



Contributions to Analyze Internationalization of Higher Education in Latin America: A Critical, Reflexive, and Decolonial Approach

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ABSTRACT

In this essay, we develop a critical, reflexive and decolonial analysis of the internationalization paradigm that is currently in progress in the global context of higher education. Our central argument is that this process is part the global capitalism structure as a historical social system and, as such, it follows its logic of accumulation. In ontological and epistemological terms, it is immersed in the cultural matrix of colonial power: under the foundation of a dominant global imaginary, it is based on the practice of hierarchy, legitimizing certain countries, universities and individuals as naturally superior in relation to others and favoring Eurocentric knowledge to the detriment of other forms of knowledge. Decolonizing the internationalization of higher education implies contemplating it from a situated perspective that is historical and contextual; that is, placing it in its own time and space and in rescuing what makes sense to the society in which it is integrated, with respect to its epistemic roots and historical conditions. The postcolonial/decolonial studies and the legacy of the Cordoba Movement – although limited to its specific historical context – provide clues in that direction toward Latin American higher education and base our argument.

KEYWORDS

Internationalization. Higher education. Latin America. Cordoba movement. Decoloniality.

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Aportes para Analizar la Internacionalización de la Educación Superior desde Latinoamérica: Un Enfoque Crítico, Reflexivo y Decolonial

RESUMEN

En este ensayo, desarrollamos un análisis crítico, reflexivo y decolonial del paradigma de internacionalización que avanza en el actual contexto global de la educación superior. Nuestro argumento central es que este se integra a la estructura del capitalismo global como sistema social histórico y, en ese sentido, sigue su lógica de acumulación. En términos ontológicos y epistemológicos, se encuentra inmerso en la matriz cultural del poder colonial: bajo el fundamento de un imaginario global dominante, se sustenta en la práctica de la jerarquización, legitimando determinados países, universidades e individuos como naturalmente superiores en relación a otros y favoreciendo el conocimiento eurocéntrico en detrimento de otros saberes. Decolonizar la internacionalización de la educación superior implica contemplarla desde una perspectiva situada que es histórica y contextual; es decir, situarla en su propio tiempo y espacio y en rescatar aquello que tiene sentido a la sociedad en la que se integra, con respecto a sus raíces epistémicas y condicionalidades históricas. Los estudios post-coloniales/decoloniales y el legado del Movimiento de Córdoba – aunque limitado a su contexto histórico específico – proporcionan pistas en esa dirección hacia la educación superior latinoamericana y basan nuestro argumento.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Internacionalización. Educación superior. Latinoamérica. Movimiento de Córdoba. Decolonialidad.

Contribuições para Analisar a Internacionalização da Educação Superior na América Latina: Uma Abordagem Crítica, Reflexiva e Decolonial

RESUMO

Neste ensaio, desenvolvemos uma análise crítica, reflexiva e descolonial do paradigma de internacionalização que avança no atual contexto global da educação superior. Nosso argumento central é que esse processo se integra à estrutura do capitalismo global como um sistema social histórico e, nesse sentido, segue sua lógica de acumulação. Em termos ontológicos e epistemológicos, está imerso na matriz cultural do poder colonial: sob o alicerce de um imaginário global dominante, baseia-se na prática da hierarquia, legitimando certos países, universidades e indivíduos como naturalmente superiores em relação a outros e favorecendo o conhecimento eurocêntrico em detrimento de outros saberes. Descolonizar a internacionalização da educação superior implica contemplá-la a de uma perspectiva situada, histórica e contextual; isto é, situá-la em seu próprio espaço e tempo e resgatar aquilo faz sentido para a sociedade na qual ele se integra, com respeito às suas raízes epistêmicas e condicionalidades históricas. Os estudos pós-coloniais/decoloniais e o legado do Movimento Córdoba – embora limitado ao seu contexto histórico específico – fornecem pistas nesse sentido para a educação superior latino-americana e baseiam nosso argumento.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Internacionalização. Educação superior. América Latina. Movimento de Córdoba. Decolonialidade.

1 Introduction

As the role played by higher education in the world is reconfigured, efforts towards internationalization intensify and are deliberately expressed in discourses as an imperative; as the path for educational systems and universities to respond to the challenges of a complex, volatile and uncertain global context. However, at the same time that such discourses exalt the virtues of this phenomenon, they tend to obscure the asymmetries of opportunities and the hierarchy of the adjacent knowledge production, here understood as a reflection of the inequality and violence historically evidenced in North-South relations.

In this essay, we develop a critical, reflexive and decolonial analysis of the internationalization paradigm that is currently in progress in the global context of higher education. We understand this process as multidimensional, complex and transverse to the substantive functions of the university, where the logics of different agents and actors who generate instruments to promote it converge. Such logics sometimes come under strain, reflecting the non-neutral nature of internationalization (OREGIONI, 2016). In this sense, there is a historical structure that benefits the installation of certain actors, logics and interests over others, giving rise to an hegemonic perspective of internationalization.

Our central argument is that internationalization of higher education is integrated into the structure of global capitalism as a historical social system. As a result, it follows its logic of accumulation. In ontological and epistemological terms, it is immersed in the cultural matrix of colonial power: under the foundation of a dominant global imaginary, it is based on the practice of hierarchy, legitimizing certain countries, universities and individuals as naturally superior in relation to others and favoring the Eurocentric knowledge to the detriment of other forms of knowledge.

Decolonizing the internationalization of higher education implies contemplating it from a situated perspective that is historical and contextual; that is, placing it in its own time and space and rescuing what makes sense to the society in which it is integrated, with respect to its epistemic roots and historical conditions. The postcolonial/decolonial studies and the legacy of the Cordoba Movement provide clues in that direction toward Latin American higher education and, therefore, base our argument.

We structured the essay as it follows: after this introduction, we explore the complexity imbricated in the contemporary context of internationalization of higher education. Then, we analyze this phenomenon from a postcolonial/decolonial perspective, pointing to how the origins of contemporary contradictions refer to the Eurocentric patterns of power imposed in the colonial period. We continue with a debate on the perspectives under which "another form of internationalization of higher education" is possible and we finalize the text presenting the final considerations and references.

2 Internationalization of Higher Education as an Agent of the Global Academic Capitalism

Comprehensive internationalization is 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 essential that it be embraced by institutional leadership, governance, faculty, students, and all academic service and support units. It is an institutional imperative, not just a desirable possibility. (HUDZIK, 2011, p. 6).

Since the 1990s, but especially in the last decade, the internationalization of higher education has been treated in the global and Latin American contexts with strong pressures, inducing researchers and policy makers to decree its inevitability. The improvement of the quality of teaching and research; the acquisition of the "seal" of world class university and the development of "global citizens" endowed with "multicultural competences (RIZVI, 2007; LIMA; MARANHÃO, 2011, JOOSTE; HELETA, 2016) integrate the center of justifications for the promotion of this process, although, in practice, many of the benefits attributed to it do not go beyond rhetoric.

Despite the restriction of studies aimed at problematizing the internationalization of higher education and deepening its undesirable aspects (LIMA; CONTEL, 2011, MORLEY et al., 2018), the quantity of available research with more interpretive and critical theoretical lenses has expanded. Stein (2017) and Mwangi *et al.* (2018) make reference to an emerging research field of critical studies in internationalization, which problematizes the positivism of conventional approaches on the subject.

Instead of adopting categories and abstract concepts, which end up neutralizing and naturalizing a social phenomenon that involves different actors, motivations and interests (LIMA; CONTEL, 2011), this most problematic approach sheds light in the circumstantial nature of internationalization, since it points to how global trends in higher education are "digested" differently, depending on the constellation of interests and the structural opportunities that manifest in each context. It also denounces the prevailing economic instrumentalism in global university governance, which creates conditions for the implementation of capitalist academic regimes. In addition, it gives voice to the hidden narratives of the various subjects submitted in the academy in times of internationalization.

The data from reports on global higher education demonstrate a flagrant differentiation in the collection of benefits provided by the internationalization in course. In the framework of research on the subject, such data expose the "explicit coincidence between the ability to attract students, academic strength, political and economic power" (LIMA; MARANHÃO, 2009, p. 606, own translation), as well as the way in which such dynamics "reinforce older and newer asymmetries of power between individuals, social groups and nations, within and between the Global North and South" (ROBERTSON; KOMLJENOVIC, 2016, p. 1). In other terms, they reveal the hidden face of the internationalization of universities (KIM, 2017).

In terms of hegemony in the flows of mobility and service provision, the largest recipients of international master's and doctoral students are the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, France and Germany. In 2015, 3.3 million international students were enrolled in the OECD countries, more than half of them in the European Union (OECD, 2017). In the United States, such students inject more than 35 million dollars a year into the national economy (OECD, 2017) and, for every seven enrolled students, three jobs are created and maintained for expenses such as lodging, food, rent, transportation, telecommunication, health and insurance (NAFSA, 2016).

A similar situation occurs in the United Kingdom, which, in terms of international student recruitment, can be associated with an industry. Of the 22,200 million pounds that make up the total income of the sector, two billion come from the presence of international students. The estimate is that the total substance of that presence contributes 800 million for the Gross Domestic Product and that the visit of relatives of international students in London reaches 170 million pounds (WALKER, 2014). As Altbach and Knight (2007) state, under all circumstances these countries reap the main financial benefits and control most programs.

In regard to research, the Times Higher Education World University Ranking, a ranking of universities focused on scientific productivity in the forms of publication and citation in indexed newspapers, shows that 41 of the top 100 universities classified are North American. None of them is located either in Latin America or Africa (THE, 2017). According to Clarivate Analytics, the most cited authors in the Web of Science database in 2017 come mainly from the United States, with 1644 researchers, while the numbers related to Latin America are one from Argentina, one from Brazil, one from Chile, one from Colombia, one from Panama. In the case of the African continent, only South Africa appears on the map, with seven researchers (CLARIVATE, 2017).

In the field of scientific production and dissemination, we also see the rise of private providers exclusively oriented towards profit, a "business" that has been expanded and drastically sophisticated in the last twenty years, with the support of technological devices. As Serva (2017) observes, such companies obtain great benefits as they exploit scientific articles as a product at the international level. In this sense, they can be considered "multinationals in the scientific field"; a "new scientific authority" that reinforces the overvaluation of articles and indexes, as well as the homogenization of scientific culture in terms of language and themes, by defining "what is science" and "what is good science".

The competition between university institutions and the emphasis on the "academic productivism" also integrate this broad scenario, as part of a set of devices that emphasize terms such as "quality", "evaluation" and "accreditation" as natural and indispensable elements for the good performance (LEITE; GENRO, 2012). In this context of multiple forms of competition, universities compete for capital accumulation, while researchers compete for their reputation (KIM, 2017, SCHULZE-CLEVEN, OLSON, 2017, JESSOP, 2017); a logic that not only restructures the world of knowledge, often devaluing research agendas aimed at local relevance problems, but also aligns academic stratification with socioeconomic

inequality.

Global university rankings, in particular, neglect the totality of purposes and missions that permeate university institutions around the world as they are almost exclusively based on international research in the forms of publication and citation (LEAL; STALLIVIERI; MORAES, 2017). These tools have significantly influenced institutional and governmental policies for higher education. However, as they do not include qualitative and contextualized analyzes, they produce a "persistence effect" of elitist nature in regard to the best ranked institutions. In other words, "they privilege the already privileged".

In addition, the "internationalization of the curriculum" - which has constituted as a kind of cliché for university institutions, especially through the induction of intergovernmental organizations such as the OECD - instead of promoting cultural diversity, has promoted a particular form of culture "that seeks its legitimacy through the standardization of curricula, course programs, languages and cultural experiences" (LIMA, MARANHÃO, page 577, own translation). The commitment, in that sense, does not occur with curricular policies endowed with criticality, but with the reproductivist logic demanded by the capital system.

Ultimately, the current context is linked to the reduction of public financing for the higher education sector, which, in turn, is part of a wider historical context of general loss of priority of social policies, under the argument of irreformability. For public universities, this meant that their institutional weaknesses, instead of serving as a justification for a vast political-pedagogical reform, were declared insuperable and used to ratify a generalized openness of the university public good to commercial exploitation (SOUSA SANTOS, 2011).

The generalized opening to commercial exploitation to which Sousa Santos (2011) makes reference can be largely attributed to the pressures and impacts of the policies of supranational organizations such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the World Bank and the European Commission, raising possible tensions between institutional, national and global commitments (STEIN, 2017). Such actors, often aligned with national public authorities, have encouraged "university entrepreneurship" through competition and control of the flow of new ideas and institutional imperatives (SHAHJAHAN, 2016).

In this regard, authors such as Leite and Genro (2012) and Dobbins (2015) have demonstrated that the European Union refers to an important player in the contemporary context of international higher education, who explicitly defends the adoption of market-oriented instruments, such as diversification of resources, the establishment of links between university institutions and private companies and "university autonomy". Shahjahan (2016), in turn, demonstrates that the OECD and the World Bank, as situated actors and with specific interests, inadvertently reproduce colonial knowledge geopolitics through their epistemic activities, the limitation of local decision making and the enactment of "single size" solutions based on western knowledge and neoliberalism.

Thus, the valuation of higher education in times of "knowledge economy" does not emerge as a public good, but rather as an economic good; an instrument to be used as an engine of economic development and a negotiable and exploitable service with the endorsement of the States, the support of national and multinational agencies and the regulation of the World Trade Organization (LIMA, CONTEL, 2011, ROBERTSON, KEMLJENOVIC, 2016).

In the face of such dilemmas and contradictions, we argue that, globally, the process of internationalization has been hegemonically guided by the logic of academic capitalism, a conception of universalist pretension, which fits the precepts of neoliberal international governance. If we interpret the process of internationalization of higher education as an agent of globalization, a phenomenon of capital interest and part of the global marketing process of education, placing both phenomena as the culmination of a long-term trajectory of the capitalist world-system, the understanding of colonial history contributes to shed light under the structure in which contemporary higher education operates.

3 Internationalization of Higher Education as a Colonial Process

On the level of immediate experience, the colonized, who saw the modern world penetrate to the most remote corners of the forest, takes a very keen awareness of what he does not possess (FANON, 2005, p.92, **own translation**).

The specific rationality of globalization could hardly be understood without a familiarization with the pattern of power established in America during the colonial period. On the one hand, this pattern was based on the idea of race, used to differentiate settlers from colonized and to legitimize the association of their respective identities to hierarchies, places and social roles. On the other hand, it was based on the articulation of all the historical forms of control and exploitation of labor, its resources and products, around the capital and the world market (QUIJANO, 2005).

The global expansion of this pattern of power both gave rise to world capitalism as a hegemonic structure of production relations, placing Western Europe at the center of the capitalist world, and founded the development and superiority of the Eurocentric perspective of knowledge. The dominated peoples were placed in a natural situation of inferiority, as well as their mental and cultural discoveries.

The character of exploitation and domination relations transcended the period of conquests, settlements and systematic European administrative control in their colonies (NAYAR, 2015). In other words, decolonization did not undo coloniality: to a large extent, colonial divisions continue to exist and govern political, economic, and social relations, as well as modes of existence.

Thus, the consolidation of eurocentrism represented the articulation of diverse and heterogeneous cultural histories around a single global cultural order: in the same way that it "extirpated the root of diversity" (CÉSAIRE, 1978, p.67, own translation), denying the simultaneity of the epistemic and the coexistence of different times and spaces, it conceived modernity and rationality as exclusively European products (QUIJANO, 2005), leading to the disappearance of the histories of the colonized people and the condemnation of their beliefs and practices as primitive. According to this rationality, the native needs to be improved (NAYAR, 2015); they are less rational (epistemic racism) and humanly inferior (ontological racism). The specific rationality of globalization is Eurocentrism, which hides behind the rhetoric of modernity and its speech of progress and salvation (MIGNOLO, 2017).

Given these circumstances, the constitution of higher education in the Global South was historically shaped by a hegemonic Global North, with its civilizing project of modernity and through the privilege acquired by Western science as a mechanism of progress and main form of reason. Such interventions both brought with it the western organization of knowledge based on disciplines and culminated in dependencies through alignments with universities in the North. Such alignments included the constitution of an "international mission" for the university institution; the establishment of national and regional "technical assistance" programs and the education of university students and professors from the former colonies in the central countries, providing them with the specialized knowledge to lead their countries of origin on the modernization path (OREGIONI, 2015b, ROBERTSON; KOMLJENOVIC, 2016).

In the 1990s, the submission of countries of the Global South to neoliberal and structural adjustment policies, their subsequent dependence on World Bank funds, and the conditions imposed on the expansion of national sectors such as education made the relationship between States and universities particularly problematic for the survival of these institutions (ROBERTSON, KOMLJENOVIC, 2016). This scenario led to the consolidation of a crisis cycle, whose intention of solution included actions such as the insertion of the private sector as a provider of educational services; the establishment of new sources of financing through loans and other fiscal arrangements; cross-border trade in educational services; the financing of studies abroad and the creation of capacities through partnerships with universities in the Global North (LEITE; GENRO, 2012).

In times of internationalization of higher education, the Global South, sheltered in a dominant global imaginary, mimics exogenous strategies and consolidates itself as a client of educational products, while the center of the world system, through the hegemony of power, of knowledge and being, polarizes the flows of academic mobility, owns research centers, develops and commands the directions of teaching and global research.

The Global South emerges as a place that demands development and services in higher education, encompassing a stratified population and a middle class with differentiated access to resources to be supplied by the Global North, given a population whose aspiration to "become someone" or "being a global citizen" is valued, for example, by the marketing

departments of the universities of the Global North and their respective recruiters (ROBERTSON, KOMLJENOVIC, 2016).

This hegemonic dynamic of internationalization is also reproduced in the evaluation criteria of research. The center-periphery relationship goes through the dynamics of knowledge production to the extent that the "center" is characterized by the concentration of resources (material, cognitive, human and symbolic) (VESSURI, 1984) and becomes a point of reference and object of uncritical replication for scientists of the periphery (HODARA, 2003; KREIMER, 2006, 2011). Hegemonic internationalization practices guide knowledge towards cognitive problems posed in central countries that have more resources and consider knowledge as "neutral" and "universal", with few negotiating margins in regard to the cognitive problems on which they work. Thus, the criterion of "excellence" is set according to exogenous parameters (OREGIONI, 2014).

As Fanon (2005, p. 83, own translation) questions in his analysis of nineteenth-century colonial liberations, "the colonies became a market, the colonial population is a clientele that buys". In the absence of a collective (self)consciousness that allows one to situate oneself as a reference center (RAMOS, 1996), the Global South is subordinated to the material and ideological acquisition of standardized internationalization models, which do not conform to their reality. In practice, they buy academic products, provide brains, privilege the already privileged ("mateo effect"¹), and contribute to the progressive distancing of the Global North.

Thus, while in practical terms the "hegemonic internationalization", exogenous in nature, occurs through the direct incentive of projects, agents, actors and extra-regional interests "that historically guided the asymmetric North-South linkage policies" (OREGIONI, 2017, own translation); in the flow of ideas framework, the Global South adopts the conceptions of the Global North as a reference, which are perpetuated by the local elites. This colonial logic, sustained in inequality and hierarchy, can only exist as it emphasizes "what a certain university does not have, does not do, does not know, which, therefore, prevents it from becoming 'international' or benefiting from the possibilities that emerge in the global agenda of higher education in the contemporary world" (MARTÍNEZ, 2017, p. 78, own translation).

This picture resembles the historical imbalance of colonial relations and leads to the understanding that the phenomenon of the internationalization of higher education is immersed in the cultural matrix of colonial power. It refers to a dynamic based on the persuasion and seduction of "subjected subjects" in the different institutions of higher education (LEITE; GENRO, 2012). Therefore, in times of global academic capitalism, the old hierarchies based on ethnic/national identities intersect with the new academic stratifications, although they are manifested subtly, following the patterns of "good quality" and

¹ "Mateo Effect", a concept used by Merton (1968) to denounce that the quality criteria imposed by the scientific community favor the publications of those who have proven experience in the area, over the newcomers.

"excellence" which become a 'necessity' for higher education systems, universities and academics around the world.

4 The Decolonial Inflexion and the Cordoba Movement as Clues for "Another Internationalization of Higher Education"

It is foreseeable that the systemism on which today's globalization works will stand as an obstacle and make it difficult to manifest the will to disengage. But it will not prevent each country from drawing up alternative models from its own characteristics, nor will it prohibit horizontal associations between neighboring countries that are equally hegemonized, giving a new feature to the regional blocs and going beyond the stage of purely commercial relations to achieve cooperation. So a globalization built from the bottom up, where the search for classification between powers is no longer a goal, could allow social, cultural and moral concerns to prevail (SANTOS, 2013, p. 154, **own translation**).

Latin America is a region in which trends contemporaneously evidenced in higher education have been highly functional in the present phase of global capitalism in development (GOMES; ROBERTSON; DALE, 2012). In addition to an imperialism aimed at transforming educational systems into a "big business", the hegemonic imaginary about internationalization has induced national and institutional policies to neglect their own specificities.

Despite this framework, if we recognize higher education as a relational field of power, constituted by networks and relations both competitive and cooperative (MARGINSON, ORDORIK, 2011), with fissures, contradictions and questions to the hegemonic order (LEITE; GENRO, 2012), we may question under what circumstances "another internationalization" – one of counterhegemonic, endogenous, solidary, and collaborative order, which understands higher education as a right (OREGIONI, 2016), and which is based on different rationalities from the one oriented to address the demands of the capitalist world market; and is focused on thinking international academic relations from the different existing realities – is possible.

In fact, the imaginary that permeates modernity and organizes the understanding and creation of collective meanings, normalizing descriptively things as they are and normatively framing them as they should be, makes it difficult to think beyond the dominant rationality. As Mignolo (2017, p.1 7, own translation) argues, "if we turn to modernity, we will remain prisoners to the illusion that there is no other way of thinking, doing and living".

The decolonial movement provides clues to an alternative perspective of internationalization of higher education (LEAL; MORAES, 2018, LEAL; MORAES; OREGIONI, 2018). It is different from other epistemologies and paradigms because it was conceived in the "Third World", based on the experience of coloniality, with its diversity of local stories and times. This "decolonial inflexion" (RESTREPO; ROJAS, 2010) demands a

critical revision of concepts that were hegemonically defined by modern rationality in historical, ontological and epistemic terms. The historical requirement refers to the need to rethink past and future perspectives in the light of other perspectives than those of the Global North; the ontological goes through the renegotiation of the definitions of the being and its senses; the epistemic challenges the exclusive and imperial understanding of knowledge, thus challenging the epistemic privilege of the Global North (MENESES, 2008; SOUSA SANTOS, 2018).

This means contemplating and experiencing internationalization of higher education through a critical-assimilatory perspectivist procedure, such as what Ramos (1996) called "sociological reduction". The sociological reduction opposes uncritical transposition of finished and decontextualized cultural objects, which do not conform to the realities. In Ramos' terms (1996, p. 48, own translation), "the critical conscience arises when a human being or a social group reflects on such determinants and conducts themselves as a subject. It differs from the naive conscience, which is pure object of external determinations".

The sociological reduction is based, therefore, on the consolidation of a subjective individuality and of one's own destiny, as it allows one to see himself as a reference center; as a theoretical, reflective and not naive self, sensitive to the relevant issues of his society and committed to the destiny of his people. It is a highly elaborate attitude, reachable mainly through a historical way of seeing, which only happens and becomes necessary in countries engaged in a substitute task (RAMOS, 1996).

Within this logic, a "sociologically reduced internationalization" is necessarily contemplated from a contextual perspective, located in time and space in which it occurs (ARAYA; OREGIONI, 2015; OREGIONI, 2017). It questions certain concepts, categorizations and "neutral" and abstract indicators adopted as if all the systems and universities contemplated the same missions, functions and objectives; challenges the logic of academic capitalism; reflects on dilemmas and contradictions; confronts cultural imperialism; and rejects the naturalized condition of inferiority.

Likewise, it seeks to challenge global neoliberalism; understands education as a right and a public good; is committed to social inclusion and advocates the preservation of the particularities of each culture, emphasizing reciprocity, horizontality, complementarity and solidarity with principles for international academic relations. In the field of ideas, it seeks recognition of the epistemological plurality of the world, which is presented as a source of significant enrichment of human capabilities in regard to the intelligibility and intentionality of social experiences, in a contrary perspective to the suppression of the contextualities (SOUSA SANTOS; MENESES, 2010). The "counterhegemonic and decolonial" internationalization inhabits the border and thinks of the border; it is epistemologically disobedient; and it faces global projects with local stories (MIGNOLO, 2017).

In terms of historical backgrounds that reinforce an inclusive internationalization perspective in Latin America, reference can be made to the legacy of the Cordoba Movement,

even if limited to its specific historical and social context (LEAL; MORAES, 2018; LEAL; MORAES; OREGIONI, 2018). The Universidad de Córdoba (UNC) was always considered the most colonial, elitist and dogmatic university institution in Argentina. However, with the arrival of the Radicals in power, in 1916, a climate of restlessness took control of the University and, after some disappointments in regard to the expectations of a university reform, the students managed to organize, form alliances beyond the institution and reflect on their claims (RUBIÃO, 2013).

In June 1918, the publication of the *Manifiesto Liminar*, directed by Argentinian youth "to the free men of South America," marked a movement whose demands influenced university reforms in various Latin American countries. According to Alexandre (2015, p. 29, own translation), in this historical context there were "flags in defense of university autonomy, change in the teaching process, democratization of the university, both in its management and in the guarantee of access and permanence of students from all social groups".

The Cordoba Movement's principles contemplate university autonomy in the political, academic, administrative and economic aspects; election of governing bodies and authorities of the institution by the university community itself; co-government; gratuity of teaching; democratization of access and social assistance for students; outreach/service; strengthening of the social function of the university; and the Latin American unity (RUBIÃO, 2013).

Although the "dream" imagined by Cordoba did not materialize in its fullness, partly due to the counter-reforms conducted by military dictatorships, the Movement left important legacies, which are today present to a greater or lesser extent in public universities of the region. The Movement left as a main legacy the conception of an own identity for the Latin American university, based on principles like university autonomy in the political, educational, administrative and economic aspects; gratuity of teaching; democratization of access and social assistance for students; university outreach/service in a broad sense; strengthening of the social function of the university; and Latin American unity (RUBIÃO, 2013).

University outreach/service in a broad sense, associated with the idea of autonomy conditioned to society and the contextualization of university activities – "in the sense that they dialogue with society, defining together what is best for both parts" (RUBIÃO, 2013, p. 235, own translation) – is particularly central to the construction of a perspective of internationalization that transcends the uncritical importation of finished and decontextualized ideas and cultural objects: at the same time it refers to a typically Latin American phenomenon (RUBIÃO, 2013), tradition of the public universities of the region (OREGIONI, 2015a) and legacy of the Cordoba Movement, with indications of counter-hegemony and decoloniality, it is possibly the most neglected aspect in the hegemonic perspective of the internationalization of the higher education.

However, unlike globalization, as a phenomenon that spreads at the expense of the diversity and autonomy of national states, of the identity of cultures and, above all, of human needs, in search of forming a single world to planetary scale, guided by commercial efficiency and competition as factors of progress and development (ZARUR, 2008), Internationalization assumes the orientation given to it: the university as an agent and actor of internationalization; the state from different instruments that promote internationalization, and the regional policies. Consequently, as sustained in previous works, it is fundamental that higher education institutions discuss the non-neutral orientation and character of this process, from an endogenous perspective, giving visibility to internationalization dynamics that are invisible because they do not respond to the competitive logic of academic capitalism (OREGIONI, 2016).

Final Thoughts

Disengaging means not accepting the options you are offered. You cannot avoid them, but at the same time you do not want to obey. You inhabit the border and think of the border in the process of detaching and subjectivating yourself (MIGNOLO, 2017, p. 19, **own translation**).

The hegemonic internationalization of higher education is integrated into the structure of capitalism as a historical social system and, as such, reflects capitalist interests. Its colonial past reinforces unequal geographies of power, of knowledge and of being: under the foundation of a dominant global imaginary, it is based on the practice of hierarchization, legitimizing certain countries, universities, individuals and knowledge as naturally superior in relation to others.

Its negative consequences have an impact on the periphery and semi-peripheries of the world system, which tend to be passively inserted in this "game". In many ways, the culture, values and norms that this process promotes are products of Western domination and the types of intellectual orientation that such domination has produced. Therefore, many of the current internationalization projects are not truly pluralistic, but rather a cultural imperialism that naturalizes the myth of Western supremacy in regard to the rest of the world.

Being a phenomenon little explored in epistemological terms and often treated with strong political pressures, in this essay we seek to present a critical, reflexive and decolonial analysis about the internationalization of higher education that advances globally. The decolonial epistemology demands a critical revision of the concepts hegemonically defined by modern rationality in historical, ontological and epistemic terms; and the legacy of the Cordoba Movement makes it possible to reflect on Latin American higher education on bases that are not those of the Global North, emphasizing precisely the neglected aspects of neoliberal internationalization and realizing the relative agency power of the actors in the directions of historical processes.

In this sense, these elements are presented as a genealogy for the construction of a "another internationalization of higher education" in Latin America; one that is not traced in exogenous determinations, through uncritical importation of finished and decontextualized ideas and cultural objects, but based on the construction and consolidation of an own destination for Latin American universities.

In the same way that social reality is perspectivist; does not refer to a disconnection of the facts as a whole, but it is systematic, endowed with meaning, since its subject is human life (RAMOS, 1996), so is the process of internationalization of higher education. When transferred to another prism, objects cease to be exactly what they were; its meaning never separates from a certain context. Consequently, the present essay contributes to think about internationalization of higher education from the Global South and, specifically, from Latin America, understanding that "another internationalization of higher education", contemplating diversity, the right of peoples to education, and the importance of translating social problems into knowledge concerns, is possible.

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