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## The Science Without Borders Program in the Minutes of CAPES Superior Councils: Development and Suspension of Public Policy on Student Mobility at Undergraduate Level\*

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### ABSTRACT

This study aimed to analyze the public policy of student mobility at undergraduate level, which took place through the Science Without Borders Program - CsF, implemented in 2011 and officially suspended in 2016. This exploratory research analyzed 20 minutes of the Superior Council and 40 minutes of the Technical Scientific Council for Higher Education of Capes, the program's managing body, published from January 2011 to May 2016, separating them in the two terms of Dilma administration. A hybrid model which combines textual and content analysis were used, having the first been carried out on Iramuteq software and revealing five classes from the Descendant Hierarchical Classification: Human Development; Private Sector; Budget and Execution; Proficiency in English; and Development of Industry and Universities. Thus, in the light of Stephen Ball's public policy cycle theory, we sought to discuss why public policy on student mobility in undergraduate courses was suspended and not reoriented or reformulated. In addition to that, it was shown a change of understanding by CAPES councils about the program as government changes to ultimately understand that, in order to develop the industry (one of the main objectives of the CSF according to the Decree that instituted it), it should focus on developing people at the basic level, not developing students at the undergraduate level, since those would be people with the training they would need to occupy the factories. The Ministry of Education even suggested prioritizing mobility actions for high school students, but this did not materialize.

### KEYWORDS

Internationalization of education. Definition of educational policy. Education for work. Division of labor. Content analysis. Textual analysis.

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## O Programa Ciência sem Fronteiras nas Atas dos Conselhos Superiores da CAPES: Desenvolvimento e Suspensão da Política Pública de Mobilidade Estudantil na Graduação

### RESUMO

Este trabalho teve como objetivo analisar a política pública de mobilidade estudantil na graduação, que ocorreu por meio do Programa Ciência Sem Fronteiras - CsF, implantada em 2011 e suspensa oficialmente em 2016. A pesquisa, de caráter exploratório, analisou as 20 atas do Conselho Superior e as 40 atas do Conselho Técnico Científico da Educação Superior da CAPES, órgão gestor do programa, publicadas de janeiro 2011 a maio de 2016, separando-as nos dois mandatos do governo Dilma. De forma híbrida, utilizaram-se a análise textual e a análise de conteúdo, sendo que a primeira evidenciou, com apoio do software Iramuteq, cinco classes a partir da Classificação Hierárquica Descendente: Desenvolvimento Humano; Setor Privado; Orçamento e Execução; Proficiência em Inglês; e Desenvolvimento da Indústria e das Universidades. Assim, à luz da teoria do ciclo de políticas públicas de Stephen Ball, buscou-se discutir por que a política pública de mobilidade estudantil na graduação foi suspensa e não reorientada ou reformulada. Evidenciou-se uma mudança de entendimento por parte dos conselhos da CAPES acerca do programa conforme havia mudanças de governo para, por fim, entenderem que, para desenvolver a indústria (um dos principais objetivos do CsF segundo o Decreto que o instituiu), deveria se focar não no desenvolvimento de estudantes em nível de graduação, mas em nível básico, pois seriam pessoas com essa formação de que precisariam para ocupar as fábricas. O Ministério da Educação chegou a sugerir priorizar ações de mobilidade de alunos de ensino médio, mas isso não chegou a se concretizar.

### PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Internacionalização da educação. Definição da política educacional. Educação para o trabalho. Divisão do trabalho. Análise de conteúdo. Análise textual.

## El Programa Ciencia sin Fronteras en las Actas de los Consejos Superiores de la CAPES: Desarrollo y Suspensión de la Política Pública de Movilidad Estudiantil de Grado

### RESUMEN

Este estudio tuvo como objetivo analizar la política pública de movilidad estudiantil de grado, que ocurrió a través del Programa Ciencia sin Fronteras – CsF, implementada en 2011 y suspendida oficialmente en 2016. La investigación exploratoria analizó las 20 actas del Consejo Superior y las 40 actas del Consejo Técnico Científico para la Educación Superior de la Capes, el órgano de gestión del programa, publicadas entre enero de 2011 y mayo de 2016, separándolas en los dos términos de gobierno de Dilma. De manera híbrida, se utilizaron el análisis textual y el análisis de contenido, de los cuales el primero evidenció, con el apoyo del software Iramuteq, cinco clases a partir de la Clasificación Jerárquica Descendente: Desarrollo humano; Sector Privado; Presupuesto y ejecución; Dominio del Inglés; y Desarrollo de la industria y de las universidades. Así, a la luz de la teoría del ciclo de políticas públicas de Stephen Ball, buscamos discutir por qué la política pública sobre movilidad estudiantil en los cursos de graduación ha sido suspendida y no redirigida o reformada. Se puso un cambio en la comprensión del programa por parte de los consejos de CAPES mientras había cambios de gobierno, y llegaron a entender que para desarrollar la industria (uno de los principales objetivos del CSF según el Decreto que lo instituyó) no debería centrarse en el desarrollo de los estudiantes en el nivel de grado, sino en el nivel básico, porque serían personas con esa formación que necesitarían para ocupar las fábricas. El Ministerio de Educación incluso sugirió priorizar las acciones de movilidad para estudiantes de la escuela secundaria, pero esto no se materializó.

### PALABRAS CLAVE

Internacionalización de la educación. Definición de política educativa. Educación para el trabajo. División del trabajo. Análisis de contenido. Análisis textual.

## 1 Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The internationalization of higher education has become increasingly relevant in discussions about public education policies. A concept of great magnitude, which gathers a series of actions, the internationalization of education has academic mobility as its main element (VAN DAMME, 2001; TEICHLER, 2004).

The importance attributed to the strengthening of higher education for the development of countries was exhaustively defended at the World Conference on Higher Education organized by UNESCO in Paris in 1998. From this conference came the World Declaration on Higher Education in the 21st Century: Vision and Action, according to which higher education subsidized by research institutions that adequately form critical mass is essential to ensure a genuine and sustainable development of countries and reduce the asymmetries that separate developing countries from developed countries.

In this document we also find the thesis that internationalization, involving joint activities between universities, is one of the means for institutional development and should be seen as a transformative process in the scope of higher education insofar as it means the insertion of an international or intercultural dimension in all aspects of education and research, enabling the confrontation of problems and dilemmas resulting from complex political and socioeconomic conjunctures. This idea, which has been gaining momentum since the end of World War II as an instrument for the reconstruction of countries in order to receive technical assistance for development (WIT, 2008), is reiterated in the World Conference on Higher Education, entitled "The new dynamics of higher education and research for change and social development", held by UNESCO in 2009, in Paris (CASTRO & CABRAL NETO, 2012).

In this context, in 2011, for the first time in the history of Brazil, it was thought to implement a large-scale public policy of international student mobility in undergraduate studies. The Science without Borders Program - CsF was created that year to grant 101,000 scholarships for student and faculty mobility by 2014, with a large volume of resources involved. In this first phase, 79% of the scholarships were for undergraduate-sandwich programs, whose public funding had never been prioritized in this way.

However, after the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff, undergraduate scholarships were suspended. In September 2016, in an interview with the newspaper Estado de São Paulo, the newly appointed Minister of Education maintained that the program would have debatable effectiveness, not reaching the low-income population and having little scientific impact (ESTADO DE SÃO PAULO, 2016).

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<sup>1</sup> We thank Professor Ana Maria Justo, from the Department of Psychology of the Federal University of Santa Catarina, for her contributions and notes regarding this article.

According to him, undergraduate scholarships would be eliminated from the program because the cost was too high, and he compared the resource spent with what would be spent on a federal school lunch program. He then stated that the MEC chose to prioritize exchanges of graduate students and low-income high school students.

In line with this idea, in February 2016, at an extraordinary meeting of the Higher Council of CAPES, the managing body of the program, one of the counselors had already pointed out that, despite the importance of the Science without Borders Program for the business sector, since it allows citizens to leave the country and return "with a more critical view", the priority should be to train people in basic education "because it is the people with this level of education who are responsible for production in factories".

All this is within a context that Casara (2017) called "Post-Democratic State," which, according to him, is the current form of governing in which neoliberalism is resumed economically and politically there is a concern with maintaining order and expanding the conditions for capital accumulation. In this way, the market, the circulation of money and goods gain more relevance than fundamental rights, which become an obstacle to the accentuated mercantilization and are treated as merchandise. One of these fundamental rights is the right to education, where the CsF is located.

In recent years, some evaluations of the program have been made, such as the one conducted by Data Senate in partnership with the Senate Committee on Science and Technology - CCT in 2015, which focused on the opinion of the scholarship recipients (BRASIL, 2015a). Several other works have brought contributions by analyzing the student's perspective as in the issue of language proficiency (ARCHANJO, 2015, 2016, 2017; BORGES; GARCIA-FILICE, 2016; COSTA, 2018) or on training and curriculum (CONCEIÇÃO; FRANÇA; JACINTO, 2018; FAGUNDES; LUCE; SILVEIRA, 2019). The point of view of teachers and former undergraduate scholars was also explored (CRUZ, 2016; ANDRADE, 2018).

In addition, some works were identified that sought to evaluate the program and public policy from a management perspective from official documents (GUIMARÃES-IOSIF; ZARDO; SANTOS; MCMANUS & NOBRE, 2017) or with a focus on internationalization and international relations (DUTRA & AZEVEDO, 2016; MANÇOS & COELHO, 2017; MENDES, 2019).

However, a research gap was evidenced given that it was not found, so far, any article that related the said program and the higher councils of the program's managing body, to seek to understand why the policy was not improved but, rather, suspended.

It is important to note that these boards were not the official managers of the policy, since an executive committee, called the Follow-up and Advisory Committee - CAA, composed of a representative of the Civil House of the Presidency of the Republic, one from the MEC, one from the then Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation - MCTI, one

from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs - MRE, one from the Ministry of Development, Industry and Foreign Trade - MDIC, one from the then Ministry of Finance and one from the then Ministry of Planning, Budget and Management - MPOG, the President of the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development - CNPq and the President of CAPES, as well as representatives of private entities that participate in the financing of the program. This committee had, among other attributions, to propose priority areas of action, goals and performance indicators, to establish an execution schedule, criteria for the selection of fellows and foreign institutions, to identify centers and leaderships abroad of priority and strategic interest to Brazil, etc.

In any case, the Capes Board of Governors, in particular the Board of Governors, which also has the participation of the MEC, the MRE, the President of the Cnpq (the other managing agency of the program), the President of the Funding Agency for Studies and Projects - FINEP, in addition to representatives of higher education institutions, the business sector, among others, they are an important historical record of the program's management.

From this scenario, this ex post facto, descriptive and exploratory study has as its main objective to describe how the cycle of this public policy occurred, from its implementation until its suspension, from the perspective of the Higher Councils of the Coordinating Foundation for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel - CAPES, a collegiate body that also has the participation of a representative of the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development - Cnpq, the second program manager at CAPES. In this sense, this article presents a document analysis of the minutes of the meetings of the Superior Council - CS and of the Scientific Technical Council of Higher Education - CTC-ES of CAPES, from 2011 to May 2016, period of the Dilma government and implementation and suspension of the Csf as a public policy of academic mobility at undergraduate level.

## 2 Ball's Public Policy Cycle

To understand how the CsF trajectory took place, from implementation to suspension, we searched the literature for models that could explain how public policies take place. Ball and Bowe (1992) bring a particularly relevant thesis because they are scholars in the field of education policy, but developed in the United Kingdom.

They proposed a method to research and theorize public policy through the policy cycle, aiming to highlight the complexity that permeates educational policies as part of a cyclical and non-linear process, showing the intersection between micro and macro policies. It is a complex referential that offers theoretical and methodological elements for the development of research. This model is inserted in the context of Policy Sociology, from a critical analysis of policies (from their formulation to their results and consequences) through the use of theories and methods of sociology (MAINARDES; ALFERES, 2014).

In a first proposal, Ball and Bowe (1992) sought to characterize the policy process by suggesting the notion of a continuous cycle in which three policy arenas would occur: the policy proposed, the policy in fact, and the policy in use.

In a second, more refined version of the theory, they rejected traditional models of education policy that separated the policy formulation and policy implementation phases because they would thereby ignore disputes and clashes over policy, and proposed a continuum consisting of three main interrelated contexts: the context of influence (when policies are drafted and different groups discuss and articulate around their purposes), the context of text production (when policies are translated into speeches, official legal texts, policy documents, public presentations by politicians and officials, and translated into the language of the general public interest), and the context of practice (actions that subjects perform in localities, causing the policy to be reinterpreted and recreated since authors cannot control how the meanings of the texts they write will be understood). Each context would present arenas and interest groups and involve disputes and clashes (BOWE; BALL; GOLD, 1992).

Two years later, Ball (1994) included two other contexts in the model: the context of outcomes or effects (concerned with questions of justice, equality, and individual freedom, with how the policy impacts on existing inequalities) and the context of policy strategy (a collection of social and political activities necessary to deal with the inequalities created or reproduced by the policy under investigation).

At this time, Ball (1994) already spoke of the relevance of researchers identifying the adjustments in policy developed by teachers and other actors involved in its implementation. In 2012, the theory of policy enactment is presented, according to which policies are subject to processes of recontextualization and recreation (BALL; MAGUIRE; BRAUN, 2012).

Ball's policy cycle is particularly appropriate to discuss forms of suspension or discontinuity of public policies because it deals with reinterpretation, recontextualization and re-creation of these policies from Policy Sociology, considering the various disputes, clashes and actors involved.

### 3 Methodological Procedure

Based on Ball's model, this is an exploratory research, carried out through a qualitative approach in order to illustrate, descriptively and analytically, the phenomenon analyzed. The empirical field of the research took place in two groups: the analysis of the minutes of the SC and those of the CTC-ES, both collegiate bodies of CAPES, which also have the presence of other relevant institutions, such as CNPq. Data collection was carried out by selecting the parts related to the Science without Borders Program in the minutes of these councils from 2011 to May 2016.



For corpus analysis, a hybrid method was used, with textual analysis software and a content analysis procedure. The choice of adopting a software intended for the treatment of qualitative data was made with the intention to mine a large amount of data so that they can be enhanced to the point of serving as relevant information not previously perceived by the researcher (DOWBOR, 2001).

For content analysis, we sought to follow the steps indicated by Creswell (2010) for qualitative research, which are: 1) organizing and preparing the data for analysis; 2) reading and re-reading all data; 3) coding; 4) using the coding process to describe the scenario and the categories of analysis; 5) informing how the description and themes are represented in the qualitative narrative, supported by the literature; and 6) extracting meaning from the data and presenting the results.

The analytical categories were selected posteriori, from the analysis of the Superior Council minutes with the aid of the software IRAMUTEQ (Interface de R pour les Analyses Multidimensionnelles de Textes et de Questionnaires), which grouped the texts into word classes, which were used as categories of analysis. In a second moment, the minutes of the Technical Scientific Council for Higher Education were analyzed with the pre-established categories.

### 3.1 Textual Analysis

The first step was the textual analysis of the SC minutes (because they are fewer in number than those of the CTC-ES), with the help of a free software called IRAMUTEQ, created by Pierre Ratinaud.

Initially, the frequency analysis process was adopted, to verify the words that appear most in a word cloud. Next, the descending hierarchical classification (CHD) was used, in which the text segments are classified by the software according to their vocabularies, which allows the grouping of statistically significant words and the qualitative analysis of the data (CAMARGO; JUSTOS, 2013).

For this, three steps were followed: the preparation and coding of the initial text, the descending hierarchical classification, performed by the data processing, and the interpretation of the classes.

In the software, each record corresponds to an Initial Context Unit (ICU). The ICUs are processed and grouped as to the occurrences of words through their roots, originating the Elementary Context Units (ECUs), which results in the creation of a dictionary with reduced forms. For the creation of this dictionary, the program uses the chi-square test ( $\chi^2$ ), which reveals the associative strength between words and their respective class. The higher the chi-square value, the greater the relationship between the variables (CAMARGO; JUSTOS, 2013).

After processing and grouping as to the occurrences of the words, the CHD creates the dendrogram of the classes, presenting the classes and the link between them. And so a posteriori categories were created, from the organization of the textual elements found in the minutes of the Supreme Council.

The same textual analysis process was carried out for the CTC-ES minutes. However, the data were not satisfactory, with low utilization of textual units by IRAMUTEQ. Therefore, the CS categories were used as a starting point for the content analysis of the CTC-ES minutes.

Thus, IRAMUTEQ allowed us to make some analyses of the text corpus, and other analyses were based on the content analysis technique (BARDIN, 2011).

### 3.2 Content Analysis

Content analysis is a technique that can be quantitative and qualitative. It is usually performed through the method of frequency deduction - enumerating the occurrence of the same linguistic sign that is frequently repeated - or analysis by thematic categories - categorizing a segment by placing it in one of the defined categories, from the meanings given by the coder (BAUER, 2002).

Content analysis makes it possible to treat all textual material, unlike IRAMUTEQ, which only analyzes reduced forms according to frequency, which can represent a problem by discarding less frequently used synonyms.

Using the most frequent categories from the content analysis, it is possible to re-read the data. The result of this process is the graphical representation of the network of relationships between the elements.

Bardin (2011) defines three stages for content analysis: pre-analysis; exploration of the material; treatment of the results obtained and interpretation. Pre-analysis is a stage of organization, selection of the material (corpus) to be analyzed, identification of the analysis objectives and systematization of indicators for the final interpretation.

In the second stage, exploration of the material, the data are systematized and codified from categories: registration units and context units, which lead to thematic axes. "The Registration Unit is the smallest part of the content, whose occurrence is registered according to the categories raised" (FRANCO, 2008, p. 41). Once these units are established, one searches for the context units, pointed out by Franco (2008) as the "background" that provides meaning to the units of analysis.

In the last stage, the treatment of the results obtained and the interpretation (inferential process) of the information is performed, through simple quantifications (frequency and percentages) or more complex ones, which allows presenting the data in tables, graphs or tables of results (BARDIN, 2011).



### 3.3 Corpus

The minutes of the ordinary and extraordinary meetings of the Higher Council and the Technical Scientific Council of Higher Education during the period of the Dilma government were analyzed, since the Science without Borders program was one of the major themes of this government.

The minutes of the councils are public documents, under CAPES custody, and were requested and collected via e-sic (Citizen Information Service), according to the Access to Information Law (Law No. 12.527/2011). CAPES itself, in response to the request made on the SIC site, was the one who granted all the material analyzed here.

Moreover, so says Decree No. 8,977, of January 30, 2017:

The meetings of the Technical-Scientific Councils of Higher Education and Basic Education will be public, except for matters whose secrecy is essential, previously justified, and will occur ordinarily twice a year, and, extraordinarily, when called by their presidents or by the majority of their members (BRASIL, 2017; our emphasis)

The analysis was divided into Dilma I Government (2011 to 2014) and Dilma II Government (2015 to May 12, 2016, when the Senate authorized the opening of the impeachment process and determined the removal of the President of the Republic from office for a period of up to 180 days).

With regard to the Board of Governors, we analyzed all 20 minutes of the Board of Governors issued during the period, of which 15 were found to deal directly with the CsF (75%), including the only extraordinary meeting at the time, as shown in Table 1.

**Table 1.** Minutes of CAPES' Superior Council

Year	Total no. of meetings	Nº of meetings where CsF was directly discussed	% of meetings where CsF was directly discussed
2011	5 ordinary	4	80%
2012	4 ordinary	4	100%
2013	3 ordinary	2	66,67%
2014	4 ordinary	2	50%
2015	2 ordinary	2	100%
2016 (until May 12 <sup>th</sup> )	2 (1 ord. e 1 extraordinary.)	1 (extraordinary.)	50%
Total	20	15	75%

Source: Prepared by the authors.

From the 15 minutes, the excerpts that referred to the program were separated for analysis in IRAMUTEQ, and this material was divided into two groups: Dilma 1 (2011 to 2014) and Dilma 2 (2015 to May 12, 2016). The classes were extracted from the Dilma 1 material, and it was decided to use in Dilma 2 the same classes as categories for comparison purposes.

With regard to the CTC-ES, all 40 CTC-ES minutes issued in the period were analyzed, of which 17 were found to deal with the CsF (42.5%), as shown in Table 2.

**Table 2.** Minutes of the Scientific Technical Council for Higher Education - CTC-ES

Year	Total no. of meetings	Nº of meetings where CsF was directly discussed	% of meetings where CsF was directly discussed
2011	9 ordinary	4	44,44%
2012	10 ordinary	5	50%
2013	8 ordinary	2	25%
2014	6 ordinary	4	66,67%
2015	5 ordinary	2	40%
2016 (until May 12 <sup>th</sup> )	2 ordinary	0	0%
Total	40	17	42,5%

Source: Prepared by the authors.

Similarly, extracts that referred to the program were separated from the 17 minutes for analysis in IRAMUTEQ, and this material was divided into two groups: Dilma 1 (2011 to 2014) and Dilma 2 (2015 to May 12, 2016). The same categories extracted from the Supreme Council were used for comparison purposes.

## 4 Analysis and Results

Considering the contexts of Ball's public policy cycle, it can be seen that the contexts of influence and text production can be little explored through the selected corpus, since, when the theme arrived at the councils, its implementation by the Presidency of the Republic had already been defined. Thus, the bibliographical research was used to make some comments about these contexts.

In the context of influence, we highlight the fact that during the Lula government (2003-2010), science, technology and innovation (S, T&I) were seen as decisive for the country's development, so that they sought to approximate them to international models. And the Dilma government continued this policy (PEREIRA, 2011).

During the Lula governments, there was a significant expansion in the budget for Scholarships Abroad and International Cooperation (from R\$ 101,218,984 in 2004 to R\$ 169,173,527 in 2010) and proportional expansion in the granting of scholarships for student mobility in graduate studies, especially those of doctoral-sandwich, which rose from 796 to 1,391. In total, in 2004, the entity had 2,977 scholars abroad, and in 2010 this number rose to 4,958, an increase of over 66% (CAPES, 2011). CNPq, on the other hand, maintained an average of 477 scholarships granted annually during the period (CNPq, 2015b).

The National Post-Graduation Plan - PNPG 2005-2010 already presented as a suggestion the "expansion of the institutional exchange of undergraduate students, aiming at their future entry into post-graduation" (CAPES, 2010, p.36)

In his doctoral thesis, published in 2010, Rouseff's Minister of Education, Aloísio Mercadante, talks about the bases of the new developmentalism in Brazil, started in the Lula government and continued in the Dilma government, and the importance of the knowledge society:

In the specific field of science and technology, it becomes necessary, in addition to maintaining and increasing state investments in research and training of human resources, to develop a new policy of specific stimulus to productive innovation, a "neo-Schumpeterian" model that leads domestic companies to invest much more in applied research and that articulates, more consistently, the knowledge generated in universities and research institutes with the interests and technological needs of Brazilian firms (OLIVA, 2010, p. 47).

For him, the main challenge:

refers to our notorious shortcomings in education and scientific and technological development, which still prevents us from building, in Brazil, a knowledge society capable of generating technological and informational dynamism on a scale appropriate to long-term economic and social development (OLIVA, 2010, p. 471).

The change in the discourses of the councils, changes at the turn of 2015, when the Dilma government goes into crisis, culminating in an impeachment and the rise of a government less willing to invest massively in education. These changes are noticed in the context of practice, in which interpretations of discourses and political texts change according to each professional acting in this context, with their personal views and values, so as to enable reinterpretations and manipulations of politics (JOHNSON, 2014).

Ball, in an interview with Mainardes and Marcondes, explains that from the moment the policy is put into practice, it is necessary to make some adjustments, involving interpretation and creativity of the actors (BALL apud MAINARDES; MARCONDES, 2009). Thus, we move on to the minutes themselves to discuss them in light of the theory.

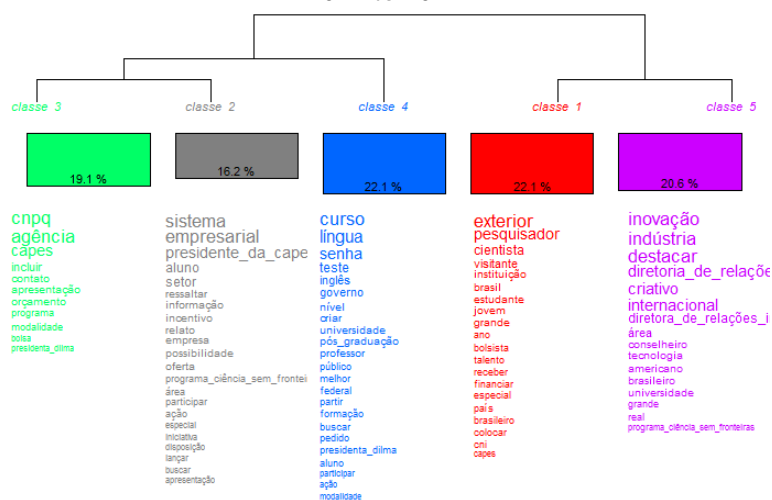
#### 4.1 CAPES' Superior Council Meetings

The Capes' Superior Council is a deliberative collegiate body that has as its competence to establish priorities and guidelines for the institution's activities, deliberate on the proposal of the National Post-Graduation Plan - PNPG, subsidize the elaboration of the National Education Plan - PNE, assess criteria, priorities and procedures for the granting of scholarships and grants, approve Capes' budget proposal, among others (BRASIL, 2012).

The President of Capes, the Secretary of Higher Education and the Secretary of Basic Education of the MEC, the President of CNPq, the President of FINEP, the Director-General of the Department of Scientific, Technical, and Technological Cooperation of the MRE, the President of the National Association of Directors of Federal Institutions of Higher Education - ANDIFES, in addition to representatives from the academic and business sectors, from the National Forum of Pro-Rectors for Research and Graduate Studies - FOPROP, from the National Association of Postgraduates - ANPG, from CTC-ES and from Capes' Scientific Technical Council for Basic Education - CTC-EB.



**Figure 2.** representation of the dendrogram by the prominent words in the minutes of the SC, from 2011 to 2014



Source: Prepared by the authors by processing the data in the IRAMUTEQ software.

With the dendrogram it was possible to visualize the classes and words of higher occurrence. To name the sub corpus and the classes, we observed the occurrences that appeared chi-square greater than 3.8 and  $p < 0.05$ .

Based on the word list provided by the software, we named the indicated classes. Sub corpus A (42.7%), which we called "Development", is composed of Class 1 (Human Development) and Class 5 (Industry Development). Sub corpus B (57.4%), called "Program Management", is composed of Class 4 (English Proficiency) and a new branch consisting of Classes 2 (Private Sector) and 3 (Budget and Execution).

Class 1 (Human Development) is composed of words such as "outside" ( $x^2=36.12$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ ), "researcher" ( $x^2=23.25$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), "scientist" ( $x^2=15.02$ ,  $p=0.0001$ ), "institution" ( $x^2=8.62$ ,  $p=0.00331$ ), "student" ( $x^2=8.06$ ,  $p=0.00453$ ) and "youth" ( $x^2=6.93$ ,  $p=0.00846$ ).

This class talks about the investment in the student, especially the young undergraduate, it also deals with the distribution of scholarships and cooperation agreements with foreign educational institutions. The class appeared more prominently in the year 2011, when talking about the conception of the program, officially launched only in December.

Class 5 (Development of Industry and Universities) is composed of words like "innovation" ( $x^2=16.39$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ ), "industry" ( $x^2=16.39$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ ) and "technology" ( $x^2=4.08$ ,  $p=0.04350$ ).

This class talks about the internationalization of universities, about priority areas and about increasing the innovative knowledge of personnel from industries in the technology segment and attracting young scientific talents and highly qualified researchers to work in Brazil. This class was highlighted in 2011 and in 2012, when it was announced the exclusion of some subareas of the program, in particular, the Creative Industry.

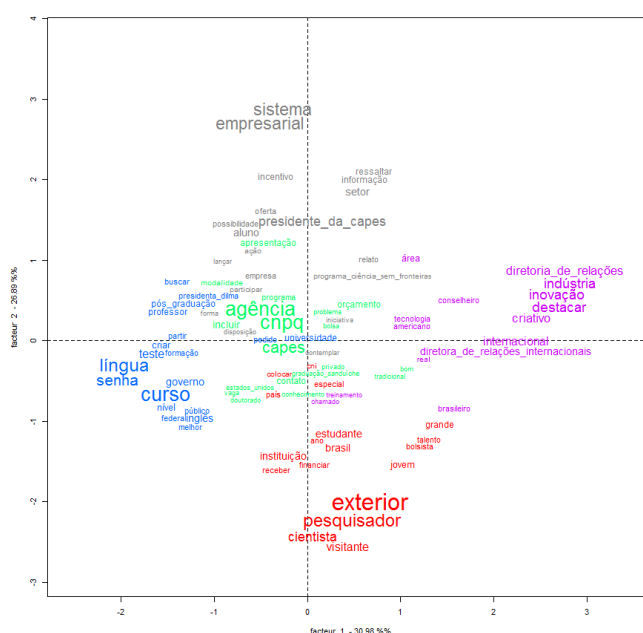
Class 4 (English Proficiency) is composed of words like "language" ( $x^2=23.25$ ,  $p<0.0001$ ), "test" ( $x^2=11.09$ ,  $p=0.00086$ ), "English" ( $x^2=7.62$ ,  $p=0.00578$ ) and "level" ( $x^2=6.93$ ,  $p=0.00848$ ). This class speaks to the concern from the level about the lack of foreign language proficiency of Brazilian students, and was prominent in December 2011 and in 2013, the year in which English without Borders was created.

Class 2 (Private Sector) is composed of words such as "corporate" ( $x^2=22.02$ ,  $p<0.0001$ ), "sector" ( $x^2=9.66$ ,  $p=0.00188$ ) and "incentive" ( $x^2=5.9$ ,  $p=0.01513$ ) and deals with the initial idea of the private initiative banking 25% of the program's scholarships, a fact that ended up not materializing. The theme was relevant in 2011 and early 2012.

Finally, Class 3 (Budget and Execution) is composed of words like "CNPq" ( $x^2=28.14$ ,  $p<0.0001$ ), "CAPES" ( $x^2=19.9$ ,  $p<0.0001$ ), "agency" ( $x^2=27.84$ ,  $p<0.0001$ ) and "budget" ( $x^2=4.59$ ,  $p=0.03217$ ) and deals with the execution of the program and the budget issue. Class 3 was especially prominent in 2012 and 2014 when the first budget constraint cited in the CS emerged.

From the Correspondence Factor Analysis (CFA), it was possible to perform association between words in the text, representing them in a Cartesian plane (see Figure 3).

**Figure 3.** factor representation of the content of the SC minutes, from 2011 to 2014



Source: Prepared by the authors by processing the data in the IRAMUTEQ software.

Also in Figure 3, it is observed that Class 5 (Industry development), the main objective of the program according to the Decree that instituted it, is the farthest class in the center of the Cartesian plane, more distinct from all the others. It is also observed that Class 2 (Private Sector), related to Class 3 (Budget and Execution) in the dendrogram, is quite distant from Class 1 (Human Development), as they bring distinct contents identified in the CHD, which seems a contradiction since the issues should have been interconnected.



Moving on to a deeper analysis of the texts and remembering that the CsF was officially launched in December 2011, one can notice that, in the minutes from 2011, the conception of the program is spoken of, always in a very positive way. In the minutes from 2012 to 2014, one can also notice the positive view of the program, which was always welcomed, with its importance emphasized or presented in a more descriptive way, without in-depth discussions.

In 2011 and early 2012, the interest of private enterprise in the program was also highlighted (Class 2) and the problem of foreign language proficiency (Class 4). In 2012, some questioning by the counselors began, but in fact to expand the program, which was the issue of the exclusion of the humanities area among those contemplated by the program:

Councillor Guilherme Cardoso Alves Velho registered the need to be attentive to diversity, and that projects and themes in the area of Social Sciences that have to do with issues of the country's development be contemplated in the Program (Minutes of the 59th Ordinary Meeting, 2012).

Months later the subject was dealt with by the same counselor:

Councillor Otávio Guilherme Cardoso Alves Velho pointed out the need to recognize the importance of social sciences in the development of science and technology in the country and to train specialists in relation to the countries to which students are sent, and also have an in-depth study of the research institutes of these countries. Another point is the diversification of destination countries and the study of the different development models available. (Minutes of the 60th Ordinary Meeting, 2012)

Still at the 60th Meeting, other problems begin to be pointed out within the Board of Governors, as "challenges to be overcome as those involving graduates of the Program" and the issue of taking advantage of credits, that involved the need for planning for Brazilian students to be referred to educational institutions that already had some kind of partnership with their home institution (Minutes of the 60th Ordinary Meeting, 2012). In any case, the overall assessment was still positive.

In December 2012, Capes announced the exclusion of some sub-areas of the program, such as the Creative Industry. And a concern that arises again in the meeting refers to the non-return of students to Brazil:

At the suggestion of the Attorney General and the Auditor, the CAPES Board of Directors published an Ordinance on the cases of students who for various reasons do not return to the country after the period of study. In general, these occurrences do not reach 1%, but they are expected to increase with the Science Without Borders Program (Minutes of the 61st Ordinary Meeting, 2012).

In March 2013, the English Without Borders program is announced, with the aim of trying to solve the problem of the lack of proficiency of most candidates for positions abroad, especially in undergraduate studies. In the factorial representation (Figures 6 and 7), one observes how Class 4 (Proficiency in English, marked in blue) was highlighted in December 2011 and in March 2013.

According to Lingnau and Navarro (2021), despite linguistic difficulties, Csf undergraduate students remained in foreign countries, ending the exchange period because of the focus on education, since research and extension were very compromised by the lack of proficiency of Brazilian students.

In March 2014, a budget restriction appeared for the first time in CS: "Regarding the 2014 budget, there was a need to request an additional credit of R \$ 1,8 billion, to meet the Science without Borders and the Journal Portal" (Minutes of the 65th Ordinary Meeting, 2014).

This budgetary restriction seems to be part of the Brazilian economic crisis 2014-2017, resulting from a set of supply and demand shocks caused, according to some scholars, by procedures adopted under the "New Economic Matrix" (NME) which generated a high tax cost and led to a decrease in the growth capacity of the economy. NME, roughly, was a policy adopted as of 2011/12, of strong government intervention in the economy, which combined monetary policy of lowering the basic interest rate with fiscal policy of price control, targeted investments and grants (BARBOSA FILHO, 2017). According to the Economic Cycle Dating Committee of the Getúlio Vargas Foundation, in the second quarter of 2014, the Brazilian economy formally went into recession, and per capita GDP fell by around 9% between 2014 and 2016.

In July 2014, the President of CAPES announced in CS the Science Without Borders II Program, which was included in PNPG 2011-2020 in December 2014.

In July 2014, it was observed at the 66th Ordinary Meeting the first and only time that the Csf was treated under the CS explicitly as part of a public policy of internationalization of Brazilian universities:

The President of CAPES highlighted the work for the internationalization of Brazilian universities, with emphasis on the project being elaborated by CAPES, at the request of the Minister of Education, which focuses on two facets: the first is the experience of Brazilian universities with the Science Without Borders Program; and the second refers to the experience of the country's best graduate courses in internationalization (Minutes of the 66th Ordinary Meeting, 2014).

At this meeting, the president of CAPES also reported that the Brazilian graduate programs of excellence, with concepts 6 and 7, were consulted about the program and about what actions they expected from the government, and the most frequent responses were:

courses in a foreign language, mainly in English; exchange of students both in the Brazilian-foreign direction and in the opposite direction; better working conditions and greater ease of purchase of equipment; and, most importantly, the issue of flexibility in the hiring of national and mainly foreign staff (Minutes of the 66th Ordinary Meeting, 2014).

Based on the Ball model, in the context of influence, it is highlighted that perhaps the perception that it was a policy of internationalization of education took place late, since the program started in 2011, with a policy created and implemented abruptly, without having

been well planned, having emerged in the Presidency of the Republic without having been sufficiently discussed with Capes, Cnpq and universities. The subject was already being discussed within the CTC-ES, as we will see below, since November 2012, a more technical board, formed primarily by members of the academic community.

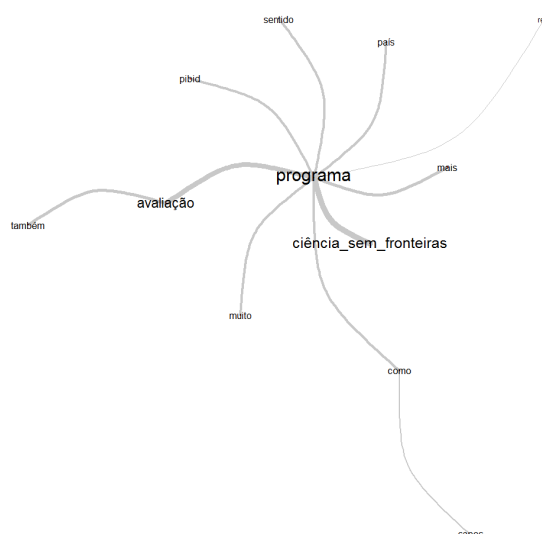
Manor (1999) explains that there is often an exaggerated centralization in the planning process in developing countries, lacking articulation between the agencies responsible or even having conflicts between the agencies. Najam (1995) also explains that developing countries have greater technical, financial and cultural difficulties in the process of planning and implementing public policies. Firstly, because in these countries the political system, the state and civil society are not well articulated or functioning properly. Then because the lack of resources limits its ability to give continuity to public policies so that they have effective results. And finally, there is a lack of trained human resources, equipment, experience and technical competence of the agencies responsible for planning public policies well.

According to Oliveira (2006), in Brazil there is a lot of emphasis on planning as a way to try to control the economy, "instead of seeing it as a decision-making process built politically and socially with the various stakeholders and affected by the decision". Thus, the planning of public policies should be seen not only as a technical product, but as a process, whose importance is given mainly in the implementation, that it is precisely how policies change as they move from administrative directives to practice.

#### **4.1.2 Dilma Government 2 (January 2015-May 2016)**

The highlight of the SC minutes in this period revolves around the term "evaluation", as seen in Figure 4. This is to be expected, since the first phase of the program had just ended, but the way the program was handled was not in terms of policy improvement, but questioning about its relevance, that is, in the contexts of results or effects and Ball's political strategy. The highlight is also the PIBID program, aimed at basic education.

**Figure 4.** Analysis of similarity of the SC's minutes, in Dilma's government 2



Source: Prepared by the authors by processing the data in the IRAMUTEQ software.

Analyzing the content by categories, it is observed that the main theme in this period was the Class 3 (Budget and Implementation). In the context of the economic crisis started in 2014, it was announced in CS in March 2015 that the goal of 100,000 scholarships had been reached, for the first time within the board, was reported the problem of indebtedness of the program referring to late payments still 2014 to international partners: "CAPES owes 100 million dollars to the United States and universities are already retaining students' school records" highlighting Class 3 (Budget and Implementation).

Moreover, it was said that such problems had not yet been reported to the Minister of Education and the President of the Republic: "the Director expressed her impression that the problem was not reaching Minister Aloizio Mercadante and President Dilma Rousseff". The Cnpq signaled the same problem:

The President of Cnpq, Hernan Chaimovich Guralnik, noted that, for the time being, Cnpq is managing to pay the scholarship holders who are abroad, for two or three months, but if the debts are not honored, will not be able to continue paying (Minutes of the 69th Ordinary Meeting, 2015).

According to Manços (2017, p. 122), the initial cost to pay the R\$ 3 billion scholarships was "extrapolated more than three times, generating doubts and criticism regarding the efficiency of the project and budget sources".

In October 2015, the CS was presented with the Synthesis of the Midterm Monitoring Seminars of the National System of Postgraduate Studies (SNPG). Such seminars brought together at CAPES 3280 post-graduate coordinators to perform a postgraduate analysis in 2013 and 2014. On the Csf, the report suggested that: "in addition to sending undergraduate students, it should be rethought towards stronger cooperation with teachers, with programs and with networks to help improve the quality of evaluation" (Minutes of the 70th Ordinary

Meeting, 2015). At the same meeting of the SC, it was suggested that, for a better application of resources, an evaluation of the Csf and the Institutional Program of Teaching Initiation Scholarship - PIBID be carried out, relating the Csf to a program for basic education:

There has also been a request for the Science Without Borders Program to be changed so that universities can participate more actively. It was proposed to discuss the budget, with the participation of the academic and scientific community, with which the President of Capes agreed (Minutes of the 70th Ordinary Meeting, 2015).

In February 2016, at an extraordinary meeting of the SC, a crucial discussion took place for the Csf, when its relevance to the internationalization of Brazilian science was questioned:

Open to speak, the Counsellors asked for clarification and gave suggestions. As many spoke about the need to evaluate the cost-benefit of the Science Without Borders Program, **it was clarified that the program is suspended** and is being evaluated by Capes and Cnpq to establish the **new directions to be followed**, within what **actually contributes to the internationalization of Brazilian science** (Minutes of the 2nd Extraordinary Meeting of the Superior Council, 2015; Emphasis added).

At the same meeting, the then president of Andifes, pointed out that "the PIBID represents about 20% of the value of the Science Without Borders Program (sic), and that is a very important instrument to tackle one of the most relevant problems that the country has to face, which is the issue of teacher training" (Minutes of the 2nd Extraordinary Meeting of the Superior Council, 2015). For her, she should evaluate the PIBID, linking it to the policy of teacher training, and "focus on not spraying public resources on programs that are not focused on very well consolidated policies" (Minutes of the 2nd Extraordinary Meeting of the Board of Governors, 2015).

In this set of minutes of the Dilma 2 government, there was no mention of the issue of language proficiency (Class 4) or the development of industry (Class 5). The focus was certainly on the budget issue (Class 3).

The private sector (Class 2) was quoted only once in the following terms:

Ricardo Menna Barreto Felizzola considered that for the business sector the Science Without Borders Program is essential for the opportunity given to citizens to leave the country and return with more critical vision. On the other hand, the training of personnel for basic education is a priority, because it is the people with this level of education who are responsible for the production in the factories (Minutes of the 2nd Extraordinary Meeting of the Superior Council, 2015).

Based on the cycle of public policies of Ball, the speech of the counselor leads to thinking about the relationship between education and work, more specifically about the projects of a country that are considered in regard to these two factors. In addition, it is appropriate to question, in the context of results/effects and political strategy, why the program was suspended, and not reoriented and resized.

Despite the criticism received and the necessary corrections, many authors pointed out positive results of Csf, as Chichoski, Rubin-Oliveira, Teixeira (2018), who analyzed how the internationalization experience in the program resulted in the human development of undergraduate students. On the other hand, Mcmanus and Nobre (2017) verified the positive impact of Csf on the entrance of graduates in graduate programs (more than 20% of undergraduate students from Csf compared to 5% of students with similar performance in ENEM but who did not participate in the program).

Another highlight was that in 2015, the program was selected by the Federal Senate's Committee on Science, Technology, Innovation, Communication and Informatics in the evaluation of public policies for human resources training, with a report with a good evaluation of the program as the final product. To this end, the committee contracted a survey, conducted in 2015 by Datasenado, with the beneficiaries of the program. Among the 14,627 students who responded to the survey, 92% said they were satisfied with the program, 57% said they stimulated interest in the research, and 53% said it increased their dedication to studies. In addition, 58% considered that the program provided fluency in the language of the country where they studied, 67% believe that it stimulated academic contact with other institutions abroad after the end of the exchange and 68% said that they were able to pass on the knowledge acquired to teachers and students in Brazil (BRASIL, 2015a)

In the final report of the commission, although implementation problems were highlighted, due to the sudden way in which the Csf was planned and executed, the contribution of the Csf in the process of internationalization of Brazilian higher education and in the field of science and technology was defended:

The number of foreign students at US universities is one of the most relevant indicators of the level of internationalization of higher education in other countries. (...) Brazil was the country that grew the most [regarding the number of students in American universities] in the range (78%, against 10% of the average), jumping from the 10th to the 6th position. The breakthrough was undoubtedly the product of Csf. To allow this impulse to weaken would be unfortunate for the internationalization of Brazilian higher education and for the development of CT&I in our country (BRASIL, 2015b, pp. 40-41).

Although it pointed out several suggestions for improvement, the commission defended the continuity of the program, pointing out how its merits have managed to extend internationalization to undergraduate education, encouraging the apprehension of new knowledge and the adoption of new educational methodologies and practices, and diversifying the list of countries with which Brazil maintains student exchange. This is how the final recommendations of the committee were put forward, among others:

1. to promote the continuity of Science without Borders: even if one considers the moment of fiscal difficulties in the country, minimum resources must be guaranteed, not only to honor the obligations already assumed by stock exchanges and national and international partners, but also for the award of new grants, in order to enhance strategic projects for the development of the country;



2. Ensure that the Csf sets itself up as a state policy, not just a government policy, (...)

4. In relation to scholarships abroad, give priority to the award of postgraduate scholarships, in the full doctorate, sandwich doctorate, post-doctorate and master's degree modalities, without failing to contemplate undergraduate studies; (...) (BRASIL, 2015b, p.62)

Despite all this, the program was suspended, with the first scholarships to be officially suspended. The explanation may be based on the finding of Mcmanus and Nobre (2017) that 52% of the program's graduate-sandwich scholarship holders came from families with incomes of up to six minimum wages and 75% up to 10 minimum wages. In the survey, they showed the results of a CAPES questionnaire applied to Csf graduates who received 62,000 responses, among which 31% had attended high school in public schools and 20% in private schools with scholarships.

Thus, the program seemed to break a logic of education as a reproductive of social inequalities, as suggested by Bourdieu and Passeron (2011), when taking abroad students of lower income. In this sense, Jesse de Souza (2009) talks about the success of the individual in the current society directly linked to the knowledge he possesses (corresponding to the "cultural capital" of Bourdieu) and questions the fact that public schools, most of them fail in the task of offering poor young people objective opportunities for socio-economic development.

In the case of Csf, one could understand that the program would be a way for the state to offer people with economic hypo-sufficiency the opportunity to obtain a privileged type of knowledge, in the best universities abroad, however, in the Superior Council of Capes, there was the orientation that the country needs in its industries only workers with basic level of education, which seems to reinforce the division of education that treated Saviani (2007): one for the ruling class (owners) and another for the dominated (non-owners).

In addition, it should be noted the thesis of Bourdieu and Passeron (2011) that the main criterion for selecting students to go to higher education is the linguistic capital, of which the family has fundamental importance for the construction. Linguistic capital is what makes it possible to decode signs and assimilate knowledge. It is interesting to compare this problem that hinders access to education for the less favored classes with the problem of foreign language proficiency in Csf.

Moreover, Borges (2015) points out that the problem of the lack of foreign language proficiency in Csf exposed the deficiencies in Brazilian education, especially in basic education, whose language teaching is still precarious. The problem seems to get worse in the public school system.

#### 4.2 Meetings of the Technical Board of Higher Education - CTC-ES

The CTC-ES is a collegiate body of Capes that assists the Executive Board of CAPES in the elaboration of policies and guidelines concerning the training of high-level human resources, the post-graduate system and the national system of scientific and technological development, to collaborate in the elaboration of the PNPG proposal, give an opinion on the annual programming of CAPES in the specific area of Higher Education and on criteria and procedures for the distribution of scholarships and institutional and individual assistance, among others (BRASIL, 2012).

The CTC-ES has as members the president of Capes, the Director of Evaluation and the director of Programs and Scholarships of Capes, as well as representatives of the academic community, the National Association of Graduate Students and the National Forum of Pro-rectors of Research and Graduation.

The minutes of this Council will be discussed following the categories described in Figure 2.

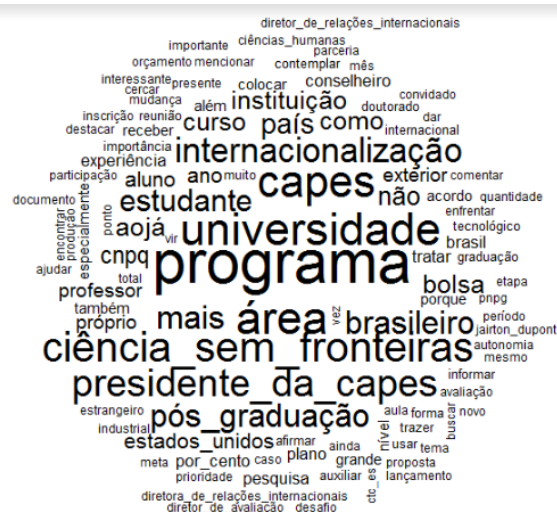
##### 4.2.1 Dilma Government 1 (2011-2014) From the Perspective of CTC-ES

Within the CTC-ES, there is a greater emphasis on the educational part, institutions, students, research, knowledge and (not) participation of human areas in the program, as shown in Figure 5. Still in 2011, the President of CAPES also already dealt with the concern of institutions with the lack of the area of Humanities in the program: "The President reassured the areas of Human and Social Sciences that are not included in the Science Without Borders Program, but have maintained and reinforced the normal programs of CAPES and Cnpq." (Minutes of the 129th Meeting of the CTC-ES, 2011).

In April 2013, the community's inquiry about the exclusion of certain areas in the program again emerged: "Design, Industrial Design and Architecture are included in Science without Borders, however, there is the exclusion of certain courses that do not explicitly have the technological bias required by the program" (Minutes of the 145th Meeting of the CTC-ES, 2013).

Despite the criticism received in this regard, Manços (2017) shows that Csf, although restricted to the areas of technology and engineering, generated a positive effect by increasing the supply of scholarships abroad in all areas, including Human Science. In addition, the program did not withdraw resources from the scholarships in the country, as many questioned, with a supplementary budget for it.

**Figure 5.** word cloud of selected excerpts from the minutes of the CTC-ES, from 2011 to 2014



Source: Prepared by the authors by processing the data in the IRAMUTEQ software.

As can be seen in Figure 5, these minutes did not deal, for example, as expected, with budgetary issues. This difference in relation to the CS is due to the CTC-ES being a more technical board, formed mostly by university professors, with more practical or technical treatment of the issues. Note a highlight for Class 1 (Human Development), which permeates the entire text, and Class 3 (Budget and Implementation), as regards the implementation of the program.

It was in August 2011 that Csf was cited for the first time in the minutes of the CTC-ES meetings, when the then president of Capes reported the feasibility of implementing the program scholarships in Capes (Class 3 - Budget and Implementation): "Specifically for CAPES, there will be 40,000 scholarships, which is considered feasible since the Agency has a long tradition in the field of scholarships abroad. In the last six years, 25,000 scholarship holders have been funded abroad" (Minutes of the 128th Meeting of the CTC-ES, 2011). It is worth remembering that at that time Brazil was going through a good economic phase, with available resources.

In October 2011, the president of Capes commented on the expertise of Capes (Class 3) in awarding undergraduate sandwich scholarships, larger than that of Cnpq, and on the need for university cooperation, particularly with regard to the recognition of credits earned externally. He also set out the basic rules of the program, which included: "the minimum score on the TOEFL exam for languages; for institutions that use Enem, students with more than 600 points; students who came from the Mathematical and Science Olympics; who are preferably also scientific initiation, etc." (Minutes of the 130th meeting of the CTC-ES, 2011).

In March 2012, the then director of International Relations of Capes expressed concern to evaluate the program and suggested: "the inclusion in the evaluation of items that value the sandwich doctorate and indication, for each area, of a person to monitor the implementation of the Csf Program" (Class 3; Minutes of the 134th Meeting of the CTC-ES, 2012).

In May, the same director pointed to the possibility of honoring graduate programs that use more and better doctoral-sandwich scholarships. "It was thought to grant a scholarship in the country to every doctoral student sent abroad. The measure aims to help meet the goals of the Science Without Borders Program" (Class 3; Minutes of the 136th Meeting of the CTC-ES, 2012).

In November 2014, it was announced the inclusion of the grant modality for Professional Masters in the scope of the program: "a pilot project was created to serve as a shorter alternative to the full doctorate, which enables students, in less time, to enter the labor market" (Minutes of the 155th Meeting of the CTC-ES, 2014). At the time, about 700 scholarships were awarded to the United States in this mode.

Regarding the educational issue, we highlight the concern with foreign language proficiency (Class 4):

The major concern is the issue of language, specifically the domain of English, the qualification of students to take the TOEFL test, international minimum requirement, mainly for undergraduate-sandwich candidates and full doctorate (Minutes of the 128th Meeting of the CTC-ES, 2011).

In November 2012, the program is treated for the first time as part of a policy of teaching internationalization. And the president of Capes said that Csf "is already changing the internationalization culture in Brazilian universities, still very precarious. There are cases of undergraduate students who have already received invitations to complete their doctorate at foreign institutions, so the impact on the future will be considerable" (Minutes of the 141<sup>st</sup> Meeting of the CTC-ES, 2012).

On the subject, Manços e Coelho (2017) concluded that, despite the difficulties of articulation with universities, the program was positive for increasing the international visibility of Brazilian higher education and for enabling the insertion of Brazilian educational institutions in international cooperation research programs.

In March 2014, the president of Capes treats Csf as the focus of the university's internationalization policy (Class 5 - University Development). "In the case of federal universities, the plan should be tied to the priorities of Science without Borders and other priorities of the MEC and the institutions themselves" (Minutes of the 151th Meeting of the CTC-ES, 2014). The counselors showed concern about the possibility of the milestones of the internationalization plan to be established based on Csf since it does not include the areas of humanities, which may represent a loss for these areas. (Minutes of the 151<sup>st</sup> Meeting of the CTC-ES, 2014).

In September 2014, the president of Capes highlighted the importance of educational institutions providing industry training (Class 5 - Industry Development), especially in technological areas. And he reiterated that one of the paths to internationalization is the experience of the Science Without Borders Program, in addition to stressing "the importance of companies and industry in the internationalization of universities, a type of cooperation little developed in Brazil" (Minutes of the 154<sup>th</sup> meeting of the CTC-ES, 2014).

#### 4.2.2 Dilma Government 2 (January 2015 to May 2016) From the Perspective of the CTC-ES

In this period, there were only two meetings of the CTC-ES, but it is already possible to notice a turn in the treatment of the issue. In March 2015, the Director of Evaluation of Capes spoke about the budgetary restrictions imposed by the government and the delays in payments of the program (Minutes of the 157th Meeting of the CTC-ES, 2015).

In June, the new president of Capes expressed his desire to "see a greater performance of universities in sandwich graduation, in order to accompany students, besides facilitating the absorption of credits abroad" (Minutes of the 159th Meeting of the CTC-ES, 2015). And it was nothing more about the program, which seems to have ceased to be the focus of interest of the council.

#### 4.3 Education for Work

From the conclusion of the Board of Governors of Capes that, in order to develop the country and industry, priority should be given not to undergraduate student mobility programs, but to basic education "because people with this level of education are responsible for production in factories", it is necessary to try to understand this concept of "education for work" in terms of public policy.

When relating education and work, it is necessary to differentiate, first of all,

the understanding of work as a specific category of the social being - ontological dimension - of the forms that work takes in slavery, servilism and work as a commodity, such as labor force - work/employment, wage labor in capitalism (FRIGOTTO, 2001).

In this perspective, Bourdieu and Passeron (2011) show how education is an instrument that produces and reproduces the power of one class over the other, preparing some to perpetuate the detention of power and alienating others to continue selling their labor force. Freire (2005) also saw in school a conservative, reflective and reproductive function of social inequalities, however, he also saw the possibility of being an instrument to rescue citizenship.

The high illiteracy rate and verticalized education led Freire (2015) to think of a political-pedagogical project that would recover citizenship and think of education as an instrument for people to transform the world and write their history. It would be a way to enable the marginalized, the oppressed, to get out of the structure that make them "beings for another", to transform it in order to become "beings for themselves" (FREIRE, 2005).

For Freire (1986), illiteracy has its historical origin in situations of exploitation and oppression, imposed by a regime of domination. In this sense, Education would therefore be a liberating act, through which people could operate and transform the world.

The pedagogical orientation of international organizations and the World Bank for professional education has spread in the collective intelligence and has "as axis the adaptation and conformation of the worker, in the psychophysical, intellectual and emotional plane, to the new material, technological and organizational bases of production" (FRIGOTTO, 2001, p. 82).

The education sought by these bodies focuses on basic education and technical training and is based on the transmission of technological knowledge and its innovations, to create favorable conditions for the increase of productivity and capital, for the further development of countries (NEVES; PRONKO, 2008).

In Brazil, specifically, it is observed that

Professional Education is subordinated to the ideals of the market and capital and an exclusionary development model, income concentrator, predatory. Market and capital without controls of society - flexible and deregulated that generates unemployment, underemployment and exclusion. In this context, education in general and, in particular, professional education is linked to a perspective of training, accommodation, even if notions such as polyvalent and abstract education are used (FRIGOTTO, 2001).

That is, the business community has reinforced the discourse of these organizations, so that education is part of the new division of labor, moving away from the perspective of an education for the emancipation of the working class (NEVES, 2000). What is observed in the speech of the counselor is the idea of an education focused on simple work.

Marx, in 1867, in *Capital*, already differentiated simple labor from complex labor within the social division of labor. Complex work, unlike simple work, is characterized by being of a specialized nature, that is, requiring greater training, being at the same time production of value of use and value production.

In this sense, complex work would be simple work enhanced or multiplied in such a way that a small amount of complex work would amount to a large amount of simple work so that this increase occurs under conditions of domination and exploitation (MARX, 1988).

In the early days of industrial capitalism, complex work was carried out by a small group of workers, responsible for the control and maintenance of machines, and who had higher education, scientific training, or mastery of an office. This complex work became increasingly specialized.

Peternella (2016) points to the fact that technological development and the creation of increasingly automated machines sharpen the contradiction between the development of the productive forces and the social relations of production. If, on the one hand, there is a supposed appreciation of human qualification, on the other hand, it causes precarious forms of work with an increase of temporary, part-time, outsourced, or admitted workers in the informal economy.



The author also points out that this new reality has led to educational reforms increasingly distant from the so-called "knowledge society", since, the more sophisticated the technology, but simple the way to operate it, capital has needed in the truth of hand-work with basic skills. In this sense, the World Declaration of Education for All, for example, specified as basic learning needs reading and writing, oral expression, calculation and problem solving.

Thus, Science Without Borders being a program that sought to bring sophisticated knowledge to a fairly large portion of the academic population, its suspension on the grounds that it should, as a country, focusing on having people with basic training to occupy the factories goes against the idea of an education for the emancipation of the working class and the country.

## 5 By Way of Conclusions

The importance given to the internationalization of higher education, more specifically to student mobility, for the development of universities and even of the country is widely accepted in the literature. In this context, in 2011, for the first time in the history of Brazil, it was considered to implement a large-scale public policy for undergraduate student mobility through the Science Without Borders Program.

In this study, the textual analysis and content analysis were used in a hybrid way to analyze the minutes of the Capes Board of Governors, and the first one evidenced, with the support of the Iramuteq software, five classes from the Descending Hierarchical Classification: 1) Human Development; 2) Private Sector; 3) Budget and Execution; 4) Proficiency in English; and 5) Development of Industry and Universities. From them, the texts were analyzed.

One point that stands out is the fact that, after the impediment of President Dilma Rousseff, scholarships for graduation were suspended. The way this policy change took place in the Csf from impeachment will be better discussed in future works, but it can be said that, until 2014, it was not disputed that the Csf was part of a public policy that would develop the country. As of 2015, the program began to be questioned by public opinion, mainly regarding its cost.

In February 2016, at an extraordinary meeting, CS announced that the program was suspended and questioned its relevance to the internationalization of Brazilian science, pointing to the need to "to establish the new directions to be followed, within what actually contributes to the internationalization of Brazilian science". At this meeting, it was concluded that one should focus on basic education "because it is the people with this level of education who are responsible for production in factories".

On this subject, we have seen that we need to distinguish

the Professional Education project sponsored by the international organizations - World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, etc. - accepted in a subordinate way by the current federal government, the project that seeks to build, in different spaces of our society, from the perspective of the emancipation of the working class (FRIGOTTO, 2001).

The idea of giving up on investing in higher education to invest only in basic education reinforces what Tiburi (2021) called a "mongrel complex" by expanding the term coined by Nelson Rodrigues to address the defeat of the Brazilian national football team to Uruguay in the final of the 1950 World Cup in Maracanã. Tiburi (2021, p. 159-160) treats the mongrel complex as a narcissistic problem of Brazilians, "an allegory of colonization", a "self-promoting inferiority to the world".

Not that it is not important to invest in basic education, quite the contrary. And the Csf did not draw resources from this level of education (CRUZ, 2021). The point is that, in the case of Csf, the mongrel complex is shown when it is argued that the country prioritizes training for professions that require little qualification and requires more sophisticated training that would enable to develop activities that add more value. Similarly, for a long time in Brazil Cologne chose to produce cane, export it and import refined sugar from the Netherlands at exorbitant prices. In addition, Souza (2018) points out that the worker's useful knowledge of the factory floor is undervalued and this ends up being an invisible and legitimizing dimension of inequality.

The Csf was created in a context where we sought to change the structure of our industries and raise our national production to another level, together with the will to make education the priority of priorities. Thus, the program, aiming to develop the national industry through education, was one of the front flags of the Dilma government. Not by chance, the program went into crisis along with the government and was suspended soon after the impediment of the president.

The program systemically showed weaknesses, from the identification of the problem and the formation of the agenda to its implementation and evaluation (GRANJA; CARNEIRO, 2021). However, after the analysis to which this study has proposed focusing on the minutes of the Capes' Board of Governors and revisiting Ball's public policy cycle theory (1994), which speaks of a continuous cycle consisting of five interrelated contexts (influence; text production; practice; results or effects; and political strategy), we observe a highlight for an important change in the context of influence (discussion and articulation of different groups around the aims of the policy) that impacted directly and strongly on the program. This is because, according to Cruz and Eichler (2021), the Csf no longer fit the neoliberal model that ascended after the fall of the president and that reduced scientific promotion in general.

Perhaps the explanation comes from the concept of Casara (2017) of "Post-democratic State", a neoliberal state where the market and the circulation of money and goods gain more relevance than fundamental rights, among which is education, treated as a commodity.

The Csf was part of an ideal for the future, the dream of raising the level of undergraduate students in the country in a way that no other policy has succeeded and thus contributes to the development of the national industry. Will we again have a government that dreams this dream, whether through Csf or any other educational program?

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