



Reflecting on Brazilian Higher Education (Critical) Internationalization

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ABSTRACT

This study offers a space to think about the internationalization of Brazilian higher education institutions in a more critical way based on a meta-analysis of the studies of a research group that addresses issues such as internationalization programs, language policies and internationalization in that context. Findings of the meta-analysis suggest a gap (and mismatch) of principles and policies to critically guide the process of internationalization in Brazil. This study approaches critical internationalization considering the role of language and internationalization programs and policies, as well as the recognition of the commodification of education and the means of counteracting it. Therefore, it is suggested the deconstruction of the hierarchical imaginary of intellectual and cultural domination, and the solidary interaction among the institutions of the peripheral countries to strengthen the understanding of higher education as a public good.

KEYWORDS

Internationalization. Language policies. Critical internationalization. Higher education.

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Pensando la Internacionalización (Crítica) de la Enseñanza Superior Brasileña

RESUMEN

Este estudio ofrece un espacio para pensar la internacionalización de las instituciones de enseñanza superior brasileñas de forma más crítica a partir de un meta-análisis de los estudios de un grupo de investigación que aborda cuestiones como programas de internacionalización y políticas lingüísticas y de internacionalización en ese contexto. Un hallazgo del meta-análisis sugiere una brecha (y desajuste) de principios y políticas para guiar el proceso de internacionalización de forma crítica en Brasil. La internacionalización crítica se aborda teniendo en cuenta el papel de programas y políticas lingüísticas y de internacionalización bien como a partir del reconocimiento de la mercantilización de la educación y de los medios de contrarrestarla. Para tanto, se sugiere la desconstrucción del imaginario jerárquico de dominación intelectual y cultural y la interacción solidaria entre las instituciones de los países periféricos para fortalecer el carácter de bien público de la enseñanza superior.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Internacionalización. Políticas lingüísticas. Internacionalización crítica. Enseñanza superior.

Pensando na Internacionalização (Crítica) do Ensino Superior Brasileiro

RESUMO

Este estudo oferece um espaço para pensar a internacionalização das instituições de ensino superior brasileiras de maneira mais crítica, com base em uma metanálise dos estudos de um grupo de pesquisa que aborda questões como programas de internacionalização e políticas lingüísticas e de internacionalização. contexto. Um achado de meta-análise sugere uma lacuna (e incompatibilidade) de princípios e políticas para guiar o processo de internacionalização de forma crítica no Brasil. A internacionalização crítica é abordada levando em consideração o papel dos programas e políticas de linguística e internacionalização, bem como a partir do reconhecimento da mercantilização da educação e dos meios para combatê-la. Portanto, sugere-se a desconstrução do imaginário hierárquico de dominação intelectual e cultural e a interação solidária entre as instituições dos países periféricos para fortalecer o bem público do ensino superior.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Internacionalização. Políticas lingüísticas. Internacionalização crítica. Ensino superior.

1 Introduction

The 1999 Human Development Report (UNITED NATIONS, 1999) states that the collapse of space, time and borders promoted by globalization creates a global village where not everyone can be a citizen. In that scenario, while the global and professional elite finds low or nonexistent borders, millions of people have to face high and persistent borders. Similarly, globalization has promoted an increase in the flows of technology, knowledge, people, values and ideas, promoting the phenomenon of internationalization of higher education with exclusive benefits to some people, once they are not equally available to all (VAVRUS; PEKOL, 2015).

There is a close relationship between the concepts of internationalization, globalization and regionalization of higher education (LÓPEZ; SANMARTÍN, 2004). With regard to the effects of globalization / internationalization of higher education, Knight (2008) states that internationalization is changing the world of higher education, and globalization is changing the world of internationalization. Since both processes affect the way citizens view borders, internationalization has become an important aspect in people's lives, acting both as a consequence and as an agent of globalization.

Brandenburg and De Wit (2010) indicate that internationalization is generally considered as something positive, whereas globalization is usually portrayed as something negative. According to these authors, the antagonism built between internationalization and globalization ignores the fact that activities that are more related to the concept of globalization (as in the view of higher education as a tangible product) are increasingly carried out by internationalization.

López and Sanmartín (2004) discuss globalization, internationalization and regionalization of higher education, based on the following characteristics that approximate / set aside these processes:

Table 1. Characteristics of Internationalization and Globalization

| Internationalization | Globalization |
|---|---|
| It assumes a world of nations with clear geo-political borders that are intended to be overcome with activities such as student mobility, teaching staff, research collaboration, etc. | It is contrary to a world of states. |
| It relies on the high aspects of diplomacy and culture. For example, student mobility has been frequently promoted by bilateral agreements between countries that shared historical ties. Therefore, it is easier to control or regulate. | It relies on mass consumption and world capitalism. For example, through the internet, the student decides which university he/she wants to visit virtually. Hardly controllable. |
| It tends to reproduce, and even legitimize, hierarchy and hegemony. Thus, certain countries that were the | It attacks the traditional hierarchy and hegemony. For example, a university with few financial |

| | |
|--|--|
| centers of empires in past centuries, now attract students from former colonies. | resources and international tradition can attract other students through a global network. |
| Its motivation should be somewhat more altruistic; the expansion of knowledge and research, as well as constructive criticism through cooperation. | Its main motivation could be considered the benefit and belief in a single global market, that is achieved primarily through competitiveness. |
| It is not something new, but an aspect with which universities are familiar. | It is something new and dynamic. We could say that it started at the beginning of the 19th century, or even before, associated with the dawn of the industrial revolution. |

Source: Adapted from López and Sanmartín (2004).

These authors indicate that the processes of internationalization, globalization and regionalization of higher education are becoming increasingly important for the agents involved in education. However, the inequality between different higher education systems regarding academic mobility (for example, LIMA; MARANHÃO, 2009 – in the case of Brazil), is discussed by López and Sanmartín (2004) through an analysis of clusters of international student flows in the countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). This analysis suggests that mobility tends to occur between close geographical areas, which maintain political, historical and cultural links. Such links, according to these authors, facilitate the establishment of cooperation agreements allowing the incorporation of the regionalization factor into the process of internationalization of higher education. In this paradigm, it can be deduced that regionalization can be used to overcome barriers, becoming a propeller of internationalization.

For De Wit (2011), the changing dynamics in the internationalization of higher education scenario are reflected both in the meanings of internationalization and globalization, as well as in their bases. Although the author acknowledges that there have always been many different terms used in relation to the internationalization of higher education (DE WIT, 2002; KNIGHT, 2008), in the last 20 years, it has been possible to observe the emergence of terms which had not been actively present in the debate on the internationalization of higher education before. These new terms relate much more to the cross-border supply of education and are presented as a consequence of the impact of globalization on higher education: borderless education, border education, global education, teaching abroad and international trade in teaching services.

Gonzales (2007) discusses the difference between internationalization and border education based on references from the Guidelines of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). According to that document, globalization and recent changes in the international provision of higher education services gave rise to new expressions among which are “education without borders”, “transnational education”, “education across borders”, or “cross-border education.” Borderless education refers to the absence of conceptual borders, while the other expressions actually emphasize the existence

of borders. Both approaches reflect the current scenario and are linked to the concept of internationalization, globalization and regionalization of higher education. The unprecedented growth of distance education, with the support of the internet, suggests the disappearance of geographical boundaries. However, borders become more important when attention is focused on issues such as the flow of academic mobility, access and funding for higher education.

We agree in part with López and Sanmartín (2004), De Wit (2011) and Gonzales (2007) that internationalization / regionalization of higher education with the use of the internet can promote the disappearance of borders. However, we believe that the processes of regionalization / internationalization of higher education must consider other factors, such as the use of languages and the relations of power underlying these processes, as well as the relations between higher education institutions / countries of different geographical locations and geopolitics. In this sense, this study aims to reflect on the use of languages and the relations of power existing in the process of regionalization / internationalization of higher education in Brazil, in order to suggest a more critical and sustainable view of these processes.

2 Internationalization

According to Altbach and Knight (2006), the internationalization of higher education has changed a lot in recent decades with a significant increase in its volume, scope and complexity. These authors understand that internationalization, and more specifically cross-border education, is an attractive business that involves considerable profits.

Knight (2003, p.2) defines internationalization as "the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary education." Internationalization includes activities such as academic mobility, agreements between institutions and other activities, such as those described by Amorim and Finardi (2017), Finardi, Santos and Guimarães (2016) and Finardi and Guimarães (2017), in the case of internationalization in a specific context in Brazil. Knight (2003) suggests that, although internationalization generally involves some type of mobility or academic exchange, it should not be limited to academic mobility, but it should be understood as a way to improve the tripartite mission of universities (of providing education, research and outreach/services to societies).

Another aspect of internationalization to be considered is how an institution integrates the aspects described by Knight (2003) in its definition of internationalization. We refer to the term "Internationalization at Home" (IaH), which can be seen as "any internationally related activity with the exception of outbound student mobility" (NILSSON, 2003, p.31). Beelen and Jones (2015, p.69) presented a more recent definition for IaH as the "purposeful integration of international and intercultural dimensions into the formal and informal curriculum for all students within domestic learning environments".

Hudzik (2011, p. 10) suggests thinking of internationalization as an integral process as:

a commitment confirmed through action, to infuse international and comparative perspectives through 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 desired possibility.

On the other hand, it is possible to recognize (in this imperative model of internationalization) a new, subtle and benevolent imperialism in the tertiary education system in which hegemonic countries¹ seek to implement their education standard and infuse their values in peripheral countries, expanding their intellectual, cultural and financial dominance (LEITE; GENRO, 2012).

The intentional implementation of an international education policy with a European standard, so as to reach the world as a whole, includes Latin America and the Caribbean and expresses the exercise of European power in a quest to reach capitalist interests through hearts and minds.

Benevolent imperialism radiates its process of domination and exploitation, through a perspective that makes it possible to expand the form of domination with a minimum of coercion. Hegemony, in this form of imperialism, is done by promoting a way of life, ways of thinking, acting and consuming in the standards of the logic of the European market. Education, in that sense, has a fundamental role in the socialization of norms and principles compatible with that existing world. (LEITE; GENRO, 2012, p. 770, our translation)

Internationalization can be used as a platform to promote the global visibility of higher education institutions. According to Finardi and Ortiz (2015), this promotion can be “economically motivated” once universities expect to be financed, at least in part, with payments made by foreign students. In fact, many authors (among them, LEITE; GENRO, 2012; ANDREOTTI *et al.*, 2016; PICCIN; FINARDI; 2019) point out the logic of commercialization (of hegemonic globalization) that has entered universities, leaving higher education to be treated as a service to be sold (and bought) and no longer as a public good, thus widening the gap between the hegemonic countries (of the North) that sell those products and the peripheral countries (of the South) that buy and consume them.

By that logic, a way to promote a university worldwide would be through participation in international classifications, such as the World Higher Education University Ranking (THE) and the Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU - Shanghai Ranking). Participation in these rankings shows that universities are eager to promote themselves,

¹ In this study, hegemonic countries and peripheral countries are defined according to the ideas presented by Santos (2011). This author described the international scenario that indicates that hegemonic countries are those that produce knowledge and "push" such knowledge to be adopted in peripheral countries, without the necessary adaptations in local contexts. These ideas were expanded to describe a "Global North" and a "Global South", concepts that we will explain later.

attracting more foreign students to obtain more funds. However, it is important to take into account the warning presented by Finardi and Guimarães (2017) and Leite and Genro (2012) regarding university rankings. According to these authors, the criteria used for rankings tend to favor universities in the northern hemisphere and / or English-speaking universities and, as such, these rankings cannot capture the reality (and specificities) of universities in the Global South² (SANTOS, 2011). As a result, these classifications do not benefit everyone nor do they benefit all players in the same way (VAVRUS; PEKOL, 2015).

In this context, it is necessary to discuss the rankings as a reflection of a globalizing neoliberal system, causing higher education institutions (HEIs) to be involved in a competition for increasingly scarce resources for the field of education. Minto (2019) indicates the beginning of a transition to a new university model, marked by the embrittlement of the indifference between teaching, research and extension and also by privatization as a state policy. Thus, institutions develop their activities increasingly linked to the objectives of large transnational corporations. With the incentive to expand enrollment in HEIs, there is also a business sector with interests in the lucrative potential of higher education.

According to Minto (2019), with the possibility of achieving prestige and financial gains with the development of scientific research, HEIs end up conducting research away from the interests of working classes, to get closer to the interests of the ruling classes. Thus, driven by the wave of privatization of the 1990s, higher education suffered the effects of global capitalist restructuring and state reform.

While in the hegemonic countries the scientific and technological productions (of the university campuses, for example) guide institutions and productive sectors, in peripheral countries that production does not achieve systematic relations with the productive sector. Thus, the scientific and technological apparatus of public HEIs (where research is developed) is seen as "inefficient", "expensive" or even "unnecessary", generating even more cuts in investments in public education.

Thus, public HEIs (with the capacity to produce new knowledge) see their activities diminished, due to the limited investment made in them, having to give way to the prioritization of research sectors linked to monopoly / imperialist capital. Therefore, the way for a greater commercialization of higher education is paved with business groups of different types disputing the spaces in an "expanding educational market". Academic productivism, privatizations and a competitive / individualistic logic then dominate the higher education scenario.

In order to deal with this new scenario, it is urgent to seek for the construction / reformulation of institutions in favor of social, cultural and economic purposes - a collective

² According to Santos (2011), the Global South and North are not geographical divisions - they are epistemological divisions, which are used to classify the countries of the Global North as "central countries" responsible for the production of ideologies and knowledge. The countries of the Global South are considered "peripheral" because they tend to consume the knowledge produced in the Global North.

transformation project that involves the entire society, of which HEIs are an integral and fundamental part (MINTO, 2019). In that sense, this study aims to think of a more critical and sustainable internationalization model that regionalizes and considers the use of languages and the power relations underlying that process in a particular context, namely, Brazil. With that objective, we now present a meta-analysis carried out in that context, to present questions to trigger the reflection proposed in this study.

3 Meta-analysis

To support the reflection on the possibilities of a more critical internationalization process, we performed a meta-analysis of the studies carried out by the research group to which the authors of this paper belong to and that includes studies published in the last 5 years and in the Brazilian context, totaling 26 texts (articles and book chapters). The texts included in the meta-analysis were: 1) Finardi, Amorim and Kawachi, 2018; 2) Finardi and Archanjo (2018); 3) Guimarães and Finardi, 2018; 4) Hildeblando and Finardi, 2018; 5) Vieira, Finardi and Piccin, 2018; 6) Finardi (2017a); 7) Amorim and Finardi (2017); 8) Kawachi, Amorim and Finardi (2017); 9) Finardi and Guimarães (2017); 10) Taquini, Finardi and Amorim (2017); 11) Finardi and França (2016); 12) Finardi, Leão and Pinheiro (2016); 13) Finardi, Santos and Guimarães (2016); 14) Finardi and Ortiz (2015); 15) Finardi and Porcino (2015); 16) Finardi and Prebianca, (2014); 17) Finardi (2014); 18) Finardi and Porcino (2014); 19) Finardi (2016a); 20) Finardi (2016b); 21) Finardi (2017b); 22) Finardi and Tyler (2015); 23) Ortiz and Finardi (2015); 24) Finardi and Archanjo (2015); 25) Porcino and Finardi (2014); and 26) Finardi, Prebianca, Schmitt and Andrade (2014). A table with a summary of the objectives and the main findings of these studies is presented next.

Table 2. Meta-analysis

| n. | Text | Objective(s) | Main Finding(s) |
|----|-----------------------------------|---|--|
| 1 | Finardi, Amorim and Kawachi, 2018 | Compared proficiency scores in English and internationalization rates. | There is a positive correlation between proficiency scores in English and internationalization rates. |
| 2 | Finardi and Archanjo, 2018 | Analyzed the impact of national programs such as Science without Borders (SwB) and Languages without Borders (LwB) ³ in the process of internationalization in Brazil. | The SwB program included internationalization in the agenda of Brazilian universities and had the effect of creating the LwB program that, as a consequence, motivated the creation of language policies in Brazilian higher education institutions. |
| 3 | Guimarães and Finardi, 2018 | Reviewed the concepts of interculturality and internationalization of higher education, discussing the relationship between them and | Interculturality, internationalization and the Intercomprehension approach are related insomuch as both can be used to mitigate the negative effects of internationalization, such as the strengthening of the hegemony of English as an academic lingua franca. |

³ LwB was a program financed by the Brazilian government until the first half of 2019, to promote the proficiency of languages in Brazilian higher education, with the offer of face-to-face classes, online courses and exams of the following languages: English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Japanese and Portuguese as a foreign language.

| | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|---|---|
| | | the use of foreign languages. | |
| 4 | Hildeblando and Finardi, 2018 | Analyzed the possibilities and limitations of the collaborative online international learning (COIL) approach to foster international collaboration and internationalization. | COIL is an approach that can promote online academic mobility and internationalization, although collaboration can improve intercultural competence when combined with the Intercomprehension approach to allow the use of different languages. |
| 5 | Vieira, Finardi and Piccin, 2018 | Analyzed the challenges that Federal Education, Science and Technology (IFs) institutes face to internationalize. | The results suggest that foreign languages in general, and English in particular, play a crucial role in the internationalization of federal institutions in Brazil. The qualitative analysis of data suggests that the scenario in that context is not very different and that English also plays an important role in overcoming challenges for federal institutes to internationalize. In addition, data from the two federal institutes suggest that internationalization in that context remains passive and dependent on national programs such as the SwB and the LwB and predominantly focused on academic mobility abroad. |
| 6 | Finardi (2017a) | Compared language policies in Brazil and Switzerland to propose the use of the Intercomprehension approach for foreign language teaching in Brazil. | Brazil is a multilingual country where English is the main foreign language in basic and higher education. It is necessary to use more multilingual approaches to include other languages in Brazilian education. |
| 7 | Amorim & Finardi (2017) | Case study that analyzed internationalization at three levels: macro (government actions), meso (institution) and micro (academic community). | Macro (the most important actions are the SwB and LwB, meso (academics are willing but not fully committed to internationalization) and micro (low level of proficiency in foreign languages affects internationalization). |
| 8 | Kawachi; Amorim & Finardi (2017) | Case study that analyzed the interface between TOEFL ITP scores, internationalization and language assessment. | TOEFL scores correlate with internationalization actions and programs. |
| 9 | Finardi & Guimarães (2017) | Analyzed the Brazilian situation in terms of rankings and language policies for internationalization. | Language policies are associated with internationalization, but university rankings do not capture the reality in Brazil. |
| 10 | Taquini; Finardi & Amorim (2017) | Analyzed the offer of EMI courses in Turkey and compared with the EMI offer in Brazil. | Similarity between Turkey and Brazil: both want to offer EMI courses to internationalize. Difference: in Turkey, EMI is mainly offered in private institutions, while in Brazil it is offered in public institutions. |
| 11 | Finardi & França (2016) | Analyzed the role of English in the Brazilian academic production, in the field of Linguistics. | The circulation and impact of Brazilian academic production is negatively affected by the lack of publications in English. |
| 12 | Finardi; Leão & Pinheiro (2016) | Reviewed language policies and the use of the Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) for internationalization in Brazil. | The CLIL approach is not widely used in Brazil mainly due to the lack of language policies and teacher training for the use of this of approach. |

| | | | |
|----|--|--|--|
| 13 | Finardi; Santos & Guimarães (2016) | Described the creation of a language division in the international office of a Brazilian university. | There is a strong interface between language and internationalization actions and policies. |
| 14 | Finardi & Ortiz (2015) | Analyzed the motivations to internationalize of two Brazilian universities, one public and the other private. | Brazilian public universities are motivated (for academic purposes) to internationalize while private universities are not (due to the size of the internal market of students). |
| 15 | Finardi & Porcino (2015) | Analyzed the use of English in Brazilian internationalization and education. | English has a functional/instrumental role in internationalization and a formative role in education. |
| 16 | Finardi & Prebianca, (2014) | Case study that analyzed the role of language policies, internationalization and technologies in an English teacher training course. | The curriculum of the analyzed teaching degree course does not guarantee the teaching of important aspects related to these three subjects. |
| 17 | Finardi (2014) | Proposed the appropriation of English as an international language in Brazil. | Lack of language policies can create a social gap, since only those who can afford to pay private courses can learn English in Brazil. |
| 18 | Finardi & Porcino (2014) | Reflected on the interface between technology, methodology, internationalization and globalization. | These four themes are associated in the teaching of the English language. |
| 19 | Finardi (2016a) | Reviewed language policies in Brazil. | English has the role of a foreign language in basic education and an international language in higher education. |
| 20 | Finardi (2016b) | Described the use of English as a global language in Brazil from a local perspective. | English threatens other additional languages (foreign, immigration and indigenous languages) in Brazil. |
| 21 | Finardi (2017b) | Analyzed the interface between globalization and English in Brazil. | Globalization impacted the use of English in Brazil. |
| 22 | Finardi & Tyler (2015) | Proposed a matrix for the adaptation of MOOCs for people who do not speak English. | English is relevant for the access to online education. |
| 23 | Ortiz & Finardi (2015) | Described a project using CLIL to socially include immigrants and refugees. | Teaching content and language together can encourage the development of social inclusion. |
| 24 | Finardi & Archanjo (2015) | Analyzed language policies in Brazil. | Language policies are not consistent and convergent with the objectives of internationalization. |
| 25 | Porcino & Finardi (2014) | Analyzed the interface between internationalization and English language teaching (ELT) in Brazil. | ELT is highly associated with internationalization. |
| 26 | Finardi; Prebianca; Schmitt & Andrade (2014) | Reflected on the interface between technology, methodology and internationalization through the analysis of the My English | The MEO course is not enough to guarantee English proficiency and neither are improvements in learning and internationalization. |

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| | Online (MEO) course offered by the LwB program. | |
|--|---|--|

Source: The authors'.

The meta-analysis showed that additional languages have a crucial role in the process of internationalization of higher education in Brazil. In addition, the results of the meta-analysis suggest that the Brazilian internationalization process remains passive (e.g. LIMA; MARANHÃO, 2009), reactive and dependent on government initiatives of programs such as the SwB, the LwB and financing agencies such as the Coordination for Development of Higher Education Personnel (Capes) and the Institutional Program for Internationalization (Capes-PrInt). However, the most important finding of the meta-analysis is that there is a gap between the principles and the language policies to guide the internationalization process in Brazil. Based on this finding, principles are proposed to think about a more critical, sustainable and active internationalization that can regionalize or glocalize (PATEL; LYNCH, 2013) the process of internationalization of higher education in Brazil.

4 Methodology

Internationalization is a fairly recent phenomenon in Brazil (compared to Europe and the US, for example), so emerging research groups are addressing this issue in recent years. The group whose publications were chosen for this meta-analysis⁴ began a research project on the internationalization of higher education in Brazil in 2012 and, after more than half a decade of research and publications, such group understood that it was necessary to pause to systematically analyze the results of the research project. Therefore, the research group selected a relevant number of publications in this area for the meta-analysis. The novelty and contribution of this article is twofold: to summarize the findings of these studies, and analyze the results of these studies by presenting an overview of internationalization in Brazil, comparing with current research on this topic.

An important finding of the meta-analysis suggested a gap (and mismatch) of principles and policies (especially in terms of language use) to guide the internationalization process and its evaluation in Brazil. Based on this finding, a tentative framework is proposed to address internationalization more critically.

5 Language Policies

Finardi (2016a, 2016b, 2017b), in an analysis of the linguistic scenario in Brazil concluded that, although there are many languages spoken in that country (in fact, more than 200), Brazil is mainly a monolingual country in which the national language (Portuguese)

⁴ Meta-analysis has been a very relevant methodology for research in recent years (for example, in the field of Education Sciences), as described by Sánchez-Meca and Botella (2010) and Sánchez-Meca (2010). It is a type of research with the objective of integrating (in an objective and systematic way) the results of studies around a research issue.

excluded other native languages (mostly indigenous and immigrant languages) and where English also excluded other foreign languages as a result of recent educational reforms.

The latest educational reforms include the mandatory teaching of English as a foreign language in primary education (in the previous version of the Law of Education Guidelines [LDB, in Portuguese], schools could choose the foreign language to be taught, according to local needs - Law No. 13.415/2017)⁵. This had negative consequences for teaching other languages such as Spanish, French and Italian, which are no longer "necessary" in primary education. Other reforms include the National Common Curricular Base (BNCC)⁶, which changed the education system throughout Brazil, including issues related to language teaching, learning and use.

Discussions about languages and language policies seem to create a gap between linguists and the public opinion. Rajagopalan (2003, p.129) states that linguists tend to focus on the negative effects of globalization (and its consequences) attempting to create protective measures to preserve certain languages. Common sense has been seen as an obstacle to that, and language experts tend to stay away from ordinary people, a form of intellectual elitism and contempt for public opinion. In this way, a gap is created between the academic world and society at large.

According to Santos (2009), common sense does not result from practice intentionally designed for this purpose, since it reproduces spontaneously in everyday life. This author also affirms that common sense "mistrusts the opacity of technological objectives and the esoteric knowledge to favor the principle of equal access to speech, cognitive competence and linguistic competence" (SANTOS, 2009, p. 108, our translation). When the discussion is about languages, the concerns of all people should be considered, regardless of whether they are experts or lay people on the subject, because we all use languages for various purposes. In addition, working with languages means intervening in the social realities created by languages (RAJAGOPALAN, 2003, p.126).

By defining the local needs of higher education institutions, we can try to find a balance between global and local forces. Following Finardi and Csillagh, (2016) and Guimarães and Finardi (in press), we suggest that institutional language policies should be analyzed in six dimensions of higher education, namely: 1) language of admission; 2) language teaching; 3) language of instruction; 4) language of research; 5) language of administration and 6) language of external communication.

The language (or languages) of admission (1) is the one used by the institution to select students, usually through entrance exams. Language teaching (2) must take into account the languages that are considered valuable for universities and students to achieve their objectives, especially those related to internationalization. The language of instruction (3) is the language (or languages) used to educate students, depending on their field of study.

⁵ More information at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2015-2018/2017/Lei/L13415.htm

⁶ More information at: <http://basenacionalcomum.mec.gov.br/>

The language in point 4 refers specifically to the language of international cooperation for research, 5 to the language of internal institutional communications and 6 to the language of communications with other institutions.

6 Critical Internationalization

In the face of so many risks and possibilities related to the issue of internationalization, a critical view on that subject must be considered. Lima and Maranhão (2009) deal with the concept of active and passive internationalization that can be analyzed from a critical perspective. Reduced to a few countries, "active" internationalization is linked to a hegemonic internationalization derived from a hegemonic globalization, in which a few countries reap the benefits of globalization, while many countries suffer the negative consequences of that same globalization. Thus, the imbalances between the more and less benefited regions are widened, manifesting a "flagrant mismatch between the assets conquered in the central and peripheral countries" (LIMA; MARANHÃO, 2009, p. 583, our translation).

In that sense, Leite and Genro (2012) believe that internationalization brings a new epistemology of higher education, one that defends the homogenization of curricula and the system of evaluation of institutions. According to the authors, higher education institutions around the world are evaluated through quality indicators established by the institutional model of the hegemonic countries. With that in mind, the institutions of the peripheral countries seek the standardization of their academic curricula to adapt to the hegemonic model, favoring its results in the evaluation by global quality indicators (also developed in the Global North). With a good evaluation, and well placed in the international rankings, institutions gain credibility and more possibilities to receive funding. However, by prioritizing their overall rating, institutions ignore the reality of their context and local practices.

In this way, the authors (LEITE; GENRO, 2012) understand the evaluation and global classification of institutions as being a strategy of commercialization of higher education. The institutions of peripheral countries are convinced to use certain paths, defined by hegemonic models, in their practices and policies. In this context, values such as competition and search for profitability make educational institutions similar to companies, and (as a consequence) the social and political education of the subjects is being replaced by a training governed by productivity and efficiency.

This reproduction of models (mainly educational) is what Lima and Maranhão (2009) call "passive" internationalization, defined in central countries and applied to peripheral ones (without the appropriate adaptations to local needs). The consequences of this type of passive internationalization are disastrous, among which we can mention the commercialization of higher education and the presence of foreign companies interested in exploiting the lucrative potential of local higher education to the fullest. The signs of a passive internationalization

also include an imbalance in global academic mobility, that is, a larger number of students from peripheral countries seeking opportunities in central countries, than the opposite path (students from central countries studying in peripheral countries).

This inequality is due to the different motivations that lead northern and southern countries to work for internationalization. Morosini and Corte (2018) analyzed the master's and doctoral studies (about internationalization) in Brazil in the last five years, claiming that mobility is seen as the main internationalization strategy in those studies. These authors concluded that while northern countries worked for an active internationalization with economic motivations, they also assumed the role of knowledge “centralizers”. These countries thus seek to attract promising students from southern countries, which are mainly motivated by regional and inter-continent integration. Therefore, such countries try to develop their academic community and reduce inequalities between nations. However, it is still clear that southern countries, including Brazil, continue to seek new knowledge mainly in hegemonic countries, devaluing local knowledge and yielding to the transnationalization of higher education through their commodification. In fact, that is one of the findings of Finardi and Archanjo (2018) and Vieira, Finardi and Piccin (2018).

Similarly, Maués and Souza (2018) understand that the internationalization of higher education, with a focus on mobility (with other motivations other than the search for interculturality and integration), can be called transnationalization. For them, the internationalization policies in Brazil have reinforced this neoliberal commodification of higher education, through transnationalization. These authors mention the SwB program, whose main objective was to provide “quality” training in foreign institutions, and to attract students and researchers to Brazil, who could contribute to the development of the country. This program had the support of various private companies, that sought to hire those future professionals who would have an international background. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that not only mobility within the scope of the SwB had strong economic motivations, but also its creators reinforced a devaluation of national and regional education, by seeking quality training abroad, mainly in hegemonic countries. Finardi and Archanjo (2018) corroborate that interpretation, adding that the SwB program also had an important (and not always positive) effect on language and internationalization policies in Brazil.

For Andreotti and colleagues (2016), this imbalance is precisely the result, on the one hand, of that asymmetry between countries in the global imaginary, resulting from the risk that the internationalization process presents to reinforce the hierarchical imaginary of intellectual domination and, on the other hand, cultural dominance of the countries of the North over those of the South. The authors also affirm that some educational initiatives for internationalization have fueled this hierarchical logic. The countries of the North are considered as “developed” and producers of knowledge while those of the South are seen as “underdeveloped” and consumers of knowledge. These authors believe that one of the greatest challenges of internationalization is to propose initiatives that question and deconstruct that hierarchical logic, which has its origin in the modern Western thinking system.

This system of thought is formed by visible distinctions based on invisible distinctions, a consequence of a logic that defines and recognizes as social reality, everything that is "on this side of the abyssal line", that is, on the other side of the abyssal line. This radical separation that perceives only one side of that cognitive abyss as "existing, visible, intelligible, present" and the other necessarily as "nonexistent, invisible, unintelligible, absent", establishing an absolute cognitive hegemony without any possibility of co-presence and co-existence of these two sides, is the essence of the abyssal thought. (ANDREOTTI *et al.*, 2016, p. 135-136, our translation)

According to these authors, for the deconstruction of that hegemonic imaginary, it is necessary that education leads students to perceive the multiplicity and plurality of knowledge in the world, beyond the visible reality and work for a peaceful coexistence. Along the same lines of thought, Patel and Lynch (2013) criticize the most common internationalization models for focusing more on acculturation of foreigners than on exchanges of academic and cultural knowledge. Taking that into account, the authors propose that higher education is oriented towards *glocalization*, that is, the connection of local and global contexts, considering the important contributions that different communities and cultural contexts can bring, without a culture or perspective being superior to and / or belittle the other. This was also discussed by Guimarães and Finardi (2018) and reviewed in the meta-analysis. The authors suggest that higher education institutions be more proactive and develop strategies within a glocalized learning curriculum, based on the principles of responsibility, justice and social sustainability. This makes it possible to go beyond tolerance and intercultural accommodation and get closer to actions that, in fact, show recognition of the coexistence of different cultures.

Similarly, given the marketing and acculturation logic that internationalization has assumed, Piccin and Finardi (2019) propose an emphasis on local contexts that can be related to solidarity between the institutions of the South. Thus, it would be possible for internationalization to be decolonized and bring benefits for a more participatory democracy. The authors (PICCIN; FINARDI, 2019, p. 15, our translation) suggest that for a more critical internationalization

it is necessary that the South locates the South, and not only the North, ceasing to reproduce such dependency relations either with the countries of the North or with their South counterparts, as in the aforementioned case. It is also urgent to understand the complex relationships and interests that govern the internationalization of world education, in the search for alternatives to hegemonic and homogenizing patterns, critically reflecting on the conceptions of internationalization that we have adopted. Thus, for these conceptions not present concepts that can benefit some to the detriment of others, it [...] is necessary to develop these concepts through critical reflection, considering the contexts and demands of HEIs, as well as the strategies that can guide an active internationalization process, as advocated by Lima and Maranhão (2009).

Bernheim (2018) believes that internationalization can become a response of the institutions to the homogenizing impacts of globalization, in order to respect their local individualities. Therefore, it is necessary to rethink internationalization according to local

contexts to act globally through “international solidarity cooperation with an emphasis on horizontal cooperation, based on intercultural dialogue and respect for the idiosyncrasy and identity of the participating countries, as well as the design of inter-university networks and expanded academic spaces” (BERNHEIM, 2018, p. 261, our translation).

However, as highlighted by Maués and Souza (2018), most of the government initiatives related to internationalization have not had a solidary character focused on mutual cooperation, but rather a more neocolonialist nature through vertical and unilateral movements. The most recent initiative of the Brazilian government is the Capes PrInt Program of financial support for the internationalization of higher education. This initiative focuses mainly on the postgraduate level with the objective of:

Promoting the development, implementation and consolidation of strategic internationalization plans of the institutions included in the areas of knowledge prioritized by them; Stimulating the establishment of international research networks with the objective of improving the quality of academic production linked to postgraduate programs; Expanding the actions to support internationalization at the postgraduate levels at chosen institutions; Promoting the mobility of teachers and students, with an emphasis on doctoral students, postdoctoral students and teachers (outside Brazil), linked to *stricto sensu* postgraduate programs with international cooperation; Encouraging the transformation of participating institutions in an international environment; and Integrating other actions to promote Capes into the efforts for internationalization. (CAPES, 2017, p. 1, our translation)

It is possible to see an incentive to a more active internationalization of the institutions in the objectives of the program, through the development of internationalization strategies to do more than just react to the proposals of foreign universities. However, the fact that this program lists 26 countries (Germany, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, China, South Korea, Denmark, Spain, United States of America, Finland, France, India, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Norway, New Zealand, Netherlands, United Kingdom, Russia, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland), most of which are from the Global North and where academic mobility should be targeted, is a sign that Brazilian internationalization, contrary to what Piccin and Finardi (2019) propose, still looks North. In addition, although mobility is one of the objectives of the program, it encourages an expansion of the vision of internationalization strategies for one that also includes the establishment of networks and the preparation of the institutional environment itself. However, as established in Annex I of the public call of the PrInt program (CAPES, 2017), it is determined that 70% of the actions are addressed to these countries, most of which are considered hegemonic, perpetuating the dominant hierarchical logic, without solidarity intentions.

Canzani and Araujo Filho (2018) point out that the idea of solidarity internationalization, possible through the integration of higher education institutions in networks, and when oriented towards complementarity and local strengthening, can be an alternative to confront the commodification of higher education. In addition, education could be maintained as a public good, with the aim of reducing inequality between countries. “Internationalization converges in the region for the integration of HEIs while regional integration favors internationalization, therefore 'internationalize regionalizing' (NETTO,

2016, p. 291), suitably synthesizes this 'symbiotic' relationship.” (CANZANI; ARAUJO FILHO, 2018, p.168, our translation).

In the Latin American and Caribbean region, this alternative has been found by some higher education institutions through the construction of the Latin American and Caribbean Higher Education Encounter Space (ENLACE). This space was created from a proposal of the Regional Conference on Higher Education in Latin America (CRES) of 2018, which aims to integrate institutions and strengthen the regional university system, in order to confront the commercialization of education and reduce the gap between their countries and those seen as developed ones (GUARGA; SOSA, 2018).

Thus, one can see that, in order to promote a more critical internationalization in Brazil, it is necessary to review the motivations behind government internationalization policies. Therefore, one might think of more glocal proposals and more solidarity relations between the institutions. For now, it is possible for institutions and their agents to work in government policy gaps, to orient their academic community to more responsible and socially sustainable local and global actions.

7 Conclusion

This work aimed to reflect on the internationalization of higher education in a more critical way, based on a meta-analysis of the studies carried out by the research group to which the authors of this article belong. The analysis of these studies brings some important considerations regarding the interface between language policies and internationalization. Overall results of the meta-analysis suggest that there is a gap between principles and (language) policies to guide Brazilian higher education institutions in their internationalization processes. To overcome this gap, the authors suggest that Brazilian higher education institutions should reflect and plan their actions according to inclusive language policies and critical internationalization.

The first dimension shows that languages play a key role for the internationalization of higher education institutions. Therefore, to make effective use of languages, we suggest that universities create language policies for internationalization, taking into account their own needs, considering six aspects related to the use of languages in the higher education setting, namely: the language of admission; language teaching; the language of instruction; the language of research; the language of the administration; and the language of external communication.

The second dimension brings the colonialist aspects that internationalization can assume through the commodification of higher education, and the widening of the gap between hegemonic and peripheral countries. Based on that, government and higher education institutions should reflect on their motivations for internationalization, seeking solidarity internationalization through regional integration and collaboration, to think locally

and act globally, so that inequality it can be diminished, by deconstructing the dominant hierarchical logic.

Finally, it is important to highlight the role of collaboration networks, such as ENLACES. Through these networks, countries and institutions that share similar challenges can work together to confront the hegemonic values of globalization, and passive and uncritical internationalization. This is because such networks are important elements for regional integration and for solidarity internationalization. In addition, these networks have the potential to counteract the hegemonic forces of internationalization in the Global North, through regional integration and articulation with more balanced and bilateral agreements for the universities involved.

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