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THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF BRAZILIAN UNIVERSITIES: CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE 'SCIENCE WITHOUT BORDERS' PROGRAMME

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ABSTRACT

Criticism of 'Science without Borders' (SwB) – the largest governmental strategy for internationalisation in the history of Brazilian higher education – has resulted in an interest in investigating the achievements of this programme. This article focuses on the contributions that SwB has made towards solidifying internationalisation in Brazilian universities. To do so, it analyses the rationale underpinning the programme's conception and implementation; its results; and, particularly, its expansion at the institutional level. This qualitative and exploratory research combined bibliographic and documentary resources and used thematic content analysis to do so. Results demonstrate that SwB has enhanced the exposure of Brazilian universities to the international environment, favoured academic partnerships and networks, and influenced the definition of the internationalisation model the Brazilian government wishes to adopt. Since its contribution to the learning curve has induced the decision to move towards a more organic and comprehensive process of internationalisation, it has widened the conditions that create an international environment within universities.

Keywords: International Insertion, Higher Education, Internationalisation of Universities, Science without Borders Programme (SwB), Institutional Internationalisation Program.

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1990s, economic globalization has explicitly and systematically influenced the definition of educational policy. Brazil is no stranger to this agenda. It has aligned itself with the prevailing scientific paradigm of the 21st century and conceives of research as being responsible for generating new knowledge that is capable of promoting innovation and influencing its competitiveness.

In spite of budgetary constraints, semi-peripheral nations invest in training young people who have the potential to generate science and technology and create programmes that are committed to international academic mobility (IAM). In doing so Brazil expects to integrate universities, researchers and students into the global scientific community (RIVAS; MULLET, 2016, p. 19). With regard to the Brazilian case, between 2011 and 2015 the federal government had its Science without Borders Programme (*PCsF*), its purpose being to create the conditions that favour the installation of processes of modernization, innovation, competitiveness and international insertion (MULLER, 2013). In line with this purpose, a significant number of students became academically mobile internationally; 101,446 scholarships were granted, with 78% (78,980) going to undergraduate students, an investment of almost R\$ 10.5 billion (BUARQUE, 2015; CAPES; CNPQ, 2016).

A review of the literature on the *PCsF* points to the existence of gaps, one of them being the incipience of texts that discuss its contribution to strengthening the internationalisation of Brazilian universities. The topics that are dealt with in depth on a recurring basis cover aspects related to the students, such as access to IAM (AVEIRO, 2014; KNOBEL, 2012); the experiences and the immediate effects of IAM on the scholarship holders (CHAVES, 2015; GIGLIO, 2015; MILHOMEM, 2016; RAMOS, 2016); and the challenges and triumphs of linguistic capital (ARCHANJO, 2016; BORGES; GARCIA-FILICE, 2016; SEHNEM, 2015). To a lesser extent, they relate the *PCsF* to the Brazilian developmental state, to the country's external policy (BISCHOFF, 2017; JUDD, 2014) and to how it reflected on

fields of knowledge and on specific universities (ALMEIDA, 2016; BASTOS, 2017; COSTA, 2016; LAGE, 2015; RIBEIRO, 2014).

Despite its national and international visibility, the *PCsF* was criticized by both representatives of academia and the media, and even by the government itself in a later administration. Given the above, this is an opportune moment to question how the *PCsF* contributed towards directing the internationalisation policy of Brazilian universities. To do so the government strategy that underpinned the programme's conception and implementation must be placed in context and its results and developments at the institutional level shown.

This research is exploratory and has a qualitative and interpretative nature, being based on bibliographic and documentary resources. Bringing together academic articles, work *stricto sensu* and documents from multiple sources, it uses thematic content analysis. The theoretical approach derives from a review of the literature on the internationalisation of higher education. The text evolves from the introduction to the theoretical and contextual foundations that underpinned the research. It then describes the methodology used, discusses the results, and ends with considerations and the references.

THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION: FROM ACADEMIC MOBILITY TO A COMPREHENSIVE CONCEPTION

The idea of internationalisation has merited the special attention of university institutions, national governments, multilateral agencies and international bodies involved with higher education (DE WIT, 1998; DE WIT et al., 2017; EGRON-POLAK; HUDSON, 2014; GAO, 2015; KNIGHT, 2012; LIMA; CONTEL, 2011; MOROSINI; NASCIMENTO, 2017). Beyond the discourse, the policies and practices aimed at fostering internationalisation have become established as the object of investigation (BERRY; TAYLOR, 2014; DOLBY; RAHMAN, 2008; KEHM; TEICHLER, 2007; YEMINI; SAGIE, 2015), the expectation being that this will broaden the understanding of a social phenomenon that involves different rationales, stages, ways in which it manifests itself and consequences (KNIGHT, 2004; 2015). Given this complexity there is no agreement on its significance, neither is there any clarity with regard to the paths to be pursued in order for educational systems and universities to become international (KNIGHT, 2015).

The most widely published definition of this phenomenon (MARIN-GE; FOSKETT; WOODFIELD, 2013; WHITSED; GREEN, 2014; YEMINI; SAGIE, 2015) was proposed by Knight (KNIGHT, 2004), who conceives of internationalisation in a generic way as a process of integrating international, intercultural and global dimensions with the purpose, functions and delivery of higher education with a view to achieving its goals. Whitsed and Green (2014), however, question the definitions that are repeatedly put forward because they consider that none of them is exempt from theoretical and operational challenges or ideologically neutral. In this understanding, internationalisation is a multifocal construct with specific contextual meaning; it refers to activities that are classified according to the qualities of those who use the term, but whose expectations and experiences of which differ.

This perspective emphasizes the circumstantial character of the phenomenon, especially when it comes to a highly institutionalized and pluralistic environment, such as higher education, in which a series of normative

orders are observed, comprising more than one cultural logic (MARGINSON; ORDORIKA, 2011). In other words, environmental, organizational and inter-organizational factors have an influence on the course that internationalisation takes (SEEBER et al., 2016).

Inter-organizationally this means that universities have their own objectives that are influenced by internal actors. Maringe, Foskett and Woodfield (2013) identify four value creation areas that such institutions hope to achieve with internationalisation: 1) strategic and symbolic; 2) knowledge creation; 3) cultural integration; 4) global market. Dobbins (2015) uses the concepts of institutional morphism and historical institutionalism to argue how external isomorphic pressures are channelled differently by the universities. Political developments, therefore, are conditioned by legacies and structures. Sánchez, Muñoz and Benítez (2015) warn that the management of internationalisation considers political dimensions; in other words, the academic and scientific understanding of internationalisation by university managers creates a cognitive and guiding basis with regard to the process.

The indicators most commonly associated with the internationalisation of teaching are IAM, the internationalisation of the syllabus, research, cross-border projects and joint publications (EWERT, 2012), of which IAM is the most recurrent of all these dimensions (KEHM; TEICHLER, 2007) and the most visible (LIMA; CONTEL, 2011). The emphasis on IAM can be seen from various indicators. In Europe, its systematization by the European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students (Erasmus) served as the basis for alignment between higher education systems, like the Bologna Process and the European Higher Education Area (AZEVEDO, 2014; SHIELDS, 2014). In research into internationalisation IAM is also the most recurrent system (KEHM; TEICHLER, 2007; YEMINI; SAGIE, 2015), including in Brazilian theses and dissertations (MOROSINI; NASCIMENTO, 2017). Finally the results of the 4th Global Survey on Internationalisation show that the internationalisation activities prioritized by the universities are IAM and international collaboration in research (EGRON-POLAK; HUDSON, 2014).

Internationalisation has recently acquired a more structured shape, including conceptually, rather than being indiscriminately associated with one or more of its dimensions (GACEL-ÁVILA; RODRÍGUEZ-RODRÍGUEZ, 2018). The spread of the concept of comprehensive internationalisation (2011), according to which this process should mould the *raison d'être* and institutional values and involve the whole of the 'university undertaking', reflects this trend. Investments aimed at internationalisation no longer have individuals as the main target and now focus directly on research universities as a means of becoming actively 'inserted' (LIMA; CONTEL, 2011) into the 'knowledge economy'.

THE SCIENCE WITHOUT BORDERS PROGRAMME (PCSF)

The *PCsF*, which was in force in the 2011-2016 period, was conceived and introduced by the federal government to promote the internationalisation of Brazilian higher education. It undertook to collaborate with high-level training in so far as scholarship holders attended courses and frequented laboratories in international centres of excellence. It also supported attracting foreign senior researchers and recently-qualified PhDs to Brazilian universities. These actions converged to include more ambitious purposes, such as: expanding and consolidating international research networks; accelerating the internationalisation process of Brazilian universities (CAPES, 2017); and promoting research able to influence Brazil's innovation and its productive competitiveness (BRASIL, 2011).

The ideation of the *PCsF* combines the inspiration generated by the IAM policy, which was adopted almost twenty years ago by the Chinese government after it was provoked to do so by the US government. In 2011, at the IV Brazil-US Global Partnership Dialogue, Barack Obama drew attention to the significant presence of Chinese, Indian and South Korean academics in US universities when compared to the modest number of Brazilians; that is when the '100,000 Strong in the Americas' document was drawn up. At the meeting, international cooperation agreements were signed between the two countries and three months later the *PCsF* was launched.

With a mixture of enthusiasm and mistrust Brazilian universities were told that the programme would provide 101,000 scholarships (AVEIRO, 2014). The aim initially was to send the scholarship holders to universities in the United States. Given the difficulty of little time to put this proposal into practice the Brazilian government expanded the partnerships to include 54 countries (CHAVES, 2015). The launch of the *PCsF* raised various issues, such as the urgent need to design a programme that was complex in terms of its introduction and monitoring, involving a significant number of grants countries and universities, and that was particularly onerous on the public coffers. Since the average investment per scholarship

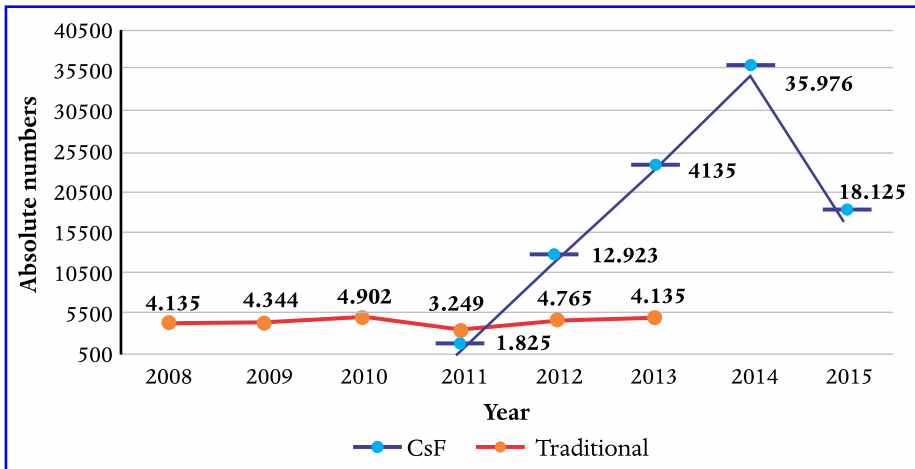
holder was R\$103,000 and between 2011 and 2015 approximately R\$10.5 billion were invested (BUARQUE, 2015), the *PCsF* can claim to be the Brazilian government's boldest initiative for encouraging IAM (AVEIRO, 2014, p. 17). Figure 1 shows the number of scholarships given, split between the *PCsF* and other programmes.

The data reveal an increasing asymmetry between the number of *PCsF* scholarships and those given by traditional programmes: there was moderate growth in the number of scholarships awarded by traditional programmes; rapid growth in the number of scholarships awarded between 2013 and 2014, respectively; and the fact that in 2014 *CsF* was the only government programme promoting IAM. In 2013 the number of scholarships awarded was eight times greater than those awarded by traditional programmes, with most of them corresponding to undergraduate sandwich courses. This makes it possible to state with a degree of certainty that the singularity of the *PCsF* lies in the number of scholarships provided for undergraduate sandwich courses, which correspond to 78% (78,980) of the total (CAPES; CNPQ, 2016). Unlike the IAM policy that was in force until then, the *PCsF* favoured beginners to the detriment of established academics (post-graduate students *stricto sensu* and those on post-doctoral internships).

The possibility of the production sector in semi-peripheral nations competing globally depends on the existence of qualified personnel. As a result, the responsibilities of universities increase. In the light of the above, which university internationalisation policy does the governments of semi-peripheral countries adopt? Data from Table 1 show that there is a significant effort to shorten time by investing heavily in IAM. Authors like Lima and Contel (2011) draw attention to the consolidation of internationalisation achieved by universities from central countries, in which the process assumes a strategic character that directs the promotion of R&D in partnership with international companies, the generation and registration of patents, and the marketing of consultancy services. In semi-peripheral countries, the predominant factor of internationalisation until recently was supported by IAM programmes, as shown in Table 1. As a result of

economic instability and changes in government, such programmes have suffered constantly from discontinuity, thus jeopardizing the maturing of the process of internationalisation and hampering virtuous relationships between universities and the production sector.

Figure 1 Study/Research abroad scholarships – a comparison between traditional scholarships and *PCsF* scholarships



Source: CAPES and CNPq (2016); Westphal (2014).

Table 1 Latin America: examples of IAM programmes

Year	Country	Programme	Body responsible	Objective
2008	Chile	<i>New Bicentenary Scholarship System Abroad</i>	National Commission of Scientific and Technological Research (Ministry of Education)	Study grants for higher education and technical level professionals interested in studying in international education centres.
2010	Ecuador	<i>Excellence Universities</i>	National Department of Higher Education, Science, Technology and Innovation Federal agencies, CAPES and CNPq (Ministry of Education / Ministry of Science, Technology, Innovation and Communication)	Study grants for those interested in doing higher level technical or technological courses in international education centres.
2011	Brazil	<i>Science without Borders</i>		Study grants for those interested in doing higher education courses. Supports attracting international researchers to Brazilian universities.
2012	Colombia, Chile, Peru and México	<i>Student and Academic Mobility Platform</i>	Pacific Alliance comprising the governments of Colombia, Chile, Peru and Mexico	Study grants for those interested in doing undergraduate and Master's courses and PhDs in Colombia, Chile, Peru or Mexico.
2013	Mexico	<i>100,000 Project</i>	Agreement between Mexico and the US to promote an educational and cultural exchange	Sends Mexican students to the USA ad takes in US students. Promotes cooperation in research and the access of needy demographic groups to the areas of science, technology, engineering and mathematics.

Source: prepared by the authors (2019)

Even so, programmes oriented towards IAM are reflected upon critically by representatives from academia, with the most recurrent concerns questioning the status of the “cooperation” (LIMA; CONTEL, 2011). They point to asymmetrical and colonial relationships (LEAL; MORAES, 2018; STEIN, 2017; TERRIER, 2009); they emphasize the predominance of the interests of central countries and international organizations in the directions the process take (AKKARI, 2011; AZEVEDO, 2014; LEITE; GENRO, 2012; LIMA; CONTEL, 2011) and they question quality indicators that favour the academic culture of the central counties and ignore the specificities of other contexts (VIEIRA; LIMA, 2015). This is particularly worrying when the speed with which the programmes are designed and the absence of indicators for monitoring and evaluating the results are taken into account.

METHODOLOGICAL CHOICES

Because this is a recent programme and there has been little accompaniment of the process or the results achieved, the investigation assumes exploratory characteristics of a qualitative and interpretative nature (PRA-SAD, 2005; STAKE, 2016), combining bibliographic and documentary research resources. Authors/texts that discuss the internationalisation of higher education and particularly IAM and the *PCsF* were considered in the bibliographic research.

Documentary research included documents taken from multiple sources: government agencies – Coordinating Office for Training Higher Education Personnel (*CAPE*S), National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (*CNPq*), the Brazilian Federal Senate and the Foreign & Commonwealth Office (FCO) - and non-government agencies - Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the Institute of International Education (IIE), Universities UK, International Unit, the US Department of Commerce, the Association of International Educators (NAFSA), consulates, embassies, Brazilian and international universities that participated significantly in the *PCsF*, reports of global academic rankings, and news published in the main communication media in Brazil.

The material was dealt with using the content analysis technique, with the research problem being used as the anchor of textual interpretation (FRANCO, 2007; MORAES, 1999). Reading the material generated the analysis categories (Table 2) that guided the interpretive exercise.

Table 2 Analysis categories

- a. *PCsF* and the exposure of Brazilian universities in the international environment
- b. *PCsF* and the establishment of partnerships that favour the interests of the US and the UK
- c. *PCsF* and the institutional direction of internationalisation in Brazilian universities

Source: prepared by the authors (2019)

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

a) **The *PCsF* and the Exposure of Brazilian Universities in the International Environment**

Figure 2 indicates that a significant number of scholarship holders go to universities located in the United States (27,821) and the United Kingdom (10,740). The fact that a large part of the countries that attracted the largest contingent of scholarship holders are English speaking and form part of the group of 'central countries' reinforces the argument that 'a corollary of internationalisation is the increase in the polarization power of knowledge production by the countries in the centre of the world-system' (RODRIGUES; CARRIERI, 2001, p. 93). Among the participating countries, however, are also China, which according to the Brazilian government, was the largest importing country from Brazil in 2017, Chile and Mexico, which are neighbours that stand out in terms of internationalisation in the region.

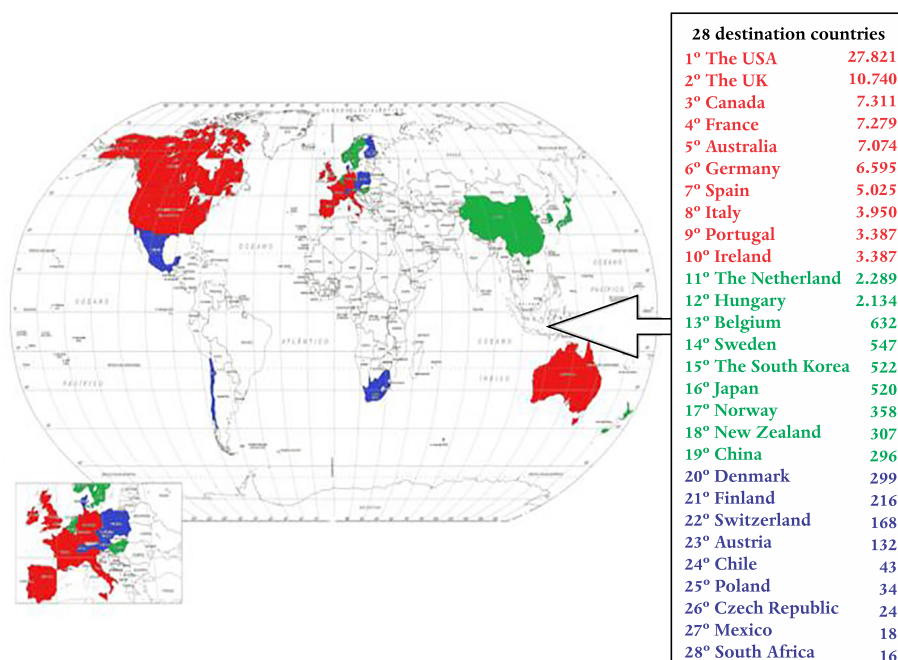
Countries that have welcomed *PCsF* scholarship holders have the biggest number of the best-ranked universities in global academic rankings. The Times Higher Education classification for 2016/2017, for example, reveals that among the top one hundred classified universities, 41 are North American (THE, 2017). Even though ranking practices are criticized by academics who strongly oppose a competitive environment and question the ability to measure educational quality (ALTBACH; HAZELKORN, 2018; LEAL; STALLIVIERI; MORAES, 2017), Brazilian universities, both public and private, make every effort to achieve a high-ranking position.

In addition to credibility and reputation, a good classification in the rankings confers international visibility, helps attract 'brains', promotes national and international enrolment and brings in public and private investments that can fund part of the research, all factors that reinforce the competitiveness of global universities.

Brazilian universities first appeared in the rankings in 2011. Data from the Times Higher Education World University Rankings (THE) reveal that in 2010, when the *PCsF* was launched, no Brazilian university was among the top 400. In that year, two universities were included: the Uni-

versity of São Paulo (USP) was among the 200 best (178th position) and the State University of Campinas (Unicamp) lay between the 276th and 300th positions. A year later, both USP and Unicamp had advanced by 20 positions (THE, 2017).

Figure 2 *PCsF*: Distribution of scholarship holders by destination country (2011–2015)



Source: CAPES and CNPq (2016).

Considering the results of QS World University Rankings, since 2011 three Brazilian universities have improved their positions. Of the 700 considered in the ranking in the 2016 edition, USP was up to 120th position. In the five years of the *PCsF*, it moved up 133 positions; Unicamp improved by 191 positions and the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (*UFRJ*) by 60. Comparing the positions of USP and Unicamp between 2010 and 2011, they improved by 84 and 57 positions, respectively.

The combination of the advance in internationalisation in Latin American countries (Table 1), the financial crisis in the United States and criticism of the classification criteria of global rankings contributed towards a favourable environment for the creation of regional rankings. In 2011, QS created the ranking of Latin American universities, QS Latin American University Rankings.

From the outset, approximately half of the first twenty positions were occupied by Brazilian universities. In 2012, one year after the launch of the *PCsF*, the country had 65 of the 250 best universities. The vast majority of the best-classified institutions in the three rankings are public universities [*state or federal*]. Interestingly, it is a revealing fact that they are the ones that are mainly responsible for sending *PCsF* scholarship holders abroad and that declare their commitment to advancing the process of internationalisation, in addition to having an ambition to achieve the status of world-class universities, as declared in their respective Institutional Development Plans (THIENGO, 2018).

The positive results associated with the *PCsF* are not limited to the classification of Brazilian universities in the rankings. Interpretation of the literature and documents allows for an abovementioned triumphs to be expanded upon. The size of the programme places Brazilian universities firmly in evidence. Indications of this are the significant number of dissertations and theses that discuss the internationalisation of Brazilian higher education; the creation of research groups that focus on this phenomenon; the promotion of forums, workshops and lectures aimed at understanding the *PCsF*, universities and the Brazilian higher education system; the presence of international delegations in Brazil; the promotion of visits of Brazilian university managers to foreign universities and their presence in the main international higher education fairs; the creation and launch of the foreign diplomas revalidation/recognition website (Carolina Bori), and the Institutional Internationalisation Programme (*PrInt-Capes*).

Increasingly exposed to the international environment, some Brazilian universities are advancing in their dialogue with representatives from agencies in countries that are interested in expanding the educational mar-

ket they have already achieved and from institutions that wish to increase their number of international enrolments. They are, therefore, investing in defining internationalisation projects, creating or consolidating the position of pro-dean for international affairs and hiring professionals who are capable of working with an internationalisation agenda (CAPES, 2017).

B) *PCsF* and the Establishment of Partnerships that Favour the Interests of the US and the UK

While in semi-peripheral countries the internationalisation of higher education is in the embryonic to moderate stages, in central countries, particularly the US and the UK, this process has been consolidated. There is no shortage of evidence corroborating this: they have the best-ranked universities in the world, attract the most significant contingents of academics, generate patents, sell their consultancy services, etc. As a result, they can select and maintain the best brains, have the resources needed for investing in first-generation laboratories, and lead in the generation and spread of science and technology, secure in the knowledge that all this favours the vitality of their production sector (VIEIRA; LIMA, 2015). The leadership of the US and the UK in creating and expanding the *PCsF* justifies looking into the positive results associated with these two regions in more depth.

Given the academic might of some of the universities in the United States, attention shifts to human resources and the formation of strategic alliances. OECD data (2017, p. 290) reveal that the country attracts approximately one in every three higher education students in circulation. In immediate terms, what does this generate for the country's economy? Data published by the US Department of Commerce reveal that in 2015 international education generated a figure of more than US\$ 35 billion (OECD, 2017). Information from the Association of International Educators (NAFSA, 2018) (2017-2018) reveals that the 94,562 international students and their respective dependents contributed US\$ 39 billion to the US economy. The same Association estimates that in the same period 455,622 jobs were created.

International higher education in the UK, which in terms of recruiting international students comes only second to the US, can also be asso-

ciated with an 'industry'. According to Walker (2014), the total income of the sector is some £22.2 billion, of which £ 2 billion come from international students. The estimate is that, overall, higher education will contribute £800 million to the Gross Domestic Product. It is also estimated that visits by family members will account for around £170 million a year (WALKER, 2014).

This partly explains why the US became the pilot country for the PC_sF (MILHOMEM, 2016), responsible for receiving approximately three times more scholarship holders (27,821) than the second placed country, the UK (10,740). The strong presence of universities in English-speaking countries justifies the concern the scholarship holders have with their fluency in English: the creation of the Languages Without Borders Programme (IP_sF) and the partnership established with the Educational Teaching Service (ETS) for applying tests that measure the proficiency of candidates in English. Evidence of this pattern is the fact that in 2013 student exchanges in Portugal were cancelled because *'English is one of the priorities of the programme, so MEC intends increasing its relations with US teaching institutions'*.

The aggressiveness of the investment in IAM helped Brazil climb in the ranking of countries that send most students to US universities. According to Open Doors (IIE, 2016), Brazil went from 14th place in 2011 to 6th in 2015. In contrast, in the same period (2011–2015) the presence of US students in Brazilian universities was discrete and came largely from the 100,00 Strong in the Americas initiative. To get some idea of the asymmetry that exists between the attraction capacity of the two countries, in 2011-2012 only 4060 US students arrived in Brazil to study, 16.5% more than in the previous year (MORENO, 2014).

In the UK, in its turn, since the Empire internationalisation has been seen as a strategy that is associated with the interest of advancing territorial conquest and preserving the domination of British rule. This government recognises higher education as an export industry (WALKER, 2014). While growth in annual fees from non-European students was estimated at £3.7 billion between 2015-2016, there are expectations that this will reach £4.8 billion between 2018-2019, corresponding to 14.9% of the current income

of universities in the UK (HEFCE, 2016). The UK has understandably indicated an interest in receiving scholarship holders from the *PCsF* and between 2012 and 2015 accepted 11,352 students.

In the scope of the strategy of remaining attractive to students interested in IAM, the British government classifies Brazil as an international partner. That is why in 2015 the Foreign & Commonwealth Office included the educational area (Education and Knowledge) in its Prosperity Fund campaign. The main strategy in higher education was to identify British universities with the potential to participate in the *PCsF* (BRITISH-EMBASSY-BRASILIA, 2015). In 2014, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (George Osborne) declared that by 2019 the UK would invest £45 million in cooperation programmes with Brazil from the Newton Fund (BRITISH-COUNCIL, 2014) and at the beginning of 2016 an agreement was signed to speed up the mutual recognition of each other's diplomas (MEC, 2016).

Optimistic about the gains made by the *PCsF*, the British government strengthened the partnership between the *PIsF* (2012) and the Prosperity Fund, by funding courses for training English teachers. Therefore, in addition to contributing to the training of teachers, it promotes the British acculturation of these opinion makers. However, because of the interruption in the *PCsF*, the UK has changed its priorities and technical secondary education is gaining its particular attention. Along these lines, the British Embassy and Pearson have signed a partnership agreement with the Paula Souza Centre to implement training programmes for English teachers in Brazilian state technical schools and colleges of technology (CPS, 2016). In doing so they are favouring the creation of institutional ties that have an influence in terms of choosing the UK in the stage after the technical training.

The volume of resources involved in the *PCsF* is of interest to international governments and universities. In this context, initiatives are growing aimed at understanding the higher education system, particularly the system in Brazilian universities that favour partnerships that focus on promoting language teaching in public universities and funding publications and guides that can help universities in the 'necessary' internationalisation process, among other initiatives, according to Table 3.

Table 3 Internationalisation actions funded in Brazil by international resources

Action	Description	Examples of international actors involved
<p>Creation of language course platforms.</p> <p>Launch of the PIsF.</p>	<p>The PCsF showed the importance of linguistic capital</p>	<p>The Brazilian Government signed a cooperation agreement with the French to offer the online course, <i>Français sans Frontières</i> (Dec. 2013) and undertook to send teachers who will give classes in federal universities that do not yet offer French courses. Other countries have followed the same steps, with English being prioritized.</p>
<p>Investigation into the internationalisation of Brazilian universities</p>	<p><i>Higher Education and Student Mobility: A Capacity Building Pilot Study in Brazil.</i></p>	<p>The Education Centre of the International Institute of Education, with support from the Australian government, carried out research into IAM in Brazilian universities: Academic Mobility Research and Impact.</p>
<p>Development of a guide that helps Brazilian universities become international</p>	<p><i>Universities for the world: challenges and opportunities for internationalisation.</i></p>	<p>The British Council funded the participation of international academics in the Faubai/2018 conference, when the guide was launched. This publication offers space for articles on the internationalisation of UFSC [<i>Federal University of Santa Catarina</i>], one of the universities that is prominent in the PCsF.</p>
<p>Sponsorship for the biggest Brazilian higher education conference</p>	<p><i>Faubai Annual Conferences</i></p>	<p>Faubai's annual conferences, which are attended by representatives from around the world, are sponsored by organizations such as FPPEdUMedia, ETS, Campus France, British Council, US Diplomatic Mission and Education in Ireland.</p>

Source: prepared by the authors (2019).

C) *PCsF* and the Institutional Direction of the Internationalisation of Brazilian Universities

The *PCsF* was associated with giving scholarships that were predominantly aimed at undergraduates. As a result it mainly appealed to the academic community of beginners, with a limited capacity for reverting their academic achievements to the institution from which the scholarship holder originated. Their presence in large numbers, however, in more than 50 countries and reputable universities placed Brazilian higher education much in evidence. Although the programme has only existed for a short time, it has generated a learning curve and the determination to move forward in a broader and more organic internationalisation process by creating an international environment in Brazilian universities, to achieve something that Hudzik (2011) calls ‘comprehensive internationalisation’.

Along these lines, in 2017 *Capes* invested in a data survey, the results of which were the basis for the preparation of a diagnosis about the stage of internationalisation of Brazilian universities, and the formulation of the Institutional Internationalisation Programme (*Capes-PrInt*), a document that explains the internationalisation model currently devised for Brazil.

Capes-PrInt goes further than being just a programme that fragments public investments awarding scholarships to undergraduates. It concentrates its financial resources on supporting projects from universities that are exposed to the international environment and have recognized academic ‘muscle’. According to Invitation to Bid Notice 41/2017, the bidding institution must have ‘at least four postgraduate programmes that are recommended by *Capes* in its three-yearly assessment of 2013 and four-yearly assessment of 2017, of which at least two must include PhD courses’ (CAPES-PRINT, 2017, p. 1).

The invitation to bid notice also creates the expectation of attracting organic internationalisation projects because they are transversally aligned with the university’s Institutional Development Plan (IDP), thus encouraging academic leaders to review their own IPDs in order to direct the institution towards the international environment. After all, one of the justifications of *Capes-PrInt* lies in ‘encouraging the transformation of partici-

pating institutions in an international environment' (CAPES-PRINT, 2017, p. 2). Over and above academic competence, it is expected that academics will be familiar with the IPD, because if they are not they will be unable to put together an internationalisation proposal that is aligned with the institutional mission.

The decision to support primarily universities with recognized academic production and consistent exposure to the international environment is reinforced by Thiengo (2018). When examining the IPD of Brazilian universities that are present in the global rankings, are classified among the top ten in the Folha University Ranking and in the Top 200 Project and offer postgraduate programmes that are included in the BRICS Network University Programme, the author classifies the institutions orient their respective missions, goals and strategies for a process of being transformed into a World-Class University (UCM) (THIENGO, 2018, p. 291-292), an ambition that is in complete harmony with the internationalisation model of *PrInt*.

The expectation that approved projects will be successful may be associated with the fact that the bid notice respects the choices of the bidding university, thus encouraging the advance of science and technology in fields of knowledge in which the institution reveals a consistent and recognized academic track record. This justifies an emphasis on consolidated post-graduate programmes that are familiar with the conception of projects carried out in collaboration networks that involve Brazilian and international students and researchers, a group that is exposed to assessment indicators that are adopted internationally. The government, therefore, does not conceal its expectation that, in the short term, the country will appropriate knowledge that is generated by the programme's scholarship holders.

A total of 108 institutions registered in the bidding process and the initial result (Aug/2018) was the approval of 25 projects; when it was rectified (Oct/2018) a further 11 were selected. Carrying out the 36 projects will involve an annual investment of R\$ 300 million as from 2019 (BUARQUE, 2015; CAPES; CNPQ, 2016), which cannot compare with the amount in-

vested in the *PCsF* (R\$ 10.5 billion). Faced with budget constraints, *PrInt* involves a small number of projects, is associated with few universities, which are predominantly public, and is heavily research-oriented. This is, interestingly, the same group that, according to Thiengo (2018), directs the missions, targets and strategies for the transformations that are required by the UCM standard.

The rationale behind the investment is understandable and the side effects are predictable: there will be a reinforcement of the dual logic since *PrInt* will help widen the distance that separates teaching universities from research universities, local-oriented universities from global-oriented universities and universities for the few from universities for the masses.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Investing in policies and programmes that foster the internationalisation of higher education has not been a matter of choice. In the Brazilian context it is impossible to disregard the fact that the *PCsF* assumed an importance since it helped project higher education and Brazilian universities in the international environment. This text contains several indications of this, among which the holding of international meetings in their various formats, the participants of which tried to explain or understand Brazilian higher education in general, and the *PCsF* in particular. There is also the position of young Brazilian universities in regional and global rankings after the launch of the programme.

International delegations visiting Brazil and the promotion of technical visits by managers abroad indicated that Brazil was arousing interest among representatives from countries that have a recognized university tradition. With greater exposure to the international environment, some Brazilian universities have directed their resources to an internationalisation agenda that goes further than the IAM of undergraduates in so far as they: wish to integrate research/publication networks; occupy institutional spaces dedicated to discussion and deliberation on international issues; and have professionals who are capable of working with an internationalisation agenda and defending institutional interests outside of Brazil (CAPES, 2017).

The progress made reveals that there is a tendency for internationalisation to be conceived of from a 'comprehensive' perspective that is no longer limited to one of its dimensions, but is challenged by the structural transformations that are required. It is no longer centred on individuals, but on institutions that have a greater capacity for formulating and carrying out network projects; reacting to pressures exerted by the Brazilian government, this favours an 'active' inclusion in the international context.

The evidence that a specific contingent of public universities is moving towards consolidating their institutional process of internationalisation denotes an historical continuity of state policy. As a reflection of the strong state presence in Brazil's higher education, internationalisation of the sec-

tor began in an induced way based on developmental priorities and with greater projection in public universities. On the other hand, this evidence reinforces the circumstantial character of internationalisation, the directions of which are influenced by internal actors.

The decision to interrupt the *PCsF* generated a void. Inauguration of *Capes-PrInt*, however, had as one of its bases the lessons learned from the *PCsF*. The document indicates that Brazilian universities will have the autonomy to define those partners with which they are interested in developing projects. To this end, they must have an infrastructure that indicates a clear ability to use foreign languages, accommodate foreign students and researchers, take ownership of the knowledge acquired by repatriated scholarship holders, and have an international relations office with the capacity to manage internationalisation projects and train teams.

One of the main contributions of the *PCsF* lies in having sufficient influence so that internationalisation become central to the strategic planning of Brazilian universities. This direction indicates that the country's universities need to be accredited to promote a broader, more active and more organic internationalisation. The numerous criticisms directed at the *PCsF* are strong because they are well-founded, but the challenge is to recognize (again) and preserve the results achieved following the introduction of this programme.

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