

The value of an intercâmbio: brazilian student mobility, bilateralism & international education*

O valor de um intercâmbio: mobilidade estudantil brasileira, bilateralismo & internacionalização da educação

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Abstract

Brazil's emergence in the global economy as a member of the BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) states has prompted the federal government to establish the Brazilian Scientific Mobility Program (Science Without Borders) in order to advance the country's social capital and infrastructure in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math) related disciplines and industries. Public and private investment in the Scientific Mobility Program has transformed the way in which Brazilian government, universities, and citizenry places value the *intercâmbio* (student exchange) experience in the United States. STEM-related disciplines are now disproportionately funded versus social sciences, humanities, and fine arts fields. This development has altered the way in which student mobility in the United States is given worth and changed the trajectory of international education in Brazil. This research provides a conceptual analysis of the Brazilian Scientific Mobility Program by using a critical political economy perspective. The essay conceptualizes the Science Without Borders initiative at global, national, and local levels. This research also explores what implications the bilateral U.S.-Brazil Educational Partnership may have on future policy, practice, and ultimately, funding of Brazilian student mobility.

Keywords: Brazilian scientific mobility program, BRIC, Capitalism and value.

Resumo

A emergência do Brasil no âmbito da economia mundializada como participante do BRIC (Brasil, Rússia, Índia, China e África do Sul) mobilizou o governo federal brasileiro a estabelecer um programa estatal de mobilidade acadêmica (Programa Ciência sem Fronteiras) de modo a fazer avançar o capital social do país (*general intellect*) e a infraestrutura em STEM (Ciência, Tecnologia, Engenharia e Matemática) relacionadas à indústria. Investimentos públicos e privados no programa de mobilidade acadêmica transformaram o modo como o governo brasileiro e as universidades valorizam o intercâmbio estudantil com os Estados Unidos. As áreas de conhecimento relacionadas à ciência, à tecnologia, à engenharia e à matemática recebem maiores financiamentos se comparadas às humanidades, às ciências sociais e às artes. Esse desenvolvimento alterou a forma como a mobilidade estudantil nos Estados Unidos é organizada e, ao mesmo tempo, mudou a trajetória da internacionalização educacional brasileira. Esta pesquisa apresenta uma análise conceitual do Programa Ciência

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sem Fronteiras, baseando-se na perspectiva de economia política crítica. O ensaio conceitua a iniciativa do Programa Ciência sem Fronteiras nos níveis mundial, nacional e local. O texto explora, ainda, as implicações que a parceria educacional bilateral Brasil-EUA poderá ter sobre a política, as práticas universitárias e, finalmente, sobre o financiamento da mobilidade dos estudantes brasileiros.

Palavras-chave: Programa brasileiro de mobilidade científica, BRIC, Capitalismo e valor, Ciência sem fronteira.

Introduction

Student mobility between Brazil and the United States (U.S.), more commonly referred to as the *intercâmbio*, is not a new phenomenon. The *intercâmbio*, however, recently become a matter bilateral national strategic interest for both Brazil and the United States. This calculated development occurred as the fallout of the Great Recession in 2008 grasped American university budgets and as the new Brazilian President, Ms. Dilma Rousseff, took charge of a rapidly emerging economy in 2011. The bilateral ties became more strategic when President Barack Obama visited Brazil in March 2011. The leaders of the Western Hemisphere's two hegemonic economies made a pact during this visit to establish the U.S.-Brazil Partnership for Education, which subsequently paved the way for the Brazil Science Without Borders (now known as the Brazil Scientific Mobility Program) in 2012.

The Brazil Scientific Mobility Program made its U.S. debut during President Rousseff's official visit to Washington, DC in April 2012. What was once a rather low-key educational exchange between Brazil and the United States suddenly took the spotlight of the diplomatic stage. The U.S.-Brazil Educational Partnership was further solidified when the U.S. Department of State identified the Brazil Scientific Mobility Program as one of the most important educational initiatives to address the needs of the twenty-first century knowledge economy (DESSOFF, 2013, p. 24). STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math) subjects were identified as strategic initiatives for the new scholarship program. Cultural exchange took a very different tone from being one dominated by foreign language development and cultural enrichment to one of preparing young adults for a STEM-driven globally competitive economy. The Brazil Scientific Mobility Program was designed to position Brazil competitively in an increasingly multipolar global political economy.

This essay addresses the recent changes in Brazilian student mobility and questions implications the U.S.-Brazil Educational Partnership may have on policy-making in Brasília and at local levels with public universities. In particular, the research takes a political economy perspective so that the mobility of Brazilian students can be understood in a broader political framework of global economics. This inquiry argues that a specific value is placed on Brazilian student mobility. The use of 'value' in this paper stems from a critical political economy perspective, which posits the term as a socially constructed set of beliefs and ideas that inform assessments and evaluations of worthiness (JOHNSTON et al. 2000, p. 886). In this sense, the value of Brazilian student mobility, and hence the objectives of the *intercâmbio* with the United States, is socially specific and legitimizes the funding of STEM related subjects over other social

science, humanities, and fine arts disciplines. This paper, therefore, seeks to identify where this new form of exchange program occurs what pitfalls for Brazilian student mobility exist within the broader framework of globalization through a conceptual analysis that meshes theory and empiricism.

Brazilian higher education in the global economy

Brazil's emergence on the global political economic landscape is rooted in late twentieth century modernization. According to Zakaria, the country's rise as one of the BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) powers is the result of three forces: politics, economics, and technology (2011, p. 23). While Zakaria's explanation is geared toward an analysis of events at the global level, it also sheds light on how the Brazil Scientific Mobility Program is an outcome of Brazilian politics, a product of global and national economics, and a result of a technologically driven information age.

In the post-1994 *Plano Real* Brazil, national economic restructuring and the internationalization of the Brazilian public university developed side by side. Deliberate national economic restructuring plans and other political choices made by Brazil's leadership put federal universities on a new trajectory of internationalization. Presidents Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002), Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (2003-2010), and Dilma Rousseff (2011 – Present) used Brazilian higher education as a means to national economic prominence in the global economy. The *Plano Real* established a more stable Brazilian economy in which privatization, the expansion of the middle class, and innovation occurred. The *Plano Real* is acknowledged as the most successful Brazilian national plan to stop three decades of chronic inflation. Following economic stability, public universities became the pivots of the new Brazilian economic engine but along with academic opportunity came the pressure to innovate and contribute to long-term economic development.

Critical Brazilian intellectuals, however, perceived the *Plano Real* as more than a national election outcome or a domestic economic plan. They instead observed the *Plano Real* as a comprehensive strategy connected to external economic processes of a neoliberal global economy. The *Plano Real* emerged from a set of recommendations made by the Washington Consensus, which consisted of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the U.S. Treasury. The Washington Consensus stressed macroeconomic reforms, privatization of industries, and the liberalization of trade throughout Latin America. Those economists who represented Brazil to the Washington Consensus (Edmar Bacha, Pérsio Arida, Gustavo Franco, Pedro Malan, Zélia Cardoso and Antonio Kandir) except Zélia Cardoso later became core members of the President Fernando Henrique Cardoso's economic team. These political figures are widely credited for incorporating neoliberal ideas into the new Brazilian economy, and ultimately its institutions of higher learning.

President Cardoso furthermore represents an interesting juxtaposition between Brazil's neoliberal economy and its system of higher education. Dr. Cardoso is both an academic of critical sociology (dependency theory) and an actor in Brazil's neoliberal agenda. It is perhaps with this insight that Cardoso (2001) acknowledges the difficulty with integrating Brazil's political ambitions with its country's academic culture. According to Cardoso, "every time one speaks of transformation, one speaks of the

values and the objectives and the direction of the transformation” (CARDOSO, 2001, p. 182). Cardoso’s remarks is directly to the concept of values, or arguably, national interests. But whose values are represented: those of the political establishment or of academe? Cardoso further addresses this broader concern with the following thought.

In the context of the relationship between the academy and political action, one might wonder: What are the parameters of change? How are the ideals that guide transformation effort defined? If we confront these questions in the light of our practical experience, we realize that quite often the attitudes of intellectuals and politicians, paradoxically, invert the separation between facts and values (CARDOSO, 2001, p. 183).

Here, Cardoso explains Brazil’s national interests are often interpreted differently from the national ‘values’ depicted by academics

With respect to the internationalization of Brazilian higher education, the Brazil Scientific Mobility Program has a certain set of values (political, economic, and social) that reflect the country’s national interests. The high-level priority and funding of STEM-related disciplines, for example, are the outcome of Brazil’s necessity to compete in the global neoliberal economy. These values determined by the global economy and Brazilian decision-makers, however, differ from many scholars within the academy. The value (and economic rationale) given to STEM-related subjects over the social sciences, humanities, and the fine arts peg Brazilian student mobility to a set of socially constructed beliefs and ideas formed in Brasília and by neoliberalism.

Given that the social relations between the academy and the political world are deemed paradoxical, I argue that the ‘value’ being placed on Brazilian student mobility is more akin to Harvey’s (1996) explanation of ‘value’ as being a contradictory process. According to Harvey:

This process definition differs radically from that typically incorporated into neoclassical economics where capital is treated as an unproblematic (i.e., noncontradictory) stock of assets (of things) with certain qualitative and quantitative attributes which, when set in motion by human agency, embody causative powers (e.g., capital investments creates unemployment) (HARVEY, 1996, p. 63).

Since the days of the military dictatorship (1964-1985), Brazil has endeavored a path of international recognition as a geographically large country with political and economic valor. The Brazil Scientific Mobility Program is simply a reincarnation of this philosophy and is designed to rival the number of science and engineering students from China and India, both of which send tens of thousands of undergraduate and graduate students to the United States. A recent report in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* further reinforces Brazil’s competitive need to compete on the global stage. According to *The Chronicle*, as recently as the 1960s, about forty percent of scientific research was still published in languages other than English but by the year 2000 had risen to about eighty-five percent, and in 2013, ninety percent (MONAGHAN, 2013). Brazilian student mobility is an upshot of this global trend and a result of capital’s need produce scientific research into industrial output. This point is supported by

Lucena's argument that science is not a product of capitalism (it predates the current economic system) but instead will exploit science to reflect its own interests (profit) (LUCENA, 2008, p. 91). Within the context of the Brazil Scientific Mobility Program, capitalism will attempt to use this scholarship program (and its students) to reflect its own systemic interests.

Brazilian student mobility in the United States

The internationalization American higher education is intrinsically tied to U.S. national, regional, and state economies. International student mobility is recognized as a sizeable export service-oriented economy by the United States Department of Commerce. NAFSA International Educators Association, the largest professional organization of international educators in the world, calculated the levels of investment that international students contribute to the American economy. In its most recent report, NAFSA determined that overseas students contribute \$21.81 billion dollars to the U.S. economy through tuition, fees, and other expenses (e.g., housing, food, cars, clothes, etc.) (NAFSA, 2013).

This revenue is more perceptible when examined at regional and statewide scales. NAFSA reports, for example, that international students contributed \$5.4 billion to the Southeastern United States' economy and, \$463,000,000.00 to the State of Georgia economy, where I am located. Both public and private universities, colleges, and other businesses shared the income generated in the Georgia.

Table 1 - Economic Impact on the State of Georgia (USA)

Enrollment	Tuition	Living Expenses	Less U.S. Support	Total Contribution
16,193	\$370,993,788.30	\$288,405,912.15	\$196,444,199.84	\$463,000,000.00

Source: NAFSA Economic Impact Statements 2011-2012

Foreign student tuition revenue is an important part of a university's annual budget, as it helps to offset program-related expenditures. International students, however, are not perceived as only revenue but are also integral to a university's cultural diversity and intellectual capital. In effect, Brazilian students are a part of a university's business plan but are valued as vital part of the university's student life, in and out of the classroom. It is with this economic rationale that we examine the current volume of Brazilian undergraduate, graduate, and postdoctoral students studying the United States.

Brazil has never ranked in the top ten of countries that send foreign students to the United States. Brazil ranked 14th in all the countries sending international students to the United States. According to data compiled by the IIE (Institute for International Education), 9,029 Brazilian students studied in the United States during the 2012 calendar year. This is an unprecedented number of Brazilians in the U.S. given that approximately 1,000 Brazilians studied on American campuses in the year 2000. Both China and India ranked in first and second place, respectively. The other BRIC cousin, Russia, ranks even lower than Brazil at 25th place (4,805 students). The following table compares Brazil to the other top three sending countries in the world: China, India, and South Korea.

Table 2 - Comparison of Top-Ranking Sending Countries & Brazil

Rank	Country	2010/12	2011/12	2011/12 (% of Total)	% Change
1	China	157,558	194,029	25.4	23.1
2	India	103,895	100,270	13.1	-3.5
3	South Korea	73,351	72,295	9.5	-1.4
14	Brazil	8,777	9,029	1.2	2.9
25	Russia	4,692	4,805	0.6	2.4

Source: IIE Open Doors (2013)

The Brazil Scientific Mobility Program, while not the only channel through which Brazilian students migrate to the United States, was a significant contributor to the increase in enrollments. The Brazil Scientific Mobility Program has presented an aggressive agenda to send 100,000 undergraduate students abroad, with at least 50,000 students going to the American campuses over the next five academic years (and ultimately send American undergraduates to study abroad in Brazil).

The Brazilian federal government will support 75,000 students while the other 25,000 will be underwritten by endowments from private enterprise. When seen in a global context, it is evident that the Brazil Scientific Mobility Program is designed to strengthen Brazil's ties with its other large Western Hemisphere partner, the United States, and other national economies in the core of the global political economy (e.g., those in the European Union, Australia, and South Korea). The mobility program also serves as a competitive means to better position Brazil against Asian rivals (China, India, and South Korea) as a stronger trading partner with the United States. Brazil's relative geography, language, and Western cultural traditions are closer to that of U.S. than its Asian peers, placing the South American giant in a favorable position to attract foreign direct investment, joint-ventures, and bilateral research and innovation in science and engineering (e.g., Petroleum).

Per data from the IIE (2012), the United States is thus far the largest recipient of Brazil Scientific Mobility scholarships. The IIE ranks the top recipient countries as well as the Brazilian agencies that fund the students: CNPq (the Brazilian Ministry of Science and Technology's National Council for Scientific and Technological Development) and CAPES (the Ministry of Education's Federal Agency for the Support and Evaluation of Graduate Education). Balbachevsky notes, however, that initial reports regarding the Brazil Scientific Mobility Program stresses problems finding candidates with adequate language proficiency skills, such as English, to fill the number of allotted scholarships (BALBACHEVSKY, 2013, p. 127).

Table 3 - Number of Brazilian Scientific Mobility Scholarships Awarded

Country	CNPq	CAPES	Total
United States	2,110	1,954	4,064
France	1,257	1,759	3,016
Portugal	1,986	0	1,986
Spain	1,575	0	1,575
Germany	565	531	1,096
UK	495	479	974
Canada	902	71	973
Italy	443	285	728
Australia	264	0	264
Netherlands	182	0	182

Source: IIE Center for Academic Mobility Research (2012)

The majority of Brazilian students who traveled to the United States in the 2011-2012 academic year (August – May) were undergraduates in STEM related or business-related fields, such as industrial management. The percentages of Brazilians on American campuses were as follows: 46.7 percent (undergraduate), 32.7 percent (graduate), 11.6 percent (other, such as post-doctorate or non-degree programs, such as English as a Second Language), and 9.1 percent (Optional Practical Training – a U.S. government approved professional development work program) (MONKS, 2012, p. 3).

With respect to the Brazil Scientific Mobility Program, the IIE reports that 1,954 students were already placed at 238 U.S. host institutions in 46 states in the fall semester of the current 2012-2013 academic year (August-May). Nearly three-fourths of the students are engineering and computer science courses, with particular focus areas in mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, computer sciences, industrial engineering, and chemical engineering. The IIE also finds that female students in the Brazilian Scientific Mobility Program are more likely to major in medical fields or the hard sciences than their male counterparts. Finally, approximately one-third of Brazilian Scientific Mobility students participated in academic training, including internships.

A synthesis of these data can be made within a critical political economy framework. The data, when combined, reflect a pattern of neoliberalism and interdependency among the core and BRIC actors of the global political economy. While the BRIC states are considered political and economic allies, they nonetheless compete against one another for global prominence, economic development, and technical innovation. The common political denominator in this equation of the educational marketplace is the United States, which lies at the nexus of the global economy. Brazil and its BRIC allies engage in bilateral educational ties with the United States to further their political and economic footing in the multipolar world given that English is now the international *lingua franca* of science, engineering, and business. Their ties with American universities is a crucial step toward leadership in a neoliberal economy that values the innovation of science and technology over the social sciences, the humanities, and fine arts. Yet these ties also present new challenges and concerns for Brazilian public universities.

Brazilian student mobility: opportunities, realities and pitfalls

The Brazil Scientific Mobility Program offers tangible benefits to students, researchers, universities, and the Brazilian government. The most obvious, and important, learning objective of the Brazilian Student Mobility Program is the transformational change among Brazilian students who engage in meaningful intercultural exchange. Study abroad is one of the most powerful experiences that a young adult can have during the formative years of her or his professional life. Those Brazilians in the United States have opportunities beyond the STEM subjects to engage in a broader array of the liberal arts and business education, which are not so readily available in Brazil's discipline only curricular tracks. The ability for Brazilians to broaden their intellectual horizons while making lifelong friendships and professional connections is in many respects, priceless. Yet the politics surrounding the economy of Brazilian student mobility suggest a more complex scenario.

The altruistic nature of the Brazilian Student Mobility Program is mediated by a set of national and local interests that stem from the Brazilian federal government to local public universities. The internal dynamics of Brazilian university politics result from the external economic pressures in the global economy and the bilateral ties with the United States. Fundamentally, the launch of the Brazil Student Mobility Program was intentionally directed to serve both the interests of the Brazilian and American economies. It was not exclusively rooted in transforming individuals with education abroad. The Brazil Scientific Mobility Program is instead a Brasilia oriented economic stimulus package designed to boost STEM related research, industry, and global prominence. The Brazilian government, along with private industry, intends to spend billions of *reais* over the next few years in order to foster more intellectual social capital in order to advance the infrastructure and innovation needs of a growing economy.

The United States government's role, per President Obama's visit to Brazil, is to export American industry – and this includes the exportation of United States higher education. The strength of the American economy in the global age is rooted in its ability to attract both domestic and foreign talent to the forefronts of research and innovation. It would be naïve to assume that Brazilian student mobility were simply a form of reciprocal cultural exchange, although this certainly is one of its best dividends.

Much like their Brazilian counterparts, American universities are increasingly expanding their international recruitment plans to offset budget cuts that resulted from the prolonged Great Recession, which began in late 2008. The Brazil Scientific Mobility Program is an important element to these endeavors. American public and non-profit universities and colleges do not look at foreign students as exclusive profit. The administrations and faculties at U.S. universities and colleges acknowledge that attracting cultural diversity, intellectual expertise, and highly qualified students strengthen their curricular repertoire and make the overall learning experience more rewarding for all students (domestic and foreign), teachers, and researchers. Yet we would limit analytical scope if we also did not acknowledge that the campuses with higher levels of cultural diversity, intellectual capital, and high achieving students are in fact more competitive against their peer institutions in a market-driven educational economy. In order to attract the best students, American universities and colleges must possess the most talented individuals and provide the best learning experiences (in and out of the classroom). The same could be said for the competition among Brazilian public universities to send more of their students abroad via the Brazil Scientific Mobility Program.

The Brazil Scientific Mobility Program has a crucial role in this larger scheme of enrollment management in the global political economy. Neither the benefits of cultural exchange *nor* national economic interest *nor* the pursuit of university revenue is a negative aspect to international education. Each one, in fact, has an important role in the interdependent economy of higher education and as the NAFSA data demonstrate, a vital part of local, regional and national economies.

The Brazil Scientific Mobility Program, nevertheless, does present certain ramifications on non-STEM disciplines in Brazilian public universities. Brazilian federal and

state funds are prioritized for STEM related studies over the social sciences, humanities, and the arts, given these applied disciplines more 'value' in higher education. Yet these liberal arts play instrumental roles in twenty-first century globalization as they shed light on the dimensions of interrelated peoples and cultures. The liberal arts also strengthen Brazilian social capital in a multiplicity of ways.

Brazilian public universities once had a more even playing field in terms of funding and importance. The innovation economy of the twenty-first century, however, unevenly places prominence on science, technology, engineering, and mathematics. The global political economy fueled by capitalism places more value on these disciplines, which in turn generates a new set of social relations within the Brazilian public university. This socially constructed 'value' reinforces how international education is employed as a national economic strategy.

The Brazil Scientific Mobility Program also runs the risk of subjecting its students to a commodity market environment if it permits student recruitment agencies with having an unfettered role with facilitating bilateral ties between American and Brazilian universities. Student recruitment agencies have long been a controversial element in international enrollment management. The economic and pressures placed on American universities to increase foreign student enrollment pave the way for third party recruiting agencies to serve as a contracted branch of enrollment management. American universities run the risk of becoming too reliant on third party recruiters, whose motives are not educational but rather 'profit-driven.' Such an overreliance enables these agencies to transform students into 'clients.' This change in perspective reflects a philosophical paradigm shift in the purpose of international education and its public mission to one of market-driven commodification. According to Barmak Nassirian, of the American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers, "the credibility of American higher education is at risk if we begin to parcel out pieces of it (international student recruitment) like car sales" (NASSIRIAN as quoted in FISCHER, 2011).

Final considerations

The Brazil Scientific Mobility Program, as well as international education at-large, is undoubtedly entrenched in the dynamic neoliberal global economy. The U.S.-Brazil Educational Partnership is designed to send Brazilian foreign talent to American universities and stimulate Brazilian economic innovation. The Brazil Scientific Mobility Program aims to increase Brazil's relative hegemony among its BRIC peers and Mercosul partners, making it as much a form of foreign policy as it is educational policy. This Brazilian reality sheds light on three final considerations that need further thought and debate: achieving global prominence, undermining other disciplines at public universities, and turning students into educational commodities.

Brazilian Global Prominence: The endeavor to have global prominence in 'a post-American world,' to use Zakaria's (2011) terminology, will require more than just funding thousands of Brazilian university students with a year abroad in training. Brazil must find a way to absorb its returning talent into its national economy. Bhandari and Blumenthal (2009) remind us that emerging economies, such as Brazil, traditionally have been the suppliers of international students to the United States but

are faced with the serious task of being able to provide their students with employment after their *intercâmbio* ends. Brazil's economy must be able accommodate its returning students into formal employment if it is to further its hegemonic agenda. The Brazilian economy was insulated from the 2008 economic crash by having continued economic growth. The growth rates of seven percent have now slowed to around three percent but economic policies must incorporate the amount of *reais* spent on scholarships and provide other incentives for industry to hire its education young adults. The recent urban riots in one hundred Brazilian cities reflected a national sentiment of frustration with the increase in costs of living, political corruption, and federal subsidies to support the 2014 World Cup. Brazil will not be able to have 'order and progress' toward its global ambitions if it cannot demonstrate to its citizenry that the funding of the Brazil Scientific Mobility Program is an investment that not only furthers the national economy but converts into highly-skilled employment for tens of thousands of young adults. Brazilian citizens may not be patient as the presidential elections take place in the near future.

Disproportionate Disciplinary Funding: With respect to Brazilian student mobility, special attention must be given to the unintended consequences of broad-stroked scholarship schemes on other relevant disciplines, such as the social sciences, humanities, and arts. The Brazil Scientific Mobility Program is very important to the health of the Brazilian economy as well as its social capital but the scholarship program also risks undermining its fellow disciplines in public universities. There is also a direct market-related consequence among government agencies, private enterprise, and students to perceive the social sciences, humanities, and arts have a lower 'value' than those in the STEM related disciplines. This socially constructed idea ultimately translates into the uneven funding of curricula, research, and salaries. Teixeira (apud SGUISSARDI, 2009, p. 15, translation by BUSATTO SPEARS, 2013) reminds us that the academy is an indispensable institution inherent to society and without it individuals have no autonomy and are unable to think for themselves. Hence, the liberal arts have a formative role in twenty-first century globalization and to undermine them would be a detriment to Brazil's social responsibilities, cultural morals, and artistic contributions at home and abroad.

Students as Commodities: Finally, Brazilian academia must be mindful of the controversial ethics behind third party international student recruitment. Brazilian educators and policy-makers must recognize and accept that higher education is both a public trust and a global business. The fluidity of the global political economy has already infiltrated the academy and American campuses are increasingly dependent on international student tuition revenue. Brazilian government agencies and public universities, however, need to be mindful of proprietary 'third party' recruiting agencies. While there are many enrollment management firms that approach their business with dignity and ethics, there are also numerous others who target students as a commodity with an assigned market price per head. This tactic undermines the philosophy of higher education, the beauty of cultural exchange, and the goal of advancing Brazilian social capital. All of these considerations need be made if the *intercâmbio* is to have true value.

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