

Higher Education internationalization: how do Education field studies address the topic? ^{1 2 3 4}

A internacionalização da Educação Superior: como o tema é tratado pelo campo da Educação?

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Abstract

Arguing that the early 21st century saw an important push to higher education internationalization, this study shows the results of a bibliographical review on the topic. To do so, a set of 36 articles, published between 2014 and 2019, in education journals of excellence were selected via specific research descriptors. From our analysis it seems that, although most articles can be categorized either from the perspective of students' experiences or from a public policy to internationalize higher education, we find great porosity in addressing the theme, which hinders summarization.

Keywords: Internationalization, Higher Education, Educational Studies

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Resumo

Partindo da premissa de que no início do século XXI houve um importante impulso aos processos de internacionalização da Educação Superior, este trabalho apresenta os resultados de um levantamento bibliográfico a respeito da temática em revistas de excelência na área de Educação. Para tanto, foi selecionado um conjunto de 36 artigos, publicados entre 2014 e 2019, que corresponderam aos descritores utilizados na pesquisa. Da sua análise percebe-se que, apesar de a maioria dos trabalhos poder ser categorizada na perspectiva da política pública da internacionalização da Educação Superior ou da experiência estudantil, há uma grande porosidade no trato da temática, o que dificulta o esforço de síntese.

Palavras-chave: *Internacionalização, Educação Superior, Campo da Educação*

Introduction

Since the promulgation of the Brazilian 1988 Constitution, we find a tension between the recognition of citizenship rights – among which, education – and the adoption of an explicitly neoliberal agenda, materialized, above all, by the creation of the Ministry of Administration and State Reform. As in Europe, State reform aimed to bring the public market closer to the private one, making it leaner and supposedly more focused on the demands of citizens who, in this perspective, would assume the status of consumers (Bresser-Pereira, 1996). Thus, public schools began to organize themselves around the constitutional principle of democratic management at the same time that strategies and instruments of control and regulation were implemented via evaluations (D. Oliveira, 2020).

In the 1990s, since the government stressed state reform and the imposition of a managerial agenda, the rise of the Workers' Party (PT) in 2003 defined a new course. Economics has a heated debate on the nature of this process. Its common qualification as neodevelopmentalism hides important controversies – as per Mercadante (2010) and Bresser-Pereira (2010). Authors such as Bresser and Pereira (2010) claim this is a new developmentalism, used by middle-income countries, such as Brazil, as a discourse and strategy between neoliberal conceptions and the national-developmentalism of the mid-20th century which converges interests between various society sectors and finds the State as the spearhead of economic development. The rise of this concept both enabled the recognition and incorporation of

agendas dear to the progressive sphere into education and maintained the accountability elements in force (such as large-scale evaluations) untouched.

In higher education, the expansion of access to undergraduate courses and a greater investment in federal education maintained virtually unchanged the structure opposing large private networks (offering mass access) to public education (marked by the development of research). Note that its main change was in scale, as undergraduate enrollment grew 90.57% between 2004 and 2016, from 4,223,344 to 8,048,701. We highlight federal higher education, whose enrollment grew 110.78%, jumping from just over 592,000 candidates in 2004 to more than 1.249 million in 2016 (Moreira & Silva, 2020). The Science Without Borders Program⁵ emerges via decree no. 7,642/2011 (2011) in 2011, to train Brazilians abroad and promote international cooperation.

However, the submission of Dilma Rousseff's re-elected government to an austere spending agenda from 2015 onward, aggravated the growing economic crisis, despite satisfying part of the financial sector, guided by the prevailing rhetoric of reducing the role of the state – seen as a competitor to be beat. This pro-cyclical action decreased revenue, cut spending, and made it impossible to maintain many initiatives (Friedrich Ebert Foundation, 2016).

The political crisis which culminated in Dilma Rousseff's impediment and Michel Temer's inauguration represented a definitive break with the neodevelopmental model, whose most prominent evidence was the approval of constitutional amendment no. 95/2016. Jair Bolsonaro's inauguration in 2019 explicitly opted for deepening fiscal austerity policies, causing, above all, successive contingencies and budget cuts, especially in education.

Thus, if the internationalization of higher education emerged tied to a state policy at the beginning of the decade, its permanence as an element of educational policy suggests the

⁵ According to its website, “Science without Borders is a program which seeks to consolidate, expand, and internationalize Brazilian science, technology, innovation, and competitiveness via exchange and international mobility. The initiative is the result of a joint effort of the Ministries of Science, Technology and Innovation (MCTI) and the Ministry of Education (MEC), via their respective funding institutions – CNPq and Capes – and MEC Higher Education and Technological Education Secretariats.

The project foresees up to 101,000 scholarships in four years to promote exchange programs, so undergraduate and graduate students can study abroad and maintain contact with competitive educational systems in technology and innovation. Moreover, it seeks to attract foreign researchers who want to settle in Brazil, establish partnerships with Brazilian researchers in the priority areas defined in the Program or create an opportunity for researchers from companies to receive specialized training abroad” (The Program – What is it? – Science without Borders (<https://www.gov.br/cnpq/pt-br/acesso-a-informacao/acoes-e-programas/programas/ciencia-sem-fronteiras/apresentacao-1/o-que-e>)).

prevalence of a perspective which conceives it as a private good which can guarantee social differentiation by democratizing access to national institutions. According to Azevedo et al., “the search to add attributes to the social value of diplomas drives internationalization as a strategy for social groups which believe to be losing positions or intend to guarantee their distinctive status via diplomas” (pp. 298).

The number of Brazilians graduating abroad has increased in recent years, according to Selo Belta (the Brazilian Educational & Language Travel Association). In 2015, 41,800 students graduated abroad; in 2016, 62,800, in 2017, 36,600; and, in 2018, 50,400 (Belta, 2018; Molina, 2019; Martins & Correa, 2020). Moreover, this type of exchange, the seventh most sought in 2016, became the fourth in 2018. The cost of programs and courses “(...) causes demand to focus on class A students” (Belta, 2017). Belta Seal (2018) also found that Canada, the US, Australia, Ireland and, the United Kingdom feature among the most sought destinations in 2016. In an *Estadão* story, Laila Parada Worby, manager of the international consulting firm Crimson Education Brasil, explains that her clients often mention the Brazilian political and economic context since “some parents believe that these cuts [of funds by the federal government] will greatly harm education in the country” (Molina, 2019).

In view of the above, we sought to investigate how research in education has focused on higher education internationalization, especially in journals evaluated by the Qualis Capes system. To this end, we used articles from 2014 to 2019 in indexed journals available on the Capes Journal Portal. Thus, we tried to assess whether research aligns with institutional policy movements. This study is divided into four sections, including this introduction. Next, we will show our methodology. Then, the section entitled “How studies address higher education internationalization” will show our result analysis. We conclude with our final considerations.

Methodology

Data were collected in two phases. First, the following descriptors in Portuguese were defined: “Internacionalização” and “Educação Superior” or “Ensino Superior” (“Internationalization” and two synonyms for “Higher Education”). These terms were

combined and those studies with at least two descriptors in their title, abstract or keywords were chosen. Those who failed to meet this criterion were excluded.

Searching for articles published from 2014 to 2019⁶ via “internacionalização” and “educação superior” in the Capes Journal Portal retrieved 209 studies, whereas, via “internacionalização” and “ensino superior,” 338 results. Boolean operators were used⁷ to optimize our search since many studies were retrieved by both descriptor combinations. Thus, the expression “internacionalização” AND (“educação superior” OR “ensino superior”) was used in our search.

Via it, 412 articles were retrieved. However, several appeared twice (in Portuguese and English). Most corresponded to only one descriptor and several dealt with topics unrelated to higher education internationalization and were thus excluded from our survey.

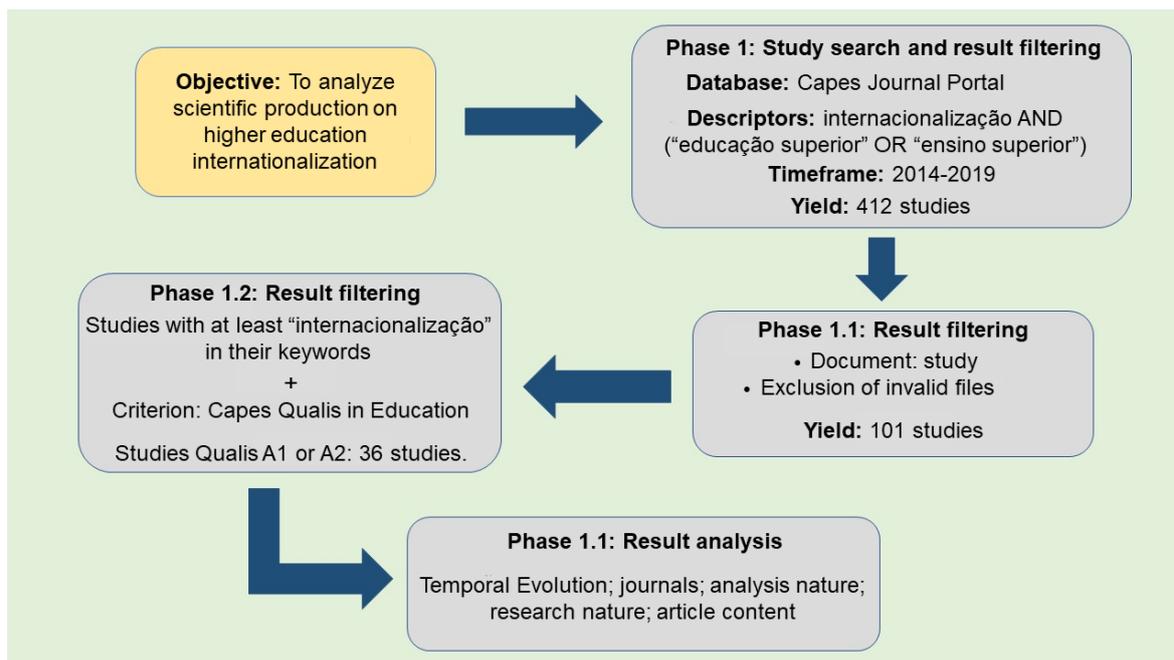


Figure 1. Knowledge search steps

⁶ Although a timeframe up to 2019 was used for our bibliographic survey, at the suggestion of the reviewers of this study – to whom we extend our thanks –, a search was conducted with articles published in 2020 via the methodology above. In total, 16 articles were found, six of which with Qualis A1 (Khomyakov et al., 2020; Leal et al., 2020; Lima & Stallivieri, 2020; Mattos et al., 2020; Neves & Barbosa, 2020; Veiga & Magalhães, 2020); two, with Qualis B1; two, with Qualis B2; and one, with Qualis B4 rating. Since these failed to change our general results, the original timeframe was maintained.

⁷ Boolean operators act as words that tell search systems how to combine search terms. We used AND, OR, and NOT. To facilitate surveys, it is important to write them in capital letters.

Note that our search for key terms in Portuguese retrieved studies in Portuguese, English, Spanish, and French. However, if the terms were searched in English, our universe of results might have been larger.

As shown in Figure 1, the second stage of result refinement began. The criterion used was the Capes Qualis system. A (2013-2016) four-year period was used, considering the classification of education journals. Unclassified journals or those with evaluations in other areas were disregarded. Thus, 147 studies were retrieved. “Internationalization” was found in several abstracts, but some studies focused on other topics. Only the studies containing the “internationalization” descriptor and dealing with our chosen topic were maintained in our sample. Thus, 101 articles were chosen. Table 1 shows the Qualis strata and the number of articles in each.

Table 1. Temporal evolution of studies by journal strata

Qualis in Education	Published studies per year						Total
	2014	2015	2016	2015	2016	2015	
A1	1	3	4	6	2	1	17
A2	-	-	3	11	4	1	19
B1	6	2	2	9	6	4	29
B2	-	-	6	3	3	2	14
B3	-	3	3	2	3	-	11
B4	-	-	-	2	-	1	3
B5	-	1	1	-	-	-	2
C	-	1	3	1	1	-	6
Total	7	10	22	34	19	9	101

Due to the large number of retrieved studies, those published in the B1 stratum and lower were excluded, and those above, maintained, totaling 17 Qualis A1 studies and 19 Qualis A2 ones.

As shown in Table 2, production is relatively dispersed across 14 different journals. *Avaliação* was the A1 journal with most studies, totaling five. Among the A2 stratum ones, *Educação* (Porto Alegre) published the most, with a total of 10 articles (nine of which composing a dossier on the subject published in 2017). Of these, three articles were published in English and two in Spanish.

Table 2. Qualis A1 and A2 journals with studies on Higher Education internationalization

Qualis A1 and A2 education journals	2014	2015	2016	2015	2016	2015	Total
Education Policy Analysis Archives	1	1	-	-	1	-	3
Avaliação	-	1	2	2	-	-	5
Revista Brasileira de Educação	-	1	-	1	-	1	3
Educação em Revista	-	-	2	1	-	-	3
Rev. bras. his. educ.	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Educação e Pesquisa	-	-	-	1	1	-	2
Educação em Questão	-	-	1	-	1	-	2
RBPAAE	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Athenea Digital	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Educação (Porto Alegre)	-	-	-	9	-	1	10
ECCOS Revista Científica	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Est. Aval. Educ.	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Revista Ibero-Americana de Estudos em Educação	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Perspectiva	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Total	1	3	7	17	6	2	36

Figure 2 shows the keywords of the analyzed studies. We highlighted the most frequent ones in bold: international academic mobility and academic exchange. Some variations of the descriptor “internationalization” were: internacionalização da educação superior, internacionalização da educação e internacionalização do ensino superior (descriptors in Portuguese which relate to our theme of interest). “Academic mobility” and “international academic mobility” feature among the variations of the “mobility” descriptor.

Regarding the content of the studies, two main axes stand out: those focused on student mobility, their experiences, motivations, challenges, and the issue of language in mobility; and those which analyzed and discussed public policies aimed at internationalization and related

aspects. The dotted line around the thematic axes aims to show openness since the chosen studies refrain from addressing a single thematic group. We also found studies on the state of knowledge in the field and on internationalization from specific theoretical lenses.

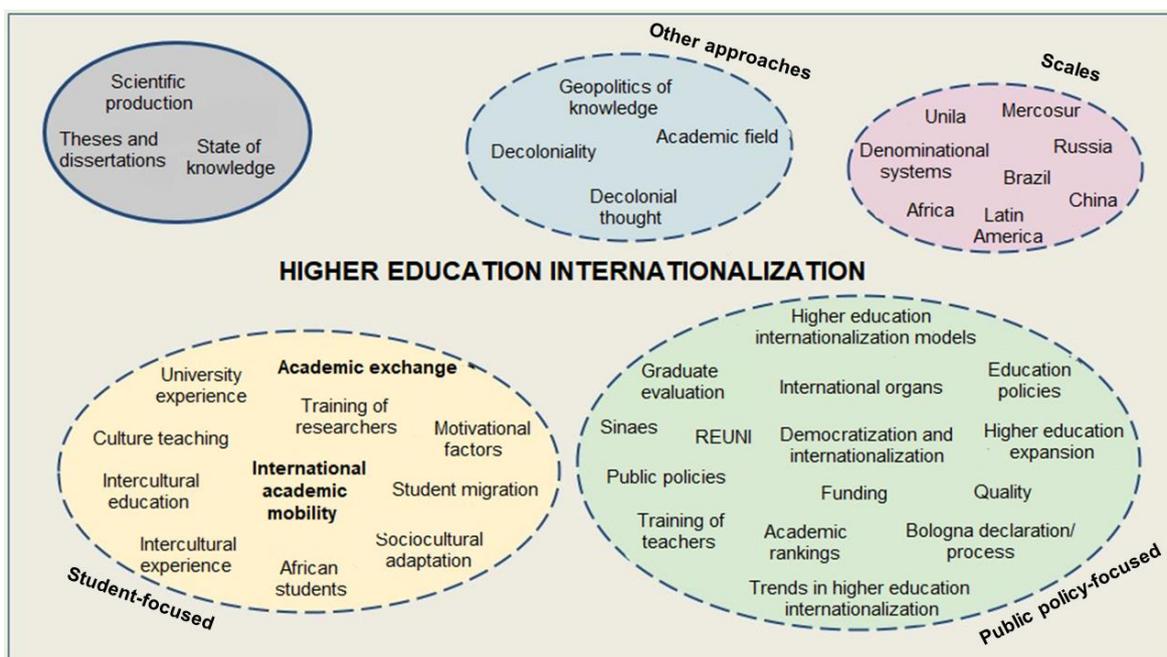


Figure 2. Descriptors in studies

How studies address higher education internationalization

As Figure 2 shows, the scale of analysis in the studies varies: from students' (A. Oliveira & Freitas, 2016, 2017; Costa, 2018; Cunha et al., 2017; Sena et al., 2014) or teachers' experiences (A. Oliveira & Freitas, 2016, 2017; Pinto et al. 2018) to the perspective of higher education institutions or the State on internationalization public policies (Davis et al., 2016; Maués & Bastos, 2016, 2017; Vieira et al., 2018). Some studies address the theme from experiences and strategies of one or more institutions (Sousa, 2017; Santos, 2017), others reflect more widely on the issue, extrapolating the limits of the Brazilian territory (Aupetit, 2017; Morgan & William, 2017; Morosini, Somers et al., 2017; Racy & Silva, 2017; Segrera, 2016). However, most studies either focused on higher education internationalization in Brazil as a whole or on case studies in higher education institutions (Aroni, 2017; Cunha, 2017; Luce et al., 2016; Miranda & Stallivieri, 2017; Morosini & Nascimento, 2017, Ramos, 2018; Santos, 2017). Moreover, some

addressed the theme via an essentially theoretical and conceptual focus (Araújo & Silva, 2015; Azevedo et al., 2017; Leal & Moraes, 2018; Martinez, 2019).

Of the 36 analyzed articles, three dealt with the current state of knowledge, whereas one was a systematic review on the subject.

Morosini and Nascimento (2017) analyzed the production of theses and dissertations, between 2011 and 2014, on higher education internationalization, concluding that Brazil still showed few studies on the subject at the time. They also proposed national and institutional dimensions to evaluate this production. We found another two papers focusing on theses and dissertations, Dalla Corte (2017), assessing internationalization in undergraduate courses, and Morosini and Dalla Corte (2018), highlighting internationalization trends. Dal-Soto et al. (2016) classified the production of articles on the subject, between 2004 and 2013, according to their methodology and general characteristics.

Several articles discussed academic mobility. Foreign exchange has great appeal in Brazilian undergraduate programs since they enable the creation of relationships with researchers from other countries who can collaborate with Brazilian research (Ramos, 2018).

Luce et al. (2016) assessed the intercultural dimension of academic mobility in Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul students, considering aspects such as language and participation in student and regional events. Oliveira and Freitas (2016, 2017) addressed the motivations for mobility and students and teachers' experiences – challenges, facilitating aspects, and gains. Based on Bourdieu's considerations and the intercultural experiences constructed in these exchanges, they found that students may develop a symbolic capital which "is characterized by individuals' cultural, intellectual, and personal enrichment, which transform their sense of identity, values, and sociocultural attitudes" (A. Oliveira & Freitas, 2017, pp. 794). Azevedo et al. (2017) also use Pierre Bourdieu's ideas to problematize higher education internationalization from the latter's theory on social fields:

(...) it would not be bold to say that the so-called internationalization of higher education is, in practice, the constitution of an international field of higher education. Characterized as a space of struggles and disputes for the specific capital of the field, it is occupied by social actors in dominant and dominated positions who express inclinations depending on the role of international exchanges in contemporary differentiated societies, such as nationalist and imperialist, developmentalist, “dependentist tendencies,” etc. In summary, the constitution of an international field of higher education necessarily implies talking about denationalizations and disputes for sovereignties (general and specific). (Azevedo et al., 2017, pp. 301)

The experience mobility provides to exchange students is considered excellent and good, but they also find great communication difficulties since, in the beginning, most consider lacking fluency in the language of the country to which they traveled (Sena et al., 2014). Language is a challenge even for exchange students coming from countries in which the official language is also Portuguese, as Cunha et al. (2017) highlighted in their research with Angolans in mobility in Brazil, in which, in addition to linguistic variations, reported difficulties include racism and research and extension learning. Motivations mainly include the quality of Brazilian education, the possibility of knowing a new culture, and the valorization of a foreign diploma in their country of origin (Cunha et al., 2017).

Regarding an international denominational higher education system, both academic, economic, and sociocultural issues and specific reasons (which may relate to the specificity of the system and its denominational character) drive internationalization (Muckenberger & Miura, 2015).

According to Robson (2017), the internationalization of universities should begin “at home”, i.e., universities must have strategies – international curricula, for example – so students who have experienced mobility can take advantage of this experience upon returning and develop cross-cultural skills with students who are yet to have the opportunity to study abroad.

Miranda and Stallivieri (2017) claim that Brazil needs a document explaining the delimitations of a public policy to internationalize higher education. Maués and Bastos (2017) also wrote about this but analyzed existing students and teachers’ strategies for mobility. For them,

(...) it is important to continue to implement public policies so that higher education is internationalized in a conception of interculturality, solidarity, and distribution. But to do so, it is necessary to consider the importance of knowledge as a fundamental vector for human liberation rather than as a productive force at the service of the market (Maués & Bastos, 2017, pp. 341).

As mentioned, some articles focused on foreign higher education internationalization policies. Germany encourages exchanges by forming cadres to work in industry and making this sector more innovative to maintain its competitiveness against countries such as the US and China (Racy & Silva, 2017).

Understanding that internationalization between North-South countries is unequal (tending toward a verticalized relation), Leal and Moraes (2018) discuss decoloniality as a perspective for studies on higher education internationalization and propose research focused on South-South cooperation. Rubin-Oliveira and Wielewicki (2019) also conducted a study from a decolonial view. They analyzed internationalization concepts at the University of Georgia – in Athens, USA – and the perception about its policies and actions.

Araújo and Silva (2015) found mostly positive discourses about internationalization among rectors, vice-rectors, and directors of research centers in Portugal. According to Cunha (2017), democratization constitutes a reference for the quality of Brazilian higher education which conflicts with internationalization. The author states that:

(...) [democratization] points to the inclusion of a first-generation student population – in which many of its members work and study – come from middle classes of the population and, in some cases, enter via ethnic or public-school quotas, far from previous standards of meritocracy. (...) [internationalization] seems to point to meritocratic demands involving careers of higher complexity, student trajectories with greater cultural opportunities – including language proficiency – and availability of conditions to move away from work, among other conditions. (Cunha, 2017, pp. 819)

In this perspective, internationalization promotes inequality since the opportunity for exchange excludes some students and areas of knowledge. An example is education, a subarea of human sciences. Davis et al. (2016), analyzing the investment in internationalization by areas of knowledge and the number of offered mobility grants, found that education is little internationalized.

Aroni (2017) outlined a brief history of Brazilian higher education from the 1968 university reform to more recent government actions, such as the Program to Support the Restructuring and Expansion Plans of Brazilian Federal Universities (Reuni), and international rankings. The author finds a certain call for internationalization in view of the adherence to the agenda to suit higher education to globalization. According to Finardi and Guimarães,

(...) although they represent important good-quality measures for higher education, it is necessary to be cautious when using international rankings to capture the national reality(...), [because] (...) international rankings are proposed with a bias that benefits northern countries and those who speak or teach English as a second language... (Finardi & Guimarães, 2017, pp. 622)

Bianchetti and Magalhães (2015, pp. 244) reflected on the Bologna declaration and the role of rectors in this process. This European initiative played a key role in what the authors describe as “(...) the end of a given university (...)” – the autonomous university – since European institutions are unable to stay out of the declaration, which makes external interests stand out from those of each educational institution.

In a strongly critical article on higher education internationalization, Maués and Bastos (2016, pp. 713) claim that education internationalization creates “(...) people focused on the interests of the market (...)”, a context which sees education as a service subordinated to capitalism.

Martinez (2019) uses various geographical concepts to reflect on academic mobility and its discourses – which mostly attribute values to spaces, hierarchizing them within what could be called academic geopolitics. Santos (2017) also addresses this based on the case of Universidade Federal da Integração Latino-Americana.

The lack of internationalization policies constitutes a difficulty for research in the Brazilian Federal Institutes of Education, Science and Technology. They have an interest in internationalizing themselves but, in addition to the lack of policies, language and recent funding cuts constitute challenges (Vieira et al., 2018). On language, Finardi and Guimarães (2017) point out that “(...) the low proficiency in foreign languages, and particularly in English, is a serious obstacle to the development of the internationalization of Brazilian higher education” (pp. 622).

Pinto et al. (2018) sought to understand the experience of teachers who taught in other Portuguese-speaking countries. Teachers faced the difficulty of a decolonial internationalization via horizontal relations, worrying “about the risk of repeating colonizing practices with African students” (Pinto et al., 2018, pp. 658). Colonial discourses also appear in Portuguese media stories on internationalization (Seixas, 2016). According to Seixas (2016), Portugal sees in other Portuguese-speaking countries an opportunity to establish itself in the higher education market.

Within the mobility experience, knowing the grammar and pronunciation of a different language is insufficient, as Costa (2018) points out in a survey conducted with students who participated in the Science without Borders Program. Besides knowing grammatical rules and pronunciation, they must know the culture and habits of the country and differences in the meaning of some words since such variations can cause embarrassing situations.

Of the 17 articles published in Qualis A1 journals, six (although reading them enabled a qualitative approach) failed to explain their methodological biases; two conducted document analyses; one, bibliographic research and data collection; another included multiple cases via interviews and content analysis; and we classified two others as essays.

The other 11 A1-journal studies are, according to their authors’ description, generic qualitative studies with a semi-structured questionnaire and cluster analysis. Of these, six defined themselves as qualitative exploratory research and only one used participant observation and interviews, treating its data via content analysis. Another two studies used semi-structured interviews and content analysis. The methodology of the other seven studies included semi-structured interviews, observations, and documentary analysis; documentary analysis and a questionnaire; structured questionnaires and data processing from co-occurrence matrices; research based on state of knowledge principles; quantitative-qualitative research with a descriptive bias; qualitative research based on bibliographic and documentary search; and an unspecified qualitative approach.

Among the 19 articles published in A2 journals, two showed state of knowledge surveys. All studies claimed a qualitative approach. In total, five articles showed bibliographic or documentary search; one, field research; another analyzed newspapers; two conducted interviews; another stated using a semi-structured questionnaire and interviews; and three employed questionnaires. The authors of the remaining five articles failed to describe any methodology.

Most articles converge on a limited set of foreign authors addressing the theme. We found those who adopted J. Knight's concept of higher education internationalization, which places the incorporation of international, intercultural, and global aspects of teaching, research, and management in higher education institutions as a condition, assuming the possibility of analysis at these levels (A. Oliveira & Freitas, 2017; Araújo & Silva, 2015; Finardi & Guimarães, 2017; Miranda & Stallivieri, 2017; Morosini & Birth, 2017). Studies also mention other foreign authors' definitions – although not always taking them as instrumental research.

Our sample often discussed Hans de Wit's understanding of internationalization and its meanings (Araújo & Silva, 2015; Cunha et al., 2017; Dal-Soto et al., 2016; Davis et al., 2016; Leal & Moraes, 2018; Luce et al., 2016; Morosini & Birth, 2017; Sena et al., 2014). It also often confused P. Altbach's internationalization and globalization (A. Oliveira & Freitas, 2016; Cunha et al., 2017; Leal & Moraes, 2018; Luce et al., 2016; Miranda & Stallivieri, 2017; Muckenberger & Miura, 2015; Rubin-Oliveira & Wiclewicki, 2019; Sousa, 2017). Davis et al. (2016) and Robson (2017) show M. Van der Wende's notion that internationalization processes constitute a higher education response to globalization challenges.

Of the analyzed set, 14 studies failed to define higher education internationalization, although some incorporate important foreign references, of which Leal and Morais (2017), Luce et al. (2016), Maués and Bastos (2017), Morosini and Dalla Corte (2018), and Oliveira Freitas (2017) are very expressive examples, aiming to synthesize definitions without adopting or defining a concept which serves as an analytical reference. This is not a problem when the study aims to precisely identify trends in the field.

Final considerations

In our sample, we found that “higher education internationalization” is polysemic, incorporating both impact analyses on individuals – student-focused studies – and institutional impact assessments – which we define as public policy-focused studies. This polysemy also appears in the several concerns which moved researchers: research focused on students shows issues their sample faced during international academic mobility, especially with language proficiency and cultural insertion. They not only considered the situation of Brazilian students who go abroad but also those of foreign students in Brazil.

On the other hand, research focused on public policies is more comprehensive, incorporating concerns ranging from the role of higher education institutions and the State in this process to relations with globalization and the market and tensions between democratization and meritocracy. The literature lacks a consensus on the value attributed to these initiatives, indicating the conflict in the theme. Some studies analyze the phenomenon as a given, seeking to identify its repercussions on higher education. Others adhered to the internationalization agenda, an imperative which can increase circulation of knowledge and develop Brazil. Finally, we found research denouncing the exclusionary and hierarchical nature of initiatives for higher education internationalization since they can subordinate national academic production to those of foreign countries.

Recognizing these diverse approaches and perspectives practically makes synthesis impossible but points to research possibilities. An issue requiring recognition is the impact of the rupture Brazil experienced from 2016 onward, which suspended higher education internationalization policies. The Brazilian State failure to conduct a consistent higher education policy in general and for internationalization in particular may be causing the middle class to abandon Brazilian higher education institutions – a reaction to national institutions becoming less elitist – in favor of a symbolic distinction due to training abroad. This is, barring better judgment, a potential and interesting research agenda.

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