change if a system of incentives is not actively employed.

After the university reform, the universities are even more autonomous than they used to be, and we do not have the competence here to try to steer them in the actual research and education questions. We do not have the competence and we do not have to right. So, the role of the ministries to set the big strategic goals at the level of the whole university system and also we deal with the universities separately at the strategic level. [...] So, it is sometimes very frustrating to try to discuss with the European colleagues even, because their universities are not that autonomous. But I think it is a good thing that it is up to the scientific community to decide on the research and education contents. But of course the Ministry has to support them with the strategic thinking and also with legislation. [...] But then when many phenomena that we have studied as for higher education and research are not actually up to any laws, but it is more how people work, how things always were done. And so by changing the law, you would not change the actual functions. It is between the ears, you know? [...] We rely highly on the research integrity and on research ethic skills of our researchers. So, it is more the tradition that you learn, like you learn to eat and put the clothes on. You socially grow up into this system where ethical questions are obvious and you

know what to do. And it is more good code of conduct that legislation that we have in place for that. [...] And Finland was one of the pioneering countries in machine learning. I know artificial intelligence research groups have really made it to the international circles, and not only here in the great Helsinki area, but in many other universities as well, there are specialities for this topic that would help us to be a very well-known country. Of course, the resources are limited, both human and money. But we do have a history. And this is not the time to lose it.

[FI-NP-4] >> *Power*

As a ministerial actor, FI-NP-4 affirms that it is neither the competence nor the right of the central government to interfere in some academic matters. At the same time, they affirm much of the actual workings of the system relies on what is ‘between the ears’, that is, that is, on the implicitness of the ethos and the habitus of higher education researchers. This is telling of the way power flows in higher education and reveals societal models and conceptions in which university autonomy is an esteemed value. FI-NP-4 also express that it is possible to understand, from a policy level, that there is a difference between changing the law and changing the ‘actual functions’ of the system. These functions stem from historical modes of operation composed through academic socialization by dealing with ‘obvious ethical questions’.

What are the implications for power in internationalization? There are limits to what can be achieved by changing explicit norms and regulations. Individuals also want to preserve limits on the power of the state according to their academic ethics. When dealing with internationalization, however, institutions may bring together people from contexts where the ‘ethical obvious’ differ. There are limits to international convergence of higher education systems because these systems are grounded in societal assumptions about power that may be conflictive. There is a subtler dimension of power in the ability to deal with social phenomena guided by unwritten rules. Pioneering uncharted knowledge areas and setting their rules of engagement for these frontiers is a manner of shaping the field. There is power in history.

I would actually not really recommend universities to in a way do this and that. My recommendation – and this may be more my personal – I would like them to be aware of the different ways of internationalizing education: student mobility, projects, curriculum development, teacher mobility partnerships, exports and so on. And then, using the big repertoire and choosing the emphases that fit them best. [...] Maybe it would be good to have, at least to some extent, this cooperation being more strategic and, in a way, in-depth, so that they have some partners who they know really well and can really do in-depth cooperation. So, for instance, in case of [...] student mobility, they are not only sending students somewhere, but they kind of build together modules that students can study and they know, the universities in Finland know what are the possibilities in this, and that and that university, what the student can get if he or she goes there. So in in a way, one recommendation could be this kind of more in-depth strategic cooperation with some partners. [...] Maybe one thing I would also like to recommend the universities to closely consider is to emphasize teacher mobility. Of course it happens, and in some cases

quite a lot, I suppose. But maybe instead of always thinking of the students getting another point of view to their studies by going abroad, why do not think about the teachers going abroad and teaching, for instance, one-week intensive courses in another country, in a partnership university instead of sending students abroad?

[FI-NP-3] >> *Power > Technical mediation > Personal relations*

One way to look at this ‘power of history’ is through the lenses of the dimension of personal relations in the subcategory of technical mediation. From this angle, the establishment of strategic partnerships may structure the channels through which cooperation can flow. These channels are peer-to-peer connections which ultimately lie on personal connections based on knowledge of the field. The ability to advance internationalization is enhanced by systematizing a repertoire of potential partners and forms of collaboration, knowing when specific actors and practices should be activated. One such example would be teacher mobility. As teachers command a degree of institutional power unavailable for students, which involves the ability to negotiate agreements. As teachers are individuals whose institutional connection is more lasting, the international trust bonds they create can have a multiplying effect over time, yielding partnerships in research projects, curriculum development and student exchange.

This is something that we see that is a little bit different compared to some other countries: that even in the funding models, internationalization has been for many years a part [of the funding criteria]. And the higher education institutions, when they get their funding from the ministry, some percentage out of the whole sum is calculated according to their achievements in internationalization. And it is a signal from the ministry to these higher education institutions to develop internationalization and it shows that it is a national priority. [...] My personal thoughts have always been that, of course, the percentage is not very high from if you think of the whole system. But I see it as signal that those things that are mentioned here are important. And we have seen it also in practical terms, that it has an impact at the higher education level, how they decide about their activities. [...] In many of our programs we do to support also other forms of internationalization, not only mobility. For example, we support intensive courses, joint course development, development of joint degrees, even, in some programs. These other forms have been more and more important over the years. [...] And then, what is more important nowadays is also practical training, its mobility of course, but a different kind of mobility. It has a link to working life and then different kinds of projects with working life, with other actors. [...] But of course we are a government agency. And as universities negotiate with the Ministry, we do the same, we negotiate, and it is this kind of large policy level elements that are part of those discussions. And it plays a role what the government’s policy is. And, for example, if I mentioned the cooperation based on development aid, our current government cut that funding in every area. So, our possibilities in that area are a bit more limited at the moment than they were as far as funding is concerned. [...] But then, of course, we try to listen the universities, what they think. And some of our national programs have been born in that way, that we have been discussing with the universities and then we have proposed for the ministry, this kind of new cooperation and asked for funding, [...] and said that this would be a national need now and we got some money. [...] When it comes to the Nordic programs, we participate in developing them also. And then, as an administrator, we administer those programs there. We have always tried to compare them with the European programs and tried to find these gaps and tried to think what could be done in a better way in the Nordic cooperation to complement the European cooperation. [...] So, we have tried to make the Nordic similar programs more flexible.

[FI-NP-2] >> *Power > Technical mediation > Resources*

Still in the subcategory of technical mediation, the dimension of resources shows how priorities are politically outlined by funding allocation. As FI-NP-2 exposes, the Finnish higher education system counts with organization whose activity may provide a middle ground between the Ministry and universities in national policy. As such, they compose further arenas of negotiation, and may even promote inflections on the outcomes of governmental policies. The manner in which the power over resources is networked can thus render additional layers that balance actors' priorities. This happens not only so far as national resources are concerned, but also on regional levels, whether Nordic or European is concerned. Analyzing how resources are allocated into internationalization efforts in the Finnish system may thus prove an intriguing exercise on the analysis of superposing institutional networks.

That is of course something that we have to keep in mind all the time: that Finland is a very small country, with small population. So, we are the ones that that have to be international, more international than those countries which are huge and which have lots and thousands of universities and research organizations. We have to be international when it comes to science, we have to be international when it comes to higher education, and we have to be international when it comes to people, to people connections. So, there has to be internationalization in many different levels. [...] I think that PISA has played a very important role in there, so that it has made Finland and Finnish education more interesting. [...] Now, it seems that when it comes to education export, teacher training is the most common area where our higher education institutions work. For instance, our universities of applied sciences have worked in Latin America. They have had projects there in Brazil, for instance. They have had projects with Chinese universities, they have sold pedagogical training to Kazakhstan, and so and so. I think that our universities of applied sciences have gained a lot because of the good reputation of Finnish education and teacher training. They were actually one of the first ones which, for instance, in China, managed to start the kind of cooperation you can call education export. I would also like to emphasize that the education export is important. And it is really one part of our future work for sure. But as important is that that our higher education institutions take part in these projects where, for instance, our Ministry of Foreign Affairs works in order to participate in capacity building projects, in Africa, for instance, and in countries where the level of education is not that high in general. So, international organizations are active in this area and I wish that our higher education institutions would actively take part in these projects as well. So, this is under the title of global responsibility. [...] In a way, it is a challenge for the whole Finland to keep the whole country inhabited and alive so that they [HEIs outside capital area] can attract international students and staff. [...] I think that there is a challenge for our universities and universities of applied sciences as well to market themselves. And the better quality you have, the easier it is. So what we can do is to support our higher education institutions to get the best out of them. So, that [involves to] diminish the obstacles in our legislation, make it as easy as possible for our higher education institutions to be international and genuinely international. But we as a government, or Finnish National Agency for Education, we as a Ministry [of Education], the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Team Finland network, Talent Boost, all these efforts that we have and all these organizations we have, we cannot do it alone. So it always needs the higher education institutions themselves to be active and do what they can. And I think that the best they can do is to put emphasis on enhancing the quality of education and research. I think that is the key to everything.

[FI-NP-1] >> *Power > Political mediation > National positioning*

In the subcategory of political mediation, the national positioning of Finland is influenced by the country's geostrategic features. As scientific enterprises require scales, a small country needs to establish international cooperation. At least in the knowledge area of Education, this endeavor is facilitated by the reputation Finland amassed by figuring in the top ranks of PISA. This international recognition derives from the existence of a multilateral mechanism of educational assessment with global projection. PISA reads the efficiency of a field of practice, school teaching and learning, but, in the Finnish experience, this success spills over to produce prestige of the scientific field. This prestige is so powerful it allows a small country to become an education exporter.

Granted, this is not the only variable involved in this development. Finnish authorities understand the need to maintain and boost international recognition, making the most of Finland's position in the global field of higher education. This position, grounded in an active participation in the European Union and OECD, entails strategic engagement in international flows that serve as a platform to promote the national scientific and educational production. National policies architect supplementary actors, practices and networks to support this international expression, but HEIs remain the key players, and quality of higher education and research, the main referent. In any case, the internal structure of the national field is not homogeneous in terms of international attraction, and the search for balance among the regions and HEIs is another feature of the Finnish higher education system. Furthermore, a repertoire of international engagement which combines education export and global responsibility activates different constellations of international actors in the country's internationalization activities.

This project work can at least give a direct benefit to companies. Of course, that is also part of it. But well, maybe even in such a broad way as 'producing' students with a good knowledge of the labor market and international abilities in working in international environment. Maybe that is also part of this third mission or could be regarded as serving the society. [...] Maybe it is a good idea to think that, in a way, these international projects and international trainees could be one form where university could be very active in serving the local employers because maybe, in many places, small and medium sized companies need support in this respect. And universities could really provide some help and assistance and support for companies in this. [...] And then there is this funding for development aid which [...] unfortunately has been cut down a little bit [...] and maybe we try to see a little bit where the gaps are and where we would need more focus.

[FI-NP-3] >> Power > Technical mediation > Political responsibility

As it can be seen from FI-NP-3's statement, there is not a clear rationale connecting internationalization directly to service to society. This link is traced through the potential of internationalization in enhancing professional training. For the benefits of internationalization of higher education to flow into society at large, institutions must be aligned, and this alignment is performed in the world of work. In this scenario, some actors, such as companies, are more visible as recipients of internationally-trained personnel.

However, internationalization players may not act only to support existing production chains, but also introduce new spins to policy and funding. While this potential is not fully realized, one can induce from the actors' perspectives an incipient ability to reposition national policy. It lies on the way they influence strategic planning at national agencies to direct internationalization competencies to areas that may be unattended by policy. As graduate employability composes a dimension of higher education relevance, the presence of postgraduate degree holder with international skills in local organizations beyond academia is considered a vector for internationalization of higher education to impact society.

Although not mentioned in this specific excerpt of FI-NP-3's speech, the idea of global responsibility also crosses the Finnish discourse on internationalization. It is combined to the project of education export, as seen in the statements by FI-NP-1. Likewise, FI-NP-2 and FI-NP-3 underscore the role of development aid in the Finnish internationalization portfolio. The idea of political responsibility of internationalization has thus diffuse layers, such as the sense of duty to the solution of global problems and a more direct accountability to tax-payers expressed by the dynamization of Finnish society and economy.

4.2.3. Comparative synthesis

The field of social action of national policy sets the frameworks for higher education systems to operate. Its investigation sheds light into how internationalization policies relate to national designs of higher education. Individuals working with internationalization of higher education in national policy try read the global field and the national system in a comparative and integrated manner so as to maximize the opportunities for individuals doing academic work. In both cases, actors in this field of social action mention that policy goals are not always understood or adopted by actors

in other fields. This means they are cognizant policies cannot be enforced through a simple top-down chain of command. They need compliance by HEIs and scholars.

From then on, change in higher education plays out quite differently in Brazil and Finland. I used two *in vivo* expressions to highlight this difference: the *abre-alas* and the next steps. In Brazil, policy makers understand the state has to jump-start change in HEIs so that they make internationalization more effective. Change is not part of usual affairs, and it is more reactive than anticipatory. The national tradition of higher education tends to conserve internationalization as a peripheral rather than a comprehensive dimension of academic affairs. In Finland, change has a more continuous character, composing a trajectory, and is part of a steering style by the state. Changes, or reforms, are concatenated as a strategy to stay preferably ahead – or at least up-to-date – with global developments. At the policy level, change and internationalization have become ingrained into the national tradition of higher education. But that does not mean they are readily received and incorporated in other levels of operation.

The subcategory of context underlies these limits in both contexts. In terms of continuity, Brazil still struggles to attract foreign students, and Finnish academic mobility remains largely restricted to Europe. The differences in the very manner by which policies shift in Brazil and Finland are telling of the different contexts. In Brazil, the main shift is represented by the introduction of a program that provides additional funding for institutions to internationalize their postgraduate activities. In Finland, national strategies are redirected, rearranging legal frameworks and establishing networks. In both cases, national policy leaves a margin of protagonism for HEIs, but the mismatches between the goals of national policy and educational institutions may hinder intended changes.

When looking at action schemes, drivers of internationalization policies may stem from the very identification of such mismatches. In Brazil, policy makers commit to change as they perceive higher education structures lack planning to produce satisfactory responses to societal demands of innovation and participation. Finnish policy makers are driven by the aim of making the system more effective to build a knowledge society, leveraging international experience to dynamize change – often by drawing on its power to legitimize change policies. These drivers reflect more or less subtle differences on the constraints detected in each context. In Brazil, they relate, internally, to a culture of self-sufficiency and isolation and to the lack of data on

internationalization to subsidize policy. This is combined with difficulties to operate in foreign codes in order to promote international insertion. In Finland, there is an internal challenge linked to the need for sustained incentives to keep internationalization working as ongoing change. In terms of foreign relations, individuals acting in national policy assess Finland lacks attractiveness as a venue.

In both cases, power in internationalization can be ultimately linked to the historical structure of opportunities that informs who is able to do what when higher education goes global. From the top-level of national policy, power is seen in individuals' ability to, with their attitudes and decisions on higher education activities, hinder or advance policy goals. This view allows complexification of power relations by refracting power in a plethora of individual, localized agencies. The next required step in the analytical operation would be to recompose the ensemble, identifying the overarching structural influences which set the tone to individual action. This would require not only locating the active forces in the system, but also the missing links, especially those that connect individuals to collective, institutional action. Such transition is often assumed, but not necessarily fostered by national policy, as it requires negotiations with university autonomy.

The subcategory of technical mediation turns to the immediate experience of work in internationalization. Its dimension of personal relations shows, in both contexts, the need for an institutional repertoire of international collaboration. In Brazil, individuals acting in national policy are concerned that punctual interactions, which nonetheless provide individual gains, lack a systemic character to engender collective benefits. Such transition would require institutional self-knowledge, which would, in turn, depend on communication. In Finland, policy makers perceive the need to make internationalization more in-depth by strengthening alliances with strategic partners. In terms of resources, both perspectives would require what is mentioned in the Brazilian case as 'sweat', unaccounted political work to promote internationalization. In Brazil, this also involves arbitrating the unavoidable conflict over the scarce resources available to promote internationalization. In Finland, the cuts in resources for internationalization undermine the official rhetoric that aims to promote education exports as a strategic economic activity. Nevertheless, the presence of internationalization as a funding criterion and the availability of additional international funds and instances to promote international activities serve as a backup.

The subcategory of political mediation relates the organization of higher education to national projects. In the dimension of national positioning, Brazil has the challenge to set itself in the international scenario as a worthy partner, changing from a buyer to a partner role. Finland benefits from the visibility resulting from PISA scores, to a point it has not only been able to set itself as a worthy partner, but a successful exporter of education. Of course, this was not made possible simply by relying on the evidence provided by PISA results. There were nation-wide institutional efforts to align actors in order to make education an exporting economic sector. This shows that while in Brazil education occupies as subsidiary place, in Finland it has acquired a more prominent status as a pillar to a knowledge economy.

In terms of political responsibility, in Brazil, policy makers understand internationalization, as public investment, should be subject to more effective forms of accountability, and should shift in focus from individual gains to institutional responsibility. In the perspective of Finnish policy makers, internationalization should connect to material production, and to the world of work. In both cases, the societal relevance of internationalization can only be materialized when it is downloaded from the superstructural phenomena of university to the relations of production that make up, reproduce and change the world.

Some systemic features aid the interpretation of the dissimilarities between the Brazilian and the Finnish contexts. Starting from the values associated with national policy, it is possible to observe the contrast between a 'duty to steer' in the Brazilian case, and a restraint from tampering with university autonomy in the Finnish case. Internationalization in Brazil is intended to advance from individual work to become an institutional feature. In Finland, policy goals involve coadunating institutional accomplishments in internationalization into a strategic national ensemble. In these efforts, its noteworthy how regional integration has supported Finnish internationalization, while similar developments do not appear in the discourse by Brazilian actors.

The transitions projected by national policy for each system make clear that the international division of academic labor among countries plays a role in the internationalization of HEIs: while Brazil intends to stop being primarily a buyer of international education, Finland aims to develop its capacities as a seller. Theory on internationalization of higher education must account for such constitutive differences.

4.3. Educational institution

*'But it is not just a matter of pedagogical conception and didactic formula',
Maria Elly whispered to me during class on the Reform of Cordoba, 'a
university's teaching methods speak of the world ontology it adopts'.*

Maria Elly 'Dedé' Herz Genro was my Master's advisor. Holding a *licenciatura plena* in Philosophy, she prefers to be considered a philosophy teacher than a philosopher. A senior professor at UFRGS's Faculty of Education once referred to her as a specialist in the political movement that shapes the institutional character of university. Her unique blend of humbleness and knack makes Dedé especially sensitive to analyze political issues from subaltern perspectives, such as feminism and decoloniality. At the same time, she is wary that the glorification of particular groups involved in social movements – one of her objects of study – may hinder the objectivity of educational studies. In any case, maybe due to her life experience, Dedé never denied the deep political character of education. As a kid, she would find the letters 'CCC'³⁹ painted in front of her house. Many years later, she would donate the books of her late brother to Emancipa, an organization linked to the Socialism and Freedom Party dedicated to getting low-income students to university.

Dedé's statement may seem axiomatic at a first glance, but at the same time it is too often overlooked in contemporary discussions on university. Even higher education professionals may understate the political character of pedagogical science and didactic technique. They speak of understandings of what the world is and what is the role of human agency in it. Likewise, the way they are used by a society to structure institutions may adopt unproblematized notions of justice, development and social opportunities. These ideas are then inscribed in institutional strategy to guide collective action. But the question Dedé often poses is: was there any political education allowing that process to adopt, enforce and strengthen democratic principles?

³⁹ The letters 'CCC', in the context of the Brazilian civilian-military dictatorship, designed the *Comando de Caça aos Comunistas* [Command of Communist Hunting]. This paramilitary organization attacked people considered communists – Dedé's family included – and played a role in the episode known as 'Maria Antônia Street battle', in 1968: a clash between left-leaning activists, with allies among the students of public University of São Paulo, and right-leaning assailants who departed from private Mackenzie University. While there was a tendency to label the former University as progressive and the latter as conservative, they were both plural institutions, housing diverse political forces.

The meanings people apprehend from institutional plans and apply in their practice may however vary according to their professional ethos and their position in a field of power. These values and situation may not be entirely equivalent between the individual acting in the administration of public universities in Brazil and in Finland. In any case, interviews with managers of educational institution can shed some light on this field of social action across different contexts of postgraduate education. After all, this is the field in which the transitional movement (FRANCO; MOROSINI; LEITE, 1992) of policy can be observed to take shape.

When dealing with BCU and FCU, it is important to underscore some similarities. Both are public universities located in important cities in their countries which, however, are not the greatest urban centers. Both were created as universities in the 1930s from pre-existing faculties, as part of movements of nationalization and localization of higher education (VÄLIMAA, 2004; LEITE; PANIZZI, 2005) which accompanied projects of national development. Both are research universities which enjoy a reputation for they level of internationalization respective to the systems they belong to. But these institutions are also different in important aspects.

BCU is a tuition-free federal university in a system of higher education where private provision predominates, and where other institutional types exist. BCU does not offer English-medium programs, although it has experimented with English-taught courses. BCU is a big-sized comprehensive university with roots in colleges patterned after the Napoleonic model. Over the decades, BCU would acquire a more Humboldtian semblance, especially reaffirmed after the Brazilian university reform of 1968 led to the organization of postgraduate programs. BCU also presents some features of the Latin American model, such as societal engagement and an interaction with political matters and state affairs. In BCU, postgraduate programs are institutionally equated to departments, and most of them comprise master's and doctoral training. The ensemble of postgraduate education is administered through a Deanship of Graduate Studies, and there is also a collegiate commission to pass legislation on graduate processes. BCU's international cooperation is articulated by an International Relations Office.

FCU is a public corporation as most universities in the binary Finnish system, which also has universities of applied sciences. Education in FCU is free of charge, except for those students who are not European Union citizens attending English-medium programs. FCU is a medium-sized university, which, consistent with Finnish higher education policies, presents a profile that focuses on some areas of knowledge. In

FCU, master's programs are managed at faculty level. Doctoral training is offered through programs organized by faculty's doctoral schools which, in turn, form part of FCU's Graduate School for Doctoral Studies. The competences for international relations in FCU are distributed among different instances, including international liaisons in each faculty, an International Office, a unit of International Staff Services, as well as a section of internationalization within the Division of Policy and Planning.

In both institutions, interviewees stated that the university administration valued internationalization as an asset. But the manners by which BCU and FCU organize international activities – and are steered to do so by national policies – are quite different. They also result from a different presence of foreigners in numeric terms. All this may hint at how crucial it is for a university to be international within a given system.

4.3.1. Brazil

In the Brazilian case, at the moment the interviews were conducted, change linked to internationalization in the field of social action of the educational institution could be perceived in the recent approval of the BCU's Print proposition by Capes. While the pursuit of the goals set by Print led to shifts on the manner managers perceive the ensemble of postgraduate work in the institution, the overbearance of discipline-oriented regulatory evaluation by Capes remained the most influential organizer of postgraduate programs' life.

What is always difficult due to the departmentalization of universities is that you have an excellent contact with University 'X' and only this postgraduate program knows about that, or this research group, or this individual professor. The rest of [BCU] does not know about it, does not see it, and could be benefitting from that. [...] This is something we can enhance and I see Print as a first attempt to deal with international relations in a comprehensive, institutional manner, because everything that happens becomes more transparent. [BCU]'s projects in Print were organized by country and not by postgraduate program. So, one of the Print's projects, for example, [involves] all research projects in the theme of sustainable development in cooperation with Italy, gathering many of [BCU]'s postgraduate programs. So, these people will talk much more, many times they will travel together, many times they will bring someone from Italy who will talk to more than one postgraduate program or, sometimes, someone from here will go there and will speak to more than one person and that will benefit us more than we were benefitted in the past, with single contacts. [...] There is a bigger gain when you have these connections, because they are people who bring a different knowledge, a different culture, a different manner to do things. Actually, each of [BCU]'s units has its own culture and they are very different, as different as one country is from another. [...] Simple things such as putting together an interdisciplinary course on entrepreneurship was a battle that took years only because [BCU] was not prepared for a course that was not offered by a specific

department. The department is the course's owner, so it was difficult to break with this logic. We should have more flexible and open systems. [...] There was a specific moment in which specialization helped people to go deeper into a specific subject. But nowadays, many times people walked so much in a single direction, losing connection to the rest, that it becomes difficult to use [what they find] because it is unconnected to the rest. So, we are definitely in a moment in which connections are very important.
 [BR-EI-5] >> *Change*

BR-EI-5 sees advantages for the University's work not only in the changes that take place with internationalization, but also with the changes that take place within University's internationalization procedures. The most remarkable feature of change within internationalization in BCU at the moment of the research was the implementation of Print. The gains that BR-EI-5 perceives with the program are in line with those proposed by national policy-makers: a more comprehensive, integrative planning for the HEI's internationalization. BR-EI-5, however, details further historical traits of Brazilian federal universities that have restrained internationalization. Mostly recognizable as the phenomenon of departmentalization, there is a parochial culture that sets tight boundaries for collaboration within departments, postgraduate programs, research groups – preserving international cooperation as a gift that is granted within the scope of immediate relations. In this case, reforming internationalization may lead not only to a greater share of the benefits of international cooperation in the institution. It may also tension the very current understanding in the postgraduate programs of what is to be a part of an institution. BR-EI-5 understand internationalization change is about connectedness, openness and flexibility – and this is to be achieved by leaving behind the idea that some instances of the University own courses, processes and other assets.

For a Brazilian university, [the task in a globalizing world] is to conquer something Brazilian university just begins to conquer [...]: affirmation among its peers. [...] Mostly, [internationalization] has been framed as an unidirectional activity, from there to here, and only in most recent times, from the end of the last century, there is a complementation of this path: from here to there. Because there is no position-taking in a globalized or global university environment if there is no isonomy in the sharing of knowledge. [...] For a university from the South, [this position] will be incomplete if there is no interaction, knowledge, insertion in the hemisphere, that is, I cannot look only South-North, North-South, I must see what is globalization in Latin America, what is globalization in Africa. [...] It is paramount for the postgraduate student to go abroad, to meet the external world. [...] This is paramount, [...] this conscientization of who we are, of who they are. Because we are still speaking of us and them. We are not speaking about a 'globalized us'. No, this is a chimera. [...] In 2017, Capes launched a survey about internationalization in universities. [...] We began to see there were data we knew empirically, but which were not in the system. [...] So, we got to the staggering conclusion that [BCU]'s postgraduate education's international interaction is staggeringly big, [...] things that cannot be pictured in a computer terminal. [...] This has still not become an academic information system. We will get there, but we have not so far. [...] So, we still have this knowledge ad hoc. [...] [About Print], at this point, I can only predict some attrition zones which we will always use strategies to solve. I will be a bit less philosophical: there

is the possibility that many programs wish to keep on doing more of the same, and this will be an attrition zone, because we have to move beyond.

[BR-EI-3] >> Change > Context > Continuity

Of course, this change does not occur in a context devoid of barriers. Some of them lie in University's external relations to an asymmetric global field. The depiction of the world by hegemonic globalization is, contradictorily, fragmentary and incomplete. It is up for scholars and institutions to discover the missing pieces of this representation – such as Latin America and Africa – and figure out their place in the world by conscientization. There is continuity in the peripheral status of Brazilian scholars. Some challenges are internal, as big universities such as BCU may themselves have a hard time making sense of their own multiple, unstructured, disconnected, discontinuous internationalization process. There is continuity in the fact that BCU's internationalization is mainly ad hoc. This is patent as the very process of conscientization about the large amount of BCU's international interactions occurred due to external, state induction. At the same time, the transitional movement by which national policy tries to boost research universities' internationalization may be met with formalist reactivity as internal actor will try to preserve the status quo. In any case, BR-EI-3 trusts the institution will be able to strategically overcome such obstacles.

We will have an international class on entrepreneurship. [BCU], along with other universities from different countries in the world, will make up teams of students to create business proposals. These will be international teams, in which each student will necessarily be in a different university, in a different country. So, this aids in the international entrepreneurial training of [BCU]'s students, to cite an example. Other example I could cite is a project with the European Community to foster the culture of entrepreneurship and innovation at [BCU], using techniques and methods that are under development by a group of universities, including people from the Netherlands, Sweden, Spain, Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil. So, this group of universities develops techniques to approximate university and firms, fostering a culture of innovation, identifying best practices, in a manner making explicit a tacit knowledge, so that all universities can benefit from it. [...] We need to analyze intellectual property clauses and many of these contracts that involve firms or other universities have an international character. So, we live these international issues very much here at [our office]. A couple of months ago, a group of professionals from a Czech university was here to exchange experiences with us [...] and we plan visiting them in Czech Republic in 2019. [...] Internationalization is part of our everyday work and I see it in a very positive light, as a possibility to be always up-to-date, close to the state of the art, to what is being done in relation to all aspects of university.

[BR-EI-5] >> Change > Context > Shifts

As with many other phenomena, internationalization change takes paths of least resistance. When BR-EI-5 presents some of shifts occurring in BCU from the perspective of a university unit tasked with innovation, they are linked to what could be

consider ‘extracurricular’ activities. They are linked to international networking with other universities, often supported by international funding pools. They follow themes that have more of a spotlight in the global agendas of higher education, such as entrepreneurial training and intellectual property. But for all this to happen, it is necessary for the university to be internationally visible, and to have specific places and people dedicated to engender the conditions for international collaboration to happen. These people may have to weave these places of international cooperation in spaces of university that have not yet been ossified by the formal traditional curriculum. As BR-EI-5 remarks, this kind of work has the potential of composing a ‘culture of innovation’ based on benchlearning that converts tacit into explicit knowledge and keeps academic affairs up-to-date with global developments. However, links must be established so that this innovation can flow across university as a whole.

If someone [among BCU’s students] wants to work in California, ok, but what I most wish is that my students make their contributions here and have a happy life here. [...] People from [BCU] we could send abroad, or expose to an international experience, had a concrete impact in their training due to internationalization that improved their work or life in [BCU’s city] or in Brazil, in the sense that it fostered a richer worldview for these people in their lives as citizens. [...] Internationalization contributes through comparison with other modes of working. It is not about bringing in a ready-made solution, it is not about buying a foreign educational platform, but actually to use international cases to problematize, to discuss: ‘is our curriculum the best in the world?’. I do not think so, so [I ask the questions]: ‘what do they do in another place in the world that we do not?’ and ‘should we change a little our teaching methods?’. [...] I think [BCU] does not have much of an option. I do not like to think that we have an obligation to follow a globalizing imposition, but [...] I do not think it is positive to ignore a phenomenon of such proportions. For me, the matter is rather [...] how consciously and autonomously is university becoming more internationalized, global: [...] the issue of autonomy and consciousness of the process, more than if we are or not going global.

[BR-EI-4] >> *Change > Action schemes > Drivers*

It is precisely the potential to enhance university’s activities that drives institutional leaders towards internationalization, as can be read from BR-EI-4’s words. And these drivers are linked to a consciousness of both the global pressures that inform internationalization and the positive outcomes it bears. BR-EI-4’s speech presents many meanings in these respects. Firstly, internationalization has a commitment to the local, and to a good and fair life in the local. Secondly, the most important local in internationalization may very well be the place of origin, and not the destination, as sometimes assumed. Thirdly, internationalization impacts people’s lives by providing them further technical and political skills, bettering their professional and citizenship experiences. Fourthly, internationalization makes institutions aware of the limitations of

their own practices and may awaken the drive to benchmark in order to enhance the education they provide. All in all, BR-EI-4 concludes a university with BCU's characteristics does not have a choice not to go global. But it must consider how consciously and autonomously it is doing so.

When one talks about a national project, one is never talking about a project that has nothing to do with the rest of the world. A national project is not to become isolated from the world; it is to know how to engage with the rest of the world in a sovereign manner. It is about taking one's own decisions instead of being pushed by others. Now, even if there is no national project, something will exist in practice. One will either be pushed by the market, by the international trends, or one will be able to make choices. [...] This choice never means isolation. [...] Internationalization can be something quite vague in the epistemological meaning of the word, because it can be interpreted in many different ways. [...] Of course, there is a vicious cycle in this, because one seeks the most the people one already knows, as there is a huge offer [of scientific output]. [...] There is a tendency towards concentration. It is difficult to join the club. Writing in Portuguese, it is quite more difficult. Portuguese is almost an exotic language, I think. [...] I already heard a professor say if he [Caio Prado Júnior] wrote in English or, at the time, in French, he would have an international impact he did not have. [...] Gilberto Freyre had this advantage because he studied in New York, supervised by Franz Boas, who was international, had a huge influence. [...] I think it is much more difficult [for the Brazilian scholarly production to reverberate abroad]. Because we often work with themes [...] which hardly appeal to the European reader, for instance. [...] This is bad for us because sometimes we cannot gain space in international journals. [...] Then, what counts is who sings louder, who is the dominant core, who can have a bigger influence. [...] This gets to a point it influences the manner of thinking and writing, etc. [...] [Internationalization] advanced in practice and later the official agencies started to incentivize it as well. I think that is good, but it is also worrisome to think that is an end in itself. I am quite skeptical to think that 'oh, for a postgraduate program to be evaluated with a score of 7, it must be international'. Because I think it depends on the knowledge area. I think this is making internationalization a fetish. [...] Because, as I am telling you, there are fundamental works in human sciences that never got out of Brazil. [...] Sometimes, if people take internationalization wrongly, it will harness them. It is one thing to consider it important; it is another thing to be harnessed by it. [...] Now, the most international thing in Brazil is local: the music. [...] It becomes universal because it is national. [...] Sometimes people think me quite nationalistic in my view: [...] I think for something to be universal, it must pass by the local.

[BR-EI-6] >> *Change > Action schemes > Constraints*

Part of what makes consciousness and autonomy is the awareness of the constraints for social action. As BR-EI-6 remarks, decisions are being made all the time on the global arena. It is up to actors to cultivate agency by devising projects that inform their insertion in international processes. When it comes to academic affairs, this depends on the ability to conquer the resources available in the field to promote such projects – whether they are national, institutional or individual. And the field tends to concentration and disfavors newcomers and peripheral actors. And some field standards – such as language – block some developments as they enable others. These rules sediment and become embodied in institutional practices to the point they are no longer questioned. What began historically as personal relations becomes seen as natural phenomena among objects – so is the logic of merit. For a dependent country, the image

of merit is always outside, and this may lead to disinvestment in the very themes in which its HEIs could make the most significant breakthroughs: the ones that have a transformative local impact, which, in turn, could lead to international recognition. The imperative of internationalization is thus contradictory for dependent countries in that in trying to emulate the formulas of the dominant core, they may alienate themselves of their own creativity and the possibility to make a globally unique contribution.

Internationalization has been an imperative at the University for a long time. So, much of what is decided is guided by this: how do we foster, how do we facilitate, how do we unblock, who do we debureaucratize internationalization. [...] Obviously, we are concerned with the good functioning of the University's postgraduate system. [...] The idea is to grant the programs the maximal possible autonomy so that they direct and coordinate this process of training masters and doctors, respecting the specificities of each area. [...] My work as an administrator [...] deals with this walking on thin ice, this trade-off between autonomy for the programs to manage their specificities and some standardization, some control, some institutional cohesion. [...] So: where do we draw the line that defines 'at least in this, all the programs must proceed in the same manner'. Then, there is a background concern about the power imbalance that exists between the management of a postgraduate program – a coordinating commission of a postgraduate program – and the students. So, I also see [I have] this function of taking position and trying to mediate and equalize this power asymmetry, especially giving voice, listening to demands and trying to figure what is fair, what is appropriate. This is not an easy job because there is an asymmetry also in the composition [of university collegiate commissions]. [...] So, I think this is a very important role in relation to the education of the next generation of masters and doctors: how to aid them to feel recognized as individuals who have voice, who are considered more than numbers and a product to be processed by programs.

[BR-EI-2] >> Power

This dissertation's problem carries a few assumptions: internationalization is happening, institutions are changing to favor it, and individuals are taking positions in these changes. BR-EI-2's statement presents meanings that aid unveiling structuring aspects of power in this process. The fostering of internationalization is affected by the continuous trade-off between enhancing program's autonomy and preserving the coherence and fairness in postgraduate education within the University. The matter of debureaucratization responds to the need to wipe or reorganize remnants of former historical layers that no longer make sense for current modes of operation and which can even hinder innovation. These remnants can be read as palimpsest in the institutional *nomos* that bear witness to the compromises achieved to arrange previous power orders, within a given status quo, and according to a specific *esprit du temps*. Laying out the rules of engagement for power games is important in an organization whose character is informed by being both a polity and a public institution. Paying attention to how the disputes around the personal relations and resources – the technical mediation – are framed leads to understanding how the pathways change can take are

rationalized in terms of national positioning and political responsibility – the political mediation.

Before proceeding into the exploration of such subcategories and dimensions, it is very important to heed BR-EI-2's observation about the difficulty to balance interests in their work as a leader in a commission on postgraduate education legislation. Determinations by the university administration are grounded on an unequal power structure that distributes voice and decision-making according to individuals' belonging to classes or estates within the academic polity. The question then is how ethical or democratic internationalization activities can be when their rulings proceed from such an asymmetric distribution of power.

The role of the head of international relations is to know their institution – to know its students, researchers and technicians, to know what is done in each unit, with each country, and integrate these actions, put people in relation. [...] It is to draw the map, to chart the international relations to obtain delimitations. [...] It is actually a huge and unusual task. Each person knows very well their partnerships, but it is really difficult to open the mind and consider a gamut of options. [...] The question is: there are opportunities for some knowledge area in some country, so I have to talk to these people who are seeking this knowledge. [...] My place is that of an interlocutor, of contacting people, of bringing together the national policy and [BCU]'s policy with the international partnerships which interest our scholars. [...] Print is very interesting for us [...], especially because of the autonomy Capes seems to be granting universities for them to decide with which partners they will work. It is a huge challenge, because, formerly, it was more comfortable to deal with internal disputes, to say everybody should apply for Capes's funding and they would decide. Now, we have already begun to suffer the pressure. People are already calling and saying: 'hey, when is my scholarship coming?', 'my partnership with such place is very important'. Obviously, there will be a selective process, not everybody will have a sure scholarship to go wherever they want. So, it will be very difficult to manage. However, from a strategic viewpoint, it is very interesting for us to have a tool by which we can decide with whom we want to work, demand a return from our partners, check if there is mobility in both directions, or any mechanism we wish to increase. [...] The question is how to vest with an institutional character pre-existing international activities. That is why I see my job as articulating and having consciousness, making conscious an unconscious process. [...] So, internationalization needs this feature of permanence of information, of knowledge transfer relating to international partners, and of transparency, which I consider very important.

[BR-EI-4] >> Power > Technical mediation > Personal relations

BR-EI-4 assesses that BCU is a university with an international dimension. This dimension, however, is conscious only in the immediacy of academic work, in the scale that individuals – or at best, programs – can account for their personal relations. BCU is a big university, and a large amount of information can be lost if it is not made permanent and transparent. This information relates not only to 'who does what in internationalization', but also to 'how things are done in internationalization'. BR-EI-4 describes their work as a cartographic effort to network people across academic units, disciplines, institutions and countries. While Print reinforces this role within technical

mediation, it also whets the need to act in a more political capacity, as an arbiter of resources. As Print incentivizes university autonomy in the management of funding for internationalization, it transfers to university's political territory the disputes for who will get what. Even when the decisions are made solely based on an institutional strategy, a dimension of personal relations remains in the question: who was empowered to inform, debate and write such strategy?

I think public HEIs do not internationalize themselves more nowadays due to money, due to how much it will cost for the institution. It is not that they do not want to do it, maybe they want, but how, where will they take the resources from to do it? And when I talk about resources, I refer not only to money. [...] So, sometimes, it is easier to do a good job in the local work, without failures, than to set an extensive agenda, want to do things, and crash. [...] So, I think this is it: money, people to work and knowledge of the process itself, what it involves. [One must] know how to communicate, how to organize, how to prepare, because it involves organizing the house for the process. And what we realize is that often times, the house is not prepared for the process of internationalization. Then, one starts to study the process and to organize the internal information, and realizes how unprepared one is. [...] We have many indicators, complex indicators, for which to account. And that requires knowledge management from the institution – how to elaborate one indicator. Because one must proceed a correct reading of an indicator within the institution to provide to other countries or external sources. [...] And sometimes, the difficulty is time. [International] entities and institutions demand us and we cannot provide information on time. It is not that the University does not have [the information itself]. [What the University lacks] is the time to organize the information to send it.

[BR-EI-1] >> Power > Technical mediation > Resources

BR-EI-1 lists the resources implement international activities, they summarize it in some basic inputs for HEIs to work: funding, people, knowledge and time. Among these resources, the lack of proper funding and the limited availability of human resources represent, for the interviewee, the most critical bottlenecks hindering the institution from furthering its international activities. Knowledge involves detecting and systematizing strategic information on processes, which, in turn, depends on the skills of the people working on them. There is, then, the factor of time. Time, in this case, is not only linked to its chronological aspect of counting on the necessary workhours to accomplish a task. It involves a meaning of *kairos*, the alignment of events in an opportune and decisive moment for an outcome to be produced. This observation recalls the matter of strategic knowledge of the global field in order to detect when new movements are surging in the horizon and an institutional action will have to be taken, deploying anticipatory skills.

[BCU]'s history has a lot to do with Mercosur's creation. [...] Later on, the Association of Universities of the Montevideo Group was created and, in the 1990s, [BCU] realized it needed an international consultant

to accompany and advise the rector in international affairs. This occurred in a time when very few universities thought about this. Mercosur then guides a great deal of [BCU]'s internationalization policy: an international [BCU], in South America, in Mercosur. [...] For [BCU], Mercosur is a specificity not [only] as an economic project, a political project, but really as the conviviality of countries which are so close, neighbor who have common interactions. [...] Even if it does not appear in the league tables, even if it does not appear in bibliometry, even if it does not appear in the first ranks, in my position, one realizes how the foreign institutions that receive our students around the world consider them good, affable, scientifically well-prepared, knowledgeable in their work. So, this one of our fortes that we share with other federal universities in Brazil. However, outside federal institutions, postgraduate education lags. [...] The fact that Print internationalizes leading postgraduate educate and research [...] sets too much of the spotlight in a single aspect, reinforces what is already international. So, one cannot escape the question of how to internationalize – in a different manner, of course – the smaller postgraduate programs [...], which often belong to smaller universities and which are more distant? And there are ways to do that. [...] So, it is possible to internationalize many, many things, many programs which do not reach the Print standards. What [BCU] did to respond to this was to direct the unassigned part of the budget to cooperation with countries which are not that advanced, with Latin America, and maybe to support programs which are less internationalized. [...] Brazil is just beginning this trajectory, while Europe has a cutting-edge experience. [...] So, our history is short, but even the countries which we deem very advanced do not have so much history, they are still building their tools.

[BR-EI-4] >> Power > Political mediation > National positioning

BR-EI-4 explains that BCU enjoys a unique position within the Brazilian system in terms of internationalization due to its early association to the developments of regional integration in Mercosur. This reinforces the idea that HEIs can gain international protagonism by associating to the pressing international demands of the time. Such engagement prompts institutional developments, and also the inception of a platform for international relations. BR-EI-4 also accounts for an overlooked dimension of international reputation that favors Brazilian HEIs – or at least federal research universities like BCU: the student reputation. There are two issues linked to both remarks. First, these are issues that are not necessarily highlighted in internationalization discussions, and that may account, however partially, for the success of internationalization endeavors. Secondly, they express the fact that internationalization in Brazilian higher education occurs in a very dissimilar context, in which individuals' opportunities will vary drastically according to the institution to which they can affiliate themselves. From then on, even as leaders in BCU consider Print an advancement, they cannot avoid asking about its limitations, and a central concern respect those that were not privileged by the program. That means that new policy emanated from national agencies do not come only to provide solutions or to conform universities' behaviors. They also raise new questions to HEIs, provoking new creative responses and contestations. This reinforces the argument that if internationalization is in crisis, it may be a paradigmatic crisis, but not a terminal one.

Sometimes, we are in our house and everything seems so basic. [...] So, what about our, the house's responsibility before other institutions, you know? [...] Many institutions look up to us to craft their practices. So, I gathered the whole team and talked to them about this perspective I experienced: [BCU]'s responsibility to other institutions. I commented this to [the vice-rector] through a message, asking to talk to them about that. This happens here [in Brazil], and when we go to Argentina, Uruguay, etc., they always want to know everything about how we work, also because they have Brazil as [a reference]. And thinking about [BCU], it is already recognized, it has an image abroad, and, often, the image they have, depending on the sector, is in the people who are here [...]: the renowned researchers who the University generated and fostered to be out there. So, I think it is a huge responsibility today and I think a lot about it: how much what we are building here is influencing institutions both in here [Brazil] and out there [abroad]. [...] But I notice the lack of space to share [internationalization learnings]. [...] I think we should make an internal movement to listen these good practices. [...] This is too much in the hands of the individuals who go abroad, graduate, do whatever they want, return, and do not contribute. Or contribute only through their final thesis. Okay, but that is too little for me, it could be more holistic: a responsibility to the individual, a responsibility to the program and to the institution. [...] Also because the traditional teaching methods we use in Brazil are subject to a lot of criticism. So, how will one internationalize [higher education] if, internally, the pedagogical projects are still traditional and do not involve in their methodology a vision of the international? [...] I think these moments of dialogue, discussion within the University would help. I see this is an anxiety that remains concentrated in the individual who goes abroad and returns. [...] But I see levels of responsibility there, such as the responsibilities of the program who allowed the student to go abroad.

[BR-EI-1] >> Power > Political mediation > Political responsibility

BR-EI-1's concerns are in line with those expressed by individuals acting on the level of national policy: while the experience of internationalization is very fruitful for those involved in it – for instance, students in mobility –, it seldom spills over in institutional development. Individuals remain sole in their responsibility to do something about what they gained from internationalization. But sharing from and through internationalization is not only a matter for individuals – it also relates to institutions. BR-EI-1 also complexifies the position of a leading research university in the South. In their experience, BCU can sometimes act as role model for other universities in the region that are interested in its institutional practices. However, even in this dimension, the very fundamentals of academic work on the base of the system are a reference for cooperation. In these cases, it is the respected work of scholars that sets the university's name up for international recognition. In both emerging meanings – the individual's responsibility and the institution's responsibility – individual commitment to promote change through the venues of internationalization is not necessarily met with the institutional support to do so. In this sense, a task on the horizon of advancing sustainable internationalization is to develop platforms through which both individuals and institutions can share with their peers whatever they gained from internationalization.

4.3.2. Finland

In the Finnish case, at the moment the interviews were conducted, the field of social action of the educational institution dealt with the inflection on national policy' take on internationalization. At the same time, actors in this field were seeking to improve coherence in internationalization and postgraduate education practices. These efforts were marked by the necessity to balance between the pressures coming from the hierarchical 'top' – national policy – and 'bottom' – academic work.

The main criticism that we had towards the ministry was that they started the process after the funding formula was already renewed for Finnish universities, after the Ministry had already done all the agreement negotiations with the universities. Basically, that is a place where the Ministry and the universities agree on objectives for the next four-year period. So, basically, if there is a set of guidelines for a specific theme such as internationalization, for example, that comes after these two, the funding formula and upper performance agreement negotiations, it is sort of too late in some respects. It is difficult for us as the champions for internationality in universities to sort of encourage and make the university management and leadership to take it seriously on the institutional level when it comes too late and it is not tied to the funding formula and it is not tied to the agreement negotiations. Of course, now they have been sort of able to patch it up a little bit. [...] I feel there is sort of this mismatch. There is one hand of the government doing this, and then there is the international hand working here, whereas they should be more entwined, which is what we, most of the universities, have already done. Internationality is part of our operational steering and governance. [...] But all in all, I am happy that we have the guidelines, and I am happy that we are now working on the operational agenda. [...] If one of the key points of the university strategy is to enhance, promote internationality, then we come up with ways to do that. We create financial incentives, work with different parts of the university to come up with strategic development programs to reach the goals set in the strategy or in the action plan. [...] We are sort of measuring what the university does and reporting that. But in the same time, we are also sort of creating feedback for the university on what should be done and how things should develop. So there is a sort of cycle of development, I would say. And since this is a sort of very multidimensional division – we have people working on so many different themes here –, we all have a role in keeping internationality and a sort of international perspective in whatever the theme is. Whether it is integrating students or creating improved research career systems or enhancing the university quality assurance mechanisms or models, internationality plays a role and is a perspective and a theme and a dimension in all of that. [...] We do not make the mistake of envisioning something that we are not ready to put into action. For me, the level of ambition needs to be high, and higher than what it is right now, but it needs to be reachable. And then, there needs to be action steps that make it possible to reach those objectives that we set. But it requires a lot of commitment, not just from the university of management; also from the units and departments and faculties to do this kind of thing. [...] We are drafting the strategy this year. I think we still have an opportunity to pay more attention to these [national] guidelines [...] and then internally the way that it would sort of trickle down into the faculties and departments. They of course, when they were drafting their strategic documents, would have to reflect on what the university seeks to do and what kind of objectives we have set ourselves.

[FI-EI-4] >> *Change*

FI-EI-4's statement shows how internationalizations is conceived as a strategic change that pervades the threes fields of social action. It is aligned from the guidelines set by national policy, but, as it trickles down to the educational institution and the

academic work, it is reinterpreted to fit local goals. There are mismatches in the systems of incentive such as the lack of alignment between policy goals and the funding formula the Ministry proposes for universities. These mismatches are fragilities that limit agents' ability to 'champion' internationalization. The strategic response is then to set up development cycles that draw on the university's multidimensionality, both in terms of the different subjects tended by central administration and the practical operations of faculties and basic units.

I should say that it [quality management] should be a bit more international than it is. We have a quite Finnish system, for example, in the sense that our material is mostly in Finnish and we operate in Finnish. But then, if we have evaluations, then we try to take also the international students, international staff on for interviewing, so that they also can cooperate in the quality management system. And then, now it comes into my mind that we have one part of quality management called HR4R, which means, Human Resources for Researchers. It is an European program which tries to to improve the career of the researchers and also the recruitment of the researchers. And it is totally uh, international. So we operate in English. [...] [Internationalization] is minimal in the [national] model [of evaluation]. In case it is regarded as self-evident in every the [university's] actions, then it is okay. But I think we are still on the level where we have to remind ourselves of internationalization and I think that is why it is not so self-evident in the model yet. [...] For us, it is quite easy to discuss about the internationalization. But still there is something that I find myself not thinking about international students or international researchers here. [...] I do not think the culture of the university is very unfriendly towards internationalization. But [...] it is more convenient to be just Finish So, that is why internationalization is forgotten, unconsciously. And we should have the chance in the culture that everyone thinks about internationalization in a different way. Of course, it may be the present situation, maybe because of the Finish mentality. We are quite introverted persons and we are shy to make contact with foreigners, but also with the unknown persons, even though they are Finnish. [...] Well, I think everything returns to the culture. [...] And now that I am discussing with you, I am a little bit ashamed we were not more demanding in terms of internationalization when the new evaluation model was under renewal.

[FI-EI-1] >> Change > Context > Continuity

The dimension of continuity in the subcategory of context shows that while internationalization becomes more comprehensive, it is not entirely pervasive. Under an ever-evolving ensemble of new practices and guidelines elaborated to allow the University to operate in an increasingly international mode of operation, the underpinnings of an academic culture developed within a national structure remain. As in the case of quality management, individuals may identify spaces supposedly untouched by internationalization as the ones in which the national language is the language of operation. But even there, European policies mark their presence. Internationalization then appears to be in an ambivalent state: it is taken for granted as part of university's everyday work, it is part of the framework of references, but it is not necessarily thematized as such. FI-EI-1 self-criticizes this as a limit in their work, and assigns more attention to internationalization as a pending task.

In many Faculties, in many doctoral programs, it is somehow in the degree requirements that you have to attend at least one [international] conference during doctor studies and present your results there. So we tried to make out of their students active members of the scientific community and give them experience about going to conferences and being an international researcher. We also encourage, for example, getting supervisors from foreign universities. That is possible. We make this cotutelle agreement with doctoral students. [...] We have some international doctoral degree programs. They are quite small in number on both students. But anyway, we have that opportunity. [...] We try to give out of her students the skills like we have defined the learning outcomes in doctoral training. And there you have listed all the skills that we would all our new doctors to have and give them the skills that they need to be able to function in international environment. [...] I think international competence is interaction skills and scientific communication skills. And I think we think those are skills important for any academic experts these days. [...] I think it [internationalization] affects my work so that I have to always remember that we are an international university. It affects my daily work because I use English language very much. I think all the communications of the University's Graduate School are in English unless there is some special reason for doing them in Finnish. When we do these guidelines, for example, now that we are renewing the admission system and the application guidelines, we have to think that that not only that the guidelines have to be in English, but they also have to be understandable to applicants who do not know Finland or the Finnish education system. So [we] have to always remember that not everybody was born and raised in Finland.

[FI-EI-3] >> *Change > Context > Shifts*

The other dimension of the subcategory of context, shifts, shows that administrative procedures regarding postgraduate education are revised to better accommodate the international flow of students, as well as practices of international scholarly communication. The very fact that FCU's Graduate School takes up English as its standard language of operation shows a shift in the code that is used to guide the highest level of academic training. Internationalization also brings in the concern about the translatability of Finnish academic culture, its codes and practices. This means that the training of doctors is increasingly seen as an activity that cannot be confined to national boundaries.

I represent a group of people in Finnish higher education who try actively to promote international cooperation, [...] try to promote the idea also among individual students, including doctoral students and individual teachers and professors, that international cooperation is a good thing. [...] My role is very often when I sit in a working group which is not devoted to internationalization, [...] being the person who reminds the working group or the colleagues there that: 'hey, remember the international students; you need to remember the foreign personnel that we have here; or you need to remember that we have these international agreements and partnerships going on'. And 'this decision that we are making, how does it affect this international networks and people and activities'? [...] And then a role of promoting, bringing up the benefits of international cooperation, which I think in the university life are evident. And really I question anybody who doubts that international cooperation is useful for a research university. [...] In a research university, particularly, it comes with the territory that you need to carry out international cooperation. Otherwise you cannot be high quality institution of research and education. If you try to operate within Finland alone [...], it is impossible to maintain a high quality operation. [...] Wherever you go, you have the effects of globalization and you have people coming from different cultures originally. Wonderful! It is a good thing, but we need to make sure that our students, when they enter the working life, they have the skills and the mindset to accept this and to sort of embrace this. We

are a university which trains a lot of teachers, all sorts of teachers to all sorts of school levels. So, particularly, we need to make sure that all the graduates that leave this university, they have come across people from different cultures within their studies, either here on the home campus or during exchange, or when they carried out an internship abroad or whatever. We need to make sure that that has happened. But that is not enough. We make sure that we give them tools to sort of analyze what it means to be in a foreign culture, what it means, what does it feel like and what does the cultural background mean in your everyday life.

[FI-EI-5] >> *Change > Action schemes > Drivers*

Turning to the subcategory of action schemes, the dimension of drivers illuminates individuals' motivations to promote internationalization. As seen in the dimension of shifts, a quality academic operation is perceived to no longer be possible without international collaboration. However, as FI-EI-5 exposes, this is a mindset of a group of scholars, and one that needs to be reinforced in different instances. Internationalization is not a shared value across all of Finnish academia. The concerns with the bases and implications of internationalization must be prompted by specific individuals. What leads these individuals to, as FI-EI-4 put it, 'champion internationalization'? In FI-EI-5's perspective, there is a need to attune university training to the needs of a globalized world, one in which professionals – especially teachers – must be trained to deal with difference.

I am always so happy when I am walking in the campus and I see, for instance, the students coming from other countries there. I feel very touched that they have come this far North and they are willing to study here and they have so much to give to us as researchers and to our students and I think too much they are in their own group and our students are in their own group. And I so much wish that we can do more. Just in the morning, I did write an e-mail to every faculty discussing master programs, what programs we should continue and which programs we should stop and I brought up there that I wish that we can discuss with every faculty what they have thought that they can do in order to have this integration. [...] I noticed that when I wrote our Faculty plan that we do for a four-year period and [...] this is a general statement, what is our Faculty's mission, for example. And then when I wrote there that a very important mission is that we are key actors in global responsibility matters, some people from our Faculty who were reading it, professors, they took it away and put question marks: 'what is this, we are not doing anything like that'. So then I realized that they are not bad people who are doing it. But global responsibility matters, they don't know anything about it and they are in our Faculty. So then then I realized that it is not a general conception that that we are taking global responsibility and even kind of the willingness that we hope to be in top of this issue. So, still, I think, these issues are in the hands of too few people in our University.

[FI-EI-2] >> *Change > Action schemes > Constraints*

The first emerging meaning in FI-EI-2's statement deals with the difficulty of integration between Finnish and foreign students in the classroom work and in out-of-classroom conviviality. This is connected to the second meaning: it is a present challenge for the administration of programs and to curriculum to make nationally-

oriented and international programs relate as parts of an organic ensemble. Besides, there is a difficulty in negotiating a political understanding about the University's project of international insertion. This is linked not only to matters of volition, but also to the lack of a common comprehension about the roles a university can play in a global world. As a result, this kind of discussion ends up confined to small islands within the institution, which are often identified in the work of individual actors.

[In order to promote a HEI's internationalization,] you will need to have a good, concrete, sensible internationalization strategy; very concrete strategy with nice ideas. But then a very clean, concrete action plan. You need to have it nationally. [...] Then you need of course an institutional strategy. [...] And that is then a good backbone for us, little people here, working concretely in the international affairs, to promote and put things in motion and increase things and make sure that the quality of activities is good. [...] If you do not have the backbone of the institutional strategy and hopefully also the national strategy, then you do not have very good tools to argue with an individual head of department who says 'no, we do not need all those [English-taught, international] courses and we don't need them. Who needs them? The exchange students can go to the neighboring department. Let them carry out the courses in English'. [...] And then, the internal funding. [...] Our previous rector and the way the previous strategy was reasoned and planned was a very sort of top level process of just a few people. It just appeared: 'oops, here is our new strategy'. And everyone was like: 'ah, interesting'. It was not a very activating process. It was not a very involving process. So, I do not actually know how the new rector is going to go about with the process this time.

[FI-EI-5] >> *Power*

The category of power indicates internationalization work is divided between the actors. FI-EI-5 points out that, depending on how the process is conducted, there will be a more or less substantive separation between the ones who write overarching strategies and plans, and then there are 'little people', 'working concretely in international affairs'. This separation may compromise the flow of change as, stratifying different classes of actors, it may not rely on an identity of values or a community of goals. FI-EI-5 further indicates that however top-down an strategy is devised and tried to be enforced, it is liable to resistance by the actors in the bottom of university organization, who also command a sort of power over their own work. Implementation requires inputs such as coherent rationales, consequent action plans and financial incentives.

About ten percent of the University staff are international staff members. [Our office] is a centralized team for taking care of international staff members' integration to the university, city [where FCU is located] and to the country. The team also facilitates the cases in which [FCU] staff members go working abroad or are hired directly to work abroad. [...] [FCU] has defined procedures and tools to ensure that this group settle in to the University, to the city and to the country as well as possible; and they enjoy staying and working here; and all the necessary requirements towards the employment contract rules and regulations in Finland are met with. Through a successful employment, also the image of a good place to work will travel with these people back to their home countries. [...] An International Staff Guide has

been established in the University's webpage. It consists of a lot of information about international work, and this link is shared with all international staff members. It acts as database for these employees. [FCU] belongs to a European wide EURAXESS service center network. Our University also belongs to the network of the Finnish Universities' International Staff Services Teams. The network shares experiences and information and also has meets with external specialists twice a year. [...] I cooperate with international staff members full time. The focus in this position is actively to cooperate with different parties, like faculties' contact persons and colleagues in the University's HR Service Centre. We try to meet also with spouses and with accompanying children as we understand that if spouses are enjoying themselves living in the host country and finds their own things to do, the entire family enjoys better living in the host country. My working language is mostly English, compared to my other colleagues. [...] Also, each case is somewhat individual, that is to be taken into account in orientation and practical arrangements.

[FI-EI-6] >> *Power > Technical mediation > Personal relations*

As FI-EI-6 accounts, international staff members make up an important share of FCU's workforce. This led the institution to devote an entire unit to address the specificities of labor relations involving individuals who cross national boundaries. These specificities do relate to explicit, technical rules of conduct, such as laws. But they also advance into more tacit, personal dimensions that relate to the wellbeing of international workers. This issue, in turn, leads to a further range of relations, such as the concern for the employees' families and their situation in a foreign country. This projects university's work to new zones, which are usually not of concern of HEIs and are considered private affairs. It also challenges the institution to systematize and make available more information, to integrate new networks and to establish new internal connections. FI-EI-6's experience shows how internationalization is incorporated in the order of the day: the mediation of international affairs starts to become a standard in the management of university's personnel. Power is mediating internationalization change as decisions are made on how to structure labor relations, which are personal relations, in the immediate circumstances of work in the university.

Very often, when we target a particular department saying 'hi, you are not offering enough courses in English - why not?', sometimes the head of department can say 'well, why would I? Why should I? We do not get any incentives for that from the University. They do not pay any extra for teaching a course in English. We really have to focus on our own Finnish students and make sure that they can graduate in the normal time. And we get the funding based on the degrees'. So these questions sometimes are tied to financial incentives or the lack of financial incentives and to the way money is allocated internally in the University. [...] I would, for example, hope that we would further innovate and then also implement a mechanism where we could really take the individual departments' or faculties' international activities into account when we allocate internal funding. [...] A very concrete role that all the international offices of all the higher education institutions in Finland do is to get external funding from wherever we can for implementing the international cooperation and mobility. [...] That is a concrete role, not so much a policy role, but still important. Then we are involved in regional networks. For example, we have a team where the city [where FCU is located] and the local university of applied science and some other local actors are involved where we try to facilitate our neighbors - the actors, the businesses and organizations within the [FCU's] region to take use of the international contacts that we have. So we sort of try to

spread the international networks and internationalization also to the surrounding region and to the surrounding city. [...] And we organize a get together for the local businesses, local employers and the international degree-seeking students of the University and of the young university of applied science. We concretely bring them together in the same place. And we have a panel discussion on how our international students could get employment opportunities, internship opportunities in the local businesses, and also how the local businesses can actually benefit from the international students that we have here. [...] So this is a small concrete way on how I think the universities should spread the internationalization and their networks to the region of surrounding them.

[FI-EI-5] >> *Power > Technical mediation > Resources*

The subcategory of technical mediation also expresses the power that exists in how resources are allocated to enforce decisions on internationalization. At least three meanings emerge from this excerpt of FI-EI-5's speech. Firstly, the institutional structure of incentives is not entirely in line with the University's goal to promote internationalization. This is seen in the limits of the use of money allocation to incentivize internationalization. When financial or political incentives are not available, or not enough, internationalization efforts remain up to the commitment of individual workers. Secondly, universities' budgets alone are insufficient to promote internationalization. This is presented as a given reality for HEIs beyond FCU – a generality rather than a particularity. The need to acquire external sources as a necessary piece of international operation hints that there is more to internationalization change than meets the eye. Internationalization may be linked to the political discourse that urges HEIs to do more with less public money. As they have to appeal to outer sources for additional funding – under whichever criteria – the question for university autonomy presents itself. Thirdly, internationalization highlights networking ability and cooperation-related transferrable competences as university's resources that can spill over development on the immediate geographical context. In these cases, it is a matter of how an academic institution maneuvers its resources to create places of international networking that boost the global connectedness of their regions.

I feel like the Finnish universities are much more international than what the Ministry guidelines and strategies would steer us to be, if we just looked at what how they govern us and how they fund us. [...] I think most Finnish universities, ours included, are successful in internationalization because we have drafted our strategy based on something else. Our objectives are sort of beyond the objectives that the Ministry sets us. [...] So [the University is often] balancing between this sort of national level sometimes very patchy decision making. You know that the political atmosphere is kind of tight, you know, the immigration policy of Finland is getting tighter than what it used to be. And then we have the tuition fees. And at the same time, the Ministry wants us to recruit more international students to Finland. [...] So it is up to the university, then just make decisions. [...] I think that our operating environment is inherently international, then we kind of have to look beyond the national level as well. And in that way, maybe challenge the Ministry and even the government to think differently. [...] So, we try to keep this collaboration going on, but at the same time, we know that there are these different sorts of power players

there. And it might be that we're not all after the same objective, even though it might seem like that. [...] We have to be the critical friend [...] and bring new perspectives to the Ministry, into the government, and sort of pinpoint this sort of pitfalls in their policy making.
[FI-EI-4] >> Power > Political mediation > National positioning

As FI-EI-4 explains, Finnish HEIs relate to Ministry guidelines to plan their projection in the global scenario. But the national positioning of Finnish higher education is not univocal and it is up to dispute among players. Not all that goes on with universities is overdetermined by top-level decisions in another field of social action. Universities are creative entities, able to reach out for additional sources of planning. In some measure, they exert this creativity not in spite of state action, but precisely because of its shortcomings. Among them, there are mixed signals to HEIs on how they should accomplish their missions. These mixed signals are often attributed to conflicting orientations between different classes of actors within the Finnish state: ‘the Ministry’ and ‘the government’. If, as FI-EI-4 point out, ‘in the end, it is up to the university to make decisions’, then, at least according to information provided by the Finnish case, internationalization research has as a frontier the investigation of the power content of the relations among the multiple agencies that condition a national system of higher education’s insertion in the global field.

I do not like the term export education. [...] So there is always the temptation or threat that we start to see solely big markets there. And if we go in that way, that all there [is there] are thousands or hundreds of possible students, so we always need to remember the qualities we should enact, that education is something that you cannot sell at little cost or something that you just give diplomas without the high quality. And I think especially in this education export, it is never export. It is always cooperation. And I always think that when we cooperate with other countries, we learn as much as the countries that we are kind of helping or giving this knowledge as a ‘Finnish miracle’ or something. So, I think high quality universities are critical and self-critical and open and never forget what is their mission, by which they exist, and do not give up this very high ethical standards that we cannot go just for money. We have to take care that that we do our business with very high standards. And the standards are not easily sold or you cannot change them with money. [...] So I think a very high quality university is the university that realizes that being international does not mean that we just count how many international students we enroll here, or how many visits we do abroad yearly. But it is the university that, in a very deep sense, collaborates with researchers in other countries in order to solve these urgent problems and challenges that the globe is facing. [...] I think that we can do more in relation to these global issues. [...] I think that in one sense we can be proud that we have always participated in this North-South connections, networks. And we are now the only university in this major project working in [an African country] and continuing this work, even though it has been very, very difficult case. [...] Being international, why it matters? And I keep asking it again and again, myself and others, so we start to realize that the deep meaning of it is not some kind of surface meaning, that it is not statistics, money. It is more profound to be human and understand other human beings in the globe. And in that sense, learn to solve the global problems that we have. And kind of increase human understanding in the world.
[FI-EI-2] >> Power > Political mediation > Political responsibility

FI-EI-2's words expose how there are disagreements between national policy strategies and university actors' understandings concerning the rationales with which international academic work should be framed. The interviewee's worries are that as the frames constrain what can be done in terms of international cooperation, university may be de-characterized as an institution of public quality and relevance, that is, that it loses its essence by drifting away from its political responsibility. This occurs when there is a breach in the manner partners in a cooperation are situated in a relation – i.e., how power and benefit are distributed; and when the goals of said cooperation are alienated from academic values. If scholars – whether on 'street-level' or in managing positions – are socialized to think of universities as public-interest driven problem-solving institutions, their ethos will lead them to favor some projects of internationalization and resist others. In any case, the deeper meanings of international endeavors need to be negotiated within HEIs, as they are not self-evident.

4.3.3. Comparative synthesis

The comparison between the experiences studied in BCU and FCU must respect the context within which they are situated. Internationalization plays out differently in the European context where there is a decades-old tradition of student mobility and where supranational agencies fund and network universities across national contexts. Likewise, the internal political structures of universities in Brazil and Finland are conditioned by historical patterns of more or less autonomous relations with the state. Social relations in such institutions are also influenced by social values on knowledge and work, and to how authority and stratification are deployed.

Individuals in leading positions in both educational institutions count on national policy to foster and to provide conditions for internationalization change. However, these expectations are differently framed in each case. Individuals in BCU welcome changes proposed by a national program, implicitly stating that they would not occur if the HEI was left to its own devices. Individuals in FCU point out that change is part of the system operation, and national policy should be improved so that it would be best attuned to the HEI's goals of internationalization. In both cases, interviewed institutional leader see the fragmented power structure in the basic units as a system of filters that have to be maneuvered in order for internationalization to flow.

In terms of contextual continuities and shifts, the realities are quite different. BCU is starting to develop the codes to read international affairs that had been conducted in isolated manners, and facing the challenge to integrate them in spite of the historical fragmentary tendencies. While shifts are occurring, it is still to be seen if they will be able to affect the core activities of the University. In FCU, internationalization is an almost banal part of work, but it is still understated in administrative procedures. This is a matter of shift, though, as the standards for postgraduate education are starting to be thought for an international rather than national student body.

As for the action schemes that can be interpreted from individuals' statements, there are more similarities between the cases in terms of drivers than of constraints. In both BCU and FCU, institutional leaders see internationalization as a phenomenon with the potential to enhance higher education, in the way it prepares citizens and tackles social challenges. In BCU, the constraints appear more clearly tied to individuals' positions within the fields, whether the field is academic work, institutional education, national policy or global higher education. In FCU, they are linked to gaps in the negotiation of institutional positions in relation to internationalization.

Both in the Brazilian and the Finnish case, institutional leaders see themselves as mediators, how have devise solutions and enforce decisions on internationalization. Interviewees account for power in the basic units' leaderships, such as department heads or program coordinators as important gatekeepers on whether internationalization will take place and how. In the Brazilian case, the disparity in power and interest between professors and students is more evident. In the Finnish case, the use of national strategies is considered an asset in promoting consensuses about internationalization.

When looking through the subcategory of technical mediation, there seems to be a higher degree of institutionalization of personal relations in the Finnish case than in the Brazilian case. Institutional transformation to make institutional ties that emerged as personal relations also have different sources. In the Brazilian case, it is prompted by Print, while in the Finnish case, by institutional planning, supranational guidelines and university networking. Both cases highlight strategic dimensions of resources. In BCU, there is a perception that while resources need to be increased, their use should also be more sophisticated to achieve further internationalization results. From the interviews conducted in FCU, it becomes clear that resources for internationalization are allocated and deployed through a complex web of agencies that go beyond university's boundaries.

Political mediation again underscores how the contextual dissimilarities inform differences in the discourses produced in the cases under study. Both in BCU and FCU, interviewees assert that national policy cannot be singled out as the most important interpretive factor in the internationalization of universities, as it leaves many gaps for the universities to fill with their own position-taking strategies. In Brazil, the conversation about the internationalization of a university, as so many other issues, cannot escape consideration for the fundamental trait of Brazilian society, which is inequality. In Finland, where the Ministry of Education historical role in strategizing for university change is more evident – or at least was in the interviewees – the tension between the more stable ministerial bureaucracy and the transitory governments made up for a frictional factor in the envisioning of a position for Finnish HEIs in global higher education. Both in BCU and FCU, individuals consider their higher education systems lack a proper framing of the political responsibility that accompanies the experience of internationalization. In the Brazilian case, the debate about this responsibility was situated more between the fields of educational institutional education and academic work, whereas in the Finnish, one, it was located more between national policy and educational institution. The discussion about global responsibility, present in the Finnish case, is not present in the Brazilian case, at least not framed this way.

Internationalization is more pervasive – comprehensive – in FCU than in BCU, consonant with the differences in the status of internationalization in the Finnish and the Brazilian contexts. However, the position of Brazil and Finland in the world-system, cannot be activated as a sole or direct interpretive of this situation. Rather, it is important to apprehend what such positions meant for the historical construction of HEIs as part of the superstructure of societies organized upon very contrasting infrastructures. It is the historicity of human action happening in the interplay between infrastructure and superstructure that we can see institutional change sediment.

4.4. Academic work

‘How complex is everyday life’, Célia pondered hanging up the phone, ‘in a society where so little works through the institutional channels and so much depends on personal relations’.

Célia Elizabete Caregnato, a professor of sociology of education at UFRGS's Faculty of Education is the responsible for much of my learning in the discipline. As a small-town *gringa* who came from upstate to the capital to study in the public university, Célia shares some ethnical, geographical and historical origins with me. Apart from age and seniority, common research interests and a similar commitment to both academic values and principles of democratic society set us together as university partners and friends. As we worked together in a number of projects, Célia's office became one of my workplaces at UFRGS. In Brazil, I never had my own workstation, as I had at the University of Jyväskylä. But I could use my professors'.

This very situation illustrates Célia's words. While academia enjoys a more institutionalized status than other sectors of social life in Brazil, making through daily life heavily depends on personal connections. Material resources and information demand a correct aligning of factors to be accessed. Although bureaucracy seems to work differently in Finland, with more established routines, in both contexts data shows that internationalization – at least in its instituting processes – is highly dependent on personal ties. These, in turn, depend on institutional settings and societal traditions.

This kind of societal contrast shall become apparent along the next sections, as I present words by individuals from different contexts of postgraduate education positioned in the field of social action of academic work. While there are common traits in what people at BCU and FCU express about internationalization, national situationality does mark a difference. Besides, there are some differences on how postgraduate education in the discipline of Education, which I used to approach this field, is inserted in each HEI.

BCU houses one of the biggest, oldest and most prestigious postgraduate programs in Education in Brazil, providing master's and doctoral training. This program, situated at the Faculty of Education, is evaluated as excellent by Capes, and was thus inserted into the HEI's internationalization plan. However, its participation in the themes that structure such plan is peripheral. Education is one of the least prestigious disciplines in Brazil and this is linked to the social condition of educational workers. Teachers are the worst paid professionals among those whose occupation require a higher education degree. Hence, the social status of postgraduate education in Education in BCU is ambiguous: it enjoys prestige in the national disciplinary field, but

it relates to a discipline that is neither central to the University, nor valued by national society or internationally renowned.

In FCU, there is no postgraduate program as it is understood in the Brazilian context. The doctoral training in Education takes place within the departments of the Faculty of Education and Psychology, according to rules of the HEI's Graduate School. There are different master's programs at the Faculty, such as Finnish-medium programs which grant the required degree to work as a teacher in Finnish schools and an English-medium international program which trains educational researchers. Education composes one of the core areas of the HEI's profile and is one of the most sought areas of training. Thus, it enjoys prestige in the University, in the national disciplinary scientific field and draws international attention.

All these features factor into very distinct profiles of internationalization of academic work for each case.

4.4.1. Brazil

A first approach to what the category of change can illuminate relates to the meaning of internationalization for individuals acting in the field of social action of academic work in terms of their own careers.

Internationalization crossed me. I am a fruit of the internationalization policies. [...] So, I am a professional with a very important added value to my life: to understand the profession, to understand university, the system, to understand the world. I think it makes a great difference to be able to read the world from internationalization. [...] The decisions, the concerns, the interests will always be directed to making policy that promotes internationalization as an opportunity of university for other people, to educate others.

[BR-AW-2] >> Change

Internationalization is embodied as a transformational process that shapes one's worldview. From the angle of the structure of opportunities, it appears as a fractal: the professional whose training is enhanced by the phenomenon wishes to further and reproduce it, so as to enable other people to enjoy the same learning. Internationalization serves here as a constitutive reader to the world. In the sense exposed by BR-AW-2, who goes global, does not go back. The potency of

internationalization in this case lies on the intertwining of the enhancement of scholarly analytic skill and the assumption of an ethical-political position. In these terms, internationalization transpires as empowerment by emersion and insertion in the world (FREIRE, 2018 [1968]).

However, by introducing the subcategory of context in its dimension of continuity, it is possible to perceive how this process is crossed by tensions.

There is still another element, which I find very curious. In Brazil, I would say I am white. And here, no. Here, I am Latino. So, this is also curious because, as much as there is this global North, this globalization still has these limits that are given by local culture, by the culture of territory. So, these tensions are still around. It is not like now globalization is around and the frontiers are erased. Territory still matters.
[BR-AW-1] >> Change > Context > Continuity

Internationalization then plays the role of exposing to the contradictory forces of globalization, puzzling identities and reaffirming boundaries. When the context is a deeply racialized society, these forces may tilting of the ascription of social markers, recoding the self as Other. Internationalization challenges and reiterates social phenomena and their corresponding analytical constructs, such as race. It is possible to see friction (TSING, 2005) taking place on the culture of territory (SANTOS, 2017 [2000]). BR-AW-1's experience points out a first break with spatial fetishism (ROBERTSON; DALE, 2011; 2017): people may change scenery, but they never really root their lives out of the local. From a macro-sociological scope, in-depth observation of academic work shows the societal perspectives of the nation of origin and the nation of destination condition the effects of internationalization: individuals go global with a constant reinterpretation of the local ingrained in them.

Examining academic work, especially in its formative character, also allows perceiving features of meso-scale dynamics relating to the *eidōs* of institutional change.

Taking the Faculty of Education as a terrain of reference, I would not say we are training educators for a globalized world in undergraduate programs, for instance. And I also think this has limits in postgraduate education. I would say some [research] areas, professors and themes work more in this direction than others. [...] So, I think internationalization and its evaluation take place over an already instituted matrix, the assessment of the production in the postgraduate education system. [...] Universities created postgraduate programs with foreign researchers and these programs have started walking with their own legs and matured. Today, what is called for [by policy] is greater communication, greater interaction with these [international] instances, which take place in a more punctual manner, with some people. This logic of internationalization took place as a kind of matrix or [...] an update of thing already in operation. [...] It takes place materially – authors, practices, institutions – and it is not unrelated to the model that existed before. It is within the same logic of production and diffusion of academic knowledge. These models tend

to be generalist or universalist and they do not tend to all specificities, especially the ones related to our programs, which are rooted in local realities, which can absorb and bring theories and updates, add international improvements, but which have this [local] dimension.

[BR-AW-5] >> Change > Context > Continuity

BR-AW-5's words exhibit change occurring as a grafting of new structures and values onto already existing schemes, as registered by theory (BLEIKLIE; KOGAN, 2006; FERNANDES, 1975 [1968]). They further accentuate a type of change that is characteristic of Brazilian university: reflex modernization through the historical update of old procedures (RIBEIRO, 1975). At a first level, it is possible to perceive in the statement how internationalization is restricted by material limits and cultural insufficiencies, being peripherally assimilated in a repertoire of categories of political action which preserves its former inclinations. A deeper reading reveals that former waves and ways of internationalization also played a role in shaping these very conditions. Moreover, internationalization takes place today as a modernizing tradition lacking the ability to, *per se*, respond to university's societal engagement challenges by triggering evolutive acceleration (RIBEIRO, 1975).

Shifts, as the other dimension of context, point out a core element of change: how internationalization begins to become a new element of continuity.

Nowadays, we cannot escape models of internationalization. What I resent is that the model is still a colonial one. [...] The ones who think the model, who propose the model, are usually those wanting to colonize. [...] And obviously, the colonized accept the colonizing-god and want to be under [its graces]. [...] Nowadays, we do not have freedom to choose anymore. If you want to be in the circuit, you must participate in this process. You must manage to publish in another language, you must circulate among the groups, you must establish connections. If you remain alone in your laboratory, you will not have the social status that other people have. I think this is something that this perspective of internationalization has marked. [...] There was a trend to think internationalization [differently] - the epistemologies of South, right? This began a process of thinking internationalization not only looking to the North, but looking at ourselves. I just do not know if this process will grow, if it will resist, if it will endure, [...], since we have the spillover of right-wing politics, I do not know if we can do this. We have a president who looks up to the United States. His ideal is the United States. There is no gaze upon Latin America.

[BR-AW-7] >> Change > Context > Shifts

Internationalization as change may present inescapable shifts in everyday life of academia by demanding new, additional, international tasks to maintain the same scholarly status that was formerly obtained by operating on a local basis. But the shifts do not do away with fundamental imbalances in the world-system. Coloniality remains a trait of the social reality that permeates academic affairs, structuring being and knowing, influencing the ways in which people want to become globally engaged

(STEIN, 2017). Even as scholars in Southern countries may formulate alternate projects, the decisions taken by the dependent elites reiterate the permanence of colonial models and frames (MARINI, 2015 [1973]). The autonomy of a national field in the South is thus questionable, and the preponderance of a hegemonic standard designed for foreign purposes compromises the possibility of viewing academic change in the dependent nation as phenomenon bounded with the national container (SHAHJAHAN; KEZAR, 2013).

I think what I would do if I were the rector of a university such as [BCU]. And it is complicated. It is difficult to ignore all this pressure and all the consequences for your students if you do not board a globalization project in the mold that comes from the global North, the mold that is set in globalization. It is difficult for you to reject this model in an isolated manner, without a collective approach, without other institutions and communities interested in another type of globalization. [...] I never thought much about this in the terms of globalization of university, but maybe we can [...] understand that this is the global context in which university is situated, but, from within, search for breaches and possibilities so that this process answer to the demands of a university such as [BCU], a university from the global South, with other possibilities of imaginary, knowledge and education, different from the hegemonic mold.
[BR-AW-1] >> Change > Context > Shifts

Here, BR-AW-1's words allow introducing a second break with spatial fetishism (ROBERTSON; DALE, 2011; 2017): neither are people ever really operating outside the global, nor do they guide local action uninfluenced by the global. The pull of globalization conditions the agendas of attention and anxiety (COWEN, 2012) that frame political decision in academia. The effects of such pull, however, are not to be taken unidirectionally. If a dialectic approach is taken, it is possible to consider the emergence of opportunities to reshape political action, eliciting counter-hegemonic concertation. That is the point BR-AW-7 makes about the epistemologies of the South: a proposal of global articulation to potentialize local perspectives.

Cracks in spatial fetishism tilt the analytical spotlight towards the relational underpinnings of reality, leading to the introduction of the subcategory of action schemes. At the field of social action of academic work, for internationalization produce change, it depends on the connections established between its purported values and scholars professional perspectives. This can be seen as it is related to the dimensions of drivers and constraints.

We are conscious that publication is the result of research. It is not a number of articles one writes in accordance to a specific metric parameter of quality that is internationally measured. [...] We are always studying, working, gathering data and thinking that they are not enough, that some questions are not

enough for our analysis, so we must seek others. [...] And it is in this context that we seek internationalization. Internationalization has existed for a long time for our group. I coordinated a national group [...] whose research pioneered the discussion in Brazil at a specific point of the research, we thought that we wanted other discussion partners, so we could know how other researchers were working on the theme: which were the research instruments, which was the theoretical background, which were the specificities of their work. So, we began a research with England, Portugal, Brazil and Argentina. [...] In a perspective of comparative education, we also wanted to understand the specifics of each country inside its region.

[BR-AW-8] > *Change* > *Action schemes* > *Drivers*

At least at the discourse level, in this case, the will to know is the driver rather than the will to conform to the norm that allows survival in elite research. Internationalization, in BR-AW-8's words, is part of the epistemic and gnosiological effort. It is a consequence of the classical Mertonian academic value of pursuit of knowledge to conquer the frontiers in the interpretation or explanation of phenomena. The limits of the national field become apparent in the search for new analytical tools and perspectives, but also in the need to investigate other social realities. So, the unfolding of the scholarly duties is to form new collaborative relations which will elicit new takes on the object of study. However, this field-related professional ethos is not all that drives scholars towards internationalization.

I make these [internationalization] movements because I feel like. [...] How do I network? This network-building process takes place for me in the conferences I take part to present my research, and which put me in contact with specific groups. [...] The idea [of one said group] is to try to think processes of interculturality within universities. In the meetings, we always have to present some movement: how are we constructing interculturality inside university. [...] It is also a way to speak about our countries. In this meeting, there was a group from Venezuela. So, it was very interesting. The professors were talking about what is Venezuela, what is happening. People who are Chavistas, government supporters, but extremely critical, bringing critical elements. It is not everywhere - not in every leftist space - that you will talk about this. I took a long time talking to them because I wanted to understand what was happening. And they wanted to understand what was happening Brazil. So, you come across these dimensions of our countries, of our Latin America. What is happening to America Latina? Everyone brings their stuff, the contradictions in their lives, their projects. [...] [Our national realities] are not a simple thing to translate to the other. It is not only a matter of language. And yet, I have something to say, I want to tell people something.

[BR-AW-9] >> *Change* > *Action schemes* > *Drivers*

The words by BR-AW-9 go to a deeper, personal place. The enunciation which crosses the professional exercise comes from an ethical-political stance, related to the will to share experience. This will is related, at first, to the professional commitment to develop an object that is at once a process, a theory and an ethical positioning: interculturality. But it ends up being also a venue for debating life conditions and political projects in a region of the world which suffers steep political shifts. There is an

existential challenge involved, demanding more than technical skill for the act of translation. Moreover, the frequently overlooked element of volition which can be found in Marxist theory (HALLIDAY, 2007 [1994]) appears. BR-AW-9 declares that their movements for going global are ultimately guided by the will to listen and to speak about a shared reality.

But not all people doing academic work feel likewise moved by the perspectives of internationalization, especially when they assume the form of a checklist of duties rather than a resource that will lead to the accomplishment of a career or life goal. In such cases, internationalization is more visible in its dimension of constraints for action schemes.

I know well what I should do in terms of production, which publications I should do, which journals I should reach, in which networks I should insert myself, which are the relevant discussions in the area and all that stuff. The point is I do not feel like taking part in all this right now. Because I think there are other things that are more important for me. [...] One thing I would like to do is to become a good teacher, which is something nobody values right now. [...] It ends up being the last item one must check in this big to-do list.

[BR-AW-3] >> *Change > Action schemes > Constraints*

BR-AW-3 presents a calculation about internationalization. The enterprise of going global seems feasible and straightforward, but it does not align with the interviewee's values and aims. These values and aims, moreover, are upheld against the hegemonic ones in the field. BR-AW-3's words call for reflection. If the quality of teaching appears as the last item to check in the global agenda, is internationalization really about improving education?

Mobility expands one's network. Obviously, this is power. Networks are power. [...] People use information as power. People who circulate in many groups can establish a broader network. In my opinion, this is a process of empowerment, which aids and feeds into research. [...] To be in different places makes you learn to teach to different places. [...] I do not think this will ensure the quality of what is to be done, but it will open new possibilities. [...] I do not have this ambition [to be international]. [...] I do not want to work in postgraduate education because I do not want this model for me. But for some time, I pursued this model. I was a consultant for Capes for a long time. We have models, models you pursue until you discover what is good for you. This is good because university allows for many positions. [...] People discover this. Of course, prompted by standards.

[BR-AW-7] >> *Change > Action schemes > Constraints*

BR-AW-7 characterizes internationalization as an individual empowerment process. And yet, they express unwillingness to comply with the model. This statement

adds layers of complexity to study of social life in academia. First, not all actors are chasing after power – or at least the same source and form of power. Second, there is an element of agency that distinguishes opportunity from quality. Third, power acquisition requires an investment that not all agents are willing to make. Fourth, individuals may reorganize their career goals as they re-analyze their academic axiology. Fifth, the institutional features of Brazilian public universities allow agents to play a multiplicity of roles. Sixth, these very conditions, with their discontinuities, provoke acts of consciousness.

As a caveat, BR-AW-3 and BR-AW-7 are not considering internationalization does not add to their professional projects. They are weighing the potential gains against their costs. Both project a teaching identity and consider that the Brazilian internationalization model is primarily tied to research, and possibly more than that, to directing academic work towards research in detriment of teaching. This speaks of the both the Brazilian context of postgraduate education and the global field of higher education. In the former, funding is based on an evaluative formula in which research accomplishments outweigh teaching activities. This is in line with the fact that in the latter, academic prestige is predominantly accumulated in terms of research rather than teaching capacities (MARGINSON, 2008).

The multiplicity of vectors of drive and constraint entailed in internationalization is also represented in intermediate positions.

And I gave up disputing spaces – even in LASA [Latin American Studies Association], AERA [American Educational Research Association]. Not because I felt I did not have the conditions, but because I thought it was not worth it wasting this energy. I think it is more important to write here. For instance, to go upstate and deliver a lecture, take part in a defense, participate in a seminar. And if basic education teachers are involved, it is even better. I think this is more important than to write in English. However, I think it is important to write in English about important and good things we did in Brazilian education, to disseminate our progresses, advances, thoughts. [...] I could go more to conferences and organize a network. [...] I should keep a further correspondence with my colleagues. [The international dimension of my work] provided opportunities for my colleagues and my students, and this for me is very important. [...] And I think I have to act to frame another internationally networked project to provide another generation of my advisees and younger colleagues [the experience of internationalization].
[BR-AW-6] >> Change > Action schemes > Drivers / Constraints

Again, the dimension of calculation is a first element present, associating drivers and constraints. The resources scholars can mobilize are scarce – and this includes their own labor. They must prioritize audiences in which to invest their time and communication efforts. BR-AW-6 declares their main focus lies on schools, on working

towards the development of Brazilian public education. The task of a professor of Education would then be to gather the broadest resources for university to train the professional that will work in basic education. BR-AW-6 feels therefore compelled to retake former internationalization efforts to enhance the opportunities of their junior colleagues and students. In this driver, it is possible to find elements of the transgenerational character of university (CLARK, 1973; FIORI, 2014 [1962]; FERNANDES, 1975 [1968]; VÄLIMAA, 2008; VIEIRA PINTO, 1962).

BR-AW-6's words also allow capturing another element, related to constraints to how internationalization gets grafted onto the processes of scholarly reproduction in the studied Brazilian case. If we read their words about the need to frame another international project in pair with BR-AW-5's statement that international networking is a trait of a formative ethos 'some' have, we find that the training to go global was not integrated into the formative structure of the program and may or may not happen according to the inclinations of an advisor or academic leader.

A further element represents a driver linked to a specific form of agency informed by a matrix of consciousness of the national reality (VIEIRA PINTO, 1960). By wishing to divulge 'important and good things we did in Brazilian education', BR-AW-6 seem to present the will to impact the global agendas of attention and anxiety (COWEN, 2012) by saying the word of the Brazilian educational field (FIORI, 2014 [1967]), that is, how it coped with its unfair structure of educational opportunities to produce alternatives to overcome underdevelopment (RIBEIRO, 1975).

The empirical material explored thus far signals elements on how some individuals go global and others do not. Both BR-AW-7 and BR-AW-6 refer there is power in the way internationalization offers opportunities. But how can one see power flowing and being handled from the level of academic work? How do structures at large enable or disable this possibility?

Introducing the category of power allows for looking into how change is 'socially filtered' (FERNANDES, 1975 [1968]) and directed in its power content (RIBEIRO, 1975). BR-AW-4 exposes one point of view from the social field of action of academic work, implying this 'local' field is structured, among other factors, by 'global' steering.

Brazil also feels that: policies suddenly come and must be introduced in universities. Probably this concern is not mine alone. [...] I know well how World Bank, IMF bring to our countries policies that do

not fit our realities and we are forced to accept them. Not only economic policies, but especially educational ones. For me, today, the Guinean educational system has had many problems due to these policies which are brought without further consideration.

[BR-AW-4] >> Power

If one is to consider policies and axiologies other than those of internationalization, one may find that universities have already gone global for some decades now. BR-AW-4 expresses a concern shared by Southern nations such as Brazil and Guinea-Bissau: the fact that in multilateral arenas, they are considered actors without the capabilities to design their own educational policies. Lacking political power and funding to enforce educational initiatives, these countries may even lack political space institutions where national societies can organize their own educational projects.

At a first glance, BR-AW-4's words may display some features of spatial fetishism in representing 'the local' and 'the global' as separated forces. Power in internationalization appears with the characteristics of disturbing local designs, blocking the devisal of autochthonous alternatives. However, on looking how the interviewee understands the process to take place, there is continuity in which coercion and cooptation are conjoined to impose policies. The coercive aspect – being 'forced to accept' – and the cooptative one – the fact that the process takes place 'without further consideration' – implies there is a role of local actors in effecting global designs. They are capable of reflexivity, but it is somehow being blocked, not turning into context-responsive agency. At the same time, agents positioned in strategic points of the country's fields of social action have to open the gate for the 'ideological package of globalization' to enter. Whatever their motivation to do so, the fact that they are effectively doing it may signal phenomena of dependency are taking place. The question is then what sorts of mediations are there in academic work that enable or can disable the imposition of foreign agendas.

The subcategory of technical mediation, showing how experience is apprehended by exposing the social conditions of work, unpacks some processes involved in internationalization. Its dimension of personal relations is especially important to make visible the relations among people in the productive processes, countering fetish (HARTMANN, 2014).

There are many things we feel are not working well, are not nice, but ultimately nobody sees them as the Program's responsibility to change. Because it is not being debated. [...] One basic thing is the matter of *acolhida*⁴⁰. [...] The matter of housing is very complicated here. [...] There are people who arrive here and have a very lovely advisor who helps, but it is something that ends up depending on the person and their interest and their sense of responsibility. But there is no why for this to be this way, a load for the advisor to carry. The Program should facilitate a series of things. [...] These small everyday problems do not reach the Program, but have a psychological impact on someone who is already feeling vulnerable being out of their country. And to feel one does not have support is really complicated. And this ultimately impacts on people's work, since, if you are not emotionally well, you will not work well. And this seems obvious, but so many times seems not to be. [...] I felt very de-humanized. [...] The exchange ends up limited to 'when are you sending me your next paper?'. We eventually build support networks, but it is something of our own initiative, and not from the Program.

[BR-AW-3] >> Power > Technical mediation > Personal relations

I would set the issues BR-AW-3 reports in the center of the internationalization agenda. With reference to Santos (2017 [2000]), what is taking place here is that the alignment to the verticalities of globalization – in this case, the integration to the global chain of knowledge production and related capital accumulation – is overwhelming the horizontalities – understood as the underpinnings of the banal conviviality in academia. This process is taking place in the local and its materiality lies in the social relations between individuals. As BR-AW-3 posits, responsibilities are not debated.

This summarizes aspects of fetish inscribed in internationalization. Internationalization may appear as social relations between individuals, and not between things. But what has not been sufficiently highlighted is the fact that this relation relies on labor, and labor is exercised in very distinct conditions, with different degrees of control over the value it generates. Internationalization is based on relations of production, which are contracted from asymmetrical positions. The low institutional status of communication among individuals in a public organization hampers negotiation and coordination of activities, including the ones that ensure the survival of the person and of the social ensemble. Under such conditions, the academic field works as a productive sphere – an industry of papers – marked by precariousness as, by

⁴⁰ I chose not to translate the word '*acolhida*', used by BR-AW-3, or '*acolhimento*', used by BR-AW-9. In Portuguese language, they are both nouns derived from the verb '*acolher*', and are akin to the noun '*accueil*', present in French language. In either the cases of Portuguese or French languages, the root is the vulgar Latin word '*accolligere*': to welcome, to receive, to accommodate. However, neither of the three verbs available in English language conveys the full meaning present in Portuguese, which is also tied to the idea of conviviality [*convivência*]. As the interviewees say, the importance of *acolhimento* has been overlooked in the practices of Brazilian universities. However, the topic is present in the roots of critical theory. Pioneer critical political philosopher Flora Tristán (1988 [1835]) made it a key point of her socialist theory, and wrote about the importance of *acolher* foreign women – '*Nécessité de faire un bon accueil aux femmes étrangères*' – in the first half of the 19th century.

focusing solely on outputs, it endangers the very reproduction of the workers who will produce them.

BR-AW-3 says they felt very de-humanized. It is a duty for the educational scientist to point out that something is very wrong if a pedagogical process disregards the human condition and the humane principles of Education. It is a critical failure for institutions to neglect any responsibility for their role in their constituents' lives. It is in these discontinuities that technical mediation – the techniques that are used to structure organizational process – show its utter political character: it sets the parameters for the discussion, especially the parameter of who can make their interests – whether publishing internationally or securing living conditions – an issue for the collectivity. Backed by the philosophy of Fiori (2014 [1971]), I am not judging the educators' intentions, but I must expose the alienation the system produces.

We cannot alienate ourselves of what university can produce. It can produce very good things and it can produce illness. And we must think: why is university producing this? It has to do with the way it thinks about its meaning, its organization, the way it looks to people inside it. University is not an ethereal being. We all are university. [...] [My advisee] has thought about *acolhimento* as a fundamental ethical principle within university. But *acolhimento* is not only about one's permanence within university, but to look at this individual, to look at university's structure and to produce a dialogue between them. [...] I am thinking about *acolhimento* as an ethical principle, structural to university, and it must cross the whole university: how do I welcome the Other that is here? If I can think this process of *acolhimento* inside the university, and look at how this is constituted inside university, I think this will be as valuable, or even more valuable, than the experience of being in many other places. [...] I have to, first, build internal processes of *acolhimento* so that, later, wherever I am, I am able to construct this [internationalization]. [...] One thing is the personal, individual experience, which is the individual dimension, other thing is the collective dimension.

[BR-AW-9] >> Power > Technical mediation > Personal relations

In the proposition BR-AW-9 discusses with their advisee, *acolhimento*, as an ethical principle, could somehow mitigate the harming effects that take place when the insufficiencies of the cultural tradition (FERNANDES, 1975 [1968]) cross the regular decision on who will do what (CLARK, 1983). *Acolhimento* may provide a stepping stone for critical internationalization studies.

A striking feature present in both excerpts is the hiatus between individual attitudes and collective action. In both cases, the nexus is the absence of time-spaces of communal debate. This makes internationalization a contradictory process, in which people seem to operate many times without consciousness of their very human condition. A possible interpretive factor relates to the theory-guided assumption that

structure conditions consciousness: which are the historical-material circumstances in which debate is not taking place?

[In our research group], we understand that the space of postgraduate education and internationalization cannot be a space of quick courses or of fifteen minutes for a person to speak, to present their work. It must be the space for theoretical deepening. I will not bring a [scholar] from Chile so that they do not have the time to speak broadly of the contradiction of their country and [in such conditions] people do not have the time to deepen the questions and ask them, to dialogue with this researcher. [...] Internationalization does not happen only when they [foreign scholars] come. We kept on going to the countries, reading all there was about the theme in the countries. [...] The questions that arise, the dialogues that come up do not take place only in the moment of the conference. There is a process. We have many questions and we are in contact with them.

[BR-AW-8] >> *Power > Technical mediation > Resources*

Entering the dimension of resources, BR-AW-8 points out that time is a fundamental input for quality in internationalization, more specifically, and in academic work, in general. If one considers that the ideological package of globalization, connected to the principles of flexible accumulation, proposes velocity – and more, acceleration – as a criterion of quality, it is possible to perceive that the compression of time, linked to the technical face of globalization, also has a very political character. Command of time, as the ability to secure some autonomy in one's own labor, is an element of power. Consequently, its transference leads again to the dialectical category of alienation.

Internationalization is presented by BR-AW-8 as a continuing effort sustained over time and space. It requires not only the establishment of work relations between people in different locales, but also the reorganization of the local labor of a research group. But are there conditions for that? BR-AW-5, from a managing position, seems to understand there are not.

I think we have a scarce culture of evaluation. We do not follow the evaluation parameters either in the short term or in the long term. This has to do with the fact that we do little planning. We live overwhelmed with the emergencies of the instant and how to deal with them rather than trying to think and plan things through evaluative mechanisms which can feed back planning and action. [...] Often, evaluative instruments are applied in a numerical manner. [...] The qualitative evaluation of these dimensions, we do not know. Because the Program itself receives little feedback from the students who go [abroad]. Of course, there is [gain] for the student, for the research group, for the [scholarly] production. But in terms of the collective, there is little [return]. There could be, if we established ways for that, such as a seminar in which each student in mobility debated, told their experience. [...]. Again, as a manager, I would say that the matter is linked to the funding policies, the resources, the availability. Because many of the [visiting] professors who came, among the 25 who came, came, so to speak, by the hand of other professors [...]. This happened more by chance than by due planning. [...] So, it is hard to plan evaluation when you cannot plan what can exist. Now, in the scope of postgraduate education, we do

not know if we have money, because so far, the resources [for the year] have not come [from the Ministry of Education and Culture]. [...] This paralyzes us: we cannot do anything without resources.
 [BR-AW-5] >> Power > Technical mediation > Resources

In BR-AW-5's words, the scarce culture of evaluation remits again to the insufficiencies of cultural tradition, while the limits of material, financial and human resources are also present (FERNANDES, 1975 [1968]). Planning and evaluation are not incorporated into the everyday routines of academic life. Whatever evaluation there is, imposed by the national system's rules, does not aid institutional development, as it does not really relate to the meanings of postgraduate training. It is more of a control for public resource allocation. And yet, in recent time, the resources have not come as they should. This causes 'emergencies', which further hinder a culture of evaluation, leaving internationalization to happen due to the spontaneous movements of professors and students. The lack of planning is not only a managerial problem – it is a pedagogical one. The channels for the collective to benefit from the international movements of individuals are not established.

These historical circumstances condition an institutional culture of submission and reactivity. Submission stems from the dependency on the national policy that assigns funding, and from compliance with the evaluative model applied from above. Reactivity relates to a formalist attitude that preserves old practices – boundaries that are internal to the program and hold the benefits of internationalization to flow to the collective. The transitional movement becomes therefore an entrapment: everyday academic work neither fulfils the national policy objectives of internationalization to their potential, nor establishes local alternatives that could characterize anticipatory resistance (FRANCO; MOROSINI, 1992; FRANCO; MOROSINI; LEITE, 1992). The result is the preservation of the status quo, in which internationalization remains as a process conducted 'by the hand' of actor who enjoy a more advanced position in the field. If higher education involves both a system of opportunities and intellectual traditions (FERNANDES, 1975 [1968]), internationalization, as a policy, is not democratizing, but reinforcing the set of social forces which manipulate it (VIEIRA PINTO, 1961). It is noteworthy that in this interaction between the social fields of action of academic work and national policy, the educational institution is frequently absent from the individuals' framework of reference, showing that, in the Brazilian case, this field is not being activated in its full potential to promote internationalization.

The movement from individuals' immediate experience to the view of objectives which are not always evident characterizes the transition from the subcategory of technical mediation to that of political mediation (SANTOS, 2017 [2000]). It is in this subcategory that many aspects of power experienced in the South of the global field of higher education become clearer, whether on the way individuals see their national positioning affecting their academic work or on the responses they articulate for that, composing political responsibility.

Aspects of global unevenness and underdevelopment resonated in the speeches of all of the interviewees for the Brazilian case. Given the centrality of dependency in the dynamics of internationalization in a Southern country such as Brazil, I opted to present excerpts of all the interviewees for the social field of action of academic work in the Brazilian case. It is noteworthy that these features' appearance in postgraduate students' statements marks the spot where dependency strikes scholarly reproduction.

I think we, here, consume a lot. It is about this: being a consumer, more than anything else, of theories and bibliographies that come from abroad. Also because – I do not know why or when – having theoretical references coming from United States or Europe ended up being more valued. It is more interesting than to have a reference in a Peruvian colleague. Even if the Peruvian colleague is closer to your research, they are not being as valued as this other research that is less related to the reality with which you are dealing. [...] I am almost obliged to cite these guys who are considered more relevant just because of the university in which they are working. It is kind of a crazy thing.
[BR-AW-3] >> Power > Political mediation > National positioning

The role of 'a consumer' speaks to the international division of academic labor (CARNOY, 1998; MAJEE; RESS, 2018; MOLLIS, 2002; 2006; 2014; STEIN; 2017; VESSURI, 1990). One must bear in mind that what is usually labeled as relations of production involve circulation, distribution and consumption as well (MARX, 2008 [1859]). A consumer is devoting the value obtained with their own labor to acquire a product offered by someone else, in a market – in this case, the global market for scholarly publications. What guides this 'consumer choice'? Here lies an aspect of coloniality, of epistemic oppression, as scholars in the South should value the words of Other more than their own words, even if these words are social knowledges speaking of different national realities.

As BR-AW-3 expresses not knowing the precise circumstances of such development, a scholar can go through doctoral training without the processes and structures that condition their field coming into debate. The deep causalities of national

realities are not coming to the fore, and knowledge is fetishized as a commodity (HARTMANN, 2014; MARX, 2010 [1867]; ROBERTSON; DALE, 2011; 2017). Nevertheless, the individual senses something is out of place – ‘it is kind of a crazy thing’ – as one perceives alienation is taking place. This is an unsurprising feature of the social processes of the peoples constituted as external proletariats (RIBEIRO, 1975; RIBEIRO, 2015 [1995]).

[The university model] has undergone some reconfigurations, especially relating to this pressure for a more global model, which has been called internationalization, [...] somehow instituting a more hegemonic mode [...]. This one aspect of the process we are suffering. And I say suffering because we are not prepared for the instauration of this model in the way it probably happens in the European and North American contexts. For reasons such as language, as we do not use English in the space of university, while it is the global language of commerce and of the academic world. And at the same time because it has an influence and requires more attention than issues that would be more local. [...] All these aspects make us seek a set of elements which are not necessarily the ones with which we would concern ourselves before the pressures for internationalization.

[BR-AW-5] >> *Power > Political mediation > National positioning*

From BR-AW-5’s point of view, globalization appears as an external force, pushing local standards from elsewhere into the daily operation of national institutions. Internationalization thus characterizes institutional change not only by requiring the institution of new processes and structures to deal with ‘the global’, but also by conditioning other changes, such as those in the local agendas of attention and anxiety, which would otherwise be constituted by horizontalities. A dimension of colonial power is then present in the fact that the model proposed as ‘global’ benefits a few places, while majority-of-the-world contexts ‘suffer’ it, having to follow its rules if they are to stay in the game. One of these examples is the use of English language as an element of vertical – rather than horizontal – integration.

I think speaking English is a resource that makes a big difference in this specific process of internationalization. [...] The references for research are often written in English, produced by authors from the global North. Or, even if they come from the South, they are teaching, researching, in the North. [...] And it is a very particular internationalization. It is not an internationalization like ‘I go to Paraguay’, ‘I go to Zambia’. No. It is: ‘I go to the United States, Canada, France’. This is the internationalization. [...] One learns these resources since childhood, if one is inside this competition: the culture of global North [...]. It means to understand the culture, what is rude and what is not, to understand what is well-seen and what is not [...], to have the references of the cultural artifacts. Language kind of involves all of that, but English classes are not enough. [...] It is not only a dictionary. It is the living English, what means to understand the whole culture. [...] It is about navigating a world, it is not simply an instrumental thing. It involves a whole understanding of a culture that, in Brazil, I think is much easier to achieve for someone who comes from the middle classes than from popular classes. Because from childhood one has access to elements of these cultures, because one’s parents are already interested in this internationalization.

[BR-AW-1] >> Power > Political mediation > National positioning

BR-AW-1 states verticalities direct resources such as knowledge to specific points in the globe. When internationalization takes this direction, it may indeed lead to the decharacterization of academic work in the periphery, as it has to be attuned to the culture of the global North. This ends up involving more than the application of academic codes in specific spaces of social life. It is linked to the whole of subjectivity, so that people must then behave according to the action schemes – involving manners of thinking, believing and judging – that derive from a specific territory with its unique historical experience.

But the problem does not end at this point. If decharacterization – or resorting to parallel schemes of being – is the only way to access the verticalities of a globalized field, the question remains about who can proceed such operation. Internationalization then appears clearly as class phenomenon, as the opportunities to develop the abilities required to operate within the culture of the global North are usually distributed in Southern countries as class privileges which involve social literacies as well as foreign language competences. The elites have always been more internationalized than the working classes (HALLIDAY, 2007 [1994]).

We are a Portuguese colony. Look, considering our international conjuncture, we cannot give ourselves the luxury of refusing the use of Portuguese in our educational system. It is already there. What we have to do is to understand how to ally our languages with Crioulo and Portuguese. If it is important that children are taught in basic education in our languages, we shall teach them to a certain extent in Crioulo and then introduce Portuguese. Because we know that Crioulo does not have an international projection. Portuguese does. This aids our international insertion. If I did not speak Portuguese, I could not study here. [...] And I know how difficult it was for me to learn Portuguese.

[BR-AW-4] >> Power > Political mediation > National positioning

Coloniality further establishes the language in which individuals can express their words to exist before Others (MARQUES; GENRO, 2018)⁴¹. On interpreting BR-AW-4's words, I feel the resonance of Freire (1979) – who understood that dehumanizing structures must be denounced with inside knowledge – and of Vieira Pinto

⁴¹ Drawing on Fanon, Marques and Genro (2018, p. 241) affirm 'someone possesses a language, as someone possesses a library. Language exists as an artifact, as capital, at some time warranting the "existence in relation to the Other" and imposing the corresponding load to bear'. While they express the tensional character of language as Haitian intellectuals make use of French rather than Creole, BR-AW-4 testifies an equivalent tension in the work of a scholar in Guinea-Bissau who must use Portuguese rather than Crioulo.

(1962) – for whom students must install themselves in the general process of their national realities.

BR-AW-4 is reading the international structure of opportunities in which the Guinean are trapped by the colonial history of the capitalist world-system. In this structure, Portuguese appears as a language that is not entirely subaltern – it has an international projection, and this is what the opportunity to study in Brazil represents: the opportunity to produce knowledge that will aid future generations in acquiring an ability to speak beyond the abyssal line that subalternizes some languages. BR-AW-4 seems to understand coloniality is installed, it is part of their national reality. Students must then be equipped to tackle it by gaining command of its codes.

Well, this when we are talking about Brazil and Ecuador, which is about us. But if we think about Europe and United States, I do not know if we could even start a conversation. I think they would see us so less developed, and they have their universities in the rankings. [...] We do not even appear in the ranking. So, maybe this is something of a regional challenge: for us to raise a Latin American internationalization policy. [...] I felt and I always take the opportunity to deconstruct the students' interest to leave to never come back. Like fleeing, fleeing because it is a disaster out here. I take the opportunity to speak about this: we have a great challenge to develop the country. It is difficult, it is not easy, there will be very powerful people hindering the efforts. And, here, [...] the authority of the position is stronger than the authority of knowledge. [...] But one has to come back and face our difficulties, and bring back all this education we have, to network, to collaborate with whom it is possible, with those who want to. [...] It is important to come back to start things here, because if we do not start, we will never develop.

[BR-AW-2] >> *Power > Political mediation > National positioning*

BR-AW-2 remarks that power also blocks internationalization and field development, through the moves of people with authority in the field. One can consider these are typical attitudes of the internal partners of dependency (FERNANDES, 1975). At the same time, power blocks internationalization between peripheral actors, as the mechanisms of mediation and sense-making in the field, such as university rankings, direct the gaze Northwards. Regional cooperation, as an alternative, might be disfavored by this state of things, but remains as an important asset for higher education development.

BR-AW-2 also strings another issue in internationalization: brain drain. While this issue is usually approached from the perspective of attraction, it is present here in terms of repulsion: the national reality to which scholars come back after studying abroad presents adverse conditions for academic work. The urge to flee may be another factor hindering development. And yet, some individuals, such as BR-AW-2, still return.

My place in the world of higher education is at once very privileged and very subaltern. Because, with all the experiences I already had, I am currently not part of an international project production network. [...] I think we have a privileged place in Brazil: I am a full-time professor in a public university with high academic freedom, I choose the classes I want to teach, my colleagues pamper me; but I see we are very peripheral in terms of production on education, research, conferences, everything.

[BR-AW-6] >> Power > Political mediation > National positioning

Internationalization – as international experience – itself is not enough to secure a position in the global field of higher education. It does not solve contradiction. The way the global higher education field is structured according to different rules than national scientific field – which is itself ruled in a distinct manner of the fields of social action of national policy, educational institution and academic work. In this sense, the global field of higher education is not a simple ensemble, a meta-field – it is something other. If one recollects the interpretation of BR-AW-1's word, this otherness might be especially challenging in the South, where the cultural codes of the national academic fields overlap less with the ones of the global field than in the North.

The understanding of internationalization as the establishment of collaborative networks usually loses to the conception that either I am better, so I will colonize [...], or that we will go to be illuminated by the Other's wisdom. This bothers me. Because the idea of equity ends up not being well practiced in the relations between Brazil and other countries. [...] My views of my experience in [a city in the United Kingdom] is precisely that: not only colonization in cultural terms, but also financial ones, because all these processes are paid. It is fundraising. [...] There is still a hard British colonization. [...] This colonial aspect bothers me in internationalization: you are either colonizing the Other or being colonized by the Other. [...] And there is this anxiety to belong to an international group, sometimes not only for material reasons, but for a matter of status, related to imaginary.

[BR-AW-7] >> Power > Political mediation > National positioning

Both theory and the interpretation of the interviewees' statements allow understanding that the power content of the relations which structure the global field of higher education is an object that conditions the direction of change brought about by internationalization. For BR-AW-7, this correlation of forces ends up yielding the resultant vector of colonization. This does not overdetermine all the possibilities of internationalization, but remains an evidence of power in global asymmetries, as abyssal lines separate the wise from the ignorant, in circumstances in which the latter cannot exist as a social actor without the recognition of the former.

We also often go abroad almost as if we were going to drink from a source. And in our case, we were not going to drink from a source, we were dialoguing researcher to researcher. I was dialoguing with the researchers from my area as a Brazilian researcher who has a trajectory in research. [...] We also do not understand that we will be a group working with democratization and we will work with an idea of knowledge in competition with other groups which dispute who has the better contacts. Because this happens in Brazilian postgraduate education: sometimes people hide their contacts because: 'I will write that many articles and if you contact them, you will also have access'. That is a competitiveness that one who works deeply with the principles of a democratic society will have to tackle in their practice.

[BR-AW-8] >> *Power > Political mediation > National positioning*

The same ideas are present in BR-AW-8's discourse. They perceive that national origin can be a source of lack of confidence by Brazilian researchers on their own scholarly abilities. The public character of institutions does not ensure openness of knowledge in academic work. Scholars' networks function as private assets, reproducing in this field of social action the competition that exists among HEIs and higher education systems. This kind of competition may be a norm that organizes the field, but it may not be in line with the building of a democratic society.

The university of the present is in a process of discovering what it represents. [...] We have a university that still takes up a very Eurocentric configuration, from the curriculum to the bureaucratic organization to the way it thinks about itself. It is a university that is still reconstituting itself, living paradoxes. I think this is very strong in Brazil. [...] Historically, university is a place for the elites. And even if it has opened itself to other social classes, it still configures itself as an elitist space in its very structure.

[BR-AW-9] >> *Power > Political mediation > National positioning*

The nation-wide institutional process BR-AW-9, from academic work, views taking place can be an act of consciousness by university – 'discovering what it represents'; 'reconstituting itself, living paradoxes'. Immerse in contradiction, Brazilian university also experiences – as an institution – a collective sort of conscientization, questioning its historical and cultural rule through criticality (FIORI, 2014 [1967]). This is a striking political element in university change. The academic constituencies and society as whole perceive that many elements of academic life lack authenticity, as they mirror a national image proposed by elites rather than constituting institutions for the very nation-people (FREIRE, 2018 [1968]; RIBEIRO, 1975; 2015 [1995]). The inability of being-for-oneself is linked to the emulation of foreign standards and to processes of misrecognition and misdistribution typical of class domination. This is expressed by BR-AW-9 as Eurocentrism and elitism, marks of the dependent construction of Brazilian society and polity.

The dependent condition is a reality. At the very least, it is present in scholars' social representations and, thus, guides their interpretations and decisions on social action. This marks the country's position as one over which power is exerted. The limits and insufficiencies of the dependent context reinforce and lead to the reproduction of dependency (FERNANDES, 1975; MARINI, 2015 [1973]). But this may not be an endless tune devoid of counterpoints.

If the resulting picture is such a violent process, why do individuals still invest themselves in going global? First of all, they must get by, they must survive in the system. Secondly, there are ulterior motivations. Individuals may be prompted by discontent with the 'structural-functional interferences of the existing schemes of higher education organization' (FERNANDES, 1975 [1968]). That is, they want to have a say on the decisions of who regularly does what (CLARK, 1983). They understand that, in order to do so, one needs to deal with the place research occupies in university and society as a driver of development and with the power distribution within HEIs and national systems.

What, then, is to be done coming from such a dependent context? If the dimension of national positioning oppresses more than empowers the individuals, critical internationalization studies must detect, gather and make sense of fragments of categories of political action that allow interrupting the global circuit of cognitive injustice. In most interviewees, I perceived acts of consciousness that point to the devisal of alternatives. I illustrate them with two examples from international students and two examples from professors.

Maybe [universities can] do joint programs, joint courses, in exchange, in respect, your university and mine together, respecting their places in cultures, histories, levels, asymmetries, whatever. But I think there is still a lot to do in internationalization. [...] It is also a matter of deconstruction, of working with the consciousnesses, with the students' ability to reason. That is why I think it is very important to do a lot of internationalization, more so in our region, among us, because then we come back and we talk to our students. The students read in the course's syllabus where you graduated, what is your diploma. And they talk to you: [...] 'Teacher, did you go to Brazil? Do you know Portuguese? Is it difficult? Is Brazil beautiful? Is Brazil difficult? What is Brazil?'. And we have the opportunity to talk to them. [...] The dynamics is different. In Brazil, I had seminars, I participated, I talked to my colleagues everyday, I went to the library, I was always in the bookstore. I bought many books, and I saved money from meals to buy books and read. But not here. Here, to do teaching is still a very bureaucratic work. [...] But we try, this is our reality. So, let us do effort we need to do to create a small network. [...] We cannot turn our backs on national development. [...] The worst thing to do is to flee or to look at your country with contempt. It is not professional, it is not fair, it is not quality, it is not excellence.

[BR-AW-2] >> Power > Political mediation > Political responsibility

On projecting the opportunities of internationalization, BR-AW-2 signals how university pedagogy goes beyond the technique of institutional planning: it involves conscientization (FREIRE, 1979) through meaningful dialogue between educators and students, putting different national contexts in conversation. The possibilities of this conversation are enhanced by the consciousness of the difference between said social realities. In this case, the opportunity to go global by studying in Brazil represents the chance to experience academic work with a density that is not available in BR-AW-2's home country and, from that, to bring about new institutional developments. If, from other data, it is possible to view precariousness in Brazilian postgraduate education, this excerpt shows how underdevelopment is uneven among dependent countries (BAMBIRRA, 2012 [1974]). It speaks of the potential of South-South collaboration.

But BR-AW-2 is also adding another important meaning of political responsibility to the subcategory of political mediation. This meaning connects internationalization and national development through the ethical duties of scholars in underdeveloped contexts. As one can understand from the statement by BR-AW-2 quoted in the dimension of national positioning, taking up the task of developing the field in a dependent country requires political struggle (FIORI, 2014 [1970]). It involves disalienation.

I, as an African, come from a country which was colonized for a long time, a very young country, with 45 years of independence, still trying to build itself as a nation. It is very important that people study abroad so we can create our development model. But this can also be a danger. We must shape our own model of university. University, through knowledge production, influences a lot how we will guide society. [...] I always say it is not about just importing; we have to remake those models and fit them to our reality, lest we will be conditioned to a model of knowledge production that may not be what we need. This worries me a lot. [...] We must play the game between what one learns in a specific context and what is proper to one's own context.

[BR-AW-4] >> Power > Political mediation > Political responsibility

Disalienation occurs through conscientization, a critical insertion in reality, a gnoseological and praxiological act by which individuals became aware of the structures that condition them and question the world. BR-AW-4 connects nation-building and academic work, making explicit the crucial role of the political positions that provide the social filters which will determine the power content of internationalization. Internationalization serves as a source for national development, but can become a vector of dependency. In a country that still has to develop its own higher education system this is an unavoidable – and dangerous – game to play.

In the place I am now, the classroom, or the administration, or the extension project, I must create spaces for debate that do not enter [universities]. I have to create spaces. That does not mean that I am the spokesperson of these issues. [...] Because I have this power. I am in a classroom, I can propose. It may not be accepted. But I have this political commitment to propose. What, then, will I propose? I will propose that this space will allow the entrance of things that usually do not enter it. In administration, it is the same thing. [...] I see the place where I am as that of a person who can, and must, open spaces. As an indigenous person would say, 'to open the gates'⁴². We have to open the gates for things to happen. With all the fears I have. Because I do not speak this entirely convinced about where this will lead, but with all my fears, and making many mistakes in process, I want to be able to open spaces.

[BR-AW-9] >> Power > Political mediation > Political responsibility

Wielding power does not necessarily translate into exerting responsibility: it takes ethical-political commitment for that to happen. The agents' ability and disposition to open spaces cannot be taken for granted; they contradict the reproductive tendency of the field to secure institutional boundaries. At the same time, the combination of academic power and political consciousness does not make up a flawless agent. BR-AW 9 introduces the meaning of fear⁴³. Volition must overcome fear for individuals to become agents of change, and this process is dependent on values and rationales.

I defend and I work for the project of recognition of [BCU] as a quality university – quality in scientific production, quality in formation and quality in the social relevance of what we do – because I think it is with this recognition of a quality university besides the global criteria that we acquire the conditions of legitimacy to defend specific social, economic and educational policies in our country. This is why. There is only one rationale: it is to work for the democratization of education, and a quality of life, and a life based on the recognition of democratic rights.

[BR-AW-6] >> Power > Political mediation > Political responsibility

BR-AW-6 allows finally cracking the conundrum. In the dimension of political responsibility it is possible to glimpse acts of consciousness by which individuals tilt the hegemonic logics of the global field of higher education. They are cognizant such logics

⁴² The wording in Portuguese is '*abrir as portas*'. The reference to the mannerism of indigenous people is likely an intentional clinamen in discourse and not fortuitous. This interpretation is consonant with BR-AW-9 bringing up the topics of interculturality, otherness and *acolhimento vis-à-vis* the Eurocentric and elitist features that predominated in the history of Brazilian university. However, if one considers BR-AW-9's words about not being a spokesperson, then it is possible to consider the existence of a fear do misrepresent the disenfranchised.

⁴³ BR-AW-9's mention of fear remit the Brazilian reader of Freire to the book 'A pedagogy for liberation: dialogues under transforming education', by Ira Shor and Paulo Freire (1987). This work was published in Portuguese under the title '*Medo e ousadia: o cotidiano do professor*' [Fear and dare: the teacher's quotidian]. In it, Freire argues that 'Fear exists in you precisely because you have the dream. [...] If your dream is one of transformation, then you fear the reaction of the powers that are now in power' (SHOR; FREIRE, 1987, p. 56).

do not serve them well and they articulate a tacit repertoire of actions that projects the identity of an educator in the peripheral part of the globalized world. This repertoire includes the abilities that go from identifying the links between knowledge production schemes and national projects of development, to translating institutional dispositions between contexts by detecting and operating, more or less consciously, the legitimated codes of international academic settings. This kind of agency also requires recognizing how power modulates change.

From a world-systems perspective (WALLERSTEIN, 2004), national polities have never been containers. Moreover, the 21st century began with the recognition of the increasing role of globalization in the structuration of banal social life. That is, in a process of hegemony characterized by the coupling of technique and politics, the standards from one locale go global and start to preside over other locales (HALLIDAY, 2001; SANTOS, 2017 [2000]; SOUSA SANTOS, 2002). Through critical consciousness (VIEIRA PINTO, 1960), with its components of historicity and apprehension of totality, individuals can view university as superstructural phenomenon (VIEIRA PINTO, 1962) which is also altered by the infrastructural shifts brought about by globalization. In a global level, this view involves understanding that the rules of engagement are set by international and transnational elites that derive their power, among other factors, from their ability to direct the connections between locales, shaping the international relations of production that make up the world-system. Through strategies of hegemony and fetishization, they can condition verticalities. In some societies which were founded on exploitative colonization, such as the Brazilian one, these elites define institutions and repertoires of action to serve the reproductive process of capitalist dynamic cores – and dependency goes on not only in the infrastructure, but in superstructure as well (BAMBIRRA, 2012 [1974]; FERNANDES, 1975; DOS SANTOS, 1970; MARINI, 2015 [1973]).

From a critical stance, individuals in a dependent context may mobilize their categories of political action to resist alienation in some sort of anticipatory resistance (FRANCO; MOROSINI, 1992) which could promote initiatives of autonomous development (RIBEIRO, 1975). They may access verticalities to draw social resources such as knowledge, legitimacy and prestige to enforce their own projects for horizontalities.

4.4.2. Finland

In the Finnish case, individuals acting in the field of social action of academic work see the changes related to internationalization affecting their activities occurring in a rather systematic and institutionalized manner.

I have been working here for fifteen years, and we have more or less been changing all the time. [...] I am really disappointed in the way the universities and the ministries and the national boards of education are guiding us through this processes of changes. Because it seems that they have adopted this policy or ideology where change for change's sake is valued, whereas they do not stop at any point to evaluate what was achieved and what was lost with the change, if any. If you want to change an organization, you should make some kind of exploring, charting, researching the status quo and then you define the values and the aims of the change: what do we want to do with the change.

[FI-AW-7] >> *Change*

In this statement, it is possible to view the discontinuities of change in the transitional movement (FRANCO; MOROSINI; LEITE, 1992) between the different fields of social action. Looking from the viewpoint of academic work, elements of the technique of reform are absent. They may be missing at all or may not be communicated. In any case, the effect is that change appears as an ideological phenomenon rather than a carefully planned and evaluated reform procedure. In the perspective of FI-AW-7, changes set forth by national policy and brought to effect by the educational institution and do not relate the academic work in an appropriate manner. And change – usually identified to improvement – may also mean loss. The findings of lack of communication and loss are consistent with contemporary literature on Finnish higher education (HAAPAKOSKI; STEIN, 2018; KAAKO; MEDVEDEVA, 2016; URSIN et al., 2010).

As much as change takes place, however, the subcategory of context, in its dimension of continuity, presents challenges related to degree structure and its relation to internationalization. The learning goals and procedures informing student experience set integration as a frontier.

In the Finnish context, even though the equality talk is very strong, universities still remain a mechanism to make a distinction between the educated and the less educated. They are spaces for accessing some classical knowledge, classical languages and these kinds of things. There are interesting combinations of different ideologies. Finnish universities are relatively autonomous, they are sometimes even expected to

be critical of the nation-state and extend their work beyond the national borders, while there is an increasing demand for public accountability and accountability to the nation-state. So, I think it is all about this dynamics and sometimes controversial expectations and competing ideologies that influence our institutions. And then, of course, in the field of Education, teacher education is all about nation-building and I think that makes us quite distinctive of some other fields, some other faculties in our universities. I think the demand here to somehow serve the nation-state is a lot higher than in many other fields. [...] I think we were very much socialized to thinking of university studies as a continuum of five to six years, on where do you start and where do you want to finish. [...] And now, having revised all our programs according to the European two-level structure, I think some of us – I am now speaking of myself, definitely –, we are still a little lost and confused with the fact that now we have this very broad bachelor programs, where you get a very generalist overview of thing, and then, based on that, you are supposed to select a more focused two-year master's program. [...] So, it has really messed up the thinking and I am not sure how ready we are to somehow really profile our master's programs. And then again, there is the international master's programs. That is a whole different area. [...] I am sure there is still a lot of work to be done to somehow integrate these international, English-language programs to the regular structures. They are more used, like, PR mechanisms, that we don't fully use the potential of these international programs as part of the regular structure. So, it is really... We are in the middle of the transformation process here [...].

[FI-AW-6] >> *Change > Context > Continuity*

Like FI-AW-7, FI-AW-6 also brings up the ideological factor as a force guiding university development. Some aspects of change take time to sediment, and they make up historical layers (VÄLIMAA, 2007) that may set conflicting perspectives and demands for academic workers. This is the case with master's training in Education: some programs address the national task of training school teachers with research skills; others prepare international researchers. Integration between the inward and the outward training is still in flux. This is also the case with degree reform: pedagogical decisions at university are being taken according to a social arbitrary (CUNHA; LEITE, 1996) – in this case, the commitment to European integration – but field dynamics are not entirely accommodated. While curricula can be more or less deftly rearranged by reform, the deeper social meanings associated to degrees are slower to resettle.

I don't have so much experience in doctoral training, but what might be the difference is that [...] in the Finnish system, compared to some other countries, we do not we do not actually have such a doctoral program so that all the doctoral students study something together. Because, as you know, the students choose different kind of courses. So it depends... Of course, we have some doctoral students who have done their master's here. So they perhaps created their relationships already here. But I think that some international doctoral students may be quite lonely because they do not have such a community here [...] organized by the university. Of course, they might have private communities. But I think it is quite different to be a doctoral student or master's degree student in in the university.

[FI-AW-9] >> *Change > Context > Continuity*

FI-AW-9 expresses the inability to gauge into the social organization of doctoral students. Institutions and individuals cannot act on what they cannot see. As community building among doctoral students remains unseen, it cannot be steered by university to

support change. The absence of social ties – such as personal relationships or institutional dispositions – leaves international doctoral students ‘quite lonely’, and thus not subject to the same socialization of master’s students. As doctoral training takes place with a dispersion of actors, reform does not come to significant friction with collectives of either professors or students, and the pedagogical procedures of the doctorates are carried out as secluded individual processes. This means there is continuity in the separation between the levels of master’s and doctoral training in the Finnish context, and further continuities in the Finnish doctoral tradition. Consequently, there is room to improve the effects of internationalization in the doctorate by fostering conviviality among scholars. If doctoral education continues to be an object of reform (AITTOLA, 2017), this should become a point of attention.

Universities are competing more and more in the international level, we are operating in English more and more. The teachers are teaching in English. There are master’s programs in English. More and more researchers, are more mobile. [...] Of course, when the researchers or students are mobile at an international level, that causes challenges as well. Because people are moving and universities are competing for the best brains all the time. So, for example, in Finland, we introduced these student fees and many universities are trying to attract the students from abroad. But it is of course difficult because living in Finland is very expensive. And we do not know if our universities are attractive enough for people to come here to the darkness and cold to study and pay for it. It has been a very good thing before that studying in here has been free, in the point of view of equal opportunities. It has been very important that everybody had the opportunity to study here for free. [...] Another thing is: ‘do we have funding?’ of course. Because it is very expensive to go in conferences to the USA, for example. Not all the researchers have the opportunity to go there, and I think it is like one conference the year for us, if we do not have any other funding in here. So, it is supported, but we are also supported to apply for funding for it outside. Because of course, they cannot buy us traveling too much all the time. [...] It is competitive funding to travel more abroad in conferences and project meetings and that kind of thing.
 [FI-AW-1] >> *Change > Context > Shifts*

FI-AW-1 represents the shifting effects of internationalization in the social life of academia as multiple dimensions of mobility. As internationalization brings about additional resources, and additional dialogues, it also requires additional investments. To obtain them, actors must enter new competitive arenas, in which English the language of operation. The axis of researchers’ attention – not in terms of their objects of study, but in terms of the locus where the *nomos* of the national scientific field is defined – is tilted outwards.

The national pull is still there, however. If an increasing use of English language in universities opens the gates for international presence, the introduction of university fees for foreign students represents a factor that limits the international attractiveness of Finnish universities. It also represents a shift in the academic image of Finland, and one

that affects the structure of educational opportunities. From academic work, it is visible that national policy conditions the *modus operandi* of educational institutions in a manner that is not always compatible with their values.

Because some of the things that I think that we have achieved, I think some of the things that make education in Finland quality – I do not buy into all of the myths that abound about Finnish education, but I think there are some very good things, even excellent things here –, I do not know how many of these things are being freely given up. So, like, with the introduction of fees, the sort of greater rush to get through university, the greater pressure that there is on students to somehow be excellent at everything or something like that... I don't know, there are different sources of stresses coming in, I think, nowadays. There was not earlier. And even with maybe regard to evaluation or something like that. There have been different ways in which it has been handled in Finland. I sometimes wonder how much we gave up to align ourselves with the Anglo-American system which does not support quality and education or even necessarily in science. So, maybe an excellent university would not only strive for these quality things, but would strive to maintain them and even fight for them when is necessary. But I hear from colleagues in the UK, from Australia, for example, on how they are evaluated on the different criteria that they are supposed to meet. And I can see the initial stages of it being introduced here. I wonder why on Earth we are doing [this]. I don't mean that there should not be criteria for quality, we should not be cognizant of what we are trying to do and strive for that, but – on whose terms?
 [FI-AW-8] >> *Change > Context > Shifts*

By asking ‘on whose terms’ change is being processed, FI-AW-8 is questioning in whose image higher education is being transformed (DEEM; MOK; LUCAS, 2008) and towards which ends it is being steered (LEITE; GENRO, 2012). The following question would be – according to whose interests? The answer could perhaps be found in the experiences referred – the United Kingdom, Australia, the Anglo-American system. In the Finnish context, in the dimension of shifts, both FI-AW-1 and FI-AW-8 express the feeling of loss that was also present in FI-AW-7's statement – and, to some extent, in FI-AW-6's one in the dimension of continuity. In their perspective, Finland is losing some of the foundations of the right to higher education that characterized the system, including due time for education, pedagogical design, nurture of students, collegiality.

Likewise, actors may be overlooking an essential aspect of universities in the process of change. Universities can exert agency on national policy and, depending on the societal perspective they spouse, they should fight for their views on quality. Of course, this movement is complicated by the fact that universities are complex polities and their position-taking result from the conflicting interests of their constituencies. Over the different funnels that order decision-making, not all values and interests expressed in academic work will be translated to the educational institution's strategies to engage with national policy.

There is a price that higher education systems pay to go global in the hegemonic fashion, as there is a price in not engaging with the international standards (HAZELKORN, 2018; ORDORIKA; LLOYD, 2015)⁴⁴. In the first case, higher education is impaired in the socially referenced quality – the relevance – of their work. In the second case, universities lose conditions of legitimacy to dispute political projects for education in global arenas. University autonomy becomes a knot that cannot be untied by a one-sided approach. And if one dislocates the perspective from the context to the action schemes individuals deploy, one may observe different kinds of friction factoring into this knot. If internationalization has been traditionally associated – in a way or another – to academic reproduction since university's inception as an institution, it may have become a necessary condition for other academic organic processes.

I am trying to think for me what has internationalization offered. Maybe, I would assume it was often the space where I found a voice. I am a [foreigner] in Finland. [...] I have tried to be quite polite and not impose the use of English, not impose a different cultural way of being [...]. Well, I value outsidersness, and whatever. Then, it is in the international settings I realize I have more of a voice to be able to engage with others and find it very interesting, liberating, inspiring. [...] Engaging in international projects, somehow I have found more of a voice, maybe. I ended up working with people from quite different paradigms, people who are willing to talk and spend time thinking, dialoguing around different issues and of course, that is very nourishing [...]. Maybe what happens is that in the local community, you just end up busy and doing your day-to-day things. And, like, I do not have time to speak to my colleagues here generally because I just have to concentrate on answering the e-mails, preparing for the next class and meeting whatever other demands. So, you do not sit down to have decent conversations. But then, when you go to an international conference, or you are part of a project, you specifically set aside time to work with these people. And you know you have only got a limited amount of time to hear what they think or what they have got to say. So, it creates the right conditions for a positive work encounter. But it does not mean that there would not be these opportunities – or, like, that quality material – here as well. It is just that the conditions of the day-to-day do not support that. There are very few sanctioned spaces where now you can talk about, like, what is important. In the past, I have set up kind of discussion groups as well, because I just wanted somewhere – and thought other people as well must have some kind of desire or need – to respond to something together, or read quality text and then talk about it.

[FI-AW-8] >> *Change > Action schemes > Drivers*

From the perspective of the professor, going global is a liberating experience as it allows one to engage outsidersness and otherness, and thus seek for one's own academic self. In this case, cultural encounter is challenging, as politeness must be negotiated according to the rules of the local. But international spaces sanction the coexistence of a multiplicity of attitudinal codes – marks of territory – in a same place. In FI-AW-8's case, labor in the local workplace has been taken up the logics of a

⁴⁴ This is expressed in the Brazilian case by BR-AW-1 in this same dimension of shifts in the context of change. A possible reaction is rendered in the rationale expressed by BR-AW-6 in the dimension of political responsibility within the political mediation that composes the category of power.

verticality, whereas international space preserve fundamental characteristics of the horizontality that characterized universities' genetic process, among them, conditions favoring encounter and dialogue. FI-AW-8's experience averts spatial fetishism (ROBERTSON; DALE, 2011; 2017), as the global is shown to have restorative effects over the possibilities of collective reflection over the otherwise non-stop, diversionary life of contemporary academe. 'Somewhere to respond to something together' is the very social fabric of academic life, and individuals may draw on international experiences to periodically reconstruct this localness.

Back in my country, just half a century ago, we did not quite have a high level of PhD professors. But thanks to internationalization and globalization, we are now investing more in PhDs, more in doctorates. And I can say that if you want to become a university lecturer, you should be a doctor rather than a master. Because our government, our country, we are... [...] An ambitious goal of the country is try to train and try to prepare more and more students of higher level education to become professionals. [...] In high school or lower school levels, most of the teachers are still bachelors. But now, if you are a bachelor and you want to secure your position, in addition to your bachelor's degree, you should equip yourself with other, international certifications. [...] To be really honest, it is a shame for me to admit that, but I have to say that if you studied and eventually received the certificate in the country, your degree is not quite valuable in our country. So that is the reason why everyone wants to study abroad. The government also encouraged that.

[FI-AW-4] >> *Change > Action schemes > Drivers*

From the perspective of the international student seeking postgraduate education in Finland, international training is becoming a must for emerging educational professionals who want to secure their position in the field. This is prompted by the country's educational strategy. The internationalization of Finnish educational institutions thus benefits from the national policy of other countries. International certification appears as a higher order of credential. At the same time, globalization and internationalization foster the development of postgraduate education. National development imperatives in one country require its citizens to invest⁴⁵ in education elsewhere. This movement entails a chain of value. When education is provided free of charge and scholarships are awarded, the host country is transferring resources towards the sending one. When education is purchased, resources flow in reverse direction.

The roads of globalizations enable flows in some directions, reinforcing specific patterns. One of them is the dislocation of international students from the global South

⁴⁵ I deliberately use the word 'invest' because even if these individuals are financially supported by one state or another, they are investing unquantifiable life value in dislocating themselves across the world.

to the global North. But neither of these geographic compounds is homogeneous, nor can South-North flows be represented in a single way.

We have all these kinds of rankings that rank the top hundred universities in the world. For some outsiders who are not working at the university and do not understand what are the functions of the university and how it works, and what are the aims of tertiary education, it can be very misleading. [...] And we need to say a lot of things to explain to people that, for example, [FCU] cannot be compared to the University of Hong Kong. It cannot be compared because the University of Hong Kong is a comprehensive university with medical school, nursing school, engineering school, blah blah blah. Of course when such comprehensive university has got so many resources and faculties, it will get the funding and resources to push it into the top hundred or whatever ranks. But it does not mean that [FCU] is not good at all. [...] I was searching funding from Hong Kong as well. But their view is so narrow. So the Hong Kong government says: 'unless you study the PhD in Hong Kong – then there can be an opportunity to you get something which is reasonable – you have to enter into the top hundred universities in the world, then you may have some opportunities to get funded. [...] But you know, good education [...] does not work like that. Like, if the university does not enter into the top hundred, it does not mean that it is a rubbish university. There are some areas that are off the circuit and world-famous, sometimes. But in Hong Kong, I will say, it is quite, quite narrow. And then people just want to see the results, the numbers. And they say these are very hard that can guarantee the money will be accountable. So [...], there should be some other alternatives into this issue.

[FI-AW-3] >> *Change > Action schemes > Constraints*

In the perspective of incoming flows, FI-AW-3 expresses that the misrepresentation of higher education reality by rankings restricts opportunities from the point of view of the interaction between academic work and national policy. Finnish higher education structure, in which regional HEIs have distinct profiles which do not correspond to comprehensive universities, is not well read by ranking algorithms. The focus on quantifiable products diverts the view from the processes, precisely the point where the quality of Finnish education lies.

And I also get the sense that to the extent that they want the Finnish students to have an awareness of the rest of the world, it is more about bringing foreign people here, so they could, like, interact, with the Finnish people. And, of course, there are also opportunities for them to study abroad, but it is different than if I think of the private university where I went in the United States. Like, half, three quarters of the student body studied abroad. There was a huge emphasis on getting the students out of the classroom into the world, that they would come to have a different understanding of the world, because they would have gone somewhere else and seen it. And it was kind of a mission of the university. But again you cannot separate that from privilege and wealth, right? That they funded these people to go abroad. Or, like, that they would have the opportunity. The Finnish university is not... Maybe we don't have that kind of money. [...] Or the possibilities. Because those kinds of programs also necessitate individual connections between professors in certain universities and places where they can take the students, and they feel safe to take the students, and there is something organized there. And I don't know that the Finnish universities have those kinds of organizational connections. We do have these tentative kinds of agreements where they could send some students here, we could send some students there, but it is very much, like, individual, *ad hoc* kind of thing. It is not like a program, right? The whole thing is a little looser.

[FI-AW-2] >> *Change > Action schemes > Constraints*

In the perspective of outgoing flows, it is possible to find the register of an emphasis on Finland as a destination rather than an origin of mobility in the way individuals perceive the international status of academic work. The existing schemes of higher education organization favor internationalization at home as a more comprehensive endeavor, while internationalization abroad takes place through more *ad hoc* efforts. The first apparent limit to inform this situation would be funding. A second aspect would relate to organizational connections, which would ultimately lie on personal connections.

In any case, it is interesting to note that the very limits of Finnish higher education, combined to the different ideological aspects associated to its historical layers, render an internationalization style which may work, in some respects, with lesser subordination to privilege and wealth. At the same time, the lower participation of these factors in the mixture may leave things ‘a little looser’.

As privilege and wealth are introduced as guiding forces, the interpretation of the category of change gives way to the category of power. Power can be found not only in the terrain of policies and practices. Power is also present in the hegemonic phenomena that take place in the superstructure, such as the global determination of conceptions and models for university. This ideological is grounded on historical domination in the infrastructure. Asked about excellence, FI-AW-2 states:

This is a political conversation. [...] It is just a way to divide people into social classes and hierarchies [...]. That is one of the things I like about Finland: it is that generally – and it is changing now, but generally – they pushed back against these ranking tables for universities [...]. I think the difference between a high-quality university and an excellent university is a political, social discourse surrounding the institution and sort of the legacy. And those legacies have to do with discrimination, they have to do with keeping people out of the institution, they have to do with political power. Like, you think about Harvard, and the history of Harvard. Women were not allowed to graduate from Harvard until [the second half of the 20th century]. They were taking classes from the 1940s. Before that, women were not even allowed to participate in these excellent institutions. [...] Who is allowed to go there? Who is allowed to participate in these excellent institutions? And it is these legacies of inequality in society... [...] If you think about any university in the world that is considered a world-class institution, they are that way because of a history of excluding people of color, excluding women, excluding... like, just exclusion. So, in my mind, that is the difference between an excellent university and a very high-quality research institution. It is the legacy of being able to exclude certain people that they don't want to participate in academic life. [...] I think the international university system – and I think we see that when we think about the role that universities play in the professional development of people who study internationally. [...] And I think that you see that with a lot of women who study here at this University and then they go back [to their home countries] and they have some extra social capital for themselves because of the knowledge that they have gotten by studying abroad. [...] But it is all embedded within this North-South dynamic of who has the power, who has the intellectual power, where are the recognized universities. So, individual people can, like, go to [FCU] or Helsinki and then draw that back to their own contact system, a kind of extra thing. [...] That is for elite people, not for everybody. And somehow the university is

complicit in that recreation of this unequal social dynamic between people who are participating in globalization – either corporately or at the level of the university – and people who are not participating, people who feel disenfranchised, that their jobs are taken away, their knowledge is not as valuable because they have never been to Finland and studied there or something like that.
[FI-AW-2] >> *Power*

While the word ideology is not mentioned in this excerpt, the whole idea of world-class excellence is treated by FI-AW-2 as an ideological phenomenon (THIENGO; BIANCHETTI, 2018). In this specific case, I refer to ideology not in the *lato sensu* that was appropriated in mid-century Brazilian philosophy, but in the radical *stricto sensu* with which it was proposed by Marx. An important dimension of political power is the ability to shape perspectives and opportunities for different social groups. FI-AW-2's observation about the role of prestigious universities as accomplices to inequality highlights gender, race and class as categories that are activated when power in higher education is used as domination. The way the global field operates nowadays is not dissociated from its historical constitution in association with patriarchal, capitalist, colonialist exploitation (STEIN, 2017).

For FI-AW-2, universities globally regarded as excellent⁴⁶ are built on a legacy of exclusion and discrimination. They are forbidden citadels where people are allowed only through successive proofs of class distinction. This idea of university is opposed by the perspective established in Finnish higher education history from the 1970s to the 1990s (VÄLIMAA, 2004). However, being within a global field of power, the Finnish university is also entangled into the global mechanisms of social reproduction. It presents opportunities to establish networks that are not available in global South and thus function as sources of distinction: not everybody can get to Finland. FI-AW-2 exposes the sheer violence of the capitalist structures of the world-system in the ethical limits they set for internationalization.

If changes brought about by internationalization are still trapped by this colonial framework, how can people counter alienating process in the context of postgraduate education? Internationalization becomes an ethical puzzle for practitioners and researchers on the theme. One alternative is to foster the empowerment of international postgraduate students. As they experience the dimension of personal relations in the technical mediation represented by labor processes, they may come up with solutions to

⁴⁶ The English word excellence – in Portuguese, *excelência* – comes from the Latin term *excellētia*, which in turn derives from the verb *excellere*, 'to surpass'. The policy incorporation of ranking principles reinforces the idea that universities should concern themselves with competing with each other.

steer the field in more humane ways. Again, the ethical practice of *acolhimento* in personal relations may provide a point from which to interrupt oppression and rewrite social codes built into internationalization.

I think in my case it is more important that how I coordinate the whole Program, in a way run it, and how I meet the students, and discuss with them and kind of take them into the Faculty, or try to take them into the Faculty, kind of society. And talking about educational issues with them, and have somebody to reflect the issues with. [...] Because when the student feels that they are listened to, and kind of they have somebody to talk to, if something comes up, if they have a problem, they know that they can always come to me, then that relieves some energy from them to concentrate on their studies or their life here. It is a bit like a backup thing that you always know that there is somebody that, you know, will discuss with you or you can ask for advice whether is related to very practical issues on living in [the city where FCU is located] or whether you want to discuss your career options or what you want you want for the future in the field. That is, like, if you think about the Program and the orientation, we have really emphasized in the orientation course in the Program, so that we would be able to give them as smooth a start for the studies as possible. And giving the feeling that they are welcome and also valued as part of the community and we value what they bring to us. [...] Because they come also from very different academic cultures and are not used to the way we do things here, maybe very different from what they are used to. [...] And we know that these issues arise because of the diverse backgrounds that they have. [...] Because – why wouldn't we want them to be achieving the best of what they can achieve and we should be able to help with that, with the support that we give. It is a big investment from them to come here for two years for the master's program, so I think we want to make sure that it is... We can do our best anyway to make sure that they will do their best. And gain the things they want to gain to be able to develop the field in the future. [...] I think that is actually quite a big part, if we think of our students, that: what kind of network they are building with other students from different countries. [...] That they could, you know, have a network where they would be sharing their ideas and maybe practices that they have found to be good ones.

[FI-AW-5] >> Power > Technical mediation > Personal relations

The first meaning that emerges from FI-AW-5's statement is that of *acolhimento*. As it can be read from the excerpt, it goes beyond purely academic matters to deal with the whole process of settling in a foreign country – a different territory with a foreign culture. Another pillar of *acolhimento* is recognition: of who the students are, of their contribution, of their investment in education. The second emergent meaning in FI-AW-5's words is that of empowerment through networking. This relates not only to the students' present in an international setting, but to their projected future upon returning to their home countries. This meaning entails a commitment of the Program to the development of the field, consistent with a scholarly *ethos* for academic work.

The task for the critical international educator is then to learn from FI-AW-5's pedagogical how to thread *acolhimento* into empowerment. The question then becomes how to do that in a manner that fosters conscientization so that, upon returning to their home countries, they will use power amassed by and education in a developed country to bring about democratic developments in their educational systems. The public

tradition of Finnish higher education seems to speak in this direction, but it remains to be seen whether the introduction of student fees will not signal towards the understanding of higher education as a private good to enforce solely one's own position in the field.

In any case, one must recall that, in the Finnish context, the separation between master's and doctoral training may mean that the practices differ between these educational levels. This means the practices of *acolhimento* available to master's students may not be in place for doctoral students. If national policy and institutional configuration are seeking to improve the learning experience in this level of education, some other possibilities may be available.

Your research group is, of course, very important, because when you are working with different kinds of people, you are maybe gaining from their networks as well. And you learn different ways to network and collaborate. [...] I think I am benefiting very much on my situation because I have so many, wide networks. I am working in many projects with many people in national and international level. At the moment, I have been a publishing quite a lot. [...] Our workplace is quite international. We have international people coming and going in here and some are even staying. They have been working many years in here. Our working language is, like, half Finnish and half English in here. Our group e-mails are mainly in English, we are constantly supported to go abroad and be mobile. [...] I think I am in a rather good level, because I have many international networks. And I travel sometimes to international conferences and project meetings. I have Skype meetings with international colleagues and that kind of thing. And we are writing together with colleagues and we are trying to apply to the Horizon EU funding. [...] Maybe it is more because I work in many projects. So, by a project, I have gained international networks as well. [...] So maybe I am more international than just a PhD student, but I am not sure. It depends so much on the person and the research group and the discipline and everything.
 [FI-AW-1] >> Power > Technical mediation > Personal relations

FI-AW-1 considers the internationalization perspectives they enjoy, such as those of networking, are related to an international workplace. The insertion in an international research group leads to further access to skills required by internationalization: operating in English language, working with people with different backgrounds, taking part in international conferences, sustaining international contacts over time, publishing in international journals, collaboratively writing projects for international funding. FI-AW-1 relates all these opportunities to their position in as a project worker rather than that of a PhD student.

If one reminds FI-AW-9 words about the continuity of student dispersion in Finnish doctoral education, FI-AW-1's experience may serve as a good indication that engagement in international projects through participation in research groups can be an important contribution to postgraduate pedagogy. The conditions of the local – the

territory outlined by the research group –, appear again as key factors for successful socialization in global codes. In doctoral education, *acolhimento* can be threaded into research groups. Thinking about the conditions that could favor this change leads from the dimension of personal relations to that of resources.

We are, for example, thinking on how to record the work we are doing for the project. Because it is not fully research, it is not fully teaching and it is not the societal communication aspect of our work. We don't find a slot on where to make it visible in our workplans and in our records, worktime records. [...] So, I think there is a lot that could be done to somehow recognize the resources that you need for internationalization, internationally-oriented work. Starting from the time you spend traveling back and forth and the time you spend on setting different types of Skype if you have a meeting between five different locations and, you know, all the technical issues, issues of translation, these kinds of things. If we are... If the structures would genuinely support internationalization, they would recognize, for example, this kind of 'lost work' time that always happens if we actually want to do international collaboration.

[FI-AW-6] >> *Power > Technical mediation > Resources*

In this case, the use of the dimension of resources in the subcategory of technical mediation illuminates the need to promote recognition of the 'lost work' people need to perform in order to promote internationalization. This work gives materiality to internationalization processes and carries pedagogical potential. Yet, it has not been framed in funding formulae. Delving into the way people establish and sustain international relations would be a venue for unpacking the resources needed for internationalization and, from that knowledge, to support international collaboration as a phenomenon that is not bounded by the limits that are traditionally assigned to teaching, research and societal engagement.

Data collected from other interviews both in Finland and Brazil seems to support the hypothesis that the 'lost work' processes are precisely the foundations for sustainable internationalization. One could then argue that they remain invisible much like other phenomenon that are ascribed the label of 'reproductive labor'. If one accepts the feminist political economy premise that 'all labor is productive', then one should call for bringing this technical issues to the fore of internationalization research, so it could guide policy to account for that. Otherwise, these aspects may remain undervalued, thus hindering internationalization processes.

At the moment, I don't think we have enough resources to deal with international issues. Like, very practical things, the visits and so on that we have, we would need more resources to deal with those. Because it is a kind of a rising issue, anyway. So, sometimes I feel like we are not able to keep up with

that. Resource-wise, it is restricting us from doing something that I consider would be good to do or what would be nice to do or what would be beneficial to do. But there is just no time. [...] And still sometimes the international issues are considered to be for some people's responsibility in the way that there are people taking care of international issues at the University. Shouldn't it be everybody's issue? In a way it is not just for some people who are mainly working with those issues, but it should be involving everybody. And I think that is an attitude we still have to work with. There has been a big progress if thinking about ten years back, in that. But still there are some things to do.

[FI-AW-5] >> Power > Technical mediation > Resources

FI-AW-6 and FI-AW-5 concur in the need to acknowledge time as an important input for internationalization. FI-AW-5 adds to that the matter of whose time is being dedicated to international issues. If internationalization is assumed as an institutional commitment, the collective should be involved. A collective dimension involves not only the ensemble of the actors, but also the relations between them. The process of making internationalization comprehensive (HUDZIK, 2011) requires negotiation. Again, there is a need for time-spaces connecting the management of the institutional education and academic work where such discussions can be pursued.

When aspects such as workshare lead to conflict and have to be negotiated, the transition between technical and political mediation starts (SANTOS, 2017 [2000]). Immediate experience has to be related to further coordination, to objectives which are not always evident, and which may be grasped in the way individuals perceive their context's national positioning and the political responsibility in their work.

At the moment, Finland still has quite a good reputation because of the hype surrounding Pisa research. Some other international research projects like that, as well. So, we are still quite an interesting destination for a lot of students from all over the world, and visitors, as well. [...] And I would really love to see universities take a little bit more active role in societal discussions and debates that are going on around in society at large. And to be a little bit more forward in global responsibility. So, supporting education and supporting higher education in developing countries, for example, so that we could actually collaborate with universities in developing countries. Do joint publications, for example, or even joint teaching, joint courses with them. At the moment, it is very little what we can do because there is neither the time nor the money for that kind of activities. It is something that is not very much appreciated the current government. It doesn't pay off, so to say. [...] And something else that I would add previously to what is an excellent university is also that the students and the teachers and the researchers would have a bit more of this academic freedom, which is also responsibilities. But they wouldn't need to think so much about what is kind of 'media-sexy' so to say, or what is according to the current policies and aims of the ministries, as is the situation too often now. So, it is difficult, if not impossible to find funding for something that the Ministry or the European Union does not consider relevant or important at the moment. But who is to say what kind of research is important?

[FI-AW-7] >> Power > Political mediation > National positioning

FI-AW-7 calls into question the autonomy of the field by dealing with the influences on decision making processes and structures. As Finland is a member of the

European Union, some of the funding schemes that have previously been tied to the national field now are conflated to the supranational level. This means that decisions by the academic workers on what to research are submitted not only to national, but also to supranational judgement and prioritizing. Transnational forces act to inform the ‘media-sexiness’ of research topics, steering the agendas of attention and anxiety (COWEN, 2012).

Another aspect of the limits for internationalization appears in the way academic freedom is conformed by the availability of time and money. It circumscribes the possibilities for Finnish scholars to engage with their colleagues in developing countries to exercise global responsibility. For FI-AW-7, Finland is especially liable to this type of social commitment as it enjoys high visibility due to Pisa results. But this is also subject to curtailing due to political-ideological governmental decisions.

If I think from our department's point of view, what we are doing in relation to globalization and the global world [is that] we have some developmental projects, for example, with African countries or always some other developing countries. So they are, in a way, small projects, individual projects we will be doing, our department, our faculty and a certain university or certain country. But although they are small, they can be very important. That is one way how we do globalization. And it can be kind of that we are doing something there, in another country, of course, in collaboration or people are coming here, for example, being able to study here. But then, in the bigger picture, universities together or researchers together can work towards supporting different countries or understanding what this globalization means. [...] We quite easily think that we are the ones who offer something. [...] Internationalization is offering possibilities, offering something, but it is also getting a lot. As a university, as an institution of higher education, we also get something. [...] Perhaps in the beginning, it was ‘that it's Finland and there is the whole world, and then we offer something to the whole world’. But now, it is kind of understanding that there is Finland and then there are these different countries from where the students are coming from and they all together offer something for higher education. [...] Internalization kind of means that we should go somewhere to get international. And now we talk a lot about home internalization. So, in the same way, we can internationalize ourselves here in Finland. We work with international students or staff. Well, think of those things and it's not necessary to go somewhere. [...] There have been so many people coming to Finland to learn because we have done so well in Pisa. Because people came to ask from us: ‘oh, how do you do things in such a way that you are so good?’, we thought that we needed to offer the answers. But perhaps it is good that we have not always done so well in Pisa, so we have also asked other people ‘what are you doing and how can we get together, find answers and solutions?’.

[FI-AW-9] >> Power > Political mediation > National positioning

The importance of Pisa results in promoting the international image of Finnish education are also highlighted by FI-AW-9. The way these results were promoted and seen in global discussion impacted Finnish self-awareness of the country’s educational field of knowledge, layering varied perspectives in international collaboration. It is through these different processes that, in FI-AW-9 view, Finnish scholars ‘do globalization’: they offer and benefit from opportunities, especially in relation to

countries with different levels of development. In this sense, internationalization is a learning experience. FI-AW-9 also expresses universities' mission in a converging meaning to that described by FI-AW-8 as a driver: to be 'somewhere to respond to something together'. The 'Pisa hype', as FI-AW-7 terms it, benefits the position of Finland in the global field as an attractive partner, and as place where such responses can be formulated.

The global spotlight on Finnish education has meant affluence – power. Academic workers understood that the opportunities brought about by this visibility also meant political responsibility. This can be seen both in the way that professors approach international collaboration and in the way students draw perspectives on what to do with their Finnish training.

Because I think that the questions related to globalization vary. But I think that perhaps the aim is that we should be able to give equal possibilities whether you are doing something in Finland or in Brazil, for example. [...] And we are trying to support systems to work in a better way in different countries.
[FI-AW-9] >> Power > Political mediation > Political responsibility

The point of this dissertation is that these opportunities are unequal, not only between Finland – in global North – and Brazil – in global South –, but also within Brazil. And while the capitalist world-system tends to reproduce and reinforce inequality, people both in North and South are trying to cope with that and to use globalization to, at the very least, palliate the violence of alienation brought about this very same globalization.

As a doctor student, I also wanted to have this opportunity to come to Finland to study. I will also want to bring knowledge of other places back to my home country, Hong Kong, as well. So I really hope people in Hong Kong will not think education narrowly in the Hong Kong context, but open their eyes widely for the public that is interested in education issue. I believe when the public is more aware of what is happening in the outside world, there can be chances for us to change the current education system. As a doctoral student or an academic that works at the university, I really want to kindle that awareness in the general public because education is something related to the next generations, to the future. [...] If you're a person working in Hong Kong in a normal job, then there will not be many opportunities that you can talk to a person from Brazil on education issues. But through this internationalization, people from different countries, we can meet, and we can share these ideas. Of course, it also depends on me whether I will present these ideas, but if I have the opportunities, I would love to bring in different aspects to the Hong Kong context as well. [...] For example, in Finland, it is also interesting when I see student have the opportunity to learn skiing and skating and all these kind of things. So, it brings me here and opens my eyes and through my eyes, I can also tell people in Hong Kong that in Finland, they are doing sports like this and all that.
[FI-AW-3] >> Power > Political mediation > Political responsibility

The perspective of the international student connects to a generational responsibility towards future generations. There is an understanding that the world – the set of factors conditioning national education – exists beyond the local, and it must be taken in account when educational change is considered. Internationalization means the opportunity to grasp aspects of this world to impart change. Whichever the extent of the change imparted – shifts in sports curriculum, for instance –, it may have the potential to open the eyes of the educational publics. The point made by FI-AW-3 is that it is important to go global – an effort that goes beyond those required or permitted by a normal job – to come back and, in coming back, having expanded possibilities to kindle awareness of the world – what can be considered an act of consciousness.

I know I am not only [a knowledge] producer for myself, but the provider for the others. [...] at least I will become an academic leader to establish my own school, to establish my own my own theory of teaching and learning, to make it better for the students. [...] Maybe because I was teaching in Vietnam for almost five years and during five years, I had no chance to improve myself, to improve the knowledge, to improve my skills, just day by day conveyed the same and the same lesson, gradually it created in me a feeling of not knowing anything at all. That was the very first feeling when I first came here. But thanks to almost two years of studying here, I gradually retrieved my ability, my confidence. Thanks to studying here, [...] now I can clearly and vividly visualize my work and my future work in the position or the scale of globalization. I want to build up not a company, but my own English [language education] center. And, as the name suggests, an English center plays a very significant position in the globalization. [...] I would try to recognize our center in the worldwide level, especially to connect and to expand our network with the others from where, thanks to result of my studying – two years here in Finland, almost one and a half in Australia and some months in America –, I would try to connect [with people]. I would try to build our network connections. [...] Our government, they are day by day, in the daily news, asking the young researchers or the one who just graduated from university to improve the internationalization status of the country. Firstly, by studying English, the worldwide recognized language. Secondly, by trying to improve our quality of education by studying in foreign countries like here in Finland, America or in Australia. Thirdly, by investing more and more in two sectors of economy, more specifically tourism and secondly, education. [...] Studying here instilled me gradually the idea that I need to become a global citizen to contribute with some of my ideas, some of my identity, some of my qualities and competences to the sustainable development of the world.

[FI-AW-4] >> *Power > Political mediation > Political responsibility*

FI-AW-4 projects a future enabled by the alignment of individual projects and national designs for internationalization in response to globalization. Finland appears in this scenario pairing countries that set and benefit from the status of English as the global language – USA and Australia. The relation between individual opportunities and the global field's structure is once again complicated in terms of power distribution among nations. FI-AW-4 intends to derive their opportunities both from networking with the North and acting towards the consolidation of a Southern country's project of international insertion. What appears at a first moment as the reinforcement of the

leading nations' position by individual action can also mean the construction of Vietnam's possibilities to join the international contest for academic prestige.

In FI-AW-4's words, internationalization also appears again in its restorative capacities. The political responsibility of the Finnish education becomes intertwined with the individual's as, through master's training in Finland, FI-AW-4 becomes able to find their voice in globalization, one that shall be used to provide a better education for their compatriots back in Vietnam. In FI-AW-4's perspective, his Finnish education is also responsible for a look towards global citizenship and sustainable development, what can be considered a driver for change.

We are realizing that most of us do the work because of our sense of social responsibility and global responsibility, but there is no way we can record our work only under those segments. Because it is not considered 'profitable' and we would suffer academically if we overemphasized that part. Because the current assessment mechanisms push us towards allocating as much time as possible for research. And you get certain credit for teaching, but then everything else you do is not really valued in terms of performance assessments. [...] Of course, there have been times when I wished I have not been in the margins. I might have had better access to research funding or supervision or something for example during my doctoral studies. Sometimes, the mainstream somehow attracts you. But as I keep saying, I do think most Finnish scholars in Education are relatively international, so it is not marginal to be international as such, but then choosing, for example, to focus on the least developed countries – that is the fact that puts you in the margins.

[FI-AW-6] >> *Power > Political mediation > Political responsibility*

As the interaction between Northern countries' designs and a Southern country's project appears in FI-AW-4's statement, so does the presence of the mainstream and the margins in FI-AW-6's words. In this correlation, the actors' rationales are not entirely apparent for them in the process of action. They are realized in hindsight, in an *a posteriori* calculation of the academic balance of internationalization endeavors. Furthermore, by investing in the margins rather than in the mainstream, individuals may show a measure of agency, diverging from the hierarchy set in the field. This is a political move, one that, as FI-AW-6' puts it, derives from the individuals' sense of social and global responsibility. It is not enforced by institutional dispositions – which are still in a state of flux when it comes to internationalization. The question, then, is: what guides individuals' actions in this direction?

The social field of action of academic work remains marked by a Mertonian communitarian scientific ethos, devoted more to field development – whether on national or global scale – than to enhancement of global competition of nations and HEIs. Policy shifts are not turnkey devices that immediately change scholarly

behaviors. If the overwhelming presence of market-like profit-seeking values in the educational sector hinders individuals' internationalization efforts from having more substantive academic unfoldings, they may still devise alternatives.

It does not seem such a stretch to apply Vieira Pinto's (1962) words from the last century Brazil to the contemporary Finnish context: university change is not entirely driven by the educational sector, but rather by social forces at large that manipulate university. These forces have been identified with the phenomenon of transnational academic capitalism (KAUPPINEN; KAIDESOJA, 2013), a set of international production and class dynamics. However, they are not univocal and academic work refracts them according to disciplinary, professional and citizenship values. Individuals cannot by and large harness the social forces that manipulate higher education. But they can inflect the clinamen with which globalization will materialize in their workplace, inducing different kinds of friction that trouble the way North-South interaction hierarchizes places and actors.

4.4.3. Comparative synthesis

The field of social action of academic work is the base of university life. Its investigation makes visible the undergrounds of internationalization. These roots, related to labor dynamics, allow perceiving how internationalization is comprised by class phenomena. This is more visible in the Brazilian case, where the command of English language, as a gatekeeper to the global space, is a more significant factor of distinction. Internationalization also appears in the potency of frontier: it composes liminal, often provisional, places where to meet the Other, engage the unknown and produce new understandings.

In Brazil, change brought about by internationalization is more perceivable in individual trajectories. Internationalization is dispersed and stimulated in academic work by national policies. Moreover, it happens in a more spontaneous fashion, relying more on individuals' ethos than on institutional planning. In Finland, change enjoys a more instituted, institutional status. Internationalization is more grafted into the *modus operandi* of Finnish academic work. A more international workplace is found in the presence of an international program, international students and the international use of

English language. In both cases, individuals register the absence of debates and rubrics that recognize the full extent of internationalization labor. That does not mean that internationalization takes place devoid of political character. The political *eidōs* simply is not taking the form of participatory deliberation. But – are educators themselves educated through this kind of procedures?

When change is unpacked through the subcategory of context, the dimension of continuity presents emerging meanings dealing with lack of integration. From the perspective of the Brazilian case, internationalization is not enough to overcome the boundaries represented in the marks of territory, whether in the way people flow or in the curricula. In the Finnish case, internationalization has been established as a mode of work, but still takes place in archipelagoes characterized by the distinct degrees and programs. It can be read from both cases that internationalization *per se* lacks momentum to change the instituted institutional matrix and it may remain as an outer space within the academic work if no further efforts are planned to thread it into everyday practices.

In the same subcategory, the dimension of shifts appears in Brazil as an imposition of foreign models which mold higher education to their own image. Nevertheless, this very imposition may awake the devisal of alternatives, especially in a Southern perspective. While researchers seem to be better positioned to gain from internationalization in the Finnish case, there is also a feeling of loss the public quality of higher education. In both cases, the shifts on context – marked by an increasing competitive pressure – are perceived to impose limitations on the autonomy of academic work.

Turning to the subcategory of action schemes, the dimension of drivers presents the search for voice – which can be considered a component of agency and praxis – as an important motivation for scholars to go global. Researchers seek in international spaces factors of academic production which are not available in their immediate workplaces: knowledge, time, partnerships. They seek new perspectives. In the case of international students, this broadening of perspectives includes a training that is either unavailable or undervalued in their contexts of origin. Questions arise about powers that sanction the existence of such valuation processes and spaces of discussion.

The dimension of constraints informing action schemes presents many layers. In Brazil, these limitations are linked to the instituted internationalization model, which favors research output in detriment of pedagogical qualification. In Finland, restrictions

appear on how to access the Finnish higher education from other contexts – an incoming perspective – and on the lack of resources, such as institutional connections, to pursue internationalization abroad – an outgoing perspective. The presence of a global standard that constrains what can be pursued with internationalization is felt in both contexts.

The category of power illustrates how both Brazil and Finland are affected by the global web of institutions that connect academic work in distinct locales. From this basal perspective, global power can be viewed as a transnational *arche* directing national developments. It emanates from local elites whose connections across the world-system – seen in international organizations or globally-prestigious HEIs – are able to enforce their worldviews as universals.

This power is able to command the international division of academic labor, steering definitions of who does what and hierarchizing the worth of individual work. This is a diffuse power that only comes into effect in academic work, crossing national and institutional boundaries, as pedagogical decisions enforce the social arbitrary that underpins a society's place in the international division of labor. It modulates change by guiding the availability or unavailability of resources and conditioning personal relations in the immediate experience of work. Power also has an Other face: empowerment, the ability to induce fissures in social reproduction through conscientization.

As the subcategory of technical mediation was introduced, in the dimension of personal relations, the most striking emerging meaning was *acolhimento*. Data interpretation highlighted the importance of well receiving and welcoming international students, as well as providing their insertion in international works through participation in research group projects.

The dimension of resources within the same subcategory pointed out the lack of time to perform the routines that make internationalization sustainable. Academic workers consider there are gaps to bridge between the prioritization of internationalization in official discourse and resource assignment. In the Brazilian case, issues are complicated by the bare matter of the Ministry withholding the Program's budget. This calls into question the very institutional character of public higher education within Brazilian polity⁴⁷. The Finnish case presents a smoother operational

⁴⁷ While it would take another dissertation to provide a full account of the situation, it may suffice to say that, as I reached the final phase of this dissertation, the Brazilian ministry of Education and Culture

environment, but there are still shortcomings in terms of recognition of internationalization labor.

As Brazil and Finland are positioned in almost opposite poles in the world-system, the perspectives of how national positioning affects academic work are quite different between the contexts. Patterns of a dependent insertion appear all through the interviews for the Brazilian case. Dependency is not evidenced for the Finnish context, with the exception of some liminal traces in foreign students' statements, as they describe the situation in their home countries. This is coherent with the observations of Deem, Mok and Lucas (2008).

While Finland – aided by the 'Pisa hype' positions itself as an educational provider to the globe, Brazil takes position as a global consumer of international higher education. It is also remarkable that in the Finnish context, internationalization at home is more apparent, while in Brazil, the perspective is more ad hoc, and preponderantly linked to internationalization abroad.

Differential national positioning yields different manners by which individuals frame political responsibility for their international work. In the Finnish context, scholars express a wish to collaborate with underdeveloped countries, while in the Brazilian one, the pursuit of national development is accentuated. In both cases, international students express the perspective of bringing educational developments back to their home countries. They express that going global may be linked to the ethical-political principle of coming back. Likewise, in both cases, the perspective of political responsibility in internationalization appears more as a personal orientation than an institutionally-imparted disposition.

The most striking contrast relates to the words by Célia quoted to open this sub-chapter. It comes to light from the confrontation between the statements by BR-AW-3 and FI-AW-5, on the dimension of personal relations: how are international students, a group of Others in universities, being treated? Furthermore, if one relates the subcategories of technical mediation and political mediation, the lack of collective spaces where to debate student issues and national problems draws attention. Internationalization lacks institutional embedding, more so in Brazil.

I am not saying that Finnish postgraduate education is devoid of problems, or that Brazilian postgraduate does not hold its treasures. They exist, and as BR-AW-6

admitted to national media that resources that should be used to fund public education were diverted to buy votes in the house of representatives to reform the social insurance system.

posits, they should be brought out to the world. The very existence of a continental-sized and robust system of postgraduate education crafted with resource to internationalization is one of them. And yet, Brazilian postgraduate education still struggles to instill fundamental pedagogical principles, such as *acolhimento*, into its practices. Again, with Fiori (2014 [1971]), it is not my wish or place to judge the educators' intentions, but the alienations of the system. And in the dependent nation, where privilege and overexploitation set the tune of labor relations, alienation is a stark reality.

5. Final remarks: participatory power to face our problems upfront

So, you know, while we keep on being cynical, while we are false, while we are supposedly puritan, women will keep on taking risks, risks of death. We will go on never facing our problems upfront and taking the bull by the horns⁴⁸. We will keep on without unemployment, without recession, without the lowest minimum wage in the world. We will remain a cynical society, because it interests to a few that we remain cynical. [...] Because the system is established there. And we are its victims: him, you, me, her, the camera operators over there. There is this stronger thing called capital, called money. [...] When these things are forbidden in Europe, the [big transnational pharmaceutical] laboratories, to test supposedly new pills, modernous, or modernmost, or modernest or whatever⁴⁹ contraceptive methods, take all their material, send it here and go about sterilizing the low-income population, who does not have any participatory power, and we know that. [...] Which society is this?

Elis Regina

In the quotation above, from 1982, Elis Regina was defending the legalization of abortion rights. At this point of the interview, Elis had grown increasingly annoyed, as the show hostess wanted to move the discussion on to questions by the viewers. These were topics Elis deemed silly, such as being chided for the television audience for her haircut and her sitting manners. She wanted to approach more pressing matters.

In the big picture, she tied the oppression of women to the oppression of the workers by the capitalist system. The capitalist world-system, encompassing the whole globe, is rife with contradictions and exploitation – which are always starker in the periphery, no less by the action of dependent elites. This by no means allows us, peripheral scholars, to be cynical, conform and dance to that tune. Rather, as Freire (2018 [1968]) theorizes, it calls us to a historical task of liberation.

As the questions in the TV show pushed Elis back to the domestic space of ‘womanly’ life, one question asked about the upbringing of her children. She took this topic on:

My family is composed by four people: three children and I. And life is debated with them, from a worker’s wage, which is ridiculous, to unemployment [...]. If they [Elis Regina’s children] do not have a full understanding of what is the reality, tomorrow, later, in any adverse climate which may come up, they may go down.

⁴⁸ While the expression ‘to take the bull by the horns’ is commonly used to describe a brave gesture, Elis conveys here the idea that the Brazilian society is producing the unnecessary urge to execute bold maneuvers when things could be dealt with in a more civil way.

⁴⁹ The original words in Portuguese are ‘*modernosos, ou moderníssimos, ou moderníssimos, não vem ao caso*’. Elis Regina derives superlative neologisms from the word ‘*moderno*’ [modern] to emphasize the ridiculousness of the situation: human dignity being affronted for the sake of modernity.

The bottom line to be read from this excerpt of Elis's speech is: we cannot do good science eschewing structural elements of reality. That is, we cannot do serious higher education studies on internationalization if we ignore that the global field of higher education is divided with lines that go beyond the international hierarchies of academic worth, being unbalanced by inequality that is a consequence of a colonial history.

Elis's reference to the camera operators is not casual, but a rather political move. It was intent on showing that television and music stars could only shine because of the work of invisibilized workers. Any political discussion must encompass infrastructure, grassroots, those from below. While world-class academic stars shine, who operates the machinery?

The same goes on with internationalization. It can only happen because of hidden work that is not necessarily under consideration in internationalization debate. Otherwise, internationalization will appear as fetish: occulting its grounding on individuals' social struggle in an unequal world. This struggle is not limited to the national academic field. It takes place in a global field, which is structured by the world-system power relations.

It is naïve to think the superstructural phenomena of university without considering its conditioning by the infrastructure. There is this stronger thing called capital, called money. Which cynical society is this? This is the cynical society that, for the sake of pursuing modernity – or nowadays, post-modernity – shuns the intellectual exercise – and at one point, shut out the very bodily existence – of intellectuals such as Ernani Maria Fiori, Paulo Freire, Darcy Ribeiro, Vânia Bambirra, Ruy Mauro Marini and Theotônio Dos Santos. This is a society that perpetuates the genocide of indigenous and black peoples, which allows itself to be ruled by those who burn the rainforest and *terreiros* – and also CTGs.

How does that relate to the internationalization of higher education? Universities cannot be disconnected from their societal contexts. As a superstructural phenomenon, higher education cannot be understood without the consideration of its material underpinnings. I bear witness to the violence of the infrastructural processes in Brazil. I cannot produce knowledge without expressing this much. All these concerns are present in this dissertation's research problem:

How are individuals in Brazilian and Finnish contexts of postgraduate education processing changes in university as internationalization takes place?

I showed that there is a diversity of responses to internationalization in Brazil and in Finland, and when seen through the lenses of change in higher education, they point out to the fact that institutional transformation is ultimately linked to shifts in the underpinning labor relations. In the specific case of universities, this labor is related to the production of knowledge and, in the more specific case of postgraduate education, to the education of knowledge producers. In the general picture of internationalization of higher education, individuals are differentially positioned within an exploitative world-system. Of course, internationalization of higher education is subject to different, divergent influences. The conclusions referred here for the Brazilian and the Finnish case derive from a unique framing applied to social representations expressed by specific interviewees. There is no pretension to encompass the totality of positions that exist in both complex social realities.

One of the main questions this research has triggered for future undertaking is: is going global crystalizing the positions of universities – central and peripheral – in the global field of higher education? My research does not allow me to provide an answer for that, but it does imply that an alternative politically intentionalized internationalization may be the route to escape the reification of international hierarchies. Some research results that can inform such movement, as I systematize them according to my specific questions:

How can change associated to internationalization of higher education be identified in the different fields of social action?
 How can power associated to internationalization of higher education be identified in the different fields of social action?
 How is internationalization understood and practiced in the different fields of social action?
 How do individuals organize their political action to effect internationalization?

Between the Brazilian and the Finnish contexts, there are difference in the very manner change is conceptualized, according to each country's tradition of higher education, and this is visible in the social field of action of national policy. In Finland, change is understood as a usual part of policy cycle, and internationalization is comprehended as a part of it. In Brazil, there is an overall tendency towards the preservation of the status quo as the system is regulated, and change must be induced with program which emanate from the federal sphere. In both cases, policy-makers

declare the purpose of granting more autonomy to HEIs and seek to hear them in their decision-making.

However, as the social field of action of the educational institution is approached, dissatisfaction with governmental decision becomes apparent as the changes induced by national policy are not always considered to be in line with academic values. In Finland, the existence of cycles for policy, strategy and funding stimulates some dynamicity in institutional planning, although the corresponding changes are not necessarily evaluated or approved by the individuals upon whom it unfolds. In Brazil, change is met with greater resistance, as internationalization is less systemic, counts with less structured information and may challenge traditional modes of operation. The discontinuity of internationalization policies has also historically disfavored the constitution of tools for the management of universities' international relations.

Much like the transition between national policy and educational institution, the reception of change proposals by the social field of action of academic work is marked by dissonances. They include the frameworks for incentivizing and recording of internationalization activities and the procedures by which individuals are evaluated and positioned according to their internationalization efforts. Nevertheless, perhaps the most critical factor affecting the way individuals process internationalization change in academic work is the interplay between contesting conceptions of higher education. In Finland, this tension is noticeable in the idea that the higher education system may lose its public quality as it is directed to generate income with education export. In Brazil, the friction between scholars and policies regards the model of internationalization proposed, the stratifications and the global relations it entails.

Although Finland counts on a couple of decades of experience in systematizing internationalization of higher education which are not part of Brazilian history, in both cases, there are difficulties to integrate the international work to the whole of the academic work developed within institutions. 'Islands' of internationalization develop, integrated to the global circuit, while other areas resist to change their work to go global. Wherever internationalization takes place, it is overborn by the arche of the global prestige of the great research universities. From a basal perspective, this marks the transformation of academic spaces from horizontalities to verticalities.

Power in higher education also flows dissimilarly in Brazil and Finland, as each national experience has shaped a unique institutional architecture. In the social field of

action of national policy, the background power that exists in the world-system informs the policy-makers' pragmatic readings of the possibility to promote their countries in the global field of higher education. In the Finnish case, the perspectives include disputing a more central position in the market for international educational services, as well as to establishing a high profile in specific areas of knowledge. In Brazil, the goals involve leaving behind the role of buyer and acquiring a reputation for solid research. Positioning in the global arena relies on the ability to tap into flows of resources and communication that shape the frontiers of scientific knowledge and elicit the recognition and prestige of the international research centers renowned in their disciplinary and interdisciplinary specialties.

In the social field of action of educational institution, the power to advance the internationalization of a university is refracted in the multiple instances that fragment a HEI to enable the consecution of administrative task and disciplinary agendas. The very structure of a complex organization, which allows some endeavors to reach greater depth, restricts the integration of other efforts such as internationalization. The constitution of multiple authorities managing academic work leads to the superposition of interests and projects in such a manner that, for instance, departmental leaderships may refuse to pursue the internationalization goals set by the central administration claiming they are not properly incentivized to do so.

When international academic interactions are focused in the social field of action of academic work through the lenses of power, it becomes apparent that scholars do not race towards internationalization from a same starting point. It depends on a repertoire of resources, relationships and skills whose cultivation occur more in individual trajectories inside and outside university than in a formative curricular proposal common to all the members of an academic institution. The intention to offer all students an international dimension to their training through internationalization at home is enunciated in the Finnish context. However, it seems very distant from the reality perceived in the Brazilian case. When internationalization does not permeate the university's formative project in its totality, international opportunities remain limited to those individuals whose conditions – especially the origins of class – lead to a broader circulation in elite academic spaces.

When enquiring about the different ways in which internationalization understood and practiced, there are, overall, two main issues that deserve attention. One relates to the fact that internationalization procedures frequently rely on the tacit

knowledge of processes that are often discontinuous. This means dealing with internationalization is entering unstable ground, shaken by transformations in world politics and their framing by the dominant view, by national policy shifts, by the difficulties to integrate and systematize institutional information, by the fragmentation of scholarly agendas within academic units and by the absence of devices which can promote alignments across these factors of instability.

The other issue relates to the fact that international academic relations do not occur between things, or between institutions per se. They are grounded in peer-to-peer relationships between scholars who know each other and develop trust bond over time and through collaborative work. Individual connections allow the emergence of durable partnerships. Such partnerships bear fruits when they take roots in a scientific work that is appreciated by audiences in different contexts. But the conditions for the sustainability of joint projects only exist when there are institutional dispositions that support the scholars internationalization labor – a ‘sweat’ which is often ‘lost’ when read in the hegemonic terms with which academic work is assessed. Institutional dispositions, in turn, need to be backed by national policies and strategies. What happens, though, is that among the fields of social action – national policy, educational institution, academic work – there is a series of mismatches, and national contexts do not necessarily have instances of collective discussion where such difficulties can be addressed.

This leads to the question about the ways individuals organize their political action to effect internationalization. Their ability to do so varies according to their origin and situationality. Another question would be then: who can enjoy the partnership possibilities brought about by internationalization and with which political agendas? As Halliday (2007, p. 77) recalls, ‘each dominant class has been able to use the international character of capitalism to preserve their position within society, aligning with others, to identify in the international arena a terrain for the expansion of their interests and power’. A reading of international relations inspired by the works by Marx would then identify that

[...] it is not the working class, but the bourgeoisie that was more international, since its education and culture, on the one side, and their very economic interests, on the other side, were such that it was led to act increasingly internationally. The subsequent history of capitalism has been, more than anything else, a history in which the dominant class’s internationalization has advanced as fast as, or even faster than, that of the working class (HALLIDAY, 2007, p. 78).

Can any theory which aspires to deal with ‘the global’ ignore any longer the class relations that intertwine international relations?

As I enquired how internationalization was changing universities, I looked at three different social fields of action: academic work, educational institution and national policy. What I found is that it is not possible to understand how internationalization changes university as an institution without grasping how internationalization itself changes. This change, in turn, is defined by the historical layers that compose these fields. But it is also informed by the gaps between them.

One of the challenges the comparative work posed me was to divert the whole set of analytical lenses I built over the years to understand Brazilian political processes in order to obtain a less biased view of Finnish experience. The boundaries of language constrain what can be represented and exchanged. The challenge that internationalization entails can be expressed not only in terms of who can say what, but what can be said, and in which terms.

What, then, is there to do?

5.1. Research implications

‘It seems we, as educators, departing from new positions, shall, through the free spaces allowed by the educational system, bring elements that contribute to the critical and problematizing living of the social practice’, Miti concluded in her thesis about women and politics. ‘Conscientization presents itself, without doubt, as the first context for ensuring the continuity and the coherence of a change proposal’.

Mirtes Teresinha ‘Miti’ Sfredo Wicteky, my godmother, is a retired state school teacher. She attended the normal school, or *magistério*, a teacher-training modality of upper secondary education in the late 1960s, and then went on to pursue undergraduate education through summer courses. The main reason why she became a teacher might be that my grandmother wanted her daughters to have professions. Grandma would tell me decades later that she thought it was ‘beautiful’ for women to be teachers. This was perhaps the most intellectual job a woman could get in her context. But educational opportunities were really limited in the municipality where they lived then, Sananduva. So, the working-class family made an economic effort to send their eldest child to study

in another city. When I reached lower secondary education, Miti decided I needed to learn English and enrolled me in a language course.

The point I am trying to make is that, across generations, too much of educational opportunities for Brazilian youngsters has depended on familial investment and ‘cultural goodwill’. And it should not be so. There is a series of social filters conditioning who can go global and under which circumstances. I am not naïve to the point of believing these filters could be easily rearranged towards an equity-based society. But perhaps universities could work harder towards democratization and be less complicit with global iniquities.

Whatever kind of research are we doing in academia, we must be conscious of its political implications. If I insist in bringing about my own life in a dissertation is because I know people to be conditioned by their historical materiality. I am not alone in this if we recall the radical branch of critical internationalization studies (STEIN, 2017), as well as the experiences recounted by interviewees BR-AW-1 and FI-AW-2 with Brazilian and North American educational realities.

I am thus compelled to use ‘the free spaces allowed by the educational system’ (SFREDO WICTEKY, 1989, p. [13]) to urge internationalization researchers to critically problematize the social lives of people and institutions that go global. That is, if they are interested in social change, democratization and conscientization. Otherwise, one can go about with unproblematic adherence to the fetishization of academic work as seen in league tables (HARTMANN, 2014; HAZELKORN, 2018). Interviewees expressed concern about what is valued by the ‘world-class’ paradigm, theory included.

As Florestan Fernandes (1975 [1974], p. 167) observed about the Brazilian higher education reform of 1968, ‘known technical solutions could not be effected because they were incompatible with their political reasons’. Some people consider scholarly work is done when technical solutions are devised. I understand it is the role of public intellectuals to use university’s public sphere capacities to promote democratization (FIORI, 2014 [1962]). This means internationalization as an object should be treated as a resource of power that should be democratized.

In this capacity, my study has some specific limitations. In order to study internationalization, I sought the statements of individuals who were operating with international interfaces. What would Other people, the ones for whom going global is not a present possibility, say about internationalization? I also did not contact

individuals acting in research funding agencies such as the Brazilian National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq) and the Academy of Finland. Since much of internationalization of higher education goes through research cooperation, interviewing such actors might have been a significant source of information.

I must also register that all across my research, I could sense a latency of the category of gender as an important matter for internationalization research. Although I could not tap into it due to limitations of my research instrument and my own theoretical abilities, I find it important to register the need for feminist approaches to internationalization labor.

5.2. Political implications

'Does that mean, Bernardo', Kimmo asked as we walked through the snow, 'that you will go back to Brazil and become a politician?'

Kimmo Wargelin was one of my hosts in Finland. He has a fondness to playing with words and philosophical matters. At some point, he told me that he had once been a member of the Finnish Green Party, but became disillusioned with by the staleness of Finnish politics. He asked me this question as we crossed the frozen Tuomiojärvi looking for a picnic spot. I imagine was probably astounded by the frequency with which I politicized issues within a conversation, or how I often brought up political issues when asked anything about Brazil. In face of his question, I grinned an anguished smile. I read Freire well enough to know education to be a political act and, as an aspirant democratic educator, I cannot help being a sort of politician.

A similar question had been posed to me by professor Ruben Oliven, an internationally renowned anthropologist, a few years before, as I avidly discussed the student condition with some colleagues in an after-class party offered by professor Arabela Oliven. He jokingly asked me if I were a unionist. I assented, telling him I was a proud member of UFRGS's Graduate Student Association. He smiled in a likely display of sympathy.

I cannot help myself from being political, and that is part of my training as an educator. My educational training under Maria Elly Herz Genro taught me that conflict is in the core of education. My political life within the university has taught me that

there will be dissent, no matter how committed people are to the same goals. And that is fine.

However young, I also carry the brands of my life and times. I have in myself the ‘spirit of Porto Alegre’ that links internationalization and democratization. This may be framed as a matter of ideology, granted. In that case, some questions should be posed. Is science possible outside a polity? And can a polity be structured without the resource to a politics? And can politics exist devoid of values? As someone involved in knowledge production, my values involve demanding that policy is made based on evidence of what brings about a more democratic society. Is the decision to steer higher education policy according to what brings the most profit to private actors any less ideological? Is it evidence-based?

And the evidence I collected – drawn from the lives of people working on internationalization – shows that the capitalist drive for profit is not driving universities for the better. It is not scientific to ignore that universities are sacrificing the quality of pedagogical work for the sake of managerial goals. Likewise, it is not scientific to consider it is all an evil plot. It is history, it is contingency. It is a stronger thing, called capital. And universities are not immune to class struggle – in the terms of Fiori (2014 [1967]), they must take part in ideological struggle. This is not solely a normative assumption. It is also a social fact.

Universities are going global in tandem with capitalist globalization. My research shows that this change may be in course without a deeper consideration of what this process entails – ‘on whose terms?’ The soft critique of internationalization (STEIN, 2017) recognizes that different approaches to internationalization – from ad hoc to strategic (KNIGHT, 2008) – yield different outcomes. As a radical critic drawing on Darcy Ribeiro (1975), I advocate public higher education institutions in dependent countries do not have the luxury of eschewing political intentionalization in their internationalization endeavors, lest they will be hostages to the ‘ideological package’ of globalization (CARNOY; RHOTEN, 2002). What then can scholars committed to critical internationalization do?

My interviewees pointed out to me that people concerned with the defense of internationalization should pay attention to the situation of the Other – the multiple Others – inside university. Whenever people in university are granted any sort of power – and I argue that internationalization grants a very specific and potent sort of power – they must act to create spaces that enable conversation to happen. To commit to

internationalization, people need to know where they are getting by going global. Currently, this is not clear, as the historical layer of the global scholar is not yet sedimented. There are mismatches as to what universities are to accomplish with internationalization, and how to do that, both inside and among the fields of social action.

As a critical internationalization scholar, I demand Other voices to be approached in curricula (STEIN, 2017) and in conversations about internationalization. Some of these voices are the voices of women and people of color, as noted by FI-AW-2. Other voices are those of intellectuals who do not have the traditional academic status. I approached these voices as I could in this dissertation – using the marginal spaces of footnotes. The challenge is to center them in academic writing, employing them in their full heuristic potential. For these voices to gain momentum and sound beyond the walls of Brazilian university, in global arenas, they must command technical-political codes such as language. While we are supposedly puritan and refuse to educate students to say their own words in English, they will be kept from the full potential of international networking. Shunning the use of English has not held back the de-characterization of Brazilian culture. It has rather made the Brazilian population defenseless subjects of cultural invasion.

Elis Regina considered that the system is already established and we are its victims. My research seems to confirm that in some respects. Both in Brazil and in Finland, people experiencing the process of universities going global feel pressures they consider to de-characterize the public function of university. But my research also shows that people working with internationalization are not silent victims. Or mere victims at all. Like Elis Regina, they – we – are also agents of change, seeking participatory power. There is no duality or contradiction in this. In the terms of Freire and Vieira Pinto, it is precisely the consciousness of being conditioned that allows us to see the powers that act upon us and how to react to them. Granted, reproduction is taking place and it is social existence that determines consciousness. Social existence in the critical locus of university may unveil the contradictions of the world for individuals. International experience may further enlighten the inner workings of social contradiction, allowing the individuals to see both how to better align themselves to the verticalities of globalization and how to harness energies triggered by this alignment to reinforce horizontalities. In this process, the ability to deal with the coupling of technique and politics is paramount (SANTOS, 2017 [2000]).

I come back to the quotation by Elis Regina that opens this dissertation:

I mean, a kind of behavior that was imposed, imported or implanted – it doesn't matter! – aided by this scheme and by 'n' other things. And by another type of momentary concern we had, such as reconquering a series of lost things that we held dear, which were very important for us to keep and to recover. This preservation of music and the access by the people, this became somewhat diluted. We actually came a little apart from the so-called 'general audience', who does not have the same concerns we had at one moment: to see our friends again, to keep our friends, to fight for a lot of things we deemed important. We were from another generation who was raised in function of all these things and we felt castrated because we once had them, so we fought for them to come back. This struggle was important for us. This made us to come apart from a more direct speech, as it could not, by any hypothesis, be used. [...] And, maybe, you know, who spoke easier, who arrived faster, won the spot.

What was so important for Elis Regina's generation? It would be spelled by a coetaneous⁵⁰ Dilma Rousseff, taking office in 2011:

[...] I prefer the noise of the free press to the silence of dictatorship. Who, like I and so many of my generation, fought against arbitrariness, censorship and dictatorship, naturally loves the fullest democracy and the uncompromising defense of human rights in our country as a sacred banner of all peoples.

This is the same generation of my advisor, Denise Leite, with whom I have learned the importance of the category of participation. I learn from this generation, and this is the Brasil I want to show the world: the land of people who champion democracy and human rights. But these people did not always speak easier, or arrive faster. Understanding this 'lesson' imposes some tasks on critical scholars. Who wins the spot? Those able to command the legitimized codes. For those who do not come from a privileged background that socializes them in the hegemonic schemes and grants positions in the loci of decision, it takes historical knowledge and anticipatory action to be able to effect social change. Thus, there is a deep meaning to FI-NP-4's statement:

The resources are limited for human and money. But we do have a history. And this is not the time to lose it.

⁵⁰ Elis Regina was born in 1945 and Dilma Rousseff, in 1947. Still in her opening speech, Rousseff alluded to her militant past: 'Like many of the people present here, I dedicated my youth to the dream of just and democratic country. I endured the most extreme adversities, inflicted to all of us who dared to counter arbitrariness. I have no regrets, nor I bare resentment or grudges. Many of my generation fell on the way and cannot share the joy of this moment. I share this conquest with them and pay them my respects'. Dilma's second government, beginning in 2015, ultimately failed. However, this does not erase the struggles of a generation or the burdens carried by youngsters, as observed by Fernandes (1975 [1968b]).

When it comes to where higher education change, such as internationalization, should lead, I subscribe to BR-AW-6's words:

There is only one rationale: it is to work for the democratization of education, and a quality of life, and a life based on the recognition of democratic rights.

I understand this rationale should be set as the South of all internationalization efforts – not only in the Global South, but in the North as well. In this sense, I also refer to Ernani Maria Fiori:

To make criticism inside a lived experience, a criticism in the sake of a knowledge (which is systematic and wants to be scientific), demands courage. To be the critical conscience of the cultural process by excellence, University – without being ideology – must reproduce the cultural reality, the historical environment with its problems and conflicts, must listen to the demands of the people in the critical overcoming of the lived situation and search to resolve them. Thus, not being ideology, University must, to certain extent, take part in the ideological struggle, in those aspects of this struggle in which is played its cultural autonomy – that is, the cultural autonomy of its people, without which there is no cultural autonomy of the University. Consequently, in Latin America, to work for development, to struggle for nationalism, for cultural development, against colonialism, is to struggle for autonomy of culture.

I defend internationalization of Brazilian higher education as a means to help Brazil to find itself. It is possible to affirm that Brazil follows global models, that is, from the Global North, to internationalize its higher education. As the country invests in internationalization, it becomes an object of global attention, but it is still mostly seen as a customer. Individuals dealing with internationalization of Brazilian postgraduate education are somehow conscious of the role played by underdevelopment and dependency in patterning international academic relations, but this consciousness does not necessarily translate into praxis, as academia is crossed by numerous social filters with conservative power contents. However, the learning and the social capital resulting from internationalization experiences equip individuals with strategic skills to progress within the hierarchical scheme of institutions, strengthening their possibilities of entering arenas of decision where they can become agents of change.

When Elis Regina died, musician Fátima Guedes made a powerful remark, saying that Elis was a person who would not crystalize herself or let others crystalize her. Elis had included Guedes's song '*Onze fitas*' [Eleven ribbons] in her repertoire. The eleven ribbons in the title allude to blood flowing from eleven bullet wounds. The

song chronicles how violence makes up Brazilian quotidian, and its lyrics end in a challenge: 'How many times this week did we see / this story being told in a superficial manner? / Truth does not rhyme'. In this dissertation grasped only tiny fragments of the truth about superstructural phenomena of two unrhyming social realities. I essayed to show how history crystalizes in structure and how, against that backdrop, individuals resist crystallization. I tried to produce systematic knowledge that can bring higher education theory closer the wounds of a bleeding world.

This dissertation demanded me acts of consciousness and a few acts of courage. I walked on the freezing snow of Helsinki and under the scorching sun of Brasília. I walked alongside many people. I keep walking with the 'spirit of Porto Alegre'.

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Appendixes

Appendix A: Interview questions for professors and students

Appendix B: Interview questions for institutional managers

Appendix C: Interview topics for policy makers

Appendix D: Resumo expandido da tese em português

Appendix A: Interview Questions for professors and students

In answering these questions, please pay special attention to the role of the discipline of Education and its specificities in higher education.

A. Conceptions and Models

- A.1. What do you think university is about? What is university role within a national project?
- A.2. What is a high-quality university? And what is an excellent university?
- A.3. What is university's role in a globalizing world?
- A.4. How does internationalization relate to the mission of higher education and university? How is university's international dimension defined?
- A.5. What is it to be a world-class scholar?
- A.6. What are master's programs about?
- A.7. What is doctoral training about?
- A.8. What is the role of internationalization in the training of masters and doctors?
- A.9. What is evaluation's role in internationalization?
- A.10. How does your work relate to the education of the next generation of masters and doctors? Do you see them as the future knowledge producers and academic leaders?

B. Practices and Policies

- B.1. Which is your place in the world of higher education?
- B.2. Does internationalization affect your work?
- B.3. Who judges the quality and the internationality, the worth and the value, of your work?
- B.4. What are the differences between yours' and your colleagues' work, considering its international dimension? Are there differences in terms of responsibilities, opportunities and recognition?
- B.5. What do you (have to) do in order to be an international scholar/professional?
- B.6. What do you (have to) do to promote the internationalization of your nation, institution, program?
- B.7. Do you want to be 'international' (or 'world-class')? Why?

Appendix B: Interview questions for institutional managers

In answering these questions, please pay special attention to the role of the discipline of Education and its specificities in higher education.

A. Conceptions and Models

A.1. What do you think university is about? What is university role within a national project?

A.2. What is a high-quality university? And what is an excellent university?

A.3. What is university's role in a globalizing world?

A.4. What is the role of internationalization in the training of masters and doctors?

A.5. How does your work relate to the education of the next generation of masters and doctors? Do you see them as the future knowledge producers and academic leaders?

B. Practices and Policies

B.1. Which is your place in the world of higher education?

B.2. Does internationalization affect your work?

B.3. Who judges the quality and the internationality, the worth and the value, of your university's work?

B.4. What are the differences between yours and other institutions, considering its international dimension? Are there differences in terms of responsibilities, opportunities and recognition?

B.5. What do you (have to) do in order to be an international scholar/professional?

B.6. What do you (have to) do to promote the internationalization of your nation, your institution and its programs?

B.7. Do you want to be 'international' (or 'world-class')? Why?

Appendix C: Interview topics for policy makers

1. Your position in higher education and your work.
2. National higher education and its position in the world
3. Internationalization in postgraduate education
4. Evaluation in postgraduate education
5. Relations between evaluation and internationalization in postgraduate education
6. Internationalization of postgraduate education in the different fields of social action
8. Internationalization in the discipline of Education

Appendix D: Resumo expandido da tese em português

Introdução

A globalização tem reconfigurado a vida de pessoas e instituições. As universidades, estruturas importantes em quase todas as sociedades, não passam incólumes pelas forças globalizantes. Desde a década de 1990, os Estados têm endossado a competição nos mercados globais como um princípio ordenador para as dinâmicas de educação superior. As universidades seguem adaptando seu trabalho para se encaixar nas novas agendas com as quais agora lidam: elas parecem estar “em processo de globalização”, conforme o Estado altera as concepções de qual seja a “tarefa nacional” que as universidades têm a cumprir.

Uma vez que a pós-graduação é considerada a mais alta etapa da escolarização, formando produtores do conhecimento e líderes acadêmicos, é importante compreender como indivíduos lidando com esse nível de educação produzem sentidos acerca das mudanças institucionais provocadas pela internacionalização. Além disso, é importante entender como esse fenômeno afeta contextos nacionais muito díspares, diferencialmente posicionados no campo global de educação superior.

Problema de pesquisa

O problema de pesquisa que guia minha pesquisa doutoral é:

Como indivíduos nos contextos de pós-graduação do Brasil e da Finlândia processam as mudanças que ocorrem na universidade com a internacionalização?

Para estudar os contextos nacionais de pós-graduação, uso a noção de “campos de ação social”, considerando que sistemas nacionais de educação superior são compostos de uma multiplicidade de arenas que não se conformam necessariamente às mesmas regras sociais e aos mesmos valores em seus modos de operação. Eu trabalho com três campos de ação social: política nacional, instituição educacional e trabalho acadêmico. Trato das seguintes questões específicas:

Como é possível identificar a mudança associada à internacionalização da educação superior nos diferentes campos de ação social?

Como é possível identificar o poder associado à internacionalização da educação superior nos diferentes campos de ação social?

Como a internacionalização é entendida e praticada nos diferentes campos de ação social?

Como os indivíduos organizam sua ação política para efetuar a internacionalização?

Base teórica

A estrutura teórico-conceitual integra os estudos sobre educação superior tradicionais e o pensamento social brasileiro sobre a universidade. Essa operação é conduzida de acordo com o paradigma crítico. Universidades são vistas como instituições capazes de recontextualizar tendências globais, por exemplo, processando proposições elaboradas desde o Norte Global para lidar com as condições do Sul Global. Nessa dinâmica, elas podem tanto reforçar quanto resistir ao fenômeno da dependência.

A internacionalização da educação superior é vista como um processo associado ao fenômeno mais amplo da globalização, que concentra poder através da interação política entre as ideologias dominantes da globalização e a unificação dos sistemas de técnicas globais. A globalização envolve a difusão de uma hegemonia pela promoção do modelo da universidade de pesquisa de elite para a educação superior como um todo. Recorrendo aos estudos críticos de internacionalização, considero como os acadêmicos que operam em interfaces internacionais são afetados por dinâmicas políticas diferenciais.

Metodologia

Adotando a perspectiva da educação superior comparada, essa pesquisa é projetada como um estudo de caso comparado. Ela procede uma comparação horizontal entre as experiências brasileira e finlandesa e concatena de modo vertical os três campos de ação social. O material empírico se constitui de entrevistas semiestruturadas com indivíduos que trabalham em cada contexto nacional. Os dados são gerados através da análise de conteúdo qualitativa. As categorias de mudança e poder são buscadas através de todas as entrevistas, permitindo a emergência de subcategorias, com suas dimensões.

Principais resultados

A pesquisa mostra como a internacionalização da educação superior progride do trabalho acadêmico individual para o funcionamento das instituições. Essa transição é impulsionada pela indução dos governos nacionais, mas é afetada pelas diferentes histórias e dinâmicas sociais dos contextos sob estudo. Enquanto essa transição se inicia no Brasil, ela se consolida na Finlândia. A configuração de novos patamares de internacionalidade institucional é operada pelo rearranjo das categorias de ação política dos indivíduos.

A pesquisa substancia o argumento de que embora as forças isomórficas da globalização exerçam uma tração mundial rumo ao mesmo modelo – a universidade de pesquisa de elite dos Estados Unidos, “de classe mundial” –, as universidades competem rumo a esse modelo a partir de diferentes pontos de partida ao redor do globo. Portanto, o contexto societário afeta a mudança institucional trazida pela internacionalização.

Há desencontros quanto aos objetivos que as universidades devem alcançar com a internacionalização, e quanto a como elas devem buscá-los, tanto dentro quanto entre os campos de ação social. Contudo, a aprendizagem e o capital social obtidos com experiências de internacionalização equipam os indivíduos com habilidades estratégicas para progredir dentro dos esquemas hierárquicos das instituições, fortalecendo suas possibilidades de adentrar arenas de decisão onde podem se tornar agentes de mudança.

A estrutura de oportunidades para passar por esse processo é menos desigual na Finlândia, onde a internacionalização da educação superior é mais integral, e redes de instituições atuam para alcançar as metas das estratégias nacional e institucionais. No Brasil, a pós-graduação é mais dependente do direcionamento estatal, e indivíduos e instituições encontram muitos desafios para se globalizarem – entre eles, a dificuldade de operar em língua inglesa. De modo geral, a mudança ocorrida com a internacionalização nas universidades se relaciona com tarefas ético-políticas fundamentais: a interação com o Outro ou a Outra e a estrutura de oportunidades para participar na tomada de decisões.