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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF REGIMES IN LATIN AMERICA'S EDUCATION SYSTEMS: THE CASES OF MERCOSUR, ALBA-TCP, AND PA

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTERS OF ART

PROGRAM IN CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY STUDIES

BY

VICTORIA DESIMONI

CHICAGO, IL

MAY 2022

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a comparative study of the regional education policies and programs in three Latin American (LA) regional entities (hereafter 'regimes' and 'regionalisms'): The Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR), the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America – People's Trade Treaty (ALBA-TCP), and Pacific Alliance (PA). Each of these represents different regionalisms coexisting in LA (hegemonic, post-hegemonic, and counter-hegemonic regionalisms), which makes them ideal for comparative analysis. This project aims to compare these very diverse regimes to interrogate the similarities and dissimilarities, as well as discover who (the regional or the global) is shaping education systems in this area of the world. These objectives are articulated in the research questions: How do different types of regimes define the education policies implemented at the regional level? And, how is the regional shaping the regional educational ideologies, or is the region following global education governance and standards?

The study begins with the content and thematic analysis of 68 regional documents (30 from MERCOSUR, 21 from PA, and 17 from ALBA). A comparative analysis of these documents follows, using education programs as common categories. Finally, it compares regional policies and programs against global educational standards (from MDGs, EFA, and SDGs), looking for the presence and impact of global goals in regional documents. The comparative analysis concludes that it is possible to see characteristics of the type of regionalism in all the regional educational programs in which each of them was developed. Therefore, despite

the similarities, regional educational programs and policies are not isomorphic in this world region. However, some similarities also led to the conclusion that global governance remains a strong force in LA regionalisms. The conclusion section raises some concerns and hypotheses regarding the coexistence of both regional and global policy governance and the apparent lack of isomorphism across LA regimes. The study contributes to the understanding of regionalism in LA by presenting a novel comparison within the field of comparative regionalism that looks at LA regions without using Europe as a benchmark. In addition, it employs and merges different categorizations of regionalism traditionally used for separate regions of the world.

Key words: Regionalism, regimes, Latin America, MERCOSUR, ALBA-TCP, PA, open regionalism, new regionalism, hegemonic regionalism, post-hegemonic regionalism, counter-hegemonic regionalism, comparative regionalism

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Education has a central role in reconfiguring states into regions (regionalization process), in large part because it aids in the formation of a shared identity among members states' citizens. As Robertson, Dale, Olds, and Dang (2016) state, regions are "socially constituted through ideas, institutions and social norms" (p. 13). Regional actors and their institutions put a lot of effort into constructing a regional identity, and education is one of the critical institutions that help create this new identity. Inversely, regional projects influence and shape national education systems significantly–for example, by creating student mobility programs, developing mechanisms to assure the quality of education, designing regional qualification frameworks, sharing educational practices, and introducing systems of credit transfer among universities in the region (Robertson et al., 2016; Verger & Hermo, 2010). In summary, education is key to regionalism as it helps in its construction by promoting a shared identity, while at the same time regionalism shapes education since regional policies impact and regulate education policies at the local level. In this thesis, I focus on the latter, which is how regionalism-the project-shapes education systems and policies. More specifically, this thesis focuses on the ways in which regionalism defines national education systems in three Latin American (LA) regions: Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR, or Mercado Común del Sur), Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America –People's Trade Treaty (ALBA-TCP, or Alianza Bolivariana para los Pueblos de Nuestra América–Tratado de Comercio de los Pueblos), and Pacific Alliance (PA, or Alianza del

Pacífico).

Regionalism can be defined in numerous ways. Some concepts generally used are ‘projects,’ ‘agreements,’ ‘regional integration,’ ‘regional cooperation,’ ‘regional coordination,’ and ‘regimes,’ among others. For my study, I have chosen the terminology of ‘regimes’ to use interchangeably with ‘regionalism.’ I find this concept especially useful in this study for two reasons. First, the concept of ‘regimes’ refers to regionalism as a completed project rather than the actual process that is called regionalization. By looking at the impact of regionalism on education systems, I am focusing on the outcome of regionalism and on the process of the completed project rather than the process through which it was formed; the ‘regime’ formed by regionalization. It is important to note that I use the terms ‘regimes’ and ‘regionalism’ as interchangeable terms in my paper, but that ‘regimes’ clarifies the focus on the project. Jules (2019) defines a regime as a “set of principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors’ expectations converge in a given issue area” (p. 3). Regimes are constituted when “patterned state behavior results from joint rather that independent decision-making” (Stain, 1982, p. 117). Thus, “regimes arise because actors relinquish independent decision making in dealing with shared interests” (Jules, 2019, p. 4). These definitions of regimes highlight how states cooperate because they share interests in certain areas. Based on this definition, the second reason for using this term is the fact that different types of ‘regimes’ exist as states cooperate on different interests–such as economic, social, or cultural. This helpfully underscores how Latin America’s regionalisms are very distinct, having diverse objectives and purposes. Having said this, I have chosen to compare the following three regimes in LA that differ in their goals and objectives, which makes them unique for comparative analysis.

MERCOSUR, created in 1991, is the oldest regime selected for my comparative study. Its emergence reflects the 1990s paradigm shift experienced in LA wherein regionalism become more protectionist oriented. MERCOSUR was created as an alternative to the open regionalism that had dominated the previous decade. Open regionalism is defined as an outward oriented integration that focuses on making its member states competitive in the international economic market (Bergsten, 2002).[1] A new form of open regionalism emerged, labeled by several researchers as post-hegemonic regionalism[2] (Muhr, 2011; Perrota, 2016a; 2016b; Riggirozzi & Tussie, 2012). MERCOSUR's primary goal is to "advance trade at its core, deepening linkages with neighboring countries, yet seeking alternative and autonomous trade and post-trade political projects" (Riggirozzi & Tussie, 2012, p. 11). MERCOSUR's current members are Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay, with Venezuela being suspended in 2016. It also has seven associate countries: Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Peru, and Suriname.

The second regime is ALBA-TCP, defined by scholars as a counter-hegemonic regionalism[3] (Muhr, 2011; Perrota, 2016a; 2016b; Riggirozzi & Tussie, 2012). It was built as a response to open regionalism but ended up being just a different form of open regionalism. This regime describes itself as a political, economic, and social alliance to safeguard its member states' independence, auto-determination, and identity (ALBA-TCP, n.d.). Its main goal is not commerce but the interchange of human resources and a fostering of solidarity among its

[1] For a more comprehensive definition of 'open regionalism,' 'new regionalism,' and 'old regionalism' see Table 1 below.

[2] Regional integration that is more inward oriented, highlighting the importance of the welfare state and criticizing neoliberal measures. For a more comprehensive definition of post-hegemonic regionalism see Table 1 below.

[3] Counter-hegemonic refers to a more social-oriented integration, that aims to promote cooperation based on solidarity and protection of the national markets from external superpowers. For a more comprehensive definition of counter-hegemonic regionalism see Table 1 below.

members. This regime "emphasizes political and social aspects of integration, with new economic and welfare commitments, reclaiming the principles of socialism in direct opposition to neoliberal globalization" (Riggirozzi & Tussie, 2012, p. 11). ALBA-TCP's members are Antigua and Barbuda, Bolivia, Cuba, Dominica, Grenada, Nicaragua, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Venezuela. Suriname's membership is pending, and they also have three observer countries: Haiti, Iran, and Syria.

Finally, PA,[4] created in 2012 and one of the newest regional projects in LA, represents the return to the classical open regionalism that dominated the 1990s. Its main goal is to create a strong bloc to strengthen trade relations with the Asian Pacific bloc (Perrotta, 2016) and become a space where its members can develop as competitive economies internationally. This regime has low socio-political content (Riggirozzi & Tussie, 2012). The countries that belong to PA are Chile, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru. PA also has four associate members, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and Singapore, and more than 60 observer states.

This study aims to compare these three regimes to find the similarities and dissimilarities of regional educational policies between them, outlined in my first research question: *How do different types of regimes define the education policies implemented at the regional level?* This study will allow me to interrogate the regional and global influences on LA education systems. In other words, I aim to discover if there is an isomorphism of education policies across regimes because they follow international standards, or if different types of regimes give rise to various forms of education policy–indicating that the similarities are only discursive. My second research question expresses this: *How is the regional level shaping regional educational ideologies, or is the region following global education governance and standards?* To be clearer,

[4] See member states in Table 2 below.

regimes/regionalisms are entities that work in very individualized ways and with unique objectives, but always towards an ultimate shared goal: to become competitive in the global market. Given that shared goal, I am looking at the different processes towards this goal within each regime, depending on their characteristics. Trying to comprehend the role of education in these processes includes understanding if their educational policies are becoming isomorphic or dissimilar, as well as who is shaping their education systems (the global, the regional, or local).

The different types of cases and diverse regimes allows comparative understanding of the relationship between education policies and global standards in a deeper way than with only one case. There are numerous reasons why I have specifically chosen MERCOSUR, ALBA, and PA for this comparative analysis. The main reason is that these represent three different types of regimes. In fact, they represent the three forms of regionalism that currently coexist in Latin America: hegemonic regionalism, post-hegemonic regionalism, and counter-hegemonic regionalism (I explain these terms below, see Table 1). To fully understand how regionalism impacts education systems in LA, I needed to include three types of regionalism to better comprehend if and how each kind impacts education policies and programs. I have included an extensive review of the different categorizations of regionalism in this study for that reason. These categorizations allow me to frame and analyze education policies within their respective type of regimes. Each of the regimes I am comparing belongs to one of these categories: the category of counter-hegemonic regionalism is the framework for ALBA, post-hegemonic regionalism is the framework for MERCOSUR, and hegemonic regionalism is the framework for PA.

Another reason why I chose to compare these three regimes is because they all belong to the period described as ‘open regionalism,’ also identified as ‘new regionalism.’ Open

regionalism is defined as an outward oriented integration that focuses on making its member states competitive in the international economic market (Bergsten, 2002). Similarly, new regionalism is an integration that emerges from 'within' and 'below' the region instead of from 'outside' and 'above' ('old regionalism'), making the competitiveness and growth of the members of the region the main goal (Björn & Söderbaum, 2002). A third criterion is that they all emerged from and are functioning within the same period. MERCOSUR is a bit older, being the only one founded in the 20th century, but it continued to evolve and is still very active in the 21st century. A fourth reason is that they all involve different countries, though some of these countries are in more than one of these regimes either as full members of associate states. Finally, they are all considered 'regional cooperation' entities rather than 'regional integration,' as member states work jointly to make decisions but do not grant their power to an external regional institution. These five points make the three regionalisms selected ideal for comparative analysis.

I build my research questions and thesis upon the existent literature on regionalism, where I explore three different conceptions of regionalism: early, new, old, and comparative regionalisms in one; closed and open regionalisms in another; and hegemonic, post-hegemonic, and counter-hegemonic regionalisms. These categorizations are not entirely compatible, but they can be merged in some ways. For instance, new regionalism, open regionalism, and hegemonic regionalism share many characteristics and can be considered synonymous. In another example, old regionalism and closed regionalism are close in definition and characteristics (Bergsten, 2002; Jules, 2014; Kuwayama, 1999). For its part, post-hegemonic and counter-hegemonic regionalisms both belong to new/open regionalism yet take a new form unique to the Latin American case. Finally, comparative regionalism is a way of studying and understanding

regionalisms by comparing them and, thus, is inclusive of and considers all the aforementioned categories. I deepen these categories in the literature review and theoretical framework sections. Table 1 briefly explains the connection between the three categorizations of regionalism I refer to.

Table 1. Comparison of the different categorizations of regionalism

Categorization	>1800	1940s-1970s	1970s-1990s	2000s	
HISTORICAL/ ACADEMIC As a phenomenon and field of study, regionalism has existed since states started cooperating and joining forces for different reasons. Therefore, the study of regionalism can be divided into four historical periods. As the world order changed, regionalism did too.	**EARLY REGIONALISM** It is the "formal and political organization of cross-community interactions," and it can "be traced far back in history, as seen in a rich variety of geographically confined empires, kingdoms, alliances, pacts, unions, and confederations between assorted political unities" (Söderbaum, 2015b, p. 6).	**OLD REGIONALISM** It emerged in the context of dominant hegemonic actors or, in other words, from 'outside' and 'above.' Characterized by bipolarity, it has specific and narrow objectives, such as security and prevention of war (especially in the case of Europe, after WW2), and economic development in the case of newly independent colonies.	**NEW REGIONALISM** In contrast to old regionalism, it has an autonomous nature, emerging from 'within' and 'below.' It is also characterized by its multipolarity and its inclusion of a wide variety of goals, not reduced only to an economic project or security. It has an extroverted character. New regionalism is concerned with how regions are constructed, as it considers 'natural' regions do not exist.	**COMPARATIVE REGIONALISM (a new way of studying regionalisms)** The relevance of regionalism is no longer questioned as we approach a new regional world order. During this period, regionalism is no longer so worried about the relationship with globalization and tries to understand the complexity of regionalism and all its different actors and interactions. Comparative regionalism also includes new dialogues between different forms of regionalisms and diverse disciplines in its objective to understand interactions. It becomes less Eurocentric.	

MARKET-ORIENTED The definition of regionalism depends on the orientation towards the global market (blocking or promoting the liberalization of trading).		**CLOSED REGIONALISM** It is generally identified with old regionalism. It is inwards-looking, being the protection of internal markets its primary aim.	**OPEN REGIONALISM** It is generally identified with new regionalism. Outward-oriented, focusing on being competitive at the international level. It "seeks to assure that regional agreements will in practice be building blocks for further global liberalization rather than stumbling blocks that deter such process" (Bergsten, 2002, p. 545).		

IDEOLOGICAL/ POLITICAL Regionalism can either serve the current power dynamics in place, and promote the international competitiveness of states in the existing global market, or be an alternative strategy to globalization in a post-liberal way.			**HEGEMONIC REGIONALISM (open or new regionalism)** Identified with or rooted in new regionalism and open regionalism. The main goal of regional cooperation is to foster the international competitiveness of the member states and the region, being liberalization an end in itself. It is the neoliberal attempt that came after the failure of old regionalism. The instant economic improvement that came in the early 1990s encouraged the process of new or hegemonic regionalism even further.	**POST-HEGEMONIC REGIONALISM (a different form of open regionalism)** Several authors identify the period after new regionalism as post-liberal regionalism, including a post-hegemonic and a counter-hegemonic version. The redefinition of regionalism is characterized by a return to the 'developmental' or welfare state. In the policies within this regionalism, we can see a clear rejection of the neoliberal policies delineated in the Washington consensus. There is a negative conception of neoliberalism that results in efforts and strategies to stop it and return, instead, to the ideal of strong and representative states. It is also multidimensional, going against a narrow focus on economic integration and proposing a more comprehensive integration instead.	**COUNTER-HEGEMONIC REGIONALISM (a different form of open regionalism)** It was modeled by Venezuela and enacted in ALBA-TCP. The Bolivarian project pretends to build up new international geopolitics, based on a real multipolar world–in contrast to the framework of unilateralism expressed in the United States' hegemony and power over the rest of America. The Bolivarian project aims to build a South American block that focuses on South-South cooperation with this goal in mind. This integration alternative transcends the neoliberal conception of integration, giving place to a real just commerce based on the principles of cooperation, complementation, solidarity, reciprocity, and respect of each state's sovereignty.

In terms of structure, this thesis paper begins with the research questions and rationale section, where I explain the context of my questions and expose what I intend to answer. It continues with a background section that briefly describes the three selected regimes. The next sections are a literature review on regionalism theory with a specific focus on LA regionalism, and a brief review of the theoretical framework I will use: comparative regionalism. The third section is the research methodology, where I define the data selection process and the data analysis method, explain the process of my research, and present a section on validation, limitations of the study, and researcher's positionality. I then present my findings, organized under the categories of the regional education programs, defined during the analysis process. The next two chapters are the findings section where I answer the research questions, and the discussion section where I deepen on my findings. The thesis ends with a conclusion, where I offer a summary of the study while also raising some hypotheses to challenge the findings given the characteristics of the data set; I also suggest an agenda for future research.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND RATIONALE

This paper is located within the framework of comparative regionalism. It attempts to contribute to our understanding of how regimes impact education in LA by comparing different types of regimes coexisting in that area. I explain what comparative regionalism is more deeply in the theoretical framework section, but in a few words, comparative regionalism is a new way of studying and understanding regionalisms by comparing them without using Europe as the model or verging point, and by including diverse areas of comparison–including the analysis of non-state actors.

Through the comparative study of three LA regimes, I aim to explore the role of regimes in defining education policies in LA, bearing in mind the great diversity of regimes that coexist

in this part of the world. LA is exceptionally diverse in political ideologies, economic projects, and even cultural features, which has led to the emergence of multiple types of regimes with different goals and means. Within this context of heterogeneity of regimes, the thesis aims to answer these main research questions through the comparative analysis of MERCOSUR, ALBA-TCP, and PA.

My first research question is: *How do different types of regimes define the education policies implemented at the regional level?* Here, I am looking at education as an outcome: how regimes impact or define education systems. In LA, several types of regimes currently coexist. Is this coexistence reflected within the regional education policies developed in LA? Are these policies different depending on the type of regime they develop in, or do different types of regimes give rise to different education policies and programs? It is important to consider that educational policies might have similar language across regimes, but this language might be discursive and regional policies may seem quite different when we look at them more deeply.

Because some types of regimes in LA emerged as a response to previous ones,[5] I wish to answer a second question: *How is the regional level shaping the regional educational ideologies, or is the region following global education governance and standards*? In other words, I aim to

[5] This fact is evidenced by looking at the name of categorizations: new regionalism came to replace old regionalism, open is the opposite of closed, post-hegemonic clearly comes after hegemonic regionalism, and counter-hegemonic regionalism seems like a response or alternative to hegemonic. An example of how regionalisms have emerged in response to other regimes in LA is the history the creation of NAFTA and how it inspired a project of implementing a similar arrangement for the rest of LA, known as Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), that ended up being abandoned in 2004. A lot of other regionalisms emerged as a response to NAFTA as well, depending on the political orientations of the leaders at place and the countries at the moment. MERCOSUR, for instance, appeared as an 'in between,' as a project that wanted to get into the global market but also try to secure and protect their national markets. ALBA went even further, by focusing on endogenous development: we are not going to focus in what the market wants us to, but in what we are good and characterized ourselves.

examine whether education strategies in the post-open or post-new regionalism era[6] have distanced themselves from global education standards, or if the isomorphism of LA educational systems with the rest of the world's education systems still dominates today. By analyzing their regional education policies, I aim to understand how each regime, with their different objectives and political orientations, developed their education systems in order to make them align with their political and social features. There are so many global standards, good practices, and institutions telling countries what to do in education to gain legitimacy that it is hard to say their education systems serve only national or regional goals and not also global goals. Nevertheless, even though the goal ends up being the same for all–being globally competitive and gaining legitimacy–the processes are different, and these different processes are what I want to comprehend more.

The second question is especially pertinent because, despite the central role of regimes in shaping education policies, global education governance is strong and cannot be underestimated. We know some regimes are functioning as an alternative to globalization and neoliberalism (such as ALBA-TCP, USAN, and, to some extent, MERCOSUR). Does this apply to education policy as well? Are regional education policies also going beyond global education governance? Are global education policies and best practices defining education systems, or are education systems being crafted from within in the new models of open/new regionalism?

This second question builds upon the work of Jules (2013; 2015), who posits a similar question for the case of Caribbean regionalism. Jules (2013) argues that the country of Grenada

[6] See Table 1 for an explanation of how the different categorizations or regionalism merge. The period of post-open or post-new regionalism is the time when post and counter hegemonic regionalisms emerged as a new alternative to open or new regionalism. These new alternatives are unique to the Latin American case.

"speaks three different policy languages (national, regional, and international)–or what is termed policy triangulism–to appease national development trends, regional aspirations, and international mandates" (p. 459). In other words, in Grenada's case all three governance levels are shaping education policy: the local, regional, and global. For its part, the Caribbean Educational Policy Space (Jules, 2015) suggests that globalization does not mean homogenization and that the Caribbean Community (CARICOM or Comunidad del Caribe) is using the "policy tools of lesson drawing, policy externalization, and policy transfer to respond to pressures of globalization" (p. 638). In reality, however, regionalism is shaping education policy more than globalization, and the reference to international standards and policies is more discursive than real. As Jules (2015) puts it, "in the case of CARICOM's member states, policy transfer did not mean wholesale copying of educational policies; in fact, in most instances, only the policy names of international models were maintained, creating *dummy policy transfer*" (p. 658). The tripartite policy language appears here as well, as a consequence of the pressures of globalization: "the policy tools and the policy processes gave rise to a tripartite policy language that was simultaneously spoken by national states to appease national constituents, a transregional regime, and international knowledge banks" (Jules, 2015, p. 649).

Having these studies as guidance, my thesis aims to answer the question of education governance from the LA vantage point. My case, however, differs on various ends, starting with the evident fact that I am posing this question from a Latin American perspective. Second, Jules (2013; 2015) focused on the impact of the regional and the global levels on shaping the local level, while I am not looking at the national level but comparing education policies at the regional level; this is my take on 'comparative regionalism.' I am also taking a more comparative perspective by looking at diverse regimes simultaneously.

Using comparative regionalism as my theoretical framework, I build my study within "the comparative case study method" (De Lombaerde et al., 2010, p. 744). Even though studying regionalisms within the same region is not considered as wide-ranging as comparing regionalisms in diverse places of the world (De Lombaerde et al., 2010), I believe that because of the great diversity of political regimes, cultures, and economic characteristics present in Latin America, comparing regionalisms within this area of the world is an excellent use of the comparative case study method proposed by comparative regionalism. De Lombaerde et al. (2010) denominate this form of comparison as 'intra-regional.' At the same time, I am using this comparison to study some shared phenomena across regimes: the type of governance defining its education systems (global or regional) and the hypothesis that types of regimes impact education policy differently. In other words, I am comparing regions to understand certain phenomena that go beyond each specific region, and thus my study cannot be considered a single case study done in parallel.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND

Regionalism in Latin America

The process of regional integration in Latin America has been long and challenging, including custom unions (trade blocs composed of a free trade area) and social and political integrations. This process started in the early 19th century when most of the former European colonies achieved independence and began developing as states. The challenges came from the double task of consolidating themselves as new nations and their need to join forces to defend themselves from new external invaders (Paez Montalbán, 2016). Numerous efforts to foster cooperation and coordination in LA during the beginning of the 19th century failed. One example is the efforts of Simón Bolívar, who tried to build a so-called 'Confederation' in the Panamá Congress in 1826. His proposal included the principles of defensive solidarity, juridical equality of the independent states, and guarantee of territorial integrity. Today, however, regional projects in Latin America are numerous and very diverse in their members and goals. All South American nations participate in at least one of them, and several nations in more than one. Many of these regional projects also include Central America and the Caribbean. In the following Table (Table 2), I have included all the regimes that involve at least one LA country (with the understanding that LA countries are all those nations that were colonized by Spanish, Portuguese, or French speaking countries). Together with Diagram 1, this data exposes how many regimes have changed their

ideologies and goals through the years, being gradually replaced by new versions of regionalism. Table 2 is also a helpful guide for the reader, as I refer back to many of these regionalisms in the background section and in the literature review to explain how some regimes emerged as a response to others.

Table 2: Latin American and the Caribbean regimes through the years

Abbr.	Name	Abbr. in Spanish	Spanish Name	Founding year	Dissolution year	Member states
Rio Treaty	Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance	TIAR	Tratado Interamericano de Asistencia Recíproca	1947		Argentina, Bahamas, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela (Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua, and Mexico left; Cuba was suspended in 1962)
OAS	Organization of American States	OEA	Organización de los Estados Americanos	1948		All sovereign nations in the American continent, except for Cuba. These are: Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Barbados, Belize, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Commonwealth of Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Grenada, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname,

						Commonwealth of the Bahamas, Trinidad and Tobago, United States of America, Uruguay, and Venezuela.
ODECA	Organization of Central American States	ODECA	Organización de Estados Centroamericanos	1951	1973 (its efforts reemerged in SICA)	Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua
CACM	Central American Common Market	MCCA	Mercado Común Centroamericano	1960-1980s Then 1990s-today		Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Panama
LAFTA	Latin America Free Trade Association	ALALC	Asociación Latinoamericana de Libre Comercio	1960	1980 (replaced by LAIA)	Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay
Andean Pact	Andean Pact	Pacto Andino	Pacto Andino	1969	1996 (replaced by CAN)	Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. Venezuela joined in 1976, and Chile left that same year
CARICOM	The Caribbean Community	CARICOM	Comunidad del Caribe	1973		Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Montserrat, St Kitts and Nevis, St Lucia, St Vincent and Grenadines, Suriname, and Trinidad and Tobago (+5 associates states and 8 observer states)
SELA	Latin American and Caribbean Economic System	SELA	Sistema Económico Latinoamericano y del Caribe	1975		Argentina, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua,

						Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Dominican Republic, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay, and Venezuela
ACTO	Amazon Corporation Treaty Organization	OTCA	Organización del Tratado de Cooperación Amazónica	1978 (amended in 1998)		Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Peru, Suriname, and Venezuela
LAIA	Latin America Integration Association	ALADI	Asociación Latinoamericana de Integración	1980		Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela
OECS	Organization of Eastern Caribbean States			1981 (revised in 2011)		Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St Kitts and Nevis, St Lucia, St Vincent and the Grenadines (+4 associates: Anguilla, British Virgin Islands, Guadeloupe, and Martinique)
G-Rio	Rio Group		Grupo de Rio	1986	2011 (replaced by CELAC)	Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Panama, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela
CSME	Caribbean Single Market Economy			1989		Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, St Kitts and Nevis, St Lucia, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname, and Trinidad and Tobago
MERCOSUR	Southern Common Market	MERCOSUR	Mercado Común del Sur	1991		Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Venezuela is suspended since

						2016 (+7 associate countries: Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Peru, and Suriname)
SICA	Central American Integration System	SICA	Sistema de la Integración Centroamericana	1993		Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Belize, Dominican Republic (+11 regional observers and 21 extra-regional observers)
NAFTA	The North American Free Trade Agreement	TLCAN	Tratado de Libre Comercio de América del Norte	1994		Canada, Mexico, and the United States
ACS	Association of Caribbean States	AEC	Asociación de Estados del Caribe	1994		Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Grenada, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, St Kitts and Nevis, St Lucia, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago, and Venezuela (+10 associate members and 31 observers)
CAN	Andean Nations Community	CAN	Comunidad Andina de las Naciones	1996		Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru (Chile and Venezuela withdrew in 1976 and 2006 respectively) (+5 associate states: Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay,

						Uruguay, and Chile; and 2 observer countries: Spain and Morocco)
FTAA	Free Trade Area of the Americas	ALCA	Acuerdo de Libre Comercio de las Américas	Negotiations started in 1998	Negotiations failed in 2005	The goal was to include all Western Hemisphere countries
ALBA-TCP	Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America – People's Trade Treaty	ALBA-TCP	Alianza Bolivariana para los Pueblos de Nuestra América – Tratado de Comercio de los Pueblos	2004		Antigua and Barbuda, Bolivia, Cuba, Dominica, Grenada, Nicaragua, St Kitts and Nevis, St Lucia, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Venezuela (+ 1 pending: Suriname; +3 observers: Haiti, Iran, Syria)
Petro Caribe	Petrocaribe (an oil alliance)			2005		Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Belize, Cuba, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Granada, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Nicaragua, St Kitts and Nevis, St Vincent and the Grenadines, St Lucia, Suriname, and Venezuela
CA-4	Central America-4 Free Mobility Agreement	CA-4	Convenio Centroamericano de libre movilidad	2006		El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua
USAN	Union of South American Nations	UNASUR	Unión de las Naciones Sudamericanas	2008		Bolivia, Guyana, Suriname, and Venezuela (+2 observers: Mexico and Panama). In 2018, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay, and Peru suspended their membership. Colombia withdraws from the

						organization that same year. Ecuador withdrew in 2019 and Uruguay in 2020.
CELAC	Community of Latin American and Caribbean States	CELAC	Comunidad de Estados Latinoamericanos y Caribeños	2010		All sovereign in the American continent, except for the United States, Canada, and Brazil that suspended its membership in 2020
PA	Pacific Alliance	AdP	Alianza del Pacífico	2012		Chile, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru (+4 associate members: Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and Singapore; +60 observer states)
FPDSA	Forum for the Progress and Development of South America	PROSUR	Foro para el Progreso y Desarrollo de América del Sur	2019 (as a response to UNASUR)		Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Paraguay, and Peru

The desire for integration of the Latin American nations increased through the years since the independence period. It was strengthened by the nationalist movement that continued to build throughout the 19th century (Paez Montalbán, 2016). A significant change impacting the integration process was the emergence of a shared economic project in the 1950s, which gave a new sense of cooperative efforts. Two important institutions created during these years were the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL or Comisión Económica para América Latina) in 1948 and the Inter-American Development Bank in 1959 (BID or Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo).

An essential figure in re-shaping the regimes emerging in LA (those that drifted towards post-open regionalism) was the Argentinian economist Raúl Prebisch (1901-1986), who contributed to the understanding of the development theory by explaining it as a global concept

that is not equal to economic growth. Prebisch used the 'Theory of Unequal Exchange' to explain the underprivileged position of Latin America in the world trade system. He began to develop this theory in the 1940s, starting with the formulation of concepts such as 'center' and 'periphery' (Love, 1980). As Dargin (2014) explains, "unequal exchange occurs when developing countries trade low-priced products (e.g., bananas, cocoa, oil) for expensive manufactured goods (e.g., cars and computers)" (p. xxi). Dargin (2014) also concludes that "in the face of uneven economic development, and for a variety of other reasons, free trade, or even trade per se, is inherently iniquitous" (p. xxii). Later on, Prebisch's insights were used to justify the critiques and alternatives to the classical open regionalism in Latin America.

In the 1980s, the crisis in Central America[1] led to some of the first concrete regional integration initiatives–such as Rio Group (Grupo de Río), which later became the Community of Latin America and Caribbean States (CELAC or Comunidad de Estados Latinoamericanos y Caribeños)–under the closed (or old) regionalism model. Closed or old regionalism is characterized by being internally focused and quite specific in the goals, focusing primarily on security and the prevention of war.[2] It started as Contadora Group (el Grupo de Contadora), when Colombia, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela joined forces to solve the Central American crisis through a military intervention in the region. After their governments' succession of military dictatorships, Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and Uruguay joined this alliance. These years overlap with major global events such as the fall of the Berlin Wall, the end of the bipolar world

[1] Central America suffered an important series of crises that began at the end of the 1970s due to multiple civil wars and communist revolutions. It became the most socioeconomically unstable region worldwide. Regional configurations like 'Grupo de Rio' (originally formed by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay) emerged with the aim to intervene in the region and promote pacifist resolutions.

[2] For a more comprehensive definition of closed and old regionalism see Table 1 above.

order, the emergence of democracies across most continents, and the establishment of neo-political economic projects in most LA states. These events allowed LA to insert itself into the globalized and international commerce systems (Paez Montalbán, 2016).

In the 1990s, new (or open) regionalism became the new form of integration and started to modify the integration mechanisms already in place (Paez Montalbán, 2016). This new model of regionalism consisted of an outwardly oriented integration, aiming for the global recognition of the region and increasing the competitiveness of its member states in the global economy. In the context of open regionalism expanding within LA, the Andean Pact (Pacto Andino) became the Andean Nations Community (CAN or Comunidad Andina de Naciones) in 1997, and in 1994 the Association of Caribbean States (ACS or Asociación de Estados del Caribe) was created to unite CARICOM member states with other Central American countries such as Colombia, Mexico, and Venezuela (Paez Montalbán, 2016). The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA or Tratado de Libre Comercio de América del Norte) was created in 1994, and there followed an attempt to create a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) that finally failed in 2005 when Venezuela, Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil opposed the deal. This was mainly due to newly elected progressive leaders in these countries that supported the idea of South American unity,. The Venezuelan president at the time, Hugo Chavez, championed the idea of LA economic independence from the US, and was backed by presidents Evo Morales in Bolivia, Nestor Kirchner in Argentina, and Luiz Inacio Lula de Silva in Brazil. FTAA negotiations were abandoned in 2004. The failure of FTAA is seen as a broader failure of open regionalism in LA. MERCOSUR emerged as the post-liberal alternative to open regionalism, representing an opposite to the NAFTA agreement. As a post-liberal alternative, member states not only want to become competitive at the international level, but also to guarantee that this ‘development’ is not

at the expense of the wellbeing of their citizens and of the nations' identities. Cultural and social aspects are given more importance, expanding on the focus on economic growth. However, with time, MERCOSUR acquired some liberal characteristics as well.

Regimes selected: MERCOSUR, ALBA-TCP, and PA

MERCOSUR was created in 1991 in the Asunción Treaty between Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Venezuela was later added but then suspended, and Bolivia is in the process of becoming a member. It has also seven associated states and two observer states. Its main goal is to create a common space that promotes commercial and investment opportunities by integrating national economies into the global market (MERCOSUR, n.d.; Perrotta, 2016). MERCOSUR represents the first alternative to the dominant open regionalism of the 1990s; an alternative that, in addition to prioritizing regional integration and commerce, focuses on expanding the internal markets of member states (Paez Montalbán, 2016). MERCOSUR's education sector is a space where national education policies and programs are coordinated among members and associated states. Since the beginning of MERCOSUR, member states acknowledged the need to harmonize their education sectors, and especially of higher education, for reaching their goals. In 2003, they created MEXA, a system of program accreditation, and MARCA, a student mobility arrangement. This led to what many designate as the process of 'mercosurisation' of higher education in the region (Chou & Ravinet, 2015; 2016; Solanas, 2009).

ALBA-TCP emerged from the relations between Cuba (led by Fidel Castro) and Venezuela (led by Hugo Chávez) in 2004 and their attempt to develop an alternative to the FTAA. Thus, in Perrotta's (2016) words, "ALBA-TCP represents a contesting project towards the strategy of the United States of America" (p. 63). In its website, it describes itself as a

political, economic, and social alliance in defense of the member states' independence, auto-determination, and identity (ALBA-TCP, n.d.). Its members are Cuba, Venezuela, Nicaragua, Dominica, Antigua and Barbuda, Grenada, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, and Saint Lucia. The main goal of ALTA-TCP is not commerce but the inter-exchange of human resources and promotion of solidarity among its members. It proposes an integration that is directed by the states and strengthens them, rather than their position in the global market (Paez Montalbán, 2016). It emerged from the idea of creating and developing instruments for generating cooperative advantages between members, considering their symmetries. Under this idea, several projects have emerged, such as Petrocaribe, literacy and post-literacy programs, ALBAMED, UNILABA, and transnational companies. In education, the main important project is the UNILABA network (The University of the Peoples of the ALBA-TCP), whose main objectives are to fight exclusion, promote access to higher education, and promote student mobility across member states; ALBA's initiatives in the field of public health and medicine, the transnational program ALBA-Educación; and the literacy and post-literacy projects.

ALBA-TCP is a response to pressure that comes from being completely open to global markets and having to adapt to its demands. Muhr (2010) defines ALBA as

> "an explicitly political economic and geo-strategic project between states that share the same vision of the exercise of national and regional sovereignty. At its heart is the regionalisation of Venezuela's endogenous development, which is a needs-based social and popular economy in which people come before profit." (p. 46)

Endogenous development focuses on the regions' strengths and main markets and replaces competitive advantage with cooperative advantage. As Hart-Landsberg (2010) explains,

> if third world countries remain open to global market forces, their governments must find ways to obtain the foreign exchange necessary to finance the import surge. This means that most third world governments are forced, almost from the beginning of their

> development effort, to give priority to the creation of a competitive export sector, which involves channeling resources into satisfying foreign rather than domestic needs. (p. 2)

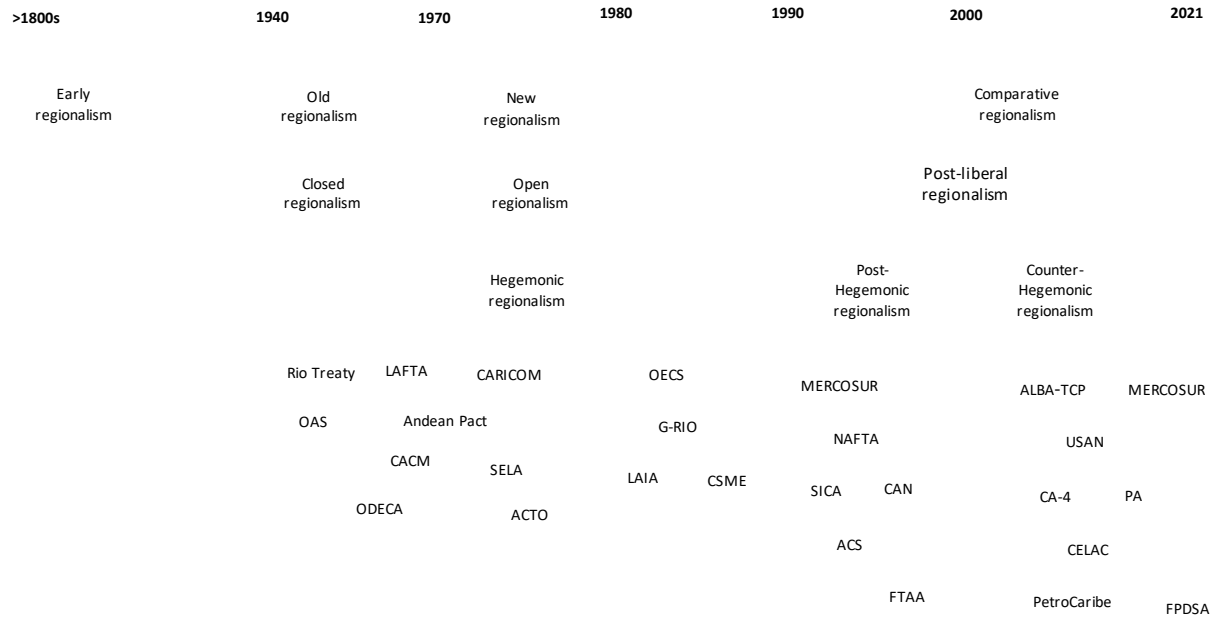
Because all the other projects are responding to globalization and global governance, according to Muhr (2010), ALBA is the only project emerging from within the Latin American region organically.

The PA is the newest regional project in Latin America. It was created in 2012 by its current members, Chile, Colombia, México, and Peru to form a strong bloc to strengthen trade relations with the Asia Pacific (Perrotta, 2016). On its website, PA defines itself as a new way of doing business within the American continent (Alianza del Pacífico, n.d.). The regional project aims to be a space where its members can become competitive economies.

PA's educational initiatives are organized by the Technical Cooperation Group (Grupo Técnico de Cooperación or GTC). It was officially founded on December 4, 2011, and it coordinates cooperation in not only educational matters, but also in environmental impact, innovation, science and technology, and social development (Alianza del Pacífico, n.d.a). The group works for all four members but shifts its location every year, as each member of PA takes turns handling the coordination for one year. Within this group is the Educational Coordination Group (Grupo Técnico de Educación or GTE), which works through the joint efforts of the international relations ministries and education ministries of each member state (Alianza del Pacífico, n.d.b), coordinating the regional educational policies and practices. GTE's goal is to strengthen the educational integration in the PA region, through cooperative actions aimed at improving member states' qualities and capacities citizens, as well as their access to quality education. GTE focuses primarily on enhancing technical education to "develop human capital and boost the productivity and competitiveness of the economies of the Pacific Alliance" (Alianza del Pacífico, n.d.) and managing a platform for student and academic mobility across

member states. Other areas of work include facilitating the recognition of higher education degrees and grades across member states and bolstering the teaching of English as a second language within the four member states (Alianza del Pacífico, n.d.c).

Diagram 1: Heterogeneity of regimes in Latin America through the years–categorized in colors according to the type of regionalism



Despite the complex and varied history of regionalism in LA, some scholars argue that today's regionalism is stagnating or even declining (Nolte & Weiffen, 2021). The reasons, according to Nolte & Weiffen (2021), are "economic problems in major countries, a lack of regional leadership, ideological conflicts fueled by the regional actors' limitations in responding to political crises in general and the humanitarian crisis in Venezuela in particular" (p. 1). This has led to the near disappearance of the Union of South American Nations (USAN or UNASUR, Unión de las Naciones Sudamericanas), from which, in April of 2018, six countries (Argentina,

Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay, and Peru) cancelled their memberships. In August of 2018, Colombia initiated a formal withdrawal from the bloc, followed by Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Peru, and Ecuador in 2019, and Uruguay in 2020. The LA regionalism crisis appears similar to the crisis of regionalism in the European Union. The stress factors that led to this crisis are not the same, but a comparative study of them could be instrumental in understanding the impact of stress factors in different regionalisms (Weiffen, 2021). This comparison, as developed by Weiffen (2021), works as "an analytical framework for a comparative assessment of the current fate of regionalism in Europe, Latin America, and beyond" (p. 30).

Despite the disappearance of some regionalisms and the stress factors that are causing these crises, as Börzel and Risse (2021) state, "regionalism as such is alive and kicking. Regional organizations cover the entire globe; there is no continent or sub-continent without at least one multi-purpose RO" (p. 35). This reality applies to LA, where many regionalisms have been very active during the last decades, such as MERCOSUR and PA, and newer ones are emerging, such as the newest alternative to USAN and PROSUR (the Forum for the Latin American Progress and Development, or Foro para el progreso y desarrollo de América del Sur).

However, LA regionalism has been changing significantly in the last decades, as the post-hegemonic and counter-hegemonic projects have been declining and open regionalism is becoming strong again. As Comini and Frenkel (2021) state,

> the number of Latin American governments with foreign policies self-defined as 'pragmatic' is increasing. The central axis revolves again around a revised 'uniaxial open regionalism' based on the promotion of the private sector and foreign direct investment (FDI) and the alignment with the liberal order, with policies, standards, and practices determined by the Bretton Woods institutions and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (pp. 138-139)

This return to open regionalism explains the failure of USAN and the new forms MERCOSUR has been attaining in the last decade.

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW: AN OVERVIEW OF REGIONALISM THEORY, WITH A FOCUS ON LATIN AMERICAN REGIONALISM

When considering the long history of integration in LA, the initial crisis of open or new regionalism, the emergence of post-liberal alternatives, and now the declining of these alternatives and return to open regionalism, it is clear that Latin America is a complex region with very diverse political and social realities where different types of regimes coexist today. These types of regimes share the goal of integration and cooperation but differ in their internal objectives and priorities. They are denominated differently depending on the type of categorization used; hence why I offer in this literature review a brief overview of these categorizations and how they relate to each other. I use the categorization of hegemonic, post-hegemonic, and counter-hegemonic, but acknowledge that all three categories pertain to a broader category that is open or new regionalism. This literature review helps the reader (and myself) understand these concepts and how they merge. In order to answer my research questions–to understand how different kinds of regional identities and approaches manifest in education policies, as well as to what extent it is more regional ideology than global ideology–I need to have a very clear idea of how different these regimes are. Including various categorizations of regionalism is key for this elucidation, and it allows better comprehension of how these types of regionalism differ and which are their characteristics.

In addition, including all these categorizations of regionalism provides a uniqueness to the study by bringing together people who have been discussing similar themes but in different languages, and with diverse concepts. These scholars are generally not talking directly to each other. For instance, academics categorizing hegemonic, post-hegemonic, and counter-hegemonic regionalism generally write for LA, while those using closed and open regionalism write for Europe. In other words, including all these categorizations creates a new opportunity for further communication between scholars who write about regionalism for different parts of the world– and, therefore, a valuable initiative for the field of comparative regionalism.

Reviewing different categorizations and types of regionalism is also fundamental to understand comparative regionalism; the new way to study regionalism. By reviewing the different types of regionalisms, the goal is to show that some categorizations have phased out, reaching their zenith. This is partially due to all of them centering their object of study with Europe. With the emergence of comparative regionalism, we can now compare regimes without a benchmark of how they 'should' be working, leaving space for many new ways of analyzing regionalisms. This change came together through new ways of categorizing regionalism, especially for places that are far away from the European model, like Latin America. In conclusion, including categorizations of regionalism in my study makes it more valuable for comparative regionalism and more suitable for studying Latin American cases.

During the last decades, many scholars have become interested in the increasing growth of supra-national regions. Even though globalization is the main driver for regionalism (a project of economic, or political integration between two or more nations, a given ideology), regionalization (the process of integration or cooperation) is restructuring the global order as we know it (Börzel, 2016). In fact, several scholars argue we are approaching a new world order, a

world of regions (Acharya, 2002; 2007; Katzenstein, 2005; Söderbaum, 2015a; 2015b; van Klaveren, 2017).

Regionalism is not easy to define, as it is interpreted differently by diverse people. Its definition has changed through time (Börzel, 2011; Fawcett & Hurrell, 1995; Söderbaum, 2015a; 2015b; Perrota, 2016a). The concepts 'region,' 'regionalism,' and 'regionalization' are very complex, and the best way to define them and differentiate them is still under debate. There are numerous conceptualizations of regionalism that make defining the field even harder. Regarding the concept of 'region,' the general definition is "a limited number of states linked together by a geographical relationship and by a degree of mutual interdependence" (Björn & Söderbaum, 2002, p. 38). However, Björn and Söderbaum (2002) also believe this definition is not adequate for focusing on the process of regionalization, as it is too state-centered, giving more attention to the regional organization itself rather than to the process of becoming a region. Most current theories have stopped viewing regions as an aggregation of states. For instance, several states can even be divided up from a regionalization perspective, as some of their parts are part of regionalization processes while others are not. Björn and Söderbaum (2002) give China as an example, arguing that some parts of China, especially the coastal areas, have been part of the East Asia regionalization process, but mainland China has not.

One clear and useful definition of regionalism is the one offered by Parreira do Amoral (2021), who states, "regionalism refers to comprehensive projects of regional, political, and economic integration in different world regions" (p. 2). Some of the examples given are the European Union (EU or Unión Europea), CARICOM, MERCOSUR, the African Union (AU or Unión Africana), and NAFTA. Today, almost all nation-states are members of one or more regional projects (Parreiro do Amoral, 2021). Björn's (2011) definition of regionalism is also

very useful. She defines it as the "processes and structures of region-building in terms of closer economic, political, security and socio-cultural linkages between states and societies that geographically proximate" (Björn, 2011, p. 5). Björn and Söderbaum (2002) offer a clear distinction between regionalism and the process of regionalization. For them, regionalism "refers to the general phenomenon under study" and the "current ideology of regionalism" (p. 34). Regionalism, as a field, focuses on "the urge for a regionalist order, either in a particular geographical area or as a type of world order" (Björn & Söderbaum, 2002, p. 34). For its part, regionalization refers to the "process that leads to patterns of cooperation, integration, complementarity and convergence within a cross-national geographical space" (Björn & Söderbaum, 2002, p. 34). This distinction between the ideology and program (regionalism) and the actual process (regionalization) is important. Söderbaum (2013; 2015b) argues that there is still a great need to look more deeply into the processes of regionalization, into "how regions are made and unmade" (2015b, p. 3), instead of focusing solely on characterizing the regionalisms themselves. Regions are political and social projects and can, therefore, be both constructed and deconstructed, successes and failures. Regionalization is a complex project, defined by more than states wanting to cooperate with one another. Instead, it "represent[s] combinations of historical and emergent structures–a complex articulation of established institutions and rules and distinctive new patters of social interaction between non-state actors" (Phillips, 2003, p. 224). Market-led regionalization, for instance, is only one way of understanding the decision of nations to integrate and cooperate with one another.

Within this ongoing effort to understand regionalism projects and regionalization processes, this paper aims to illuminate the role of regionalism in shaping education policies and programs in Latin America: how is education policy, at the regional level, being shaped by and

impacted by the different regionalisms (and their processes) that coexist in LA? In the following paragraphs, I will present the different coexisting regionalism, reviewing and merging three categorizations of regionalism. Table 1 summarizes and compares these three categorizations, that I have designated "historical/academic," "market-oriented," and "ideological/political." I use these categorizations to later answer the question of whether education policy in LA has taken different shapes depending on the regionalism they developed in or whether education policy is still mainly defined by global education governance. It is important to notice that these three are not the only ways to categorize regionalism, but rather the ones I found most relevant for the present study. As Björn (2011) notices,

> There is new and old regionalism, regionalism in its first, second and third generation; economic, monetary, security and cultural regionalism, state regionalism, shadow regionalism; cross-, inter-, trans-, and multi-regionalism; pure and hybrid regionalism; offensive, extroverted, open, or neoliberal as opposed to defensive, introverted, closed, resistance, regulatory and developmental regionalism; lower level and higher level regionalism; North, South, and North-South regionalism; informal and institutional regionalism – just to name a few of the labels the literature has come up with to account for the new trend in International Relations. (p. 5)

The first categorization is offered by Söderbaum (2013; 2015a; 2015b), who, in contrast to most scholars that argue for regionalism as a phenomenon and as a field of study developed after the Second World War, claims that there have been many varieties of regionalisms throughout history prior to the war. He divides the development of the field into four periods. These four periods are early regionalism, old regionalism, new regionalism, and the current phase of comparative regionalism.

By early regionalism, Söderbaum (2015b) refers to the "formal and political organization of cross-community interactions," arguing that it can "be traced far back in history, as seen in a rich variety of geographically confined empires, kingdoms, alliances, pacts, unions, and confederations between assorted political unities" (p. 6). A clear example of these interactions

can be found in Europe in Antiquity. Cooperation among old European states was about guarding culture, identity, political economy, law, and security (Söderbaum, 2015a). In contrast to posterior theories of regionalism, there was no tension between the unification of Europe and the strength of individual nations in early regionalism. Another example of early regionalism can be seen in colonialism and anti-colonialism. Both European colonial empires and anti-colonial struggles often took a regional form. An example of colonialism acquiring a regional structure is the 'scramble for Africa.' In their search for mineral resources to exploit, colonialists started dividing Africa into regions–many of which prevails today, such as Southern Africa (Söderbaum, 2015a). Latin America's quest for independence illustrates early regionalism in anti-colonialism. The shared struggle for independence led to a sense of unity among Latin American countries in the early 19th century. Regionalism was considered a source of strength by Latin American states throughout the independence period.

Old regionalism can be located between the 1940s and 1970s. It emerged in Western Europe before spreading through the developing world, though with different characteristics–the reason why studies of old regionalism separate Europe from the developing nations. Old regionalism in Europe is mostly focused on regional integration and prevention of war and the dangers of extreme nationalism, concerns which emerged after the experiences of the Second World War (Söderbaum, 2015a; 2015b). Regionalism during this post-war period was also a "bulwark of sovereignty" (Acharya, 2002, p. 21) for both regional organizations such as Organization of American States (OAS) and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and for colonizer states wanting to maintain their power and influence in the Third World. In this period, different theories of regionalism emerged, including functionalism, neofunctionalism and transactionalism, and intergovernmentalism. Consequently, regional integration became very

hard to define, with different theories studying different aspects of it. For instance, functionalism focused on regional integration as the way to secure peace by understanding the needs of the different members and establishing diverse functions to satiate these needs. On the other hand, neofunctionalism concentrated on the design of regional institutions that would solve problems among countries more effectively. For its part, intergovermentalism emerged when nationalism became essential to emphasize regional power (Söderbaum, 2015a). After a lengthy focus on Europe, some comparisons with other world regions started to emerge. A prevailing issue had been using Europe as a model of regional integration to study cases in other parts of the world. As Söderbaum (2015a) explains, "regionalism in the developing world was closely linked to colonialism/anti-colonialism and the quest to facilitate economic development in the newly independent nation-states" (p. 13).

In the case of LA, economic development was the key motor of regionalism. Therefore, its main goals were structural transformation and industrialization, fighting their unequal position in world trade, and enhancing economic growth. The Latin America Free Trade Association (LAFTA or Asociación Latinoamericana de Libre Comercio) was created with these goals in mind. Despite these efforts, old regionalism in Latin America was not very effective in achieving its goals. Some reasons were "internal conflicts, a general failure among states to cooperate, and the whole structure of dependence" and the fact that "member countries of the various partly overlapping regional schemes were politically and/or economically unstable and not willing to or capable of pursuing cooperation" (Söderbaum, 2015a, p. 14). The intervention of the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and other multilateral donors during the severe economic crisis of the 1980s shaped the perspective of South American countries regarding external aid and foreign investment; namely, that external aid was their only workable alternative in the face of

bankruptcy and unemployment. Neoliberal ideologies endorsing export promotion, deregulation of the economy, and privatization started to expand across LA countries: "this new economic orientation has created a regional consensus on the need for foreign investment, the destatisation of the economy and the centrality of the market in policy making" (Grugel, 1996, p. 138). After a period of military dictatorship across many Latin American countries, a new era of democracy became the key to boosting new regionalism.

New regionalism emerged in the mid-1980s as the global system suffered some structural transformations (Björn & Söderbaum, 2002). This comprehensive transformation was spurred by events such as the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War, together with the 1985 White Paper on the internal market and the Single European Act (Söderbaum, 2015a). Other reasons, as Söderbaum (2015b) explains, are

> the end of bipolarity, the intensification of (economic) globalization, the recurrent fears over the stability of the multilateral trading order, the restructuring of the nation-state, and the critique in the developing countries as well as in the post-communist countries of neoliberal economic development and political system. (p. 27)

According to Acharya (2002), the difference between old and new regionalism is threefold. The first difference is the multipolarity of new regionalism versus the bipolar context of old regionalism. The second one is that old regionalism was created within the context of dominant hegemonic actors or, in other words, from the 'outside' and 'above.' In contrast, new regionalism has an autonomous nature; it emerged from 'within' and 'below.' The third difference is that old regionalism is very narrow and specific, while new regionalism is multidimensional, including numerous goals beyond the security and the establishment of an economic project. Another prominent feature of new regionalism is its extroverted character, "which reflects the deeper interdependence of today's global political economy and the

intriguing relationship between globalization and regionalization" (Björn & Söderbaum, 2002, p. 33).

The last phase of regionalism, and for Söderbaum (2013; 2015a; 2015b) a current phase for analyzing and understanding the phenomenon of regionalism, is comparative regionalism. After 2000, the relevance and importance of regionalism was no longer questioned. We are approaching a new world order, which is a regional balance. Some of the new world events that defined the emergence of comparative regionalism are

> the war on terror, the responsibility to intervene and protect, a multi-layered or 'multiplex' world order, recurrent financial crisis across the world, the persistent pattern of overlapping and crisis-crossing regional and interregional processes in most parts of the world, and not least the rise of the BRICS and other emerging powers. (Söderbaum, 2015a, p. 21)

Comparative regionalism focuses on understanding and explaining the rising complexity of regionalism and how interactions within a region include all sorts of actors (state, non-state, and global) (Söderbaum, 2015a). In addition, it has significantly increased the dialogue between different perspectives and disciplines, bringing more creativity into how regionalisms are compared and reducing Eurocentrism. This means that in the more current regionalisms,

> it is possible to compare the comprehensive and multidimensional regions at various scales (Europe, Africa/Southern Africa, East and Southern Asia), but also to compare more distinct types of regions and regionalisms, such as trade blocs, security, regions, cognitive regions, river basins, and so forth. (Söderbaum, 2015a, p. 22)

Because this paper compares diverse regionalisms, I will use comparative regionalism as my theoretical framework and explain it more deeply in its own section below. Comparative regionalism is part of these categorizations but, at the same time, it cannot be equated with any one category. Rather than a specific type of regionalism, comparative regionalism is a parallel category that analyzes and studies regions in a comparative way, without using external benchmarks.

The second conceptualization of regionalism that is especially useful for analyzing the Latin American case is a deeper understanding of regionalism either as 'closed regionalism' or 'open regionalism.' The criterion used to distinguish these two types of regionalism is "a clear shift from inwards-looking, import substituting that was prevalent in the regional integration movement of earlier decades, to a greater emphasis on outward oriented and internationally competitive strategies" (Kuwayama, 1999, p. 7). Bergsten (2002) states that open regionalism emerged to find compatibility between the rapid incensement of trade arrangements at the regional level and within the global trading system. In his words, "the concept seeks to assure that regional agreements will in practice be building blocks for further global liberalization rather than stumbling blocks that deter such process" (Bergsten, 2002, p. 545). Kuwayama (1999) also considers the enhancement of international competitiveness to be the main goal of regional efforts in open regionalism. Open regionalism affects how states and regions relate to the global market, define their trade agreements, and impacts areas such as education policy. With the same goals of international competitiveness in mind, education policy within open regionalism trends towards the internationalization of education systems and promotion of strategies that will make students globally competitive. As Jules (2014) states, "open regionalism is an approach that is driven by the knowledge-based economy… Open regionalism provided a distinctive and discreet approach to facilitate the expansion of national educational reforms from the regional level" (p. 490).

Even though open regionalism as a concept was earlier used in cooperative efforts in the Asia-Pacific region, the concept became more strongly used in Latin America, especially after the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean's (ECLAC or Comisión Económica para Latino América y el Caribe) started using the term to describe "the regional

process in which Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) countries simultaneously dismantled trade barriers while opening up their economies to foreign direct investment" (Jules, 2014, p. 474; see also CEPAL, 1994; 1996).

Open regionalism became a dominant strategy for economic integration in LA during the 1990s. As Fernández Jilberto and Hogenboom (1997) explain, this neoliberal approach came to replace the "Keynesian concept of economic integration through import-substitution industrialization (ISI)" (p. 3). Open regionalism associates a focus on industrialization on a regional scale instead of on a national level. It is "directed at regulating and controlling the integration of Latin America in the globalization process and improving the region's international competitiveness" (Fernández Jilberto & Hogenboom, 1997, p. 3; see also CEPAL, 1994). This open regionalism or new regionalism is the neoliberal attempt that came after the failure of old regionalism that brought a development decline during the 1980s. The instant economic improvement that came in the early 1990s encouraged the process of new regionalism even further. The FTAA project is evidence of Latin American countries' enthusiasm for the liberalizing and globalizing proposals of open regionalism (Carranza, 2000). This was a project of the free trade agreement between 35 countries in North, Central, and South America, including the United States. The creation of FTAA in 2005 was part of the initiatives of the Plan of Action signed at the Second Summit of the Americas in 1998 as a strategy for "Economic Integration and Free Trade" (Kuwayama, 1999). The plan included incorporating "actions to advance the modernization of financial markets, programs of science and technology, energy cooperation, and hemisphere infrastructure, in particular in the fields of transportation and telecommunications" and promoting the development of the "areas of education, democracy, human rights, and poverty eradication and discrimination" (Kuwayama, 1999, p. 12). The FTAA

agreement failed in its objectives, and the faith in new regionalism as a means to acquire development despite the dependency on the US and other northern countries (unorthodox dependency theory) began to be questioned (Carranza, 2000). In this way, open or new regionalism started to phase out from LA (Phillips, 2003).

Several authors have identified the subsequent period as post-liberal regionalism (Riggirozi & Tussie, 2012; Sanahuja, 2009; van Klaveren, 2017). This post-liberal regionalism acquired a parallel shape in the Latin American case, giving place to post-hegemonic and counter-hegemonic regionalisms, the third category I include in the study. These regionalisms are predominantly represented in the case of MERCOSUR for the post-hegemonic case and ALBA-TCP for the counter-hegemonic one. I will expand on these categories in the following paragraphs. However, open regionalism or new regionalism never left Latin America–post and counter hegemonic regionalism are simply the new shapes that open regionalism acquired in Latin America. In its original form, open regionalism is also still present in several LA regimes such as PA, the regional agreement between Chile, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru. PA's goals are to "promote deep integration of economies through the free movement of goods, services, capital and labor, and to strengthen ties with the world, and the Asia-Pacific region in particular" (van Klaveren, 2017, p. 18). More recent political changes in the region have also brought some regimes previously identified with post-liberal regionalism closer to open regionalism and the PA. MERCOSUR countries, for instance, "are implementing economic reforms, including privatizations, and measures to liberalize some sectors of its industry and to attract foreign investment, which bring them closer to the policies adopted by the Pacific Alliance" (van Klaveren, 2017, p. 19).

The third conceptualization is a more ideological or political one and includes the categories of hegemonic regionalism (identified with new regionalism and open regionalism), counter-hegemonic regionalism, and post-hegemonic or revisionist regionalism (the two latter ones are a post-liberal form of open regionalism). Despite the differences,. While these three categories belong to open regionalism, as they are all an outward oriented integration that focuses in making member states competitive in the international economic market, they differ in the processes towards this shared goal. It is important to note that these categories are not fixed, and that certain fluidity exists within them. This means that hegemonic regimes might present some post and counter hegemonic characteristics, and vice versa for post-hegemonic and counter-hegemonic regimes. It is impossible to neatly define where one ends and the other one begins, given that they all belong to the same category of open regionalism. This impossibility to offer closed definitions also has to do with the fact that types of regionalism are linked to the political and social inclinations of its members, and in most countries in LA there has been – and continues to be – a constant fight between opposing political parties (from extreme right and extreme left) that gain and lose the power through democratic or non-democratic elections.

The particular and unique conceptualization of hegemonic, post-hegemonic, and counter-hegemonic regionalisms is mainly used to talk about regionalism in previously colonized countries. Muhr (2011; 2018) and Perrotta (2016a; 2016b) are two examples of scholars that have used this conceptualization in the LA case. Perrota (2016b) argues that currently, “there are at least three contesting and/or overlapping projects of regionalism present in LAC regional map” (p. 228). The first project she refers to is hegemonic regionalism, which is rooted in the open regionalism schemes that developed in Latin America in the 1990s. In hegemonic regionalism, the main goal of regional cooperation is to foster the international competitiveness

of the member states and the region as a whole, with liberalization as an end in itself (Perrotta, 2016b). The best examples are the Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) signed by Chile, Colombia, and Peru, NAFTA, and the newest PA.

The two other categories within this conceptualization emerged after the new or hegemonic regionalism crisis. The redefinition of regionalism is characterized by a return to a 'developmental state' (or 'estado desarrollista') or welfare state (Sanahuja, 2009). Some characteristics of these new regional integration proposals include giving priority to the political agenda and less attention to the economic and commercial agendas (due to the rise of leftist governments), a return to the developmental or welfare agenda with post-Washington consensus strategies that leave behind open regionalism and the focus on commercial liberalization, a major role of state actors, a major emphasis on a 'positive' integration agenda that focuses on the creation of common institutions and policies (which led, for instance, to an increase of south-south cooperation), and an increasing concern for inequality and poverty, and for the need of social projects, among others (Sanahuja, 2009). We can see in these characteristics a clear rejection of the neoliberal policies delineated in the Washington consensus. According to the main narrative of leftist ideologies in Latin America, neoliberalism is synonymous with globalization. Both processes weaken the state and its capacity to promote development. In addition, neoliberalism and globalization are enforced from outside through institutions such as the World Bank and IMF. This negative conception of neoliberalism results in efforts and strategies to reverse its influence and return to the ideal of strong, representative states. Under this ideal, regional integration should be at the service of the emergence of the 'developmental state,' and not an instrument for promoting globalization (Sanahuja, 2009). These ideas have led

to the emergence of the other two categories of regionalism that are especially present in LA: post-hegemonic regionalism and counter-hegemonic regionalism.

According to Perrota (2016b), "a post-hegemonic scheme erected after several political, social and economic crisis in several countries led to the emergence of renewed political forces that reclaimed welfarist projects domestically and regionally, based upon the principles of cooperation and solidarity" (p. 229) such as USAN and MERCOSUR in LA. Post-hegemonic regionalism is a more multidimensional regionalism that aims to go beyond the sole focus on economic integration to comprise multiple objectives of integration, such as combating poverty and exclusion, eradicating hunger, improving education and health, coordinating defense and security, reducing inequalities, and many others (Comini & Frenkel, 2021).

The third and last category is counter-hegemonic regionalism, which was modeled by Venezuela and enacted in ALBA-TCP. The Bolivarian project pretends to build up new international geopolitics, based on a real multipolar world–in contrast to the framework of unilateralism expressed in United States' hegemony and power over the rest of the Americas. With this goal in mind, the Bolivarian project aims to build a South American bloc focused on South-South cooperation with Africa and Asia. This new South American bloc, and its emphasis on South-South cooperation, is seen as the alternative that transcends the neoliberal conception of integration, giving place to a just commerce that is based on the principles of cooperation, complementation, solidarity, reciprocity, and respect of each state's sovereignty (Perrota, 2016a; 2016b; Sanahuja, 2009).

This literature review has paved the way for a better understanding of the research questions and why they matter. By acknowledging how different the regionalisms coexisting in LA are, asking about their impact on education systems and their educational similarities and

dissimilarities now seems more relevant. Additionally, by noticing the different ways each type of regionalism is positioned within the global world, it is imperative to find out whether their education systems are in line with this positioning or share similarities (in other words, discover if they are more shaped by the regional influence or the global influence).

CHAPTER IV

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: COMPARATIVE REGIONALISM

As stated in the literature review, comparative regionalism is a new way of studying regionalisms which allows comparison of regimes against each other without referencing back to Europe as a model or benchmark. This has created new possibilities for scholars in the fields of both comparative education and regionalism. This study in particular, benefits from the existence and methods of this new field of study, as it offers a comparison that includes and merges diverse categorizations of regionalism that are generally used for very different regions of the world.

Söderbaum (2013; 2015a; 2015b) argues that since the beginning of the new millennium, we have been in a new phase of studying regionalism: comparative regionalism. As we approach a new world order – a world of regions, with almost all countries in the world part of one or more regional agreements - comparative regionalism has become an essential way to study and understand our current world system (De Lombaerde, Söderbaum, Van Langenhove, & Baert, 2010). In addition, regionalism has become increasingly plural and multidimensional, involving countless non-state actors, "resulting in multiplicities of formal and informal regional governance and regional networks in most issue areas" (Söderbaum, 2008, p. 1). Comparative regionalism has the tools to include the analysis of these non-state actors.

Because comparative regionalism emerged, in part, due to the recognition that the

European Union should not be considered the 'gold standard' of regional integration nor the model against which all other regionalisms are compared, comparative regionalism is often reduced to simply "the study of a single regional project outside of Europe" (Sbragia, 2008, p. 33). Before regarding this as an apparent problem, two things should be noted. First, the case of Europe is too rich to not use it at all as a tool for comparative regionalism. As De Lombaerde et al. (2010) put it, "the challenge for comparative regionalism is to both include and transcend European integration theory and practice. But this requires enhanced communication between various specialisations and theoretical standpoints" (p. 744). Second, studying one single regional project in order to understand the historical process of the project is, in fact, a valid strategy for understanding regionalisms, identified by De Lombaerde et al. (2010) as "idiographic research" (p. 744). However, De Lombaerde et al. (2010) further note that comparative regionalism would benefit from including "nomothetic research" (p. 744) in their studies (see also Warleigh-Lack & Van Langenhove, 2010). These are qualitative approaches that "study multiple cases with an emphasis on finding general explanations that account for all the phenomena studied" (De Lombaerde et al., 2010, p. 744). Therefore, the ideal is an 'in between,' otherwise designated "the comparative case study method" (De Lombaerde et al., 2010, p. 744). Returning to the characterization of comparative education, the ambiguity of the field also derives from an inability to clearly define the concepts of 'region,' 'regionalization,' 'regionalism,' and 'regional integration' (De Lombaerde et al., 2010; Sbragia, 2008).

I believe that because of the great diversity of political projects, cultures, and economic characteristics present in LA, comparing regionalisms within this part of the world is an excellent case for a comparative case study method–mainly because I am comparing three regionalisms that coexist yet have diverse ideological and political standpoints. At the same time,

I am using this comparison to study some shared phenomena across regionalisms that embody the type of governance defining its education systems (global vs regional). Additionally, these types of regionalisms impact policies differently (despite the global discourses defining education's legitimacy). In other words, I am comparing regionalisms to understand certain phenomena that go beyond each specific region, and thus my study cannot be considered just a series of single case studies done in parallel.

Regionalism includes two different realities, or schemes: (supranational) integration and (intragovernmental) cooperation. On the one hand, "regional cooperation entails the join exercise of state-based political authority in intergovernmental institutions to solve collective action problems related to economic, political or security issues," while, on the other hand, regional integration "involves the setting-up of supranational institutions to which political authority is delegated to make collectively binding decisions, e.g. on dismantling national barriers to economic and social exchange" (Björn, 2011, p. 10). According to Acharya (2012), comparative regionalism speaks more to the idea of regional cooperation than integration. In addition, "integration studies have always been heavily influenced by the EU's history and experience" (Acharya, 2012, p. 12). The cases of regionalism I am analyzing are considered regional cooperation, as member states work jointly to make decisions together, but do not grant power to an external regional institution. Söderbaum (2008) defines regional cooperation and regional integration in the following way:

> Regional cooperation can be defined as an open-ended process, whereby individual states (or possibly other actors) within a given geographical area act together for mutual benefit, and in order to solve common tasks, in certain fields, such as infrastructure, water and energy, notwithstanding conflicting interests in other fields of activity. Regional integration refers to a deeper process, whereby the previously autonomous units are merged into a whole. (p. 3)

Finally, Söderbaum (2015a) expose two main differences between comparative regionalism and new regionalism. First, comparative regionalism is less concerned about the relationship between regionalism and globalization (and whether these processes compete with or reinforce each other), focusing instead on understanding and explaining the rising complexity of regionalism and how interactions within a region include all sorts of actors (state, non-state, and global). Second, in new regionalism, there is little dialogue among various forms of regionalisms (security, economic, environmental, etc.), and between diverse disciplines or theoretical traditions. Studies comparing regionalisms generally become parallel case studies. In comparative regionalism, there is an increased dialogue between all these different perspectives, bringing more creativity into how regionalisms are compared and reducing Eurocentrism. As previously mentioned, comparative regionalism utilizes a comparative case study method instead of single comparative studies. All types of regionalisms are in some way 'absorbed' by comparative regionalism; therefore, comparative regionalism is the category comprising all other categories.

CHAPTER V

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This study is framed within the comparative case study method, described by De Lombaerde et al. (2010) as the ideal method for comparing regionalisms. This method is an 'in between' idiographic research model that studies single cases to understand their historical processes, as well as nomothetic research that studies multiple cases to explain a shared phenomenon (Lombaerde et al., 2010). This method was ideal for this particular study, which looks at how each regime formulates its regional education policies (in the form of individual case studies) and then compares them to answer a question–what is the role of the regional and the global in shaping education systems and policies in Latin America.

Document analysis is the methodology used for this comparative case study. Wood, Sebar, and Vecchio (2020) define this methodology within qualitative research as 'qualitative document analysis' (QDA), stating that it "provides a systematic methodological process for eliciting meaning from documentary evidence" and defining it as a recursive and reflective process, where "the investigator moves between concept development, sampling, data collection, data analysis and interpretations" (p. 457). As a result, QDA can be described as "an emergent process focused on the search for underlying meaning, themes, and patterns, rather than a rigid set of procedures with tight parameters" (Wood, Sebar, & Vecchio, 2020, p. 457).

Document analysis includes both content analysis and thematic analysis. According to Bowen (2009),

> document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents–both printed and electronic material. Like other analytical methods in qualitative research, document analysis requires the data to be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge. (p. 27)

Therefore, the analytical process involves "finding, selecting, appraising (making sense of), and synthesizing data contained in documents" (Bowen, 2009, p. 28). The data obtained from document analysis is organized through content and thematic analysis–two instances within the document analysis process itself. As Mackieson, Shlonsky, and Connolly (2019) explain, "while 'document analysis,' 'content analysis' and 'thematic analysis' all deal with textual data, these methods are not interchangeable. Document analysis refers to the overarching method of analyzing documents, which may include content analysis and/or thematic analysis" (p. 968).

According to Bowen (2009), "content analysis is the process of organizing information into categories related to the central questions of the research" (p. 32). It consists in being able to separate pertinent and non-pertinent information, such as identifying the most meaningful and relevant passages of texts. During this phase, I created three excel Tables, one for each regime (Tables 5, 6, and 7), where I transcribed sentences, passages, and paragraphs useful for the analysis. Furthermore, given that content analysis is either exploratory (driven by the content itself) or confirmatory (driven by trying to prove a hypothesis), the content analysis is hypothesis-driven if the researcher defines the codes or categories before examining the data, but content-driven if it is decided after reading the data. In this study, I used content analysis in an exploratory way, as I did not start with a hypothesis to prove but rather with some open questions I aimed to answer through the analysis of the data set. In other words, I did not establish categories before examining the documents, instead coming up with them after analysis.

The thematic analysis comes at a second stage when the pertinent information is organized and categorized. In this process, "the reviewer takes a closer look at the selected data and performs coding and category construction, based on the data's characteristics, to uncover themes pertinent to a phenomenon" (Bowen, 2009, p. 32). In this second phase, I added categories and questions to each Table (5, 6, and 7) to organize the information previously gathered.

In this study, I predominantly relied on analysis of raw data from a variety of official documents from the four selected regionalisms. Documents can take various forms, from diaries and journals to minutes of meetings, letters, memorandums, and institutional reports. The data used directly from these documents are considered raw data, as "documents contain text (words) and images that have been recorded without a researcher's intervention" (Bowen, 2009, p. 27). It is valuable and helps with validity to include previous studies as a source of data as well, wherein the researcher relies on others' interpretation of data. However, I also used previous studies that mention some of the documents I analyzed to frame my study and increase reliability.

Data Selection (in lieu of Data Collection)

Because my methodology was document analysis, I gathered the data through selection rather than collection, meaning the data existed already without my intervention as a researcher. The documents were selected from the three regimes I compared. MERCOSUR is the only one of these regimes that keeps all its records and documents open to the public on its official websites,[1] which made obtaining the documents possible and relatively easy–despite the high

[1] For MERCOSUR documents in education visit the general MERCOSUR website (https://www.mercosur.int) and the Mercosur Educativo website (http://edu.mercosur.int/es-ES/).

volume of documents and the fact that these are not always divided by category requiring skimming them all to detect the ones on education. The documents for the other two regimes needed more research, and I had to retrieve them from different websites and sources. I found it helpful to develop a historic line of when and why education policies in these regimes were created to know what to look for more specifically. For example, understanding the creation of the University of Peoples of ALBA (UNILABA) in 2009 allowed me to look for documents related to its creation directly. I relied on previous studies and historical texts to construct this historic line.

As I was comparing regional education policies, I only looked at educational documents developed by regional entities and not those by specific member states, as well as documents that discuss educational programs or projects for the entire region and not for specific countries. In addition, even though I aimed to illuminate the impact of regionalization processes in education systems in Latin America through this study, I do not compare all existing LA regimes. Instead, I selected three specific regimes that represent entirely different types of regimes coexisting in Latin America to compare (MERCOSUR, ALBA-TCP, and PA). As per my definitions above, PA is the case for hegemonic or open regionalism, MERCOSUR represents the post-hegemonic alternative, and ALBA-TCP is the case for counter-hegemonic regionalism. Their different regime schemes is what makes them ideal for comparative analysis. Another reason why I chose these three regimes is that they all emerged in the same period. MERCOSUR is a bit older, being founded at the end of the 20th century (1991), but the other two emerged in 2004 and 2012, and they have all coexisted. In terms of what documents to analyze, I looked at all the regional education documents formulated by each regime since their creation, selecting the most relevant ones (where education is either the main topic of the document or discussed at some length).

Some of these documents were easier to find than others. I did not have access to all the educational documents that exist (particularly for ALBA-TCP and PA), a limitation I acknowledge later.

According to Ravitch & Carl (2016), documents can be personal, official, or pertaining to popular culture. For this study, all the documents collected were official documents, "those kinds of documents that are developed, produced, or disseminated by institutions … These kinds of data sources can include websites, mission statements, job descriptions, handbooks, memos, meeting minutes, press releases, training materials, brochures, and so on" (Ravitch & Carl, 2016, p. 171). The documents in education I used include agreements, declarations, reunion minutes, summaries, informative sheets, decisions, treaties, plans, studies, action plans, programs, projects, protocols, norms, and resolutions. These sorts of official regional documents present a key characteristic that I acknowledge later as a limitation to my study: they are written for the purpose of presenting the regime to the public, including their goals, rationale, and means towards its objectives. This means some documents might be more indicative of what the regimes want to represent and show to others than the reality of how they actually work.

Being fluent in Spanish, I analyzed most of the documents in their original language of Spanish. After reading them and highlighting the pertinent sentences, passages, and paragraphs in the original Spanish documents, I translated the relevant information and quotes into the excel Tables in English. I then presented the findings in English. Some of the documents I analyzed were in English (the documents for the global educational standards, for instance).

Finally, I want to mention how I organized the data before its analysis. First, due to the significant number of educational documents for each regime (and especially for MERCOSUR), I needed to eliminate research that were repeated more than once in different sorts of texts (such

as the same information being presented in meeting minutes and announcements), documents that were not relevant (for example, foundational texts that barely mentioned education), and documents that were just annexes or corrections to previous texts (which were not adding anything new to the analysis). The document selection process can be quite challenging because of the enormous number of documents and the need to establish clear and rational boundaries for inclusion in the analysis. Mackieson, Shlonsky, and Connolly (2019) suggest the following when dealing with data selection:

> the data selected for analysis need to directly relevant to the topic under investigation; the research methods need to be driven by the specific research questions developed to guide the analysis of the data; and those research questions should be directly relevant to (that is, be capable of being answered by) the selected data set. (p. 970)

Second, to make content and thematic analysis more manageable, I organized the relevant information gathered from the documents of each regime independently (in three different Tables, one for each regime: 5, 6, and 7).[2] I then used the information organized in these three Tables to document my findings. I also created a table (that I have not included in the study) with the three regimes, where I noted when each policy was created in order to see if similar policies emerged during the same period or not, and the possible meaning of this (it could mean that decisions of one regime might have a higher impact over another, or possibly that global standards impact LA regimes more generally). I used this Table to illuminate my findings.

Data Analysis

As already mentioned, I used the 'comparative case study method' (De Lombaerde et al., 2010). This method comparatively implicates the analysis of individual case studies. I compared three Latin American regionalisms by looking at each of their regional education policies from

[2] See annexes.

their creation until now. Then, I compared the education programs and projects of these three regionalisms with global educational standards developed by EFA (Education for All), MDGs (Millennium Development Goals), and SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals).

This process took four stages, given the iterative nature of document analysis. As explained by Mackieson, Shlonsky, and Connolly (2019), "document analysis involves an iterative process of superficial examination (skimming), thorough examination (reading), and interpretation" (p. 968). Additionally, document analysis includes both content and thematic analysis. The analysis also took several stages because the comparative study required three levels of analysis: first, the analysis of each regionalism separately, followed by the writing of the findings that compared all three of them together, and finally, the comparison of all three against global educational standards. The following were the stages of my analysis:

(1) In stage one, I set the stage for the comparative analysis (developed in stages two and three) by reading and organizing the data. I created excel Tables 5, 6, and 7 (one for each regionalism) defining for each the type of document, date in which it was created, actors involved, and purpose of the document, and writing down significant paragraphs or sentences from the documents that were either mentioning or defining education programs, or referring to the characteristics, goals, and standpoint of that specific regionalism. This process included both content and thematic analysis, performed for each regionalism individually. In the thematic analysis phase, I rearranged the Tables and organized the information previously gathered by adding the following categories: main points of the document, indicators of the type of regionalism, affirming any relationship to hegemonic ideologies, and noting any evidence of who is shaping the educational ideologies (local, regional, or global). I used these categories as headings for each column, where I added the passages and themes previously gathered.

(2) In stage two, I defined new categories that allowed me to analyze all three regionalisms comparatively. With the Tables created in stage one, I realized the three regionalisms employed several the same educational programs and projects. I went back to the documents and wrote the corresponding categories next to each sentence, paragraph, or page I previously highlighted, noting which educational programs were mentioned in each document (e.g., student mobility program, or indigenous education program).

(3) The third stage was to compare the educational programs highlighted in the previous stage across regionalisms. Through examination of documents, I noted that even though the three regimes developed most of the same educational programs, many of these had different rationale and goals. Given this, I decided to organize the educational programs into three categories: (i) common educational programs, (ii) discursive commonality, and (iii) unique educational programs. The first group includes all the educational programs that work almost equally within all three regionalisms. The discursive commonality group comprises educational programs that all regionalisms developed but look very different for each case, sharing only the names. Finally, in the third group, I added the programs that are original to each regionalism or shared by only two of them. I used each of these three categories as subheadings for the finding sections, where I present the findings of the analysis of education programs comparatively. I used this categorization because my goal was to determine whether there is an isomorphism of education programs despite the different types of regionalisms. A higher level of isomorphism would have indicated a more substantial presence of global educational governance in these regions. On the other hand, if educational programs were only similar on a discursive level, this would be evidence of more regional and local influence on education programs and systems. I also employed the information gathered in the three last columns of Tables 5, 6, and 7 to better

explain my findings (specifically, how many of these programs reveal characteristics that pertain to the type of regionalism programs developed). In these columns, I saved text from the documents under the headings '*indicators of the type of regionalism,' 'any relationship to hegemonic ideologies?*' and '*is there evidence of who is shaping the educational ideologies?* (local, regional, global).'

(4) The final step consisted of comparing the codes (educational programs) with global educational policies developed by EFA, MDGs, and SDGs. The findings were described in the discussion section under the subheading *Regional or global education policies and programs?* The guiding question to develop this last comparison was: how many of the regional education policies and programs analyzed mention EFA, MDGs, or SDGs, or their specific objectives?

Triangulation

Triangulation is a method used by qualitative researchers to check for and establish validity in their studies by analyzing a research question from multiple perspectives (Ravitch & Carl, 2016). In Bowen's (2009) words, it is "the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon" (p. 28). Document analysis tends to be used together with other qualitative study methods in order to achieve triangulation. However, triangulation can also be achieved by having different data sources rather than methodologies, and can be used as a stand-alone method.

In this study, I used document analysis solely as the methodology, but as it is a comparative study of different regimes, documents were gathered from different sources, indicating I employed data triangulation. As Bowen (2009) explains, "documents may be the only necessary data source for studies designed within an interpretive paradigm, as in hermeneutic inquiry; or it may simply be the only viable source, as in historical and cross-

cultural research" (p. 29). In addition, I also achieved triangulation through the included triple-layer of analysis (analysis of documents within each regime, comparative analysis of documents across regimes, and analysis of documents against global educational policies developed in the EFA, SDGs, and MDGs) and the double layer of comparison (comparison within regions and comparison between regions and global standards).

Finally, I also included a third triangulation method that incorporates previous studies asking similar questions and offering similar arguments. This is a form of theoretical triangulation, "the inclusion of a range of theories to frame the study topic in context" (Ravitch & Carl, 2016, p. 195). The advantages of this triangulation method, according to Ravitch & Carl (2016), is that it helps "prevent researchers from coming up with atheoretical findings and selecting data to suit particular theories as well as encouraging researchers to broaden the relevance of studies by considering different theories" (p. 195). Some of the studies I used as guidance are Jules' (2015) study on CARICOM and the gated global, where he poses a similar question about CARICOM education policies being shaped either by the local, regional, or global; Jules' (2013) analysis of the policies in Grenada being shaped by either the local, regional, or global (or all three: policy trilingualism); Perrota's (2016; 2018) analysis of the processes of internationalization in these same three regionalisms (hegemonic, post-hegemonic, and counter-hegemonic) to talk about the internationalization of higher education in these regionalisms; and Muhr's (2011) analysis of ALBA-TCP, which includes the analysis of its educational goals.

Validity

In order to grant validity to my study, apart from securing data and theoretical triangulation, I included a section in the annexes describing my research process in detail. I

described how I gathered and selected the documents for each regime analyzed. This technique is referred to by Ravitch & Carl (2016) as a "thick description method for validity" (p. 201). Bowen (2009) also highlights the importance of providing detailed documentation of the research process in qualitative research and suggests "detailed information about how the study was designed and conducted should be provided in the research report" (p. 29). Validity is key for any study, as it is "that quality of research results that leads us to accept them as true, as speaking about the real world of people, phenomena, events, experiences, and actions" (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 313; see also Neuendorf, 2002). In other words, validity makes a study relevant and worth reading.

Document and content analysis relies on one form of validity: 'face validity' or common sense. This is because

> content analysis is fundamentally concerned with readings of texts, with what symbols mean, and with how images are seen, all of which are largely rooted in common sense, in the shared culture in which such interpretations are made, which is difficult to measure but often quite reliable at a particular time. (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 314)

Common sense cannot of course, be the sole method of validity in a study. But combined with the methods of triangulation described above, it can make a study quite robust despite its limitations.

Limitations of the study

The first limitation of the proposed study is that I generally tried to answer questions for Latin America, yet only included three regionalisms in the comparative study. There is not enough space in this project for a more comprehensive comparison that includes all LA regionalisms, and thus three is reasonable. As I show in Table 1, there are a high number of regionalisms in this area of the world (at least 20). Nevertheless, this study serves as a sample

from which valuable conclusions can be gathered regarding the relationship between education systems, regional integrations, and the global order.

A second limitation is that the depth of my analysis largely depends on the availability of documents and the capacity to retrieve them. The more regional education documents I gather, the more valid my findings and conclusions could be. Many modern regimes upload most of their records digitally, so I can definitively say I had access to a wide range of documents. But I have no way of knowing how many additional documents were not considered due to lack of access to them.

A third limitation is that the regional documents that I was able to obtain and that were useful for the analysis (because they would offer a description of the regional programs and policies implemented or designed), are documents that were intentionally written to be publicly published and read by a global audience. In these specific documents, regional organizations are expressing their goals, their priorities, and how they want to interact with other regional partners, among other things. In other words, these documents express what members of the selected regimes want other regimes, global institutions, international organizations, etc., to know about them, and not necessarily how policies or programs are actually working or being implemented. Having these specific types of documents, and not having other type of documents to complement them or compare them against (e.g., interviews or observations that would offer more objective data), does not offer insight on the entire spectrum of regionalisms, yet still offers insights that could be analyzed and lead to conclusions about regional organizations' motives (political, social, cultural), the image they have of themselves, or the image they want others to have of them.

A fourth limitation is that I developed this study on my own, and I was, therefore, the only coder, which questions the reliability of my analysis. I tried to reduce this limitation by offering a section on validity and including the description of my research process so that anyone following the same steps would reasonably arrive at similar conclusions.

Finally, I only used document analysis as my methodological strategy. As I studied education policies created at the regional level, I did not gather information from local sources such as interviews or observations (because that would have been an analysis of how regional policies are applied locally). In addition, I looked at the development of policies since the regimes in which they were developed were created until our current times. Only documents are helpful for this sort of historical study. Even though document analysis can be used as a stand-alone method, I acknowledge the absence of other forms of methodologies in my study might be considered an obstacle to validity. However, some scholars (Ravitch & Carl, 2016) consider validity to be a positivist standard borrowed from quantitative research and not entirely correct when it comes to qualitative research–the reason why the term 'trustworthiness' is better to represent the sort of validity we look for in qualitative research. Further, "validity in qualitative research can never be fully ensured; it is both a process and a goal" (Ravitch & Carl, 2016, p. 187; see also Cho & Trent, 2006).

Researcher's positionality

It is relevant to mention that I am originally from Latin America (Argentina) and that my native language is Spanish. Being a native Spanish speaker living and studying in the United States qualifies me to analyze documents in Spanish and then translate my conclusions and findings into English (given that almost all the regional documents analyzed were exclusively in Spanish). Also, the fact that I am from Latin America influenced my choice in this topic. I feel

passionate about trying to understand the role of regionalism and regionalization processes in LA education systems.

CHAPTER VI

FINDINGS

Introduction

This section lays out the conclusions obtained from the comparative analysis of education programs across the MERCOSUR, PA, and ALBA-TCP regimes, as well as the comparative analysis of regional education programs against the global programs developed by EFA, MDGs, and SDGs. The findings section has been divided into three subsections: this introduction, answering research question one, and answering research question two. To enhance clarity, the two latter subsections are also divided into further subsections.

After reading and analyzing the 68 selected documents (30 for MERCOSUR, 17 for ALBA-TCP, and 21 for PA), I created three categories to contain and organize the education programs developed by the three regimes: (i) common educational programs, (ii) discursive commonality, and (iii) unique educational programs. The three categories emerged after realizing that most of the education programs implemented have the same names but are quite different in terms of objectives and rationale. The common educational programs group includes the programs that work almost equally across all three regionalisms. These are only two systems: the shared system of accreditation, validation, and recognition of degrees, and a system of evaluation and quality assurance. The discursive commonality group comprises the educational programs that all regionalisms have implemented, but in reality work very differently for

each regime. These are the academic mobility programs; programs of interculturality, diversity, and identity; universal access to education and permanence in schools; higher education networks; and programs in education and technology. Finally, the third group includes the programs that are either unique within each regime or that are shared by only two of them. These are: technical education programs, common aspects of the regional curriculums, programs to fight illiteracy, programs that include the involvement of international agents, learning a second (or more) languages, and indigenous people's education. During the analysis, I created Tables 5, 6, and 7 (Appendix B) to organize and keep track of the education programs promoted or implemented by each regime, including their characteristics, goals, actors involved, and date of creation.

These three types of programs imply that education systems are quite unique for each regionalism. But, the analysis also showed some common characteristics that can be mainly attributed to the forces of global educational governance. The answer to the first question shows how different the educational goals and programs implemented by each regime are–given that LA is a region of the world where different types of regimes (hegemonic, post-hegemonic, and counter-hegemonic regionalisms) coexist because of the diverse characteristics and political orientations of its member countries. The answer to the second question then describes the various global forces influencing regional education programs and policies in LA and explains why some programs are alike and others only appear alike across regimes. This study looks at education as an outcome of regionalism by showing how each type of regime and global educational governance mechanism impacts the education systems of LA countries.

Even though the final conclusion is that education systems in LA are far from becoming isomorphic and that their similarities are mostly discursive, the study acknowledges and explains

the pressure of international forces in the field of education. Another key conclusion that came out of this comparative analysis is that in all these programs it is possible to see characteristics of the type of regime in which each of them developed. This study agrees with Verger and Hermo (2010) in that today, the most impactful influence on education policy is happening at the regional level. Verger and Hermo (2010) acknowledge the presence of important actors at a global level, especially in higher education, principally the Organization for Economic and Cooperative Development (OECD) and the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), but they contend that these global agents do not influence policy as easily and directly as regional projects. For this reason, as Parreira do Amoral (2021) states, "during the past decade, scholars interested in understanding critically the relevance and impact of 'globalization' and 'internationalization' on education practice, research, and policy have turned to theories of international regime and regionalism" (p. 2).

Question one: How do different types of regimes define the education policies implemented at the regional level?

MERCOSUR

When analyzing MERCOSUR's educational programs, it becomes clear that these are in line with the post-hegemonic regionalism model. Despite having many programs in common with PA and ALBA-TCP, MERCOSUR has approached and developed its programs uniquely. In the following paragraphs, I show how this regime has proposed and implemented each of its education programs. I include all the programs here that belong to the second and third categories: discursive commonality and unique educational programs. The first category, common educational programs, is included as an answer to research question two, in the third section of the findings chapter.

Discursive Commonality Programs: Mobility program, programs of interculturality, diversity and identity, universal access to education and permanence in schools, higher education network, and education and technology. In MERCOSUR, 17 out of the 30 documents analyzed (57% of the total documents) mention the mobility program for students, professors, researchers, and professionals. There are numerous reasons why MERCOSUR considers this program so central and has applied it regionally since its inception, as it is evident the mobility program is a priority for MERCOSUR. One of the reasons for the implementation of this program is to "facilitate the knowledge of the reality that characterizes the region and promote a better human and cultural development" (Ministros de educación, 1991, p. 2; author's translation). Also, the Common Market Council (CMC or Consejo del Mercado Común) (1994a; 1994b) states that the mobility program is "animated by the conviction that it is fundamental to promote the cultural development through a process of harmonic and dynamic integration, that facilitates the circulation of people and knowledge among the members states of MERCOSUR" (p. 145; author's translation). Stimulating the mobility of students, academics, teachers, researchers, and professionals across the region is also central to the action plan of MERCOSUR's Educational Sector (SEM or Sector Educativo del MERCOSUR), with creating a common educational space being the primary objective of this plan. The strategy is called "mobility for regional integration" and includes the "creation of networks of technical frontier institutions; networks of institutions that train teachers; an integrated system of mobility of MERCOSUR; and a mechanism of recognition and homologation of studies in basic, secondary, technic and higher education" (CMC, 2017a, p. 423; author's translation). Finally, as expressed by the Common Market Group (GMC or Grupo Mercado Común) (2008), the mobility program is also key to enhancing the creation of regional citizenship: "for achieving a MERCOSUR

citizenship, the consolidation and expansion of a mobility program of higher education students across the region is needed" (p. 231; author's translation).

The mobility program implemented in MERCOSUR and its rationale correspond to MERCOSUR's specific post-hegemonic regionalism, being social and cultural goals of central importance. Following the principle that education should enhance economic development and promote cultural and social development and respect for member states' individual characteristics, the mobility program focuses on enhancing integration by sharing experiences, culture, and knowledge among members' citizens.

MERCOSUR's promotion of programs of interculturality and diversity are also in line with the development of a shared identity and the respect for different cultures, characteristics of a post-hegemonic regionalism. To illustrate, minsters of education from MERCOSUR's members (1991) state in one of the foundational documents that "the capacity of Latin American countries to meet again in their common values and affirm their identity before the challenges of the contemporary world depend on a large degree on education" (p. 1; author's translation). The CMC (1994a) also expresses that education initiatives are "inspired by the will to consolidate the common features of our identity, history, and cultural patrimony of our peoples" (p. 145; author's translation).

The topics of shared identity, respect for diversity, and understanding of other cultures are mentioned in 10 documents out of 30. The other themes included are: all educational initiatives should respect the cultural and linguistic characteristics of members states, education programs should promote the creation of a shared identity, educational programs should promote cultural knowledge and understanding, and education programs should fight for equity (equal access no matter the culture, gender, etc.). Most of these themes are mentioned in the objectives

of education described in the Plan Trienal: “to contribute to the objectives of MERCOSUR stimulating the development of consciousness among citizens that enhances integration, and promoting quality education for all, in a process of development with social justice and respect for each nations' culture and individuality" (MERCOSUR, 1998, p. 3; author’s translation). In this plan, the CMC (1998) also presents the areas to develop that are given priority, the first one being the “development of a regional identity, through stimulating mutual knowledge and a culture of integration” (p. 6; author’s translation). Interculturality and respect for diversity are also mentioned numerous times in the action plan of the education sector until 2020. For example:

> the Educational Sector of MERCOSUR aspires to be a regional space where they guarantee and offer an equitable and quality education, characterized by mutual knowledge, interculturality, respect for diversity, cooperation in solidarity, with shared values that contribute to the betterment and democratization of the education systems of the region, and to generate the favorable conditions for peace, through a social, economic and human sustainable development. (CMC, 2017a, p. 420; author’s translation)

Regarding the guarantee of free and universal education, MERCOSUR considers education as a universal right all should have access to, mentioning it in 7 documents out of 30. The goal of securing universal basic education began formulation in a 1991 document: “the need to guarantee an adequate level of schooling that secures a basic education for all” (Ministers of Education, 1991, p. 2; author’s translation). However, a direct statement about the universal right to access basic education did not appear until 2006 in the educational action plan elaborated by SEM. This document mentions the initiative to “guarantee and consolidate the right to education in the framework of the regional integration process” (SEM, 2006, p. 12; author’s translation), as well as the objective to “promote a quality education for all, as a factor for social inclusion and human and productive development” (SEM, 2006, p. 10; author’s translation). Another

document states “that the social inclusion and schooling of all children and youth is a fundamental right, being necessary to arbitrate the means to guarantee the access and permanence of students in the diverse education systems” (MERCOSUR & CAB, 2007, p. 2; author’s translation). The permanence of having children and youth in school is mentioned in six of the seven documents discussing universal right to education. For instance, the CMC (2010) announces “that is fundamental to facilitate the access of students to relevant knowledge and their permanence in school and competition of the different levels of the education system” (p. 1; author’s translation). MERCOSUR’s commitment to guaranteed universal and free basic education (primary and secondary) for the purposes of social inclusion, regional integration, and productive development are also in line with a post-hegemonic model that includes both economic/productive and social objectives.

In terms of building a network of universities and higher education institutions, 4 out of the 30 documents of MERCOSUR mention the importance of bolstering cooperation across higher education institutions in the region. These documents do not mention the concept of ‘network’ specifically but refer to cooperation that shares a network’s characteristics. There are numerous reasons behind this cooperation: to spur the generation of new knowledge and shared investigations, to enhance the formation of human resources in a way that benefits regional integration, to improve scientific and technological capacities, and to strengthen the modernization of the region. An example of a document mentioning these reasons is document 6 (Table 5), where the CMC (1996) states that “the exchange and cooperation among institutions of higher education is the ideal path for the improvement of scientific, technological and cultural formation and capacitation, and for the modernization of member states” (p. 2; author’s

translation). Again, both socio-cultural and economic aspects are considered in this education plan.

There are five mentions of the theme of technology in education in MERCOSUR's documents. One of MERCOSUR's educational projects is to digitalize educational resources and information. Ministers of education of MERCOSUR member countries (1991), for instance, mention the goal to "establish an information technology system that allows members states to access relevant educational data from the rest of the members, and access knowledge about the labor market and activity sectors" (p. 5; authors' translation). This project goes together with CMC's (1998) plan to improve the implementation of new technologies in the schools of member states, as stated in the Plan Trienal document: "facilitate the incorporation of advanced technologies in teaching and schools, in order to enhance the construction or acquisition of significative skills for students and the modernization of schooling and teaching" (p. 7; author's translation). The SEM (2006) also references this goal, by highlighting the plan to "incorporate of new technologies in education with the goals of improving quality and enhancing social inclusion" (SEM, 2006, p. 11; author's translation).

For MERCOSUR, the sharing of information is key to improving access, quality, and the transmission of certain values that are in line with the regional identity. As stated in the Plan Trienal (1998), the harmonization of MERCOSUR education systems is central to "the reunification of the people of the region in their common values, without sacrificing their singular identity" (CMC, 1998, p. 2; author's translation). This goal reflects a post-hegemonic regionalism model that puts social matters at the center, especially the creation of a regional identity.

Unique Educational Programs: Technical education, programs that include the involvement of international agents, common aspects of the regional curriculums, learning a second language, and indigenous people's education. MERCOSUR members promote technical education as a way to improve the link between education systems and the workforce and as a way to boost the transformation of the productive sectors. As SEM (2006) expresses, "it is considered fundamental, the link between the productive world and education, especially professional education, even more now with the changes that are beginning to glimpse in the region. In this context, countries have begun to use technical education as an important developmental tool" (p. 6; author's translation). In the 1991 document written by ministers of education of MERCOSUR members, they already acknowledge the importance of technical education in fulfilling market needs by highlighting the centrality to "promote and coordinate joint actions in technical and professional education, in both public and private institutions, that answer to the needs of the market" (p. 4; authors' translation). MERCOSUR uses the example of the EU in its formulation and implementation of technical education, stating that "the experience of the EU as a donor of technical cooperation is of interest to MERCOSUR" (GMC, 2008, p. 231; author's translation). In document 22 (Table 5) concerning rural education, technical education is also proposed as a way of answering to the specific needs of people living in rural areas, and to maintain the number of people who continue working in family agriculture (in which 25 million people participate throughout the member countries of MERCOSUR). The document states that "public policy for rural education in member states needs to respect and promote social and productive practices, guiding educational programs to improve a social development that is economically just and environmentally sustainable, and in articulation with the job market" (CMC, 2011, p. 121; author's translation). The promotion of technical education

is reflective of a type of regionalism that is not disengaged from the global market. MERCOSUR, as a post-hegemonic regionalism, is concerned with the protection of national markets and the development of social and cultural programs, yet recognizes its centrality to maintain or even increase its competitiveness in the global economy. In total, there are 6 documents out of 30 that mention the technical education program.

In 6 of MERCOSUR's 30 documents, there is mention of the involvement of international agents in their educational matters. The first reference appears in document 14 (Table 5), where MERCOSUR (2006) admits, "SEM cannot escape global policies and must have them into consideration at the time of formulating its regional proposals (p. 2; author's translation). In addition, the GMC (2008) has signaled the importance of the "celebration of agreements that increase linkages and strengthen the alliances of cooperation with other countries or group of countries" (p. 231; author's translation). There is a whole document (document 18, Table 5) on the relationship and intentions between MERCOSUR and UNESCO, written with the aim to "deepen the relations of cooperation and exchange between them and the deployment of shared strategies to promote the achievement of common objectives that benefit the education systems and member countries' societies" (CMC, 2008, p. 602; author's translation). MERCOSUR believes that cooperation with UNESCO is beneficial for national educational systems and the societies of its member states. In the 2011-2015 action plan for MERCOSUR's educational sector, MERCOSUR's (2011) representatives state that

> it is important to highlight the position of SEM (MERCOSUR Educational Sector) within other international and regional educational cooperative agendas, sharing many documents. In that sense, we mention the participation of MERCOSUR in UNESCO's Higher Education Global Conference (SMES), and also the Global Conference in Youth and Adults Education (CONFITEA), both held in 2009. (MERCOSUR, 2011, p. 6; author's translation)

In the 2016-2020 action plan (document 28, Table 5), MERCOSUR's representatives once again mention the importance of following global best practices and sharing them across member states. UNICEF, LACRO, and BID are the three organizations referenced here. In document 29 (Table 5) regarding child labor, MERCOSUR recognizes the importance of international norms to eradicate and prevent child labor around the world. These norms include the Children's Rights Convention (1989), the Work International Organization Convention setting the minimum age for working (1973) the prohibition and immediate elimination of the worst forms of child labor (1999), and a roadmap for the elimination of the worst forms of child labor (2016), among others. As a post-hegemonic regionalism, MERCOSUR has characteristics of both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic regionalisms. Its neoliberal tendencies are shown in the importance it holds to relationships with international institutions and global agents and laws.

For MERCOSUR members, schools are conceived as the spaces where a regional identity should be taught. So, for the promotion of a shared identity, cultural knowledge, and understanding, MERCOSUR encouraged the creation of a regional curriculum in Geography and History. These are specifically designed to generate consciousness of shared culture and past experiences. 2 out of the 30 analyzed documents discuss the need to articulate their curriculums on these subjects. An example is in the CMC (1994a) which proposes "the incorporation of basic curricular content in History and Geography in each member state, organized through instruments and procedures agreed by the competent authorities of each of the member countries" (p. 146; author's translation). With the same objective of promoting a regional identity, MERCOSUR promotes the implementation of programs that include the two languages spoken in MERCOSUR, Spanish and Portuguese. For instance, the SEM (2016) explains the three educational strategies to encourage the learning of Spanish and Portuguese across members

of the region as: “a working program that boosts the teaching of Spanish and Portuguese as second languages,” “teaching programs of the official languages of MERCOSUR, incorporated in the educational proposals of member states and the inclusion in their curriculums,” and “plans and programs for the formation of teachers that can teach Spanish and Portuguese as second languages in each member state” (p. 16; author’s translation). The interest in promoting the learning of two languages was already present the year the regionalism was founded. Ministers of education (1991) declared “the interest of diffusing the learning of the official languages of MERCOSUR–Spanish and Portuguese–through education systems; formal, non-formal, and informal” (p. 2; author’s translation). In 1998, the CMC stated that in its seven years of existence, the SEM has initiated and put into practice “work that harmonizes the curriculums of basic and middle education with the learning of the two official languages of MERCOSUR and the learning of history and geography” (p. 3; author’s translation). The reference to the importance of learning these two languages appears in 4 documents out of 30.

Finally, MERCOSUR mentions the education of indigenous peoples in the document about rural education, CMC (2011) which recommends “guaranteeing the access to education to indigenous peoples, building educational curriculums that answer to their specific needs, and respect their traditions and cultural and linguistic diversity” (p. 122; author’s translation). Education is considered by MERCOSUR a fundamental right, no matter the ethnic group, cultural identity, and specific characteristics of the place where people live and work (including rural areas). This concern with the education of indigenous peoples is also in line with the post-hegemonic model, as one key characteristic of that type of regionalism is that it is multidimensional, eschewing a narrow focus on economic integration and proposing a more

comprehensive integration instead–cooperation in human rights is part of this multidimensional approach.

ALBA-TCP

ALBA-TCP's educational initiatives are based on the concept of the Grand Homeland (Patria Grande), the idea developed by Simón Bolivar.[1] Ministers of education in ALBA's member states (2009) define ALBA as a "political alliance of governments that is orientated to the construction of the Gran-national union for which our original peoples and Afro-descendants dreamed and fought for, that advance with strength through the paths of social justice, independence and sovereignty" (p. 81; author's translation). Patria Grande and Gran-national union is based on ideas of confronting the global order, or creating an alternative to it, by strengthening local capacities through amalgamation by way of the creation of bi- and multi-state-owned grad national projects (GNPs) and grand national companies (GNCs). The Gran national plan is ideological in that it is a "critical and contesting position regarding imperialism, the rules of the market, and the neoliberal globalization, and its objectives are the shared search for strategies and models of alternative development, the defense of the sovereignty of our peoples and the right to auto-determination" (Mora, 2011, p. 21; author's translation). In other words, ALBA aspires to develop economically and socially through real regional cooperation. It aims to create a large network of integration that comprises all South American and Caribbean countries to develop a market independent from global (Western) markets and power. To achieve this, ALBA relies on endogenous development–a type of development model that looks to strengthen their society and economy at the regional or local level–replacing competitive

[1] Bolivar was an important figure in the independence and emancipation movements of LA countries. A Venezuelan military leader and politician, he founded Colombia and Bolivia, and was president of Peru from 1823 to 1826.

advantage with cooperative advantage from within. In the following paragraphs, I explain how ALBA-TCP has planned and developed each of its programs, in line with its goal of the construction of a Patria Grande through endogenous development and the counter-hegemonic regionalism model. I include unique educational programs and the programs that belong to the discursive commonality group.

Discursive Commonality Programs: Mobility program, programs of interculturality, diversity and identity, universal access to education and permanence in schools, higher education network, and education and technology. In ALBA, 8 out of the 17 analyzed documents (47% of the total documents) mention a student mobility program, strengthened by numerous scholarship programs that encourage students to study in other member countries. As explained by the Ministers of education of ALBA (2009), the mobility of students among countries of ALBA is an action plan within the Gran-National program ALBA-Education, which is all about growth via cooperation, as each state offers training and education in their areas of strength, following the endogenous development idea. An example of this is the initiative to "develop the Master's programs in Educational Sciences of the Republic of Cuba, Master's in Geopolitics of Hydrocarbons and Comparative Education of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, as well as a Joint Doctorate in Educational Sciences, within the framework of UNIALBA" (Ministers of education of ALBA, 2009, p. 84; author's translation). In line with the objectives of the counter-hegemonic model of regionalism, the academic mobility program was created for member states to learn from each other and improve their education systems (and, as a result, the national and regional markets). This is the reason why the government representatives of ALBA members (2009) requires students and professionals who participate in the experience abroad to return to their home countries afterwards:

> as part of the substantive progress in the process of uniting our peoples in the educational field, they signed the Agreement for the Recognition of Higher Education Degrees or Diplomas. This agreement will allow our young people who are taking and will take university studies in other ALBA - TCP countries as part of their solidarity cooperation programs, to return to their nations of origin to exercise their professions and thus be able to contribute to the transformation and dignity of the conditions of life of their peoples. (p. 4; author's translation)

Interculturality and respect for different identities are mentioned in 11 out of the 17 analyzed ALBA documents (64% of the total documents). There are two topics discussed concerning the theme of interculturality. First, ALBA considers LA a common area with countries that have unique identities yet shared history and culture and should be united as a whole in the 'Patria Grande' idea. education systems are considered the main venue for enhancing the social union of all member countries, according to the Ministers of education of ALBA (2009):

> the central need to boost the integration, harmonization, and union of education systems across ALBA, considering that educational integration is fundamental for a cooperative and complementary development among our nations that will enhance the process of union of all the peoples in LA. (p. 82; author's translation)

Also, the Instituto Internacional de Integración Convenio Andrés Bello (III-CAB) (2009) has stated that "we need to make education the main strength of the transformation we are encouraging in our nations, for bolstering the historic conscience regarding the union of Latin American peoples" (p. 18; author's translation).

The second topic is the need to respect each country's different cultures and perspectives, expressed in six out of the ten documents on interculturality and diversity. Despite the goal of unifying LA socially and economically, ALBA does not intend to create a regional identity across the region as MERCOSUR does. For example, document seven (Table 6), proposes the "creation of an international brigade of educators for the development of a program for the

training of teachers of ALBA, respecting their contexts and specific needs" (Ministers of education of ALBA, 2009, p. 83; author's translation). Also, in document 2 (Table 6), the presidents of Venezuela, Cuba, and Bolivia (2006) agree to "promote the development of cultural shared plans that have into account the particular characteristics of each region and the cultural identity of their people" (para. 11; author's translation). A third example is document 6 (Table 6), where government representatives of ALBA members (2009) "reaffirmed the right of every culture to exist, preserve their own identity and their millennial and ancient practices that are intrinsic to their culture" (para. 45).

Interculturality is also related to the respect and understanding of indigenous communities, which is in line with ALBA's efforts to bring about a multipolar world in which power is distributed more evenly and different perspectives and understandings are considered of equal value. One example of this recognition of indigenous cultural and linguistic characteristics and the respect for their worldviews and realities is document 7 (Table 6), where Ministers of education of ALBA (2009) "recognize the creation of indigenous, communitarian, and productive universities in our countries as fundamental part of the value of our cultural and linguistic diversity, with its multiplicity of spiritualities and worldviews" (p. 83).

For ALBA, education at all levels–primary, secondary, and higher education–is a human right, and it is the responsibility of the state to make it accessible and free to all. 6 out of the 17 ALBA documents mention this goal. For example, the III-CAB (2009) explains that, in opposition to an education that favors capital, ALBA proposes an education that is: "oriented to socialism, self-determining, free and universal in all levels, with quality, oriented to research and innovation, intercultural, and scientific-critic" (p. 16; author's translation). Another example is document 7 (Table 6), which argues that "education is an essential end in itself, a duty of the

state, and a universal human right" (Ministers of education of ALBA, 2009, p. 81; author's translation). Finally, one of the items highlighted by the ministers of education of ALBA (2009) is the "fundamental compromise of our governments to guarantee the integrity and gratuity of education, without exclusions, with pertinence, with quality, and with the principles of equity, humanity, complementarity, and solidarity, that guide the Bolivarian alternative for the people of our America" (para. 5; author's translation). Making education accessible to all is a key element for the transformation of society and for the fulfillment of higher levels of human development, growth, and quality of life, based on what Simón Bolivar said: "Morale and intellectuality are the poles of a Republic; Morale and intellectuality are our first necessities" (Ministers of education of ALBA, 2009, para. 2; author's translation). The goal to bring about a just society through the whole education and development of everyone is a feature of counter-hegemonic regionalism, which runs contrary to the marketization of education characteristic of neoliberal states and regions (where education grants advantage rather that equality).

In a region where primary, secondary, and higher education is considered a universal right all should have access to, building a regional higher education network is sensible. 9 out of the 17 documents analyzed for ALBA mention the construction of higher education networks as part of their educational initiatives. These networks are either internal (linking higher education institutions with other education levels within the same country) or external (linking the higher education systems of all the members of the region). An example of the first case is document 5 (Table 6), where the Mission Alma Mater outlines the objectives "to underpin the commitments, the effective cooperation and the articulation of higher education with the other educational levels" (Ministry of popular power for higher education, 2009, p. 3; author's translation). As an example of a network of higher education across the region, document 3 (Table 6) discusses one

of the objectives in the Declaration of Cochabamba as ministers of higher education working together to articulate their education plans, programs, and projects that answer to the specific needs of the region. The document expresses the agreement of members of ALBA made to have "Ministers of education and ministers of higher education of each member country to work together in order to articulate educative plans, programs, and projects that answer to our shared needs" (Government representatives of ALBA members, 2008, p. 101; author's translation). Another example is the UNILABA project, "a network of universities comprised with the inclusion and generation of human, scientific, and technological solutions and diverse knowledge that contribute to the development and union of the Gran-national ideal" (Ministers of education of ALBA, 2009, p. 83; author's translation).

The last grouping within the discursive commonality group are the programs in education and technology. 6 out of 17 documents discuss the implementation of technologies in education. One of these documents (document 2, Table 6) mentions a collaboration between members of ALBA in communication infrastructure and services, including the production of cultural and educational content and their distribution through TeleSUR.[1] The document states, "member countries will deepen their cooperation in the theme of communication, implementing the necessary actions to strengthen their capacities in terms of infrastructure, transmission, distribution, among others, and the production of informative, cultural, and educational content" (Presidents of Venezuela, Cuba, and Bolivia, 2006, para. 11; author's translation). Another document that proposes the implementation of different forms of information and

[1] TeleSUR is a TV channel owned by Venezuela, Cuba, and Nicaragua, and founded in 2005 by Venezuela's communication and information ministry. The channel's slogan is "Connecting the global south," as it is considered by its founders a source of news and information for all Latin America and the Caribbean. It also has a website and an English version.

communication technology, and especially the TV-education mechanism through the satellite *Simón Bolivar*, is document 4 (Table 6), where ministers of education of ALBA (2009) agree on the need to

> incorporate information and communication technologies in the educational and learning process, through the development of tele-education as a permanent training mechanism, to raise the quality levels of education. In this sense, the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela makes available to ALBA member countries the use of the 'Simón Bolívar' satellite, aimed at this important purpose. (para. 14; author's translation)

There are two documents that also encourage the creation of a shared virtual library so that all ALBA member citizens can access educational resources. This virtual library is called "Biblioteca Libre Virtual ALBA" and it is "at the service of teachers, with the main goal to contribute to enhancing equality of quality of education across members countries" (Mora, 2011, p. 30; author's translation). Finally, document 7 (Table 6) mentions the role of technologies in expanding access to higher education; specifically, the plan to

> develop a support system for the territorial expansion of higher education, based on a set of integrated ICT-based services that meet the performance needs of the system, counting on the tools that generate telecommunication and the information that is enhanced with the conditions provided by the Simón Bolívar satellite. (Ministers of education of ALBA, 2009, p. 84; author's translation)

Unique Educational Programs: Literacy and post-literacy program, programs for indigenous populations, and learning of a second (or more) language. The educational programs that are original to ALBA, included in the third category, 'unique educational programs,' also reflect a counter-hegemonic type of regionalism,. The first documented here are the literacy and post-literacy programs (Yo, si puedo! and Yo, si puedo seguir! Or Yes, I can! and Yes, I can continue!) that, again, relate to the right to equal opportunities in education and the belief that a complete education is fundamental for the whole development of the individual. The programs are mentioned in 14 out of the 17 documents (82% of the documents), which

shows the centrality they have within ALBA. The programs existed before ALBA was created, being designed by a Cuban teacher who implemented them there in 2002. They were later implemented in Venezuela, and in 2006, the Presidents of Venezuela, Cuba, and Bolivia announced: "countries will work together, in coordination with other LA countries, to eliminate illiteracy in that countries, using methods of the massive application already proved effective, and used successfully in Venezuela" (para. 5; author's translation). Also, the ministers of education of ALBA (2009) recognized that

> the literacy method Yo, Sí Puedo! and the post-literacy method Yo, Sí Puedo Seguir! have been fundamental tools for the eradication of illiteracy and timely inclusion in the formal education system, as can be seen and recognized in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, in the Republic of Bolivia and in the sister Republics of Nicaragua and Honduras. (para. 7; author's translation)

In contrast to neoliberalism or capitalism, socialism focuses on the development of everyone, as all citizens have an important role in society, hence why members of ALBA consider it fundamental to make education accessible to all. The literacy and post-literacy programs serve this central goal of ALBA. For ALBA, education should be a democratization tool and not a reproduction of relationships of exploitation, as stated by III-CAB (2009):

> considering that capital is essentially a specific ensemble of social relationships of production based on exploitation and domination, what education has started to do in this capitalist world is to configure the identity of people from these relationships, with the objective to guarantee and expand their reproduction (p. 18; author's translation)

Education has been commodified, differentiating and stratifying people. In this way, education has lost its gratuity. Rather than being a benefit for society, it becomes one more consumable that provides an advantage over others. III - CAB (2009) also noted "education at the service of capital has established processes of social differentiation that favor a few in the access to determinate goods, and condemn many others to join the labor armies that possibilities exploitation and domination" (III -CAB, 2009, p. 24; author's translation). In this context,

literacy and post-literacy programs are implemented to enhance equality of opportunities and transform education into a goal, something that makes people and society whole.

The second education arena unique to ALBA is the relation to indigenous populations, mentioned in 4 out of 17 documents. These documents discuss the importance of studying indigenous populations to understand them and their need to improve access to a quality education that benefits them. An example is document 2 (Table 6), where Bolivia agreed to guide Venezuela and Cuba in the study of indigenous peoples: "Bolivia, based on their research experience, will guide Venezuela and Cuba in the study of indigenous peoples, the study and retrieval of ancestral knowledges in medicine, and the scientific study of natural resources and agricultural genetic patterns" (Presidents of Venezuela, Cuba, and Bolivia, 2006; author's translation). ALBA believes it is a duty to study and understand indigenous peoples, and that educational and cultural projects are the way to achieve this duty. Document 6 (Table 6) presents the following statement about the work of ALBA regarding indigenous peoples:

> They recognized the strengthening of ALBA-TCP and its consolidation as a politic, economic, and social alliance in defense of the independence, sovereignty, auto-determination, and identity of the member countries and of the interests and aspirations of the people of the South in the face of the attempts of politic and economic domination…. And they highlighted their vital importance in the construction of a multipolar world, that recognizes the integration of the social and humanitarian values inherited from our indigenous peoples. (ALBA-TCP, 2009, p. 146; authors' translation)

The second type of texts discusses the need to improve access to quality education for indigenous people and other marginalized groups, such as document 13 (Table 6), where the Ministerial Council of the Social Area of ALBA-TCP (2011) includes the educational goals of "enhancing the democratization of education systems, by implementing the Gran national program specialized in the excluded members of society, including people with disabilities, people who live in vulnerable environments and poor environments, and indigenous

communities" (para. 17). In other words, the document argues that respect for diversity and interculturality in the region must be included in education programs.

In the context of the importance of respecting and maintaining indigenous populations' culture through education, ALBA members also recognize the richness of indigenous dialects. Respecting them also means providing the necessary resources to safeguard them. In document 2 (Table 6), an agreement for the implementation of ALBA-TCP between Venezuela, Cuba, and Bolivia (2006), Cuba commits to providing Bolivia with all the necessary resources for implementing the literacy program in four languages: Spanish, Aymara, Quechua, and Guaraní.

PA

For PA members, education is the key tool for the development of human capital, promotion of productivity, and becoming competitive economies in the global market (Alianza del Pacífico, n.d.c; GTE, 2016)–objectives that correspond to the hegemonic regionalism model. Considering that all educational strategies are oriented to the main goal of economic development, it is logical that PA would underscore educational programs such as technical education and academic mobility designed to generate more qualified human capital. The following paragraphs explain how educational programs developed by PA work, and their rationale. As with the previous two regimes, I include the programs that belong to the discursive commonality group and to the unique educational programs group.

Discursive Commonality Programs: Mobility programs, programs of interculturality, diversity and identity, universal access to education and permanence in schools, higher education network, and education and technology. In PA, the mobility program is mentioned in 13 educational documents out of 21; this is 62% of the total documents analyzed. This is the most mentioned educational program in PA, signaling a central program for

the regionalism. The mobility program for PA includes students, teachers and professors, researchers, and grads in technical careers with internship opportunities in other member countries. This program "incentives students and academics of PA member states to complete their studies in one of the other member states. Each member provides 100 scholarships each year, 75 for graduate students and 25 for doctoral students and teachers" (Alianza del Pacífico, n.d.a, p. 11; author's translation). Of the 13 documents mentioning the mobility program, one especially (document 18, Table 7) explains more precisely what the achievements of the platform are:

> the regional positioning of the four countries of PA as destinations of quality for students and academics; the strengthening of networks of knowledge and higher education networks; advances in the process of internationalization of higher education through exchange of cultures and experiences; growth in the harmonic cooperation between Chile, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru; and articulation and strengthening of the academic cooperation with observer states. (Alianza del Pacífico, n.d.b, p. 28; author's translation)

Of the five achievements that emerged from implementing the mobility program, two are related to the cooperation among members and the increase of integration and understanding, and the other three are related to the position and recognition of PA globally. These three 'global' reasons (the positioning of PA as the destination for international students, the internationalization of higher education systems, and the increase in cooperation with other states) are unique to the case of PA, and evident of a hegemonic regionalism in line with global goals and standards. In addition, documents continually repeat PA's general goal of free commerce–which is key to boosting their nations' socio-economic development and making them competitive globally. For example, in the Declaration of Cali, presidents of PA members (2017) state that "free commerce is fundamental for boosting the socio-economic development of their nations and their competitiveness in the global market" (p. 3; author's translation). Free commerce includes the free circulation of goods, services, capital, and people. Therefore, the

mobility program cooperates with PA's most fundamental goal: to increase the free circulation of people across the region.

4 out of the 21 documents analyzed discuss the importance of education programs for promoting respect and understanding of other cultures and identities. PA does not intend to create regional citizenship or identity but does mention an intention to boost knowledge and respect among the citizens of the member countries. For this, they implement several educational and cultural activities. This intention is mentioned, for example, by the presidents of PA (2017), who state the need to "promote the participation of PA in spaces that promote the interchange of cultural goods and services" (p. 10; author's translation). Additionally, in document 12 (Table 7), presidents of PA countries (2018) announced the goal to "build a cultural identity through volunteer programs, vacations and work, and promoting sports" (p. 9; author's translation). What is especially key about PA's commitment to educational programs promoting respect for diversity and interculturality is the belief that cultural and experiential exchange is vital to training superior human capital. This belief is expressed in document 1 (Table 7), which states that the objective of student and academic mobility is to "contribute to the training of advanced human capital in member countries of PA" (Education Ministry, 2013, p. 3; author's translation). This rationale aligns with the neoliberal vision which considers individuals in terms of human capital, which is characteristic of hegemonic regionalism.

None of PA's analyzed documents explicitly mentions a program to guarantee universal access to education or permanence in schools. However, three documents implicate it by discussing the need to overcome social inequalities through education. Document 3 (Table 7), for instance, states that the normative bases of PA's educational initiatives are to "impulse further growth, development, and competitivity of member's economies, with the goal to achieve more

wellbeing, overcome the socioeconomic inequalities, and promote the social inclusion of citizens" (Grupo Técnico de Educación, 2012, p. 1; author's translation). This cannot be reached without equal access to a quality education that allows individuals their integral development and insertion into society's productive structures. However, the fact that universal access to education is not explicitly mentioned is evidence PA's neoliberal and functionalist view of society, in which, for the benefit of society's economy, not all individuals need access to the same level of education or types of professions.

Regarding the creation of a higher education network, 2 of the 21 documents mention it. The first reference is in document 4 (Table 7), where the Technical Cooperation Group (GTC or Grupo Técnico de Cooperación) (2014) proposes cooperation across universities for the study of climate change. The second reference to a higher education network is document 18 (Table 7), which documents the names of all the higher education institutions across the region within the same system. This network is composed of 138 universities and technical and training institutions. The exact function of the network is not elaborated, but it is mentioned in the context of the mobility and scholarships program.

There are only three references to the implementation of technology, and in all three cases it is related to technical education. First, in the comparative study of technical education across members of PA (document 5, Table 7), one ongoing program for all members is a system of information technology which expands the knowledge of, and access to, different forms of technical education. As document 5 states,

> the systems of information possibilities the expansion of technical education programs, make historical information available for the formulation of studies that can contribute to improve the access and project the results, facilitating the exchange with specialists from other parts of the world in the context of globalization. (GTE, 2016, p. 42; author's translation)

Technology is mentioned a second time in document 19 (Table 7), which discusses the 2018 implementation of a campaign to value and diffuse technical and technological education in PA members (Presidents of PA members, 2018, n.d.).

Unique Educational Programs: Technical education, involvement of international agents, and learning of a second or more languages. Technical Education or Vocational Educational Training (TVET, or ETP – Educación Técnico Profesional) is the second most mentioned educational program in PA documents after the mobility program, appearing in 9 out of 21 documents (43% of the total documents). Since its inception, PA has prioritized technical education, considering it the main mode to develop member states' economic agendas. In the Declaration of Punta Mita (document 2, Table 7), PA members renewed their commitment to joining forces to achieve the objectives of the region. In this document, technical education is mentioned with emphasis as a tool to develop human capital that can boost productivity and the competitivity of PA's economies. In the document, presidents of PA members (2014) propose the creation of the GTE to

> contribute to strengthening the capacities of our nations and the access of citizens to quality education, with special emphasis in technical and productive education, as social tools for the development of human capital and for the impulse of the productivity and competitivity of PA members. (p. 10; author's translation)

Three other documents (documents 5, 15, and 16, Table 7) also mention the centrality of technical education in PA's regional educational initiatives. Technical education is considered the key to reaching the shared goals of the region, which are to "bolster a superior growth, development, and competitivity of the economies of the member states, with the aim of promoting wellbeing, the overcoming of socio-economic inequalities, and the social inclusion of all their citizens" (Alianza del Pacífico, 2014, p. 1; author's translation).

In summary, the reasons for promoting technical education are to develop technical labor skills that attend to specific markets (such as mining in Chile) and improve the articulation between the education and labor sectors. The path to improving technical education is also mentioned in these documents: by sharing best practices, policies, and training programs; developing a shared roadmap; and improving communication so more citizens are aware of the presence and benefits of pursuing technical education. The objectives mentioned in technical education programs are completely aligned with the goals of hegemonic regionalism.

5 documents out of 21 mention international involvement in PA's educational programs, initiatives, or studies. For instance, document 5 (Table 7) demonstrates the trust of PA members in the global studies carried out by OCDE, UNESCO, and BID regarding the relevance of technical education for the strengthening of human capital in the country. The document states that "diverse studies (OCDE 2012, UNESCO 2010, BID 2012) have evidence the relevance of the generation of knowledge and strengthening of human capital go hand in hand with the strengthening of technical education" (GTC, 2014, p. 12; author's translation). These studies have inspired regional studies on the teaching and promotion of technical education in the region. PA also takes advantage of external funding for educational projects, which comes from global financial institutions and other international organizations. For instance, the EU has provided financial support for PA's mobility programs (PA members and the EU, 2017), and PA has reached an agreement with Canada for the free circulation of goods and people and cooperation in some education programs (PA members and Canada, 2016). PA also offers primarily positive portrayals of related international organizations in its documents, such as in document 13 (Table 7), where OCDE is defined as "an international organization that cooperates to reach national and international policies that led to sustainable economic growth, improve

living standards, and contribute to the development of the global economy" (Alianza del Pacífico, 2019, p. 3; author's translation). The importance and trust given to international organizations fits with a hegemonic regionalism that follows the power dynamics in place and considers them beneficial for their societies and the larger world.

The last program within the unique educational programs' category is the learning of a second language. PA members are quite interested in promoting the learning of English as a second language across the region, so the program is discussed in 4 documents out of 21. This program is first mentioned in the GTE (2017) action plan for 2017-2018, where one of the objectives is the "cooperation with observer states for the strengthening of English as a second language across PA member states" (p. 2; author's translation). In document 11 (Table 7), GTE mentions the objective of working with observer states (especially Canada) to strengthen the teaching of English as a second language in PA countries (PA members and Canada, 2016). Finally, in the Santiago Declaration (document 15, Table 7), PA members express the themes in which they will continue to cooperate. Within the education sector, they establish an objective to design strategies for teaching English in the member states (PA member, 2020, p. 5). As stated in the document, these strategies include teacher training, development of educational materials, and strengthening English in the context of technical education, technological education, and basic and secondary school. The centrality given to the teaching of English (considered here a global language) again reflects PA's hegemonic features.

Table 3. Number of times each category was found in the regimes' selected documents.

CATEGORIES		Number of documents in which the category is mentioned		
		MERCOSUR (30)	ALBA-TCP (17)	PA (21)
common educational programs	System of acceditation, validation, and recognition of degrees, studies and experiences	14 (47%) (documents 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15, 17, 19, 27, 30).	8 (47%) (document 2, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15)	8 (38%) (documents 1, 5, 7, 9, 11, 19, 20, 21).
	System of evaluation and quality assurance	5 (17%) (documents 9, 17, 19, 22, 28).	11 (64%) (documents 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16).	6 (29%) (documents 5, 7, 11, 19, 20, 21).
Discursive commonality	Mobility program	17 (57%) (documents 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 24, 25, 27, 28).	8 (47%) (documents 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 12, 13, 16).	13 (62%) (documents 1, 2, 4, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21).
	Programs on interculturality, diversity and identity	10 (33%) (documents 1, 5, 7, 14, 17, 23, 24, 25, 27, 29).	11 (64%) (documents 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16).	4 (19%) (documents 2, 7, 9, 12)
	Universal access to education and permanence in schools	7 (23%) (documents 14, 15, 19, 22, 23, 25, 29)	6 (35%) (documents 4, 5, 7, 9, 13, 14).	0 explicit 3 implicit (14%) (documents 3, 5, 11 - about overcoming social inequalities)
	higher education network	4 (13%) (documents 5, 9, 10, 17)	9 (53%) (documents 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16).	2 (10%) (documents 4, 18)
	education and technology	5 (17%) (documents 5, 8, 10, 14, 23)	6 (35%) (documents 3, 4, 6, 7, 13, 14)	3 (14%) (documents 5, 6, 7)
Unique education programs	Technical education	6 (20%) (documents 1, 5, 10, 14, 16, 23).	–	9 (43%) (documents 2, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 15, 16, 19)
	Some common aspects of their regional curriculums	2 (7%) (documents 3, 8)	1 (6%) (document 11)	–
	Involvement of international agents	6 (20%) (documents 14, 18, 23, 26, 28, 29).	–	5 (24%) (documents 5, 6, 9, 10, 13)
	Programs to fight analphabetism	1 (3%) (document 22)	14 (82%) (documents 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17).	–
	Learning of a second (or more) language	4 (13%) (documents 1, 8, 14, 23,)	1 (6%) document 2).	4 (19%) (documents 7, 11, 15, 16)
	Indigenous people's education	1 (3%) (document 22)	4 (23%) (documents 2, 7, 9, 13).	–

Question two: How is the regional level shaping the regional educational ideologies, or is the region following global education governance and standards?

In the previous section, I have presented ways regional education ideologies are being shaped in each regionalism–given that each regime has distinctive educational goals that correspond to its type of regime. These diverse goals are translated into different educational programs. Even when it appears regimes share some education policies and programs, most similarities are only discursive when we look closely. Part of the answer to question one is that regional education policies align with the type of regime in which each develops. This conclusion also answers the first part of question two: is the regional level shaping the regional educational ideologies? This second section of the findings chapter, therefore, focuses on the second part of research question two: is the regional level following global education governance and standards?

I found four different reasons why global governance influences LA–and likely all–regimes. This section is divided into four sub-sections, one for each of these reasons: legitimacy, global educational programs, external donors and soft power, and global competitiveness as the ultimate goal of regionalism.

Legitimacy

In our current times, there are many global standards, good practices, and intranational institutions telling countries what to do in education that education systems, to the point that systems cannot serve only national or regional goals. Despite the fact the world is approaching a new world order organized in regions, global governance remains strong and cannot be underestimated, especially in education, as it is generally considered a ‘human right’ and something all countries invest in heavily. Global educational governance grants legitimacy to

national education systems, which bolsters their competitivity and value. Even ALBA, the most radical and anti-neoliberal LA regime, "recognizes the importance to fulfill what was established in the MDGs, that is to achieve before 2015 a universal and free education and secure students finish at least primary education completely" (Ministers of education of ALBA, 2009, para. 3). For its part, MERCOSUR explicitly announced that "the education sector of MERCOSUR does not escape global policies and has to consider when planning its own educational proposals from a regional standpoint" (MERCOSUR, 2006b, p. 5). Moreover, MERCOSUR considers international organizations, such as UNESCO, as positive and beneficial for member societies and education systems. There is an entire document (document 18, Table 5) on the relationship and intentions between MERCOSUR and UNESCO, written with the aim to "deepen the relations of cooperation and exchange between them and the deployment of shared strategies to promote the achievement of common objectives that benefit the education systems and member countries' societies" (CMC, 2008, p. 602; author's translation). One of the objectives of the new global educational goals of MERCOSUR is to "promote initiatives and actions consistent with the objectives of Education for All and Millennium Development Goals" (MERCOSUR, 2011, p. 14). PA's support of global goals and implementation of global standards is self-explanatory given its nature.

Having said this, it is evident why all three regimes share at least two types of programs: accreditation and quality assurance systems. The accreditation and quality assurance systems have similar goals and work alike in the three cases. The system of accreditation, validation and recognition of degrees, studies and experiences is mentioned almost an equal number of times across the documents analyzed for each regime (see Table 5). These systems are fundamental components of a regime's commitment to integration; they enhance a more harmonic and

equitable development of the national education systems within each regime, and–more importantly–they grant legitimacy to education systems. The goals behind the creation of a system of evaluation and quality assurance are very similar to those behind the system of accreditation. These two systems are intertwined, as recognition of degrees across the region secures and maintains the quality of education–or at least makes education institutions more reliable in their quality.

In the case of PA, 8 out of the 21 documents selected (38%) discuss the development of a system of validation of degrees, certificates, and professional experiences acquired in any of PA's four member states. For example, in document 9 (Table 7), presidents of PA members (2017) agree on the "implementation of instruments for the recognition of degrees from PA members' higher education institutions" (para. 9; author's translation). This system boosts mobility, which is a central initiative for the region. In document 21 (Table 7), GTE (n.d.) mentions the relevance of this mechanism at the global level. The document states: "the discussion around the recognition of degrees is being developed in different regional and global spaces, demonstrating its relevance. For this reason, in the region, the topic of recognition of degrees is being treated in different spaces, through diverse instruments" (GTE, n.d., para. 1, author's translation).

In the case of MERCOSUR, 14 out of 30 documents (47%) mention the system of accreditation and equivalence of degrees across the region. One example is document 15 (Table 5), which states "it is necessary to reach a common agreement to what regards recognition of studies, degrees, and certificates of basic/primary and middle/secondary non-technical education studied in any member state of MERCOSUR and the CONVENIO ANDRÉS BELLO" (MERCOSUR & CAB, 2007, p. 2; author's translation). Another example is document 19 (Table

5), where CMC (2010) explains “the parts will recognize primary/fundamental/basic and middle/secondary studies, through its diplomas, degrees, and certificates, issued by private or public education institutions officially recognized” (p. 3; author’s translation).

Finally, for ALBA, 8 out of 17 documents (47%) discuss the shared accreditation system and mention the reasons for its implementation. For example, in the II Social Council held in La Habana, Cuba, The Social Council of ALBA-TCP (2009) references the need to “reiterate the importance of accelerating the approval and ratification of a system of recognition of degrees of higher education among members of ALBA” (para. 26; author’s translation). The same is addressed in the I Social Council held in La Paz, Bolivia: “the ministers and other organs responsible of university education will impulse the ratification, and compliant, of the agreement of recognition of higher education degrees, signed by members’ presidents” (para. 13; author’s translation).

11 ALBA documents mention the quality assurance system; 64% of the documents. The high number of times this program is mentioned is due to the significance that providing equality of educational opportunities for all has for ALBA. One example is document 6 (Table 6), where government representatives of ALBA members (2009) “instructed the ALBA-TCP Ministerial Council to set up a Working Group on accreditation and evaluation of higher education systems, with the aim of raising the quality of the university systems of our countries” (p. 3).

In the case of PA, a quality assurance system is mentioned in 6 documents (29%). In PA, the institutions in charge of ensuring quality are different for each country, even though they all follow the same standards. One out of these four documents (document 5, Table 7) refers specifically to a quality assurance system in technical education, given the importance of this type of education in the region. In this document, the GTE (2016) states that

> in the area of technical and professional education, it is very important to measure capacities in terms of resources, for providing these programs with the necessary means to create superior human capital, including good installations, competent teachers, and that from the beginning these programs should emerge from the close link and participation of productive sectors. (p. 52; author's translation)

Document 20 (Table 7) discusses this system more in length, devoting the entire document to it. This document is an informative sheet that summarizes how the qualification framework for the PA region works. The qualification framework emerged and continues to be reformed based on the analysis of previous experiences and best practices across members of the region.

Finally, for the case of MERCOSUR, 5 documents discuss the theme (17%). As in PA, MERCOSUR's members secure the quality of education through national accreditation agencies that work in each member state, following agreed upon standards. MERCOSUR is the only regime that mentions the creation of regional indicators of basic quality for all educational levels (documents 8, 9, and 10, Table 5). Document 19 (Table 5) mentions one goal of a system for education quality assurance: "conscious that integration processes in the region must promote a quality and equitable education with the objective of achieving a growing and harmonic development across countries in the region" (CMC, 2010, p. 2; author's translation). Document 22 (Table 5) also mentions 'fighting inequality' as a goal, especially focusing on repairing the inferior quality of education in rural and other marginalized areas. The document states it is the duty of MERCOSUR to "guarantee the application of mechanisms that allow the improvement of the quality of learning processes and educational institutions in all levels and modalities, in members states and associate states of MERCOSUR" (CMC, 2017, p. 422; authors' translation).

To summarize, the pressure to legitimize their education systems to make their professionals trustworthy and valuable, and to promote regional and global mobility of students, has led the three regimes to incorporate similar systems of accreditation and quality assurance.

Despite the different economic, social, and political goals of each regionalism, the march to become competitive economies worldwide continues to be the underlining goal of all regionalisms, making them susceptible to global pressures towards legitimization.

Global educational programs

The presence of EFA goals can be easily detected in the three regimes analyzed. Even though only MERCOSUR mentions EFA explicitly in one of the documents analyzed, EFA goals also permeate ALBA's and PA's educational programs. ALBA mentions the MDGs in its documents, and MDGs' educational goal (guaranteeing all children access to universal primary education) is present in Goal 2 of the EFA. For its part, PA mentions only the SDGs, understandable given this regime emerged in 2012 when EFA and the MDGs were in their concluding years.[1]

The MERCOSUR document that mentions EFA, and also the MDGs, is document 23 (Table 5), the action plan for the educational sector of MERCOSUR for the years 2011-2015. One of the goals of this new education plan is to "promote initiatives and actions consistent with the objectives of Education for All and Millennium Development Goals" (MERCOSUR, 2011, p. 14, author's translation). However, numerous other documents refer to EFA's goals without mentioning EFA. At least 9 documents out of 30 mention educational programs or goals that align with one or more of EFA's goals. Some of these are, for example: securing basic education for all (Ministros de educación de Argentina, Brasil, Paraguay, y Uruguay, 1991), in line with Goal 2; guaranteeing the access and permanence of all children to a quality primary and middle education (SEM, 2006), also in line with Goal 2; national education systems focusing on promoting the access of girls and women into science, technology, and innovation (CMG, 2015),

[1] For details about each of these programs (EFA, MDGs, and SDGs), see discussion section.

in line with Goal 4; and taking measures to fight illiteracy (Education ministers of MERCOSUR, 2011), in line with Goal 5. In conclusion, MERCOSUR documents make implicit references to EFA Goals 2, 4, and 5. Goal 3 may also be considered if we accept technical education as a way to allow some young people and adults to access an education that responds better to their needs. Goal 3 is to ensure that "the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programs" (UNESCO, 2015, p. XIII, author's translation).

In the case of ALBA, 12 out of 17 documents mention one or more of EFA's goals. Most of these documents refer to EFA goal number 4, which is to achieve 50 percent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, as ALBA is very committed to expanding the literacy and post-literacy programs. An example is document 2 (Table 6), where the presidents of Venezuela, Cuba, and Bolivia (2006) state, "countries will work together, in coordination with other LA countries, to eliminate illiteracy in those countries, using methods of a massive application already proved effective, and used successfully in Venezuela" (para. 5; author's translation). The other goals mentioned are 2 and 6, in programs to ensure the quality of education and in the belief that education should be a universal right that all individuals have access to with equal opportunity. An example of the first program is the IV Social Council held in La Habana, Cuba, where members ratified "the agreement for the recognition of higher education degrees across member states" (Social Council of ALBA-TCP, 2013, para. 20; author's translation). An example of goal 6 is document 9 (Table 6), where III-CAB (2009) underscores the importance of promoting universal access to education in an equitable way, ending inequalities and disadvantages.

Finally, 8 out of 21 PA documents reference EFA goals number 5, eliminating gender disparities, and number 6, improving the quality of education. For example, the Declaration of Cali addresses Goal 5, where presidents of PA members (2017) express their will to "intensify the efforts to incorporate gender perspectives in a transversal manner in PA programs and activities, recognizing the key role of women in the growth and development of our countries and the fulfillment of the SDGs agenda" (p. 2). Goal 6, meanwhile, is expressed in document 20 (Table 7): "one of the strategies that contribute to reaching the objectives proposed by the GTE of PA is the qualification system, that works as a tool that allows organizing the learning processes helping individuals build an educational trajectory that responds to their own needs and capacities" (PA members, n.d., para. 1; author's translation). As in the case of MERCOSUR, if we take technical education as a means to allow some young people and adults to access an education that responds to their various needs, then Goal 3 is addressed here as well.

I found explicit mention of the MDGs in MERCOSUR's and ALBA's documents. MERCOSUR mentions the MDGs explicitly only once, in document 23, but the MDG goal of guaranteeing access to primary education and permanence in school for all children is implicitly referenced in the six documents mentioning universal and free access to education. PA does not mention the MDGs explicitly, but there are three implicit references to it in the documents that discuss the role of education for overcoming social inequalities.

In the case of ALBA, given its focus on guaranteeing universal and free education at all levels, the MDGs are also implicitly supported in five documents and explicitly cited in one document. In document 4 (Table 6), ALBA members recognize the importance of fulfilling the MDGs and expressed hope to achieve universal and free primary education before 2015 (Ministers of education of ALBA, 2009). ALBA expressed that all its member countries were

seriously committed to this goal. Other documents, like document 3 (Table 6), do not mention the MDGs explicitly, but again mention the shared goal. This particular document states that ALBA recognizes the importance of the international fight for quality education to which all persons should have access (Government representatives of ALBA members, 2008).

Finally, PA is the only regime that explicitly mentions the SDGs in the documents analyzed. Document 12 (Table 7) states that the region uses the objectives of the 2030 sustainable development agenda as the basis for its education programs: the PA will focus on "building an increasingly more resilient and inclusive, taking the agenda for the SDGs as the bases" (Presidents of PA members, 2018, p. 4; author's translation). Also, document 14 (Table 7) reaffirms the compromise of PA to contribute to the SDG framework (PA members and the EU, 2017). In addition to these explicit mentions, numerous PA educational programs follow the Global Goals implicitly. The SDGs that PA implements include goals 3, 4, 5, 7, and 8: (3) equal access to affordable technical, vocational, and higher education for all women and men, (4) increase the number of people with skills that can lead them to financial success, (5) eliminate discrimination in education, (7) educate for sustainable development and global citizenship, and (8) build and upgrade inclusive and safe schools. An example of goals 3 and 4 can be found in document 5 (Table 7), where PA members highlight the importance of promoting and improving technical and professional education programs in PA as a valuable alternative to a university degree, allowing individuals to enter the labor market faster and orienting to meet the specific needs of the country and its citizens (GTE, 2016). For goal 5, we can again look at the Declaration of Cali (document 9, Table 7), where PA members agree that education should be a space where issues of gender and the role of women in society are addressed and discussed (Presidents of PA members, 2017). The education for sustainable development and global

citizenship (goal 7) is implicitly present in several programs. One example is the references to the scientific study of climate change. For instance, document 4 (Table 7) states

> in relation to the proposed project 'Scientific Cooperation in the Matter of Climate Change in the PA: Monitoring Biodiversity,' it was indicated that the objective of the workshop that will be held in Mexico will be to define the final version of the project. (GTC, 2014, p. 6; author's translation)

Finally, regarding Goal 8, in document 2 (Table 7), the presidents of PA members (2014) mention the promotion of shared cultural activities and sports in order to encourage mutual knowledge and social inclusion of their citizens: "the celebration of cooperative activities in sports and cultural matters, like the I encounter of beach volleyball and the sharing of the exhibition 'Metales de la Alianza,' through which mutual knowledge and social inclusion of our citizens is strengthened" (p. 5; author's translation).

MERCOSUR shares at least Goals 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6 of the SDGs. Goal 1 references free primary and secondary education, and Goal 6 is universal literacy and numeracy for women and men. I could find references to these goals in several of the selected documents. A reference to Goal 1 can be found in document 19 (Table 5), which states it "is fundamental to facilitate the access of students to relevant knowledge and their permanence in school and competition of the different levels of the education system" (CMC, 2010, p. 1, author's translation). Document 1 (Table 5) references Goals 3 and 4, as it promotes technical education and highlights the importance of enhancing the education-work/job relationship to boost competitiveness and economic development (Ministros de educación, 1991). A reference to Goal 5 comes from SEM (2006), which expresses a central educational goal for MERCOSUR: "to be a regional space that provides and guarantees an equitable, quality education, characterized by mutual knowledge, interculturality, respect for diversity, cooperation in solidarity, and the sharing of values that contribute to the improvement and democratization of the regions' education systems" (p. 9,

author's translation). Document 22 (Table 5) mentions goal 5. It expresses that members should guarantee access to education for indigenous groups, adapt educational curriculums to their needs, and respect their traditions, cultural diversity, and language (Education Ministers MERCOSUR, 2011). Finally, document 22 (Table 5) is also an example of MERCOSUR's commitment to take measures to solve illiteracy, which aligns with goal 6 of the SDGs.

For its part, ALBA also shares a significant number of goals with the SDGs. At various points, goals 1, 5, 6, and 9 are mentioned in its documents. As mentioned before, goal 1, the guarantee of free primary and secondary education is a key objective for ALBA, and it is mentioned in numerous documents (for example, documents 4, 7, and 9, in Table 6). Document 13 (Table 6) refers to goal 5, as it shares the objective to enhance the democratization of education systems:

> to expand the democratization of education, creating and implementing a Gran-National Program for the special attention to citizenships with higher levels of exclusion, among them: education for people with disabilities, education for people that abandoned school because of social risks, education in frontier areas and in areas with higher level of poverty, and education for indigenous populations. (Ministerial Council of the Social Area of ALBA-TCP, 2011, para. 22; author's translation)

Given the importance the literacy and post-literacy programs Yo, si puedo! And Yo, si puedo seguir! have for ALBA, Goal 6 (universal literacy) appears in countless documents. Finally, Goal 9 can be seen in document 1 (Table 6), where it is stated that Cuba offered Bolivia 5,000 scholarships for the creation of doctors and specialists in general medicine, and Venezuela offered Bolivia 5,000 scholarships for studies in different areas of interest for Bolivia's productive market (Presidents of Venezuela and Cuba, 2004). Also, document 5 (Table 6) includes goal 9, as it promotes higher education as a space of Latin American and Caribbean unity and cooperation through the expansion of exchanges and shared investigations (Ministry of popular power for higher education, 2009, p. 3).

To conclude, in this section I have shown how all three regionalisms directly and indirectly implement programs that are in line with global goals, evidencing the impact MDGs, EFA goals, and SDGs have on regional education policies and national education systems worldwide.

Table 4. Number of times EFA goals, MDGs, and SDGs appear in the regimes' selected documents

CATEGORIES		Number of documents in which the category is mentioned		
		MERCOSUR (30)	ALBA-TCP (17)	PA (21)
GLOBAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS	EFA	1 explicit (document 23) 9 implicit mentions of goals 2, 4, and 5 (goal 2: documents 14, 15, 19, 22, 23, 25, 29; goal 4: documents 25 goal 5: document 22)	0 explicit 12 implicit mentions of goals 2, 4, and 6 (goal 2: documents 9, 11, 15 goal 4: documents 2, 14 goal 6: documents 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17)	0 explicit 5 implicit mentions of goals 5 and 6 (goal 5: document 9, 12 goal 6: document 5, 7, 11, 19, 20, 21)
	MDGS	1 explicit (document 23) 6 implicit (dcuments 14, 15, 19, 22, 25, 29)	1 explicit (document 4) 5 implicit (documents 5, 7, 9, 13, 14)	0 explicit 3 implicit (documents 3, 5, 11)
	SDGS	0 explicit 18 implicit mentions of goals 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6 (goal 1: documents 14, 15, 19, 23, 29 goal 3: documents 1, 5, 10, 14, 23 goal 4: documents 1, 10, 14 goal 5: documents 5, 10, 14, 22 goal 6: document 22)	0 explicit 26 implicit mentions of goals 1, 5, 6, and 9 (goal 1: documents 4, 5, 7, 9, 13, 14 goal 5: documents 2, 7, 13, 15 goal 6: documents 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17 goal 9: documents 1, 5)	2 explicit (documents 12 and 14) 20 implicit mentions of goals 3, 4, 5, 7, and 8 (goal 3: documents 2, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 15, 16, 19 goal 4: 2, 5, 11, 12, 15, 16 goal 5: document 9, 12 goal 7: document 4, 10 goal 8: document 2)

External donors and soft power

Education has become a popular area for the intervention of external donors, including developed countries, global institutions, and even private entities. With the excuse of helping developing countries improve their education systems, powerful agents intervene to overtly influence their educational programs and define their goals. Some questions emerge from this reality: Are there any educational policies actually emerging from within the Global South and being regulated by it? Or is South-South (regional) cooperation (SSC) in education just a reaction to the persistence of Western hegemony over educational practices worldwide? Several scholars wonder whether SSC is really "a way out from the dependency track in educational development" (Steiner-Khamsi, 2009, p. 257). Rather than generating independent growth, SSC looks more like a "vehicle to accelerate the accomplishment of development targets established by the North" (Steiner-Khamsi, 2009, p. 257). Muhr (2015) believes ALBA-TCP is the only case of regional SSC in LA that is actually generating policies from within, following the 'Patria Grande' project. In the documents analyzed, ALBA's representatives criticize the presence of international organizations and banks in developing countries, arguing that the support developed countries are providing to international banks is increasing the centralization of capital in the hands of small groups, which makes regulation and control of these private entities difficult for governments. Education is not excluded from this lack of regulation, especially with increasing privatization.

There were some efforts from developing countries to revert the situation of external governance and domination, especially after the years of political decolonization that followed World War II:

> Guided by structuralist and dependency theoretical thinking, Third World nations collectively sought greater economic independence from the centers of the bipolar 'Cold War' world order to overcome their perceived under-development. This process started with the 1955 Bandung Conference, followed by the foundation of the Non-aligned Movement (NAM) in Belgrade in 1961, where the Cuban government (following the successful revolution against the USA-supported Batista dictatorship on 1 January 1959) was the only Latin American- Caribbean state that participated as a member with a full delegation… In 1964, during the first session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the Group of 77 (G-77) was founded, which today is composed of 134 developing nations, and whose critique of the unequal terms of trade led in 1974 to the UN Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO). These counter hegemonic efforts peaked with the 1978 Buenos Aires Plan of Action for Promoting and Implementing Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries, signed by 138 governments. (Muhr, 2015, p. 128)

However, hegemonic regionalism persists, and in fact continues to gain support in LA. PA, a regime that follows the power dynamics in place and embraces global standards and recommendations, is one example. For instance, PA receives support and cooperation from BID (Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo), CAF (Banco de Desarrollo de América Latina), CEPAL (Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe), OCDE (La Organización para la Cooperación y el Desarrollo Económico), BM (el Banco Mundial), and the EU (European Union), as mentioned by the Presidents of PA members (2017) in the Declaración de Cali. PA believes receiving the support of these organizations is essential to advance its objective of deep integration. In fact, PA is clear about the "intention to jointly explore opportunities for developing projects and activities of cooperation with the support of financial institutions and other convenient organizations" (PA members and Canada, 2016, p. 2; author's translation). Both MERCOSUR and ALBA, in contrast, try to contest hegemonic power and call for a more multipolar world order. ALBA goes further and more extreme, committing to build the fabled 'Patria Grande,' the union of all South American states. This is explained by Mora (2016):

> ALBA constitutes a socio-politic and economic alliance, with the goal of defending the auto-determination of its member states, the strengthening of the sovereignty of states, the conservation and maintenance of our culture and identities, the satisfaction of needs,

> aspirations and interests of our people, the rejection and radical opposition to the intents of domination in hands of the empires and international capital, the construction of a multipolar world as the opposite to the hegemonic neocolonial internal and external powers. In summary, it is an alliance that pretends to be the construction of a new continental society, based on ethics, justice, social and humanitarian values, socialist values, and the values that come from our own ancestral peoples. (p. 17; author's translation)

To summarize, this section argues that the presence and power of external donors (individuals and philanthropies) and international organizations (such as BID, CAF, CEPAL, and OCDE), makes it difficult for regionalisms in LA to develop education programs that emerge from within and respond to regional and local realities uniquely. ALBA seems to be the best example of a regime with education programs that emerge from within the region and that enables real SSC. However, even in this case global influence is not eliminated.

Global competitiveness as the ultimate goal of regionalism

A fourth way in which global governance is implicated in the three regimes is the fact that all education systems are at the service of the global market, as global competitiveness is always the final goal of regionalism, either explicitly or implicitly. Even ALBA, which aims to create an alternative South American market that can work independently from the global market, has competitiveness as its final goal–as becoming globally competitive means the objectives of Patria Grande have been achieved and an alternative market is being created successfully. Evidence of MERCOSUR's goal to become globally competitive is in its discourse and plans around the modernization of its education systems: "educational changes and innovations will need to happen more promptly, in order to satisfy the demands of the labor sector and reach modernization faster, which supposes a better and deeper articulation between education and work" (MERCOSUR, 1998, p. 4; author's translation). PA is committed to promoting globalization through free commerce and cooperation with different countries across

the globe (especially in Asia): “the compromise to establish solid, productive, and long-lasting relationships based on our democratic values and principles, and in a shared vision of the integration of the international economy and the participation in a globalized world is through free commerce” (PA, 2017, p. 1; author’s translation). PA, for its part, considers that its regional integration can lead to further integration of more member states, giving them a better position in the global economy.

The four factors that serve as the response to research question 2–legitimacy, global educational programs, external donors and soft power, and global competitiveness as the final goal of regionalism–explain why global governance influences all education systems in Latin America, including those within post-hegemonic and counter-hegemonic regimes. This leads to the conclusion that education systems in LA regionalisms are being shaped by both regional and global forces.

CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION

Introduction

In this section, I offer background and other scholars' theories to contextualize my findings, aiming to further explain the statements presented in the previous chapter. As the main objective of the study was to determine whether the three selected regionalisms have developed regional educational policies and programs that answer to their particular type of regionalism, or if there is an isomorphism of education systems across these regionalisms because they follow global educational governance, I used education programs as the categories for comparison and analysis. This discussion section is structured based on these education programs, grouped in three categories: (i) common educational programs, (ii) discursive commonality, and (iii) unique educational programs. This structure makes comparing regimes easier and provides a new perspective to strengthen the findings. The discussion section also includes a third sub-section named 'regional or global educational policies and programs?' where I include background and details to better understand the findings for research question 2.

Common Educational Programs

System of accreditation, validation, and recognition of degrees, studies, and experiences

These three regimes have implemented systems of accreditation and recognition of degrees and studies across their member states. These systems have some minor differences,

especially in their processes of implementation. MERCOSUR, for instance, started with the trial program MEXA, designed for specific careers and later developed into the current ARCU- SUR program. Generally speaking, however, these systems are similar in the three cases, with similar goals.

Accreditation systems are a 'must' in regimes because they are vital for furthering the shared aspiration of integration. A system of accreditation is the first and most fundamental step toward building education systems that work harmonically across the region. In addition to strengthening integration and enabling further growth, an accreditation system is needed to reinforce the legitimacy of education systems, especially in higher education institutions. Both systems of accreditation and systems of evaluation and quality assurance help certify that education systems are reaching specific standards of excellence. Other indispensable education initiatives, such as a quality assurance system and a student mobility program, stem from the accreditation system. These are the reasons why the ministers of education of MERCOSUR members (1991), for instance, committed to implementing an accreditation system when the regime was formed, with the goal of achieving the "harmonization of education systems" (p. 4; author's translation).

The implementation of accreditation and quality assurance systems were already present in MERCOSUR's earliest educational documents. Ministers of education of MERCOSUR members declared in 1991 they had the "purpose to favor the articulation, equivalence and recognition of studies among the different education systems, in all its levels and modalities" (p. 2; author's translation). LA was responding to the same global forces that inspired the European Union to implement accreditation and quality assurance systems, starting circa 2000 with the Bologna Process (Haug, 2003). These systems were linked to neoliberalism, market mechanisms,

and the increasing influence of international knowledge banks and other institutions in the education market. As Van Damme (2004) explains, “traditional, informal, academic self-regulation, which, for centuries held to be sufficient in guaranteeing quality, has been replaced by explicit formal, quality assurance mechanisms and related reporting and external accountability procedures” (p. 134). This replacement started to happen in the 1990s, due to several interrelated factors. Van Damme (2004) mentions five. First, there was a concern about a decline of standards, especially in higher education, given its massification. Second, there was a loss of confidence from new investors in education (stakeholders, businesses, organizations, etc.) in the ability of educational institutions to properly adapt to the new skills needed in the modern workplaces and labour markets. Third, there were limitations in government funding. Fourth, there was an emergence of evaluations coming from states and external actors and institutions. Fifth and finally, there was increasing competitiveness of the education environment, especially higher education.

MERCOSUR emerged in this context of pressure to implement globally recognized systems of accreditation and quality assurance. As the Educational Sector of MERCOSUR (2006) explained, “SEM cannot escape global policy and must take them into consideration at the time of planning its regional education strategies” (p. 5; author’s translation). ALBA and PA were launched in 2004 and 2012, when accreditations systems were already widely applied in different regions of the world, including LA and Europe. The pressure to incorporate systems of accreditation stems from what Blalock (2019) defines as the ‘political nature’ of these systems. He states that even though “many programs may benefit from accreditation standards while garnering legitimacy,” it is also “imperative that those seeking accreditation understand they may risk losing the very elements that make their programs distinct” (Blalock, 2019, p. 2). The

political nature of accreditation systems pressures countries to sacrifice originality for legitimacy.

System of evaluation and quality assurance

The quality assurance system, like the accreditation system, is key to increasing education systems' legitimization. It also promotes mobility of students, professionals, and academics across the region, and the mobility and development of shared educational projects with non-members states. For MERCOSUR, quality of education is central, as its advancement is "a factor that promotes social inclusion, human development, and development of productivity" (SEM, 2006, p. 10; author's translation). A system of quality assurance was proposed as soon as the regime was formed in 1991. For ALBA's part, the issue of unequal access to quality education is mentioned numerous times in their documents. However, only two documents (documents 15 and 16, Table 6) explicitly refer to evaluation processes of programs, careers, and institutions that can boost the quality of education across the region. Working to guarantee the quality of education for all is a key goal, as education for ALBA is needed for social transformations that include equality and justice. Finally, in regard to PA, its regional framework of qualifications has led to numerous benefits: enhancement of the academic and student mobility program, construction of educational curriculums that can answer to specific regional needs, and the guaranteeing of quality of education and teaching training by offering norms and procedures for the development of the defined qualifications.

Even though each regime has specific goals for its quality assurance system, they share the objectives of legitimizing their education systems, strengthening mobility of people throughout the region, and trying to achieve a higher level of uniformity in the quality of education their citizens have access to. According to Stensaker (2018), "external quality

assurance can be seen as one of the most visible results of the ongoing internationalization and globalization of higher education" (p. 54). Quality assurance systems can focus more on accountability than improvement, especially when they are guided by external agencies or models and do not emerge from within the region or country.

Discursive Commonality

Mobility of people

As explained in the findings section, a mobility program is central for all three regimes, and it is mentioned in a great number of their educational documents. In the case of PA, the mobility program is one important strategy for educational cooperation "oriented to the improvement of skills and capacities of citizens of members states and their access to a quality education, that are essential tools for the development of human capital and bolstering the productivity and competitivity of PA member states" (GTE, 2012, para. 4; author's translation). Becoming part of the productive structure is considered the best outcome for citizens; a way of developing a good life. The mobility program in PA not only includes the movement of students, researchers, and professors but also of those in technical careers, which is unique to this regionalism. Given the increasing importance of technical education in the region and its centrality to achieving PA's goals, its inclusion in the mobility program is sensible. It is useful for PA that citizens travel abroad to learn certain skills in countries that specialize in those skills, such as the miner and oil industries.

The mobility program in ALBA-TCP mainly serves the endogenous development goal. This is the reason why the mobility program in this regime is mainly a scholarships program where most of the scholarships offered are for careers in medicine and public health–a market ALBA's members consider as their strength and, therefore, have agreed to prioritize it within the

region to encourage its development (Ministers of education of alba, 2009). Instead of adjusting its economy to the current hegemonic power of the developed western countries, ALBA-TCP holds the idea of 'endogenous development,' which departs from the countries' own productive resources and potentials (like their medical and public health human capital, natural resources, technology, skills, etc.) as the basis for creating an economic strategy that is oriented to specific domestic and overseas markets (Muhr, 2011; 2018). As in the case of PA, ALBA's mobility program is in line with their own counter-hegemonic regionalism. ALBA-TCP looks to enhance its own markets through cooperation of its members and the creation of their own strong market (the 'Big Nation' or Patria Grande), making ALBA competitive in the global market without being another regime's target.

According to Muhr (2010), since all the other regionalisms are, in reality, answering to globalization and global governance needs, ALBA is the only regime truly emerging from within the Latin American region. It is the best model of cooperative development today, as it aims to create a big cooperative market that can sustain itself and become independent from the pressures of the global system. Its global competitiveness, in turn, comes incidentally, when regional cooperation generates further economic development. Mora (2016) summarizes these ideas as follows:

> ALBA constitutes a sociopolitics and economic alliance, with the goal of defending the auto-determination of its member states, the strengthening of the sovereignty of states, the conservation and maintenance of our culture and identities, the satisfaction of needs, aspirations and interests of our people, the rejection and radical opposition to the intents of domination in hands of the empires and international capital, the construction of a multipolar world as the opposite to the hegemonic neocolonial internal and external powers. In summary, it is an alliance that pretends to be the construction of a new continental society, based on ethics, justice, social and humanitarian values, socialist values, and the values that come from our own ancestral peoples. (p. 17)

In MERCOSUR, 17 out of the 30 analyzed documents (56% of the total documents) mention the mobility program for students, teachers, professors, researchers, and professionals. The mobility program is a priority for MERCOSUR. This is not only reflected in the high number of times the program is discussed but also in its careful development (the MARCA mobility program started with trials in 2008 and was slowly improved and expanded to include more careers) as well as the role it plays in promoting regional identity. The name of the program is Regional Academic Mobility of Accredited Careers (or MARCA for its Spanish words 'Movilidad Académica Regional de Carreras Acreditadas') and it is key for achieving most of the goals of MERCOSUR, as

> a regional space that offers and guarantees a quality and equitable education, characterized by mutual knowledge, inter-culturalism, respect for diversity, cooperation in solidarity, with shared values that contribute to the improvement and democratization of the education systems of the region and to generate favorable conditions for the peace, through social, economic, and sustainable human development. (MERCOSUR, 2006, p. 9)

According to Chou and Ravinet (2015) and Solanas (2009), the academic mobility program in MERCOSUR has led to a process they call 'mercosurisation' of higher education in the region. This means the exchange of people across member states is also generating an exchange of experiences, practices, and culture to the point of making higher education institutions appear similar across the regime. This is conducive to MERCOSUR's aim of creating a regional educational space.

In conclusion, even though all three regimes prioritize programs of mobility for students, researchers, professionals, and teachers, each of them has implemented this program with different goals in mind and with diverse strategies. For instance, PA focuses on including non-member states in the exchange and employs a scholarship system that makes mobility more accountable and visible to the rest of the world. For its part, ALBA continues to focus on

strengthening its medical and public health human capital by promoting mobility in these careers, in line with their endogenous development project. Finally, MERCOSUR, for which cultural and social development must go together with economic development, uses the mobility program to increase the sharing of knowledge and culture and to foment the creation of regional identity and a common educational space.

Interculturality, diversity, and identity

All three regimes emphasize the exchange of cultures and generating better understanding between people within a region. However, the role of education in achieving these objectives are often quite different from each other. As a regime strictly guided by the ideals of neoliberalism and capitalism, PA bases its promotion of projects on interculturality and diversity in the belief that cultural exchanges help create superior human capital. Human capital itself, which PA uses in its education documents, is a neoliberal concept that refers to the concept that human beings invest primarily in themselves, mainly through education, to increase their skills and knowledge and become more productive individuals. In Tonini's (2021) words, human capital theory "correlates the educational attainment of an individual with not only his or her own financial advancement but also the economic progress of a nation" (p. 70). In summary, PA promotes intercultural educational projects because these are considered capital. Through these programs, individuals nominally acquire certain skills that make them more profitable.

Educational projects in interculturality are also central for ALBA-TCP. Their goal is for citizens of ALBA countries to learn to recognize and respect different perspectives, to cooperate with the efforts of engendering a multipolar world where all perspectives are considered equally valuable, including the recognition of indigenous cultural and linguistic characteristics, and no single state has overwhelming power and influence over others. ALBA's concern with

multipolarity comes from a global order that emerged with the rise of several powers that challenged the unipolarity of a world headed by the US after the fall of the USSR. In the 21st century, "multipolarity has come to figure prominently in the everyday vocabulary of diplomats and world leaders. For example, the first BRIC Summit in June 2009 expressed support for 'a more democratic and just multipolar world order'" (de Aguiar Patriota, 2017, p. 15).

MERCOSUR (2006) considers educational cooperation and integration key aspects of a process that includes further democratization of societies, productive transformation with equity, affirmation of cultural identities, respect for diversity, and development and consolidation of regional identity or consciousness. In other words, the region's efforts to cooperate in their educational programs generate respect for other cultures and create a regional identity. The goal of engendering a regional identity is of primary importance for MERCOSUR, and education can help members of MERCOSUR consolidate a regional identity based on the history and culture LA countries share. For MERCOSUR members, education is key for the re-encounter of Latin American countries with their shared cultures and values while maintaining their own identities as individual nations–a goal that it shares with ALBA.

To conclude, interculturality and respect for diversity are mentioned as valued in all three regimes, and education plays a key role in encouraging these. However, each of these regimes highlights different aspects of interculturality and promotes them along with different goals. For PA, interculturality and their citizens having diverse experiences is important to improving the countries' human capital. For its part, MERCOSUR's idea of interculturality includes promoting a shared regional identity, which is expected to strengthen regional cooperation and integration. Finally, ALBA does not promote a regional identity but highlights the importance of

understanding and respecting each state's individual characteristics and culture to promote a multipolar world in which no way of living is hegemonic over others.

Universal access to education and permanence in schools

Despite the PA mentions of education as a way to overcome economic inequalities, there is no direct reference to universal education, meaning PA members do not prioritize universal access to education as highly as other matters. This is expected in the characteristics of a neoliberal regime that believes in meritocracy and the need for people to have different roles in society. To boost productivity, not all citizens would be educated in the same way. These countries prioritize the educational programs that increase productivity and competitiveness of the region in the global market (such as technical education), which corresponds to the hegemonic regionalism model. However, the implementation of the EFA and MDGs global programs in 2000 pushed countries and regimes worldwide to focus their education efforts on providing free and universal access to all children through primary school at a minimum. The implementation of these global projects also expanded the general consciousness of education as a human right.

For ALBA, universal and free access to education at all levels, including higher education, is a key priority of their educational initiatives. The literacy and post-literacy programs to end illiteracy are also related to this priority–a project that MERCOSUR shares. In contrast to PA, technical education as an alternative to formal education is not promoted, even though it can benefit overall productivity. Here, all individuals have the right to acquire the highest level of education possible. These ideas express ALBA's criticism of neoliberal and capitalist societies (see document 9, Table 6), where education has been commodified and has become focused on seeking an advantage over others: "The education at the service of capital

has established process of social differentiation that favors a few in the access to determinate goods, and condemn many others to join the labor armies that possibilities exploitation and domination" (III -CAB, 2009, p. 24; author's translation). Education should not reproduce relationships of exploitation and domination, and this can only be altered by establishing education as a common and universal right. In opposition to education that favors capital, ALBA proposes an education with the following features: oriented to socialism, self-determining, free, and universal at all levels, with quality, oriented to research and innovation, intercultural, and scientific-critic (III - CAB, 2009). The universalization of higher education is especially central for ALBA, as it is essential for an integral, sustainable, and sovereign human development, as well as guaranteeing the participation of society in the creation, transformation, and socialization of knowledge. ALBA understands higher education as a human right which the state must provide free and public access to. As Muhr (2015) explains,

> The ALBA-TCP multiple development dimensions and their institutions operate in a mutually reinforcing fashion, comprising the cultural, education and knowledge, energy, the environmental, the financial, the legal, the military, the politico-ideological, production and trade, and the social humanitarian. This holistic approach to development also characterizes the education sector, in which all levels and modalities of education are understood as complementary and equally important to individual and collective development, whereby free-of-charge education at all levels is reclaimed as a public social good, fundamental human right and undeniable duty of state. (p. 129)

MERCOSUR's approach to universal access to education is clearly in-between PA and ALBA's, as it mentions basic education as a universal right several times, and even mentions the need to strengthen this access for vulnerable and indigenous people, yet does not include higher education. In addition, in line with PA, MERCOSUR also promotes technical education in several documents as a productive alternative to a university degree.

Higher education network

As mentioned in the findings, ALBA has two types of networks across its higher education systems: internal (among different levels of education within a country) and external (among higher education systems from other countries). This second case is the most mentioned throughout the ALBA documents. Some projects or proposals related to this theme are: promote higher education as a space of Latin American and Caribbean unity and cooperation through the promotion of exchanges, shared investigations, and scholarship programs, among others; create the UNILABA network (University of the Peoples of ALBA-TCP) as a network of universities committed to inclusion and training of professionals, techniques, and specialists needed for the Gran-national project to succeed (this project is based on the belief that education is the motor of social transformation, and social transformation and the regaining of cultural identity and history is key for the resurgence of Latin America); encourage the creation of a system of recognition of higher education degrees across members states; and create a Health Sciences University of ALBA. The project most mentioned and encouraged is the UNILABA network (5 documents), which is considered fundamental for the development of inclusive nations that respect each of its citizens and their individual development (Ministers of education of ALBA, 2009). For ALBA, social transformation through equal opportunities (that lead to justice) within and across nations is the main rationale behind building higher education networks. This goal is in line with the characteristics of counter-hegemonic regionalism, which encourages an alternative integration model (transcending the neoliberal model) based on ethical, just commerce, guided by the principles of cooperation, complementation, solidarity, and reciprocity.

In the case of PA, the only two mentions of a network of higher education institutions are a list of all the universities of PA, which are part of a shared system, and a mention of

cooperation in the matter of climate change. The topic of climate change is a global concern, and thus PA mentions it numerous times in the educational documents analyzed.

For MERCOSUR, building a network of higher education institutions serves the objectives of modernizing the higher education system in the region and facilitating exchange and cooperation. According to Perrotta (2016), inter-university cooperation is a strategy MERCOSUR has developed for the internationalization of the education systems along with more traditional strategies, such as academic mobility, accreditation, and quality assurance. These two objectives (concern with cultural exchange and with internationalization) show, once again, the positioning of MERCOSUR as a mixture of the hegemonic and counter-hegemonic models of regionalism.

Education and technology

All three regimes consider it fundamental to use technology to improve education systems. However, this commonality is discursive, as documents show each of these regimes has different concepts of a quality education system and implement technology in diverse ways. Given the growing importance of technology in both education and the job market, regimes cannot exclude technology from their educational plans. With the need for 21st-century skills, the implementation of technologies in teaching and learning becomes even more urgent. Since the beginning of the new century, the emphasis shifted from "what students can do with knowledge, rather than what units of knowledge they have" (Silva, 2009, p. 630), which suggested numerous revisions to previous teaching methods and the implementation of all sorts of technologies in the classroom.

ALBA proposes programs in line with its socialist ideals, like the production of common cultural and educational content and their distribution via the TV channel TeleSur and the

satellite Simón Bolivar. The ideas behind implementing technology in education can be said to be part of the larger goal of equal access to education. Control of information relevance in a world where most countries implement technology in education systems are key reasons ALBA is proposing and implementing these programs. However, it is evident that ALBA uses technology less for developing 21st century skills among its population, and more to expand access to education and certain values and ideas. MERCOSUR proposes the use of technology in a similar way to ALBA: to enhance the creation of regional identity through the promotion of common values and improve access to quality education. PA, for its part, underscores the use of technology in technical education, which is a priority for PA. Technical education for PA includes jobs or professions that require skills in technology and computer science.

Unique educational programs

Technical education

For PA members, being part of the productive structure of their states (and the global order) is the best outcome for citizens to develop a good life. This is one of the reasons behind the promotion of technical education. Document 5 (Table 7) states that promoting technical education is the best way to bolster productivity and give many citizens the chance to live a successful life (GTE, 2016). It also explains that technical and professional education programs are related to the economic competitiveness of PA in the world and that it is a valuable alternative to university degrees, allowing individuals to enter the market faster and answer the specific needs of the country. Technical Education is essential for developing human capital, boosting productivity, and making PA's economies competitive–the goal being to overcome socio-economic inequalities and achieve social inclusion. This is the reason why technical education has become one of the priorities of education policies in PA. 'Technical Education'

includes all the educational modalities that combine theoretical and practical learning. The importance given to technical education evidences the economic goal of education, which is characteristic of hegemonic regionalism. The GTE (2016) states that currently, technical education is analyzed in the results "by looking at companies' productivity policies and how competitive countries are in the global market. There is a clear connection between the quality of technical education and how competitive the country is" (p. 52; author's translation). PA works conversely to ALBA regarding endogenous development. They believe that to remain competitive internationally, they need to target the most relevant markets in the current era– information, science and technology, and communication. Higher education and technical education play a key role in the creation and innovation of these fields, which is fundamental for keeping PA at the top of the market and achieving its objectives (Morales Martín & Manosalba Torres, 2016).

PA understands inclusion in education as increasing the knowledge and skills to exercise a profession. In other words, 'inclusive education' means rapid insertion into the job market. The economic model of PA, a hegemonic regionalism (that is focused on exportation and free commerce), requires that its human capital mechanisms are always adapting to the changes in the global economy. This demands the creation of an education system that is fast to adapt to the changes of the market and its new knowledge and skills requirements, for which technical and professional education is ideal.

MERCOSUR also mentions technical education programs several times. They do not give it the same importance PA gives, but it is considered valuable for member countries as an alternative to a university degree, to which not all citizens can access because of economic or geographical issues. In contrast with PA, MERCOSUR does not use the term 'human capital.'

Given the importance of agronomic and cattle raising markets in the region, focusing on increasing the number of people developing these markets and their specific education is highly significant for MERCOSUR.

Some common aspects of their regional curriculums

None of the three regimes propose the creation of a standard regional curriculum, probably because all three highlight the importance of Latin American diversity and the need to preserve and respect this diversity (in contrast to the colonization and exploitation process all these countries suffered from). However, given its goal of generating a regional identity, MERCOSUR proposes an agreement for a shared curriculum in geography, history, and language. These are specifically oriented to generate consciousness of shared culture and past experiences. ALBA, for its part, mentions the desire to implement shared benchmarks for education curriculums across members, but there are no specific documents about this work.

Programs to fight illiteracy

For ALBA, the literacy and post-literacy programs to fight illiteracy were a huge success, implemented not only by the members of the region but also by many other countries worldwide. Therefore, these programs are constantly encouraged in the educational documents developed by the region. The importance these programs hold is a result of the success they had in reducing illiteracy in member countries, which led to the interest of other non-member countries who started copying the program. These programs started as external programs shared from Cuba but soon became part of ALBA's Gran-national project. ALBA puts a lot of emphasis in the expansion of the program to cover all member states first and non-member states after. Fighting illiteracy is considered key for the social transformation ALBA aims to achieve, where all individuals have the same opportunities and can develop fully. In contrast to neoliberalism or

capitalism, socialism focuses on the development of each individual as all citizens have an important role in society. Each individual is considered an essential part needed to make the country function successfully, and so reason members of ALBA consider it fundamental to make education accessible to all, including higher education.

MERCOSUR mentions the need to take measures to fight illiteracy only once, in document 22 (Table 5), which is about rural education. The problem of illiteracy is discussed in rural areas where not all children have access to school, where education generally has a lower quality, and where child labor is an issue. MERCOSUR members recommend a series of changes to education in rural areas, which includes the promotion of educational programs that are in line with the reality of students (this means using both formal and informal methods of education, using methodologies that match with students' reality and needs, and more flexibility with the organization and academic calendars in those schools following the agricultural cycle and the weather conditions), the training of teachers for the specific needs of rural areas, and taking measures to fight the higher illiteracy in these areas. MERCOSUR does not propose literacy and post-literacy programs with ALBA's rationale; rather members are just trying to answer the needs of a specific sector of their population.

Learning a second (or more) languages

All three regimes developed programs to encourage the learning of second (or more) languages. However, these programs are completely different and do not share names, which is the reason why I included them in the category of 'unique educational programs' and not 'discursive commonality.'

Considering the importance PA places on its competitiveness and position in the world's economy, strengthening the learning of English makes total sense, and it is in line with the

hegemonic type of regionalism. In PA, the economic model (centered on exports and free commerce) impacts education, which is the reason why universities in PA need to promote the language and culture that lead to the global economy (English and Western culture) (Morales Martín & Manosalba Torres, 2016).

In the case of ALBA, there is one document that mentions the learning of other languages (document 2, Table 6). In the document on the agreement for ALBA-TCP implementation, members established that Cuba would provide Bolivia with the necessary resources for carrying out the literacy program (Yo, sí puedo!) in their four spoken languages: Spanish, Aymara, Quechua, and Guarani. This decision follows ALBA's concern with the respect for cultural particularities of each member.

MERCOSUR is also interested in teaching two languages, Spanish and Portuguese, which are the two languages spoken in the region (Portuguese is spoken in Brazil, and Spanish in the rest of the member states). References to education programs in these two languages appear in 4 of the 30 documents analyzed. The first one is document 1 (Table 5), developed in 1991 when the regionalism was young. Another mention is in documents 14 and 23 (Table 5), where promoting the two languages of MERCOSUR is considered key to enhancing the creation of regional identity or citizenship. The promotion of Portuguese and Spanish learning indicates more commitment to South-South cooperation and more concern with the region's progress and members' relationship than with their position and competitiveness in the world. As Perrotta (2016; 2018) mentions, the education sector of MERCOSUR (SEM) pursues a regional strategy in higher education with actual regional policies and not just unilateral policies. The regional strategy consists of building a regional space characterized by solidarity, respect, and understanding between member states, with the ultimate goal of creating a regional identity

(Perrotta, 2016). Promoting the learning of the two languages spoken in the region (Spanish and Portuguese) is in line with this strategy.

Indigenous people's education

ALBA's and MERCOSUR's concern for the education of minorities and vulnerable groups aligns with a post-liberal type of regionalism (which includes both post-hegemonic regionalism and counter-hegemonic regionalism). One key characteristic of this type of regionalism is that it is multidimensional, going against a narrow focus on economic integration and proposing a more comprehensive integration instead–such as cooperation in human rights. A human rights theme repeated in ALBA and MERCOSUR is indigenous people's rights and welfare, which emerges in the context of its member states fighting against colonization and working towards decolonization processes and real independence from hegemonic powers.

Regional or global education policies and programs?

Education for All (EFA)

EFA was a global project to which 164 governments agreed on and implemented in 2000, with the goal of reaching 6 education goals by 2015. As described by UNESCO (2015), these goals were:

(1) "Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children.

(2) Ensuring that, by 2015, all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality.

(3) Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programs.

(4) Achieving a 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults.

(5) Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality.

(6) Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills" (pp. XII - XIV).

Despite the efforts and significant progress in the areas proposed, the world did not achieve the EFA goals. Considering goal number two, for example, though the number of children and youth who were out of school had fallen almost in half by 2015, there were still 58 million children out of school. There remains a lot of work to do, a reason why other global programs, especially the SDG, were created and implemented for the years following 2015.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

The MDG were created by the United Nations (UN) in 2000. UN member states agreed to achieve its 8 goals by 2015. Unlike EFA, the MDGs were not only educational goals but covered a wide range of topics. These goals focused on combating poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, environmental degradation, and discrimination against women (WHO, 2018). Goal number 2 targeted illiteracy and guaranteed all children, including both boys and girls, would have access to and complete universal primary education by 2015. The MDGs shared this educational goal with EFA and, even though they improved access to primary education, they did not succeed in its objective. By 2015, 58 million children were still out of school, and 100

million had not completed primary education. The MDGs were superseded by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015.

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

The SDGs, or Global Goals, were adopted by the UN in 2015, following the MDGs and continuing most of its objectives. The UNDP (n.d.) describes the 17 SDGs as 'integrated,' meaning that "action in one area will affect outcomes in others, and that development must balance social, economic and environmental sustainability" (para. 2).

In the area of education, the SDGs goals are much more detailed and comprehensive than the MDGs. SDG number 4 is the educational goal, Quality Education, which would ensure "inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all" (The Global Goals, n.d., para. 1). This goal includes 10 targets, used to create action that improves quality education. These targets are:

(1) Free primary and secondary education.

(2) Equal access to quality pre-primary education for all girls and boys.

(3) Equal access to affordable technical, vocational, and higher education for all women and men.

(4) Increase the number of people with relevant skills for financial success (including technical and vocational skills).

(5) Eliminate all discrimination in education (including gender disparities, disparities for persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples, and children in vulnerable situations)

(6) Universal literacy and numeracy for both men and women

(7) Education for sustainable development and global citizenship.

(8) Build and upgrade inclusive and safe schools.

(9) Expand higher education scholarships for developing countries.

Increase the supply of qualified teachers in developing countries (Global Goals, n.d.).

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

Summary of the study

Conducted within the framework of comparative regionalism and employing the comparative case study method, this study offers a comparative analysis of three Latin American regimes (MERCOSUR, ALBA-TCP, and PA) without using Europe as a model. In this way, it contributes to further developing the newest version of the field of comparative regionalism, which observes different regionalisms and values their individualities and unique characteristics while accepting a great variety of methodological and theoretical perspectives. Another way in which this study strengthens the field of comparative regionalism is by merging different categorizations of regionalism (open and closed; early, old, new, and comparative; hegemonic, post-hegemonic, and counter-hegemonic) that various academics typically have utilized to discuss distinct regions of the world. By reconciling dissimilar but comparable categorizations of regionalisms, this study shows that heterogenous types of regimes coexist, can share numerous characteristics despite their differences (due to the influence of global powers), and can learn valuable lessons from each other. These conclusions are also significant for furthering the theoretical development of South-South Cooperation.

The first research question, *how do different types of regimes define the education policies implemented at the regional level?* has led to describing each regime's education

programs, processes, and rationales, based on the thematic and content analysis of 68 regional educational policies (30 for MERCOSUR, 17 for ALBA-TCP, and 21 for PA). Through these descriptions, the study showcases similarities and dissimilarities among the education systems of the selected regimes, concluding that both the global and the regional are shaping the region. Regionalisms are entities that work in very individualized ways and with unique objectives, but towards an ultimate shared goal: to become competitive in the global market. Given this shared goal, the study looks at how different the processes towards this goal are for each regime depending on their characteristics.

Despite the fact that each regime represents a different type of regionalism, most regional education programs and policies look similar across the three cases. However, through the close analysis of regional programs, the study demonstrates that most similarities are discursive and that only two programs have the same characteristics across the three regimes: the accreditation system and the quality assurance system. This has led to the conclusion that there is no real isomorphism of education policies in the selected regionalisms and their member states. This conclusion has also elicited the categorization of education programs under three themes: common educational programs, discursive commonality, and unique education programs. The analysis provides the description of how (and why) these programs work for each regime.

The answer to the first question paves the way for the second question: *how is the regional level shaping the regional educational ideologies, or is the region following global education governance and standards?* One of the main objectives of this study is to shed light on the role of global educational governance in shaping education systems in Latin America. By demonstrating that completely diverse types of regionalisms have some educational programs and goals in common, the study suggests global governance (characterized by the granting of

legitimacy, the application of soft power, the establishment of global competitiveness, and the promotion of global standards) continues to influence education systems in LA–despite the fact the world is restructuring itself into regions and that modern states interact with each other and with globalization through regionalisms. This is especially evident in the implicit and explicit presence of EFA goals, MDGs, and SDGs (global educational standards) in MERCOSUR's, ALBA-TCP's, and PA's educational programs and policies. To summarize, the study concludes that the regional level is mainly responsible for the development of education programs, but that global educational governance also impacts regional and local education programs, which is why education systems look alike and share some programs as well.

The answers to these two research questions, however, present certain limitations and require further examination, given that I have drawn the data from a particular set of documents: regional agreements, declarations, plans, protocols, and resolutions, among others, that were deliberately written to be publicly published and read by a global audience. In the next sections of this conclusion, I acknowledge the limitations this data set has upon my findings and I offer some hypotheses about isomorphism that derives from this acknowledgement. I also present a few ideas that I believe this paper may inspire the reader to consider–or which at least have inspired me to reflect upon. These are ideas regarding the position and power of Latin American regimes in generating education policies and programs that answer to the particularities of its context. These ideas enlighten – and question – my initial findings on the predominance of regional governance over global governance, and also challenge the functioning of regionalisms in the Latin American context (where most countries are part of the so called 'Global South').

Limitations of the data set and significance of these limitations

In the description of my data set, I acknowledged that all the documents obtained were official documents intentionally created to be published for the general audience and available to anyone. These specific type of documents express what members of the selected regimes want other regimes, global institutions, international organizations, knowledge banks, etc., to know about them, and may not necessarily be an accurate reflection of how policies or programs are working at the regional and local levels. The question I want to raise in this conclusion is: what does this specific data set say about the findings? The use of these particular documents provides the opportunity to develop a more specific level of analysis that, inversely, broadens the perspective to discuss more important matters in the field of comparative education – such as the role of regionalisms in the Global South and the distinctive way in which isomorphism is present in LA.

An important question that the selection of this type of documents raises is: Is there a pre-set agenda behind these documents? Or, in other words, are these documents intentionally created to present a certain reality about education systems in Latin America? Here is where the issue of isomorphism comes in. According to the findings that emerged from the comparative analysis of regional education policies and programs in MERCOSUR, ALBA-TCP, and PA, regimes in LA are not very isomorphic. Using an average of 10 educational programs developed by each regime, only two function similarly (the accreditation and quality assurance systems). The other programs are described so differently that it seems they share little more than the names, being a case of 'dummy policy transfer.' This indicates there is a bigger influence of regional education governance rather than that of global education governance in Latin America. The answer to research question 2, however, shows that global governance is still very present in

educational programs and practices across the selected regimes, which begs the question: how are these two massive forms of policy governance getting along? Or are they even getting along? I believe that the fact that I only had access to documents that were designed to publicly announce the regimes' goals and policies, together with the strong presence of global governance as evidenced in the documents, may suggest that there is more isomorphism in the education policies and programs across LA than it appears. There is isomorphism, but regimes are trying to conceal it. But why do regimes want to appear to have different educational strategies from other regimes and from global standards? Isn't isomorphism evidence of legitimized education systems? Perhaps, Latin American countries find other objectives more central than legitimization. In addition, they have still kept alignment in the main two programs that grant legitimization, that are the accreditation and quality assurance systems.

A different type of isomorphism: enforced isomorphism

Isomorphism is a key phenomenon of study for neo-institutionalism. The term 'institutional isomorphism' is used to argue the existence of a global convergence in education. There are some best educational practices that all countries recognize and implement, leading to homogeneity in education systems worldwide (Boxenbaum & Jonsson, 2008; Brown & Stevick, 2014). Neo-institutionalism researchers have defined three types of 'pressures' that cause organizations to increase similarity. These are 'coercive isomorphism,' 'mimetic isomorphism,' and 'normative isomorphism.' Coercive isomorphism comes from the demands of the state or other political actors to implement certain practices or structures. These demands are met to avoid sanctions or a cut on resources (Boxenbaum & Jonsson, 2008). Mimetic isomorphism arises in situations of uncertainty or crisis, in which organizations tend to copy more successful or influential peers (Boxenbaum & Jonsson, 2008). Finally, normative isomorphism emerges

from the idea of how professions should be and which qualifications and certifications they should have. Organizations put pressure on the adoption of standards to make their professionals follow the requirements to be legitimate to the world (Boxenbaum & Jonsson, 2008).

This study might be an example of a new form of isomorphism, a fourth form, that is not only present in LA but also in most countries of the Global South. I define this new form as 'enforced isomorphism,' given that isomorphic programs and practices are being directly implemented (or enforced) at the regional and local levels by external actors, like international organizations, donors, and world banks. The main question that emerges, then, is why regimes might be concealing, and even lying, about the isomorphism of their education programs and policies. There is a possibility that the selected regimes are trying to hide their similarities given the importance of the discourses of decolonization, independence from the Global North, and respect for indigenous perspectives, that are present in most LA countries. Appearing to be non-isomorphic would indicate success in their core political, social, and educational plans. Another reason why regimes might be hiding their isomorphism is the fact that the different types of regionalism (hegemonic, post-hegemonic, and counter-hegemonic) compete against each other in some aspects. Each of them presents itself as the best alternative of cooperation that can led to more efficient growth. Finally, a third reason could be to conceal the fact that all education systems around the world develop similarities because states have less autonomy than they used to. Certainly, by looking at the involvement on international agents, donors, world banks, etc., in education governance we can conclude that it is not very likely the regional education programs in LA are so dissimilar.

While neo-institutional theorists document the ways in which completely different nations produce organizations with similar characteristics, policy borrowing theorists use case

studies from particular nations to show how local contexts continue to create unique policies, even though they appear similar (Metha & Peterson, 2019). However, today, this debate between convergence and divergence is no longer significant, as more recent work has argued that both exist together: there is some convergence in policies and core categories, but also important differences as we narrow into a particular context (Metha & Peterson, 2019).

This comparative case study of regionalisms presents a challenge to these two fields and their conclusions. In contrast with what neo-institutional theorists argue, the regimes compared seem to be making an effort to appear different from each other, including their educational goals and strategies. They do not seem to be worried about appearing isomorphic per se. However, is this dissimilarity real or discursive? Are regimes really developing and implementing different educational programs, or only presenting them as different? In regards to the field of policy borrowing and lending, this comparative study of regimes might be suggesting the opposite: programs look dissimilar, but in reality, are similar, as they are being planned and implemented by the same external actors, through enforced isomorphism.

To summarize, even though the study of regional documents concludes isomorphism is not really happening, this conclusion is most likely attributed to the types of documents obtained. Further analysis of this conclusion offers some important insights to help us better understand the needs of Latin American countries and the reality of global educational governance. Most likely, the countries within these regimes (especially ALBA-TCP and MERCOSUR) aim to be valued and recognized globally with their particularities, and not be seen as copying global best practices and becoming isomorphic. However, the strong presence of global goals and influences show that isomorphism is happening anyway (coercive isomorphism). Global governance is mostly governance from the Global North, and Global South countries still need to work to

obtain a more active participation in the educational decisions worldwide and for their particular contexts. Concealing the isomorphism and global pressures is making this reality harder to acknowledge and solve.

Final thoughts: Lack of educational governance emerging from the South and for the South

The presence of enforced isomorphism poses an important question: Are the regional education programs and policies analyzed in this study emerging from true southern or indigenous knowledge, or are they just ideas from the north repackaged and given to the south? The intentions of these regions, especially of the counter-hegemonic and post-hegemonic regimes, is to position themselves as separate from global educational governance. The concealed isomorphism is disclosing that this is a main priority for LA regimes, but also that it is actually not happening for numerous reasons. Latin American regimes and states do not have total independence from external global actors in education. They are looking to generate education programs and policies that are best for their particular circumstances and contexts, but this cannot happen entirely given the power and structure of the current global educational governance. This is an important issue to acknowledge in order to generate more studies and actions with more parity of participation of Southern countries in global education knowledge and planning.

Presently, the objectives to generate more SSC, or more knowledge that emerges within the South, or even unique practices that actually respond to the context of the South, is not entirely possible. Because of the presence of numerous external agents influencing education through different means, such as donor activity and world bank conditions, it is not feasible for something to emerge solely from the South and completely planned for the people of the South,

with no influence from the North. NORRAG (the Network for international policies and cooperation in education and training) is an example or an organization that works to enable the participation of countries from the Global South in global educational matters.

Another interesting question that derives from this reflection is: what is the role of regionalism in enabling the generation of knowledge and education practices that emerge from the South? Having analyzed three diverse types of regionalisms in this study, I would argue that the counter-hegemonic and post-hegemonic types have more potential to encourage indigenous and southern policies and practices. Yet, the fact that most Latin American countries are part of at least one hegemonic-type regionalism undermines their capacities to propose new and more context-aware educational ideas.

AGENDA FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study could work as the basis for other studies looking to answer compelling questions regarding the role of different types of regimes in their regional and national education policies.

A first study that could evolve from this one is exploring the role of education systems in decolonization processes and how global standards and regional standards are affecting these (differently or similarly). I feel this is a theme missing in my study, given that decolonization processes in Latin America are central as all countries have previously been (or continue to be) colonized. I believe this would be an interesting issue to raise in the context of regionalism and regionalization processes in the area. Some questions could include: are regional education policies promoting decolonization? If regionalism is so key in shaping local education systems, what is its role in these countries' decolonization strategies? How do education systems address decolonization processes and identity formation differently depending on where the educational

discourses come from (local, regional, or global)? Can discourses of decolonization emerging from global ideals, such as EFA, really be effective if they are not emerging from within the nation or region?

A second study could consist in looking at member states' educational systems to see how regional policies and programs are working. The question might be: how are the regional education policies being implemented at the local level in each member state of the selected regionalism(s)? By looking at local implementation, one could discover whether regional policies are more discursive than factual, and if it depends on each regionalism type. The study could look at how these policies that are recommended or expected to be implemented are actually functioning at the local level. Is the local shaping the regional, or the other way around?

Finally, I could also expand the study by including more cases of Latin American regionalisms in the comparative analysis, reaching a more thorough analysis and more accurate conclusions of the impact of regionalism in LA's education systems.

APPENDIX A

DOCUMENTS COLLECTION PROCESS

Research process for MERCOSUR education documents

First, I used of the official website of Mercosur Educativo/ Mercosul Educativo: http://edu.mercosur.int/es-ES/. Within this website, I went through all the documents that include: reunion minutes (actas de reunion), agreements (acuerdos), decisions (decisions), treaties (tratados), plans (planes), studies (estudios), bulletins (boletines), and notices (noticias/editales). I then proceeded to analyze the action plan (plan de acción) window, where I found the action plans for education integration in the periods 2011-2015, 2016-2020, and before, and the programs and projects (programas y proyectos) window, where they describe the regional projects and programs in education that are functioning currently. Finally, in the statistics window, some special documents measure the presence of TIC (technology and information) in schools from 2009 to 2013. I include these documents in the analysis, as they provide valuable information on MERCOSUR's concern for technology in the area of education. This section also includes another set of documents that measure and compare education in all members of MERCOSUR with the rest of the world from 1996 to 2013 (including comparison categories such as school assistance, number of schools in each level, number of teachers, among others).

For selecting pertinent documents for my analysis, I went through more than 300 documents, of which 35 were initially included in my analysis. This number was then reduced due to repeated documents or documents that ended up not being relevant enough. The documents I did not choose to analyze include reunion minutes (because educational policies are not described here, but just briefly mentioned), programs and projects (because these are not actual documents, but references to the program websites. These programs are actually described in other documents included), bulletins (not relevant), statistics (not relevant and too detailed),

and studies (not relevant and too detailed). Among the documents included, there are agreements (3 documents out of 8, because these are repeated in other documents), decisions (4 out of 17, because many of them are just brief corrections of previous ones, are not relevant, or repeated somewhere else), treaties (1 out of 3, because two of these were not relevant), and plans (4 out of 6, because these were repeated in other documents).

The documents included are the following:

(1) Agreements:

- Acuerdo Arcusur (2006). Replaces MEXA.
- Acuerdos de intenciones de los ministros de educación (de acuerdo a los objectivos del tratdo de Asuncion) (1991).
- Acuerdo sobre la creación e implementación de un sistema de acreditación de carreras universitarias para el reconocomiento regional de la calidad académica de las respectivas titutlaciones en el Mercosur y estados asociados (ARCU-SUR).

(2) Decisions:

- Decisión 08/96: Protocolo de integración Educacional para el proseguimiento de estudios de pos-grado en las universidades de los estados miembros del Mercosur.
- Decisión 21/06: Acuerdo sobre gratuidad de visados para estudiantes y docentes de los estados partes del Mercosur.
- Decisión 03/97: Protocolo de admission de títulos de grado universitarios para el ejercicio de actividades académicas de los estados partes del Mercosur.
- Decisión 15/01: aprovar ánica y plan de acción 2001-2005 del sector educativo del Mercosur, Bolivia, y Chile.

(3) Treaties:

- Plan Trienal de Educación (1998-2000): includes the documents that defines the Plan Trienal for the integration of the education sector and the Compromiso de Brasilia, where they establish the objectives of the plan for the year 2000. The two main areas of this educational plan are: the development of a regional identity through mutual recognition and a culture of integration, and the promotion of capacitation in human resources for the improvement of the quality of education in all member states (Compromisso de Brasília, n.d.).

(4) Plans:

- Mercosur 2000 (1997-2000)
- Plan del sector educativo del Mercosur 2006-2010
- Plan del acción del sector educativo del Mercosur 2011-2015
- Plan de acción del sector educativo del Mercosur 2016-2020

Next, I used the official MERCOSUR website: https://www.mercosur.int. There is a section on education within this website under the themes (temas) window. This section is quite basic, presenting general information about the agreement to cooperate in the education sector among MERCOSUR members. I included this information in the paper too. However, I obtained most of the information directly from the official documents. Under the documents (documentos) window, there are six sub-windows: foundational texts (textos fundacionales), treaties, protocols, and agreements (tratados, protocolos y acuerdos), Norms (normativas), acts and annexes (actas y anexos), announcements (comunicados), and presidential declarations (declaraciones presidenciales).

For selecting pertinent documents for my analysis, I went through more than 150 documents, of which 74 were initially included in my analysis. Again, this number was reduced due to repeated documents or documents that were not relevant enough. The documents I did not

include in my analysis were foundational texts (at these were not specific in education and barely mentioned it), directions and recommendations (within the norms), announcements (these are very brief summaries of MERCOSUR actions), presidential declarations (none of these are in education), and acts and annexes (I do not include these because they are already repeated in other documents. These just divide the documents according to the group that developed it). There are treaties, protocols, and agreements (collected by the direction of treaties of Paraguay and presented in a different website: https://www.mre.gov.py/tratados/public_web/ConsultaMercosur.aspx. The documents on the matter of education are 23 out of 164, of which I include the five that are relevant and not repeated somewhere else), recommendations (there are 74 in total, of which only three are in education and I am analyzing all three), decisions (there are 998 in total, of which only 35 are in education. From these I analyzed 9, that were the relevant and not repeated ones), and resolutions (there are 1918 resolutions in total, of which only 13 are in education. From these, I analyzed the five that were relevant and not repeated).

The documents included are the following:

(1) Treaties, protocols, and agreements:

- Protocolo de integración educativa y reconocimiento de certificados, títulos y estudios de nivel primario y medio no técnico (05/08/1994).
- Protocolo de integración educativa y revalida de diplomas, certificados, títulos, y reconocimiento de estudios de nivel medio técnico (05/08/1995).
- Protocolo de integración educativa para la formación de recursos humanos a nivel de post-grado entre los países miembros del Mercosur (16/12/1996).

- Protocolo de integración educativa para la prosecución de estudios de post-grado en las universidades de los países del Mercosur (16/12/1996).

(2) Recommendations:

- Educación rural
- Género y educación en una perspectiva no sexista e inclusiva
- Educación y trabajo infantil

(3) Decisions:

- Reunión de ministros de educación (ministers of education reunion): definition of the creation of the educational sector of Mercosur (SEM) and ministers of education reunions.
- Acuerdos emanados de la XXIII reunion de ministros de educación del Mercosur, Bolivia, y Chile.
- Acuerdo Complementario de Cooperación entre los Estados Partes del Mercado Común del Sur (MERCOSUR) y el Convenio Andrés Bello (CAB) sobre Reconocimiento de Estudios, Títulos y Certificados de Educación Primaria/Básica y Media/Secundaria No Técnica.
- Protocolo de intenciones entre el Mercosur y la organización de estados iberoamericanos para la educación, la ciencia y la cultura;
- Estructura orgánica y reglamento interno de la reunion de ministros de educación y los órganos dependientes del sector educativo del Mercosur;
- Fondo para la convergencia structural del Mercosur proyecto “investigación, educación y biotecnologías aplicadas a la salud”
- Acuerdo sobre el reconocimiento de títulos de grado de educación superior en el Mercosur.

(4) Resolutions: there are 1918 resolutions in total, of which 13 are in education. The ones in education are the following:

- Convenio para la administración del fondo para el sector educacional del Mercosur entre la corporación andina de fomento y el MERCOSUR.
- Convenio de financiación para el Proyecto "Apoyo al programa de movilidad Mercosur en educación superior"
- Unidad técnica de educación
- Apoyo al programa del movilidad Mercosur en educación superior–financiación entre la Unión Europea y el Mercosur.

There are so many documents for MERCOSUR that required a detailed document selection and discarding step. The process of reducing the number of documents for analysis included three steps. First, I skimmed all the originally selected documents, which were 109. From this first reading, I found numerous repeated documents (either in the same form or a different one), so I excluded them from the analysis (50 documents in total). I then excluded prorogues, corrections, addendums, annexes, and complementing documents (10 documents total), as I am interested in analyzing themes, topics, and language used, rather than looking to cover all the content. These additions and corrections were not adding anything to my analysis. Finally, some other documents were excluded while analyzing because they did not have enough relevant content in education (18 documents total). So, in total, for MERCOSUR, I included 30 documents in my analysis.

The research process for ALBA-TCP education documents

I started my research process by visiting ALBA's official website https://www.albatcp.org. I reviewed the documents from the four councils (presidential council,

political council, social council, and economic council), which are 67 documents total. I selected some documents only from the presidential council and the social council, as the other councils did not have any relevant information about educational cooperation in the region. From the Social Council, five documents were relevant to the study:

(1) I Consejo Social La Paz, Bolivia

(2) II Consejo Social La Habana, Cuba

(3) III Consejo Social Cochabamba, Bolivia

(4) IV Consejo Social Habana, Cuba

(5) V Consejo Social Caracas, Venezuela

And from the presidential council, I selected the following documents:

(6) Acuerdo para la aplicación del ALBA.

(7) Acuerdo para la aplicación de ALBA-TCP.

There were no more relevant educational documents on the official ALBA website, so the next step was to use articles and chapter books written by scholars who study ALBA (especially Thomas Muhr), detecting the key education policies they mention. After that, I used research engines (google scholar and Loyola education library mainly) to search for those policies directly. I searched policies related to the creation of UNILABA (University of the peoples of ALBA-TCP), the Gran-national education projects (including the Yo, si puedo! And Yo, si puedo seguir! Literacy and post-literacy projects), and health sciences education programs. Relevant documents I found and that I will include in the analysis are:

(8) Declaración de la I reunion de ministros de educación del ALBA, found in the news website: https://www.aporrea.org/actualidad/n130625.html

(9) Misión Alma Mater: Educación Universitaria Bolivariana y Socialista, found in the website: https://introduccionalosproyectos.files.wordpress.com/2014/03/mision-alma-mater.pdf

(10) Manifiesto general de la primera cumbre de concejos de movimientos sociales del ALBA-TCP, found in the website: http://biblioteca.clacso.edu.ar/ar/libros/osal/osal27/26PCCMS.pdf

(11) Educación para el cambio: propuestas educativas para los países de ALBA-TCP, found in the website: http://biblioteca.clacso.edu.ar/clacso/gt/20150521020240/ELALBATCP.pdf Información sobre el método de alfabetización Yo, si puedo, found in the website: http://www.conalfa.edu.gt/desc/yosi_Info_pedag.pdf

Finally, I included some documents from two books published by different groups of ALBA-TCP. These two books are:

(12) Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores (2009). *ALBA-TCP. El Amanecer de Los Pueblos: La alianza antiimperialista de los pueblos de Nuestra América*. Diplomacia por la vida. Available online in the website of Bolivia's chancellery: https://cancilleria.gob.bo/webmre/sites/default/files/libros/Alba-tcp%20el%20amanecer%20de%20los%20pueblos.pdf. From this book I included the following documents:

- 'Declaración de jefes de estado y de gobierno de la alternative Bolivariana para los pueblos de nuestra Am√©rica - Tratado de Comercio de los Pueblos (VI Cumbre de ALBA-TCP) '
- 'Acuerdos de integración. V Cumbre de ALBA–Proyecto Grannacional. ALBA-Educación'
- 'Declaración de Managua por la Unión Educativa del ALBA'

(13) Mora, D. (2009). *Primer Encuentro de Eduación Superior del ALBA: Documentos centrales.* La Paz, Bolivia: Fondo Editorial Ipasme. From this book I included the following documents:

- 'Documento presentado por el III-CAB y aprobado como Documento Base del ALBA-Educación'
- 'Declaración de Cochabamba'

In total, I analyzed 17 texts for ALBA-TCP, that include official documents reviewing educational strategies, official documents for ALBA in general, and some studies or program reviews. ALBA was created in 2004, and the foundational documents and first meetings already mention education as one important area of cooperation in the region since its inception. However, regional education projects were formulated in 2008 and put into action in 2009, with the Gran-national Project ALBA-Educación and the programs of literacy and post-literacy (Yo, si puedo! And Yo, si puedo seguir!).

The research process for PA education documents

First, I searched for official documents in the PA official website: https://alianzapacifico.net. From this website, I gathered documents of PA generally, where they express the importance of cooperative actions in education in order to reach their goals. I only included in my analysis those documents that discuss one or more topics in education. These documents can be found in the documents window (that include studies, reports, and publications) and the instruments window (that includes protocols, agreements, declarations, and memorandums) of the website, and are the following:

(1) Estudio comparado de los sisetmas de la educación técnica de los países de la Alianza del Pacífico.

(2) Informe de gestión: plataforma de movilidad estudiantil y académica. Gestión 2013-2019.

(3) Declaración conjunta sobre una asociación entre los Estados parte del acuerdo macro de la Alianza del Pacífico y la Unión Europea.

(4) Declaración conjunta entre los estados parte del acuerdo marco de la Alianza del Pacífico y el reino de España

(5) Declaración conjunta sobre una asociación entre los Estados parte del acuerdo macro de la Alianza del Pacífico y la organización para la cooperación y el desarrollo económicos.

(6) Declaración conjunta sobre la asociación entre los miembros de la Alianza del Pacífico y Canadá.

(7) Declaración de Santiago–Anexo 1

(8) Declaración de Santiago–Anexo 2

(9) Declaración de Cali

(10) Visón estratégica de la Alianza del Pacífico al año 2030

(11) XV reunion del Grupo Técnico de Cooperación–GTC Alianza del Pacífico

(12) Cartilla 4naciones: un acuerdo de integración profunda

I then gathered the documents directly related to their regional education strategies and programs, developed by the Educational Cooperation Group (GTE). These documents can be found going to the Work Areas window and then the Education window, and are the following:

(13) Informe: Mandatos presidenciales sobre educación

(14) Plan de trabajo del Grupo Técnico de Educación de la Alianza del Pacífico 2017-2018

(15) Ficha técnica: Programa EPE para la Alianza del Pacífico.

(16) Grupo Técnico de Educación: Marco de cualificaciones

(17) Grupo Técnico de Educación: Reconocimiento de títulos

(18) Bases de operación del Grupo Técnico de Educación

A second step was to read articles written by scholars analyzing PA and their education impact, and I identified some policies and practices that I then looked for directly in Google Scholar and Loyola's Education Library. From this search, I gathered a few more documents relevant for my study:

(19) IX Cumbre de la Alianza del Pacífico: Declaración de Punta Mita (Colombian website) https://www.cancilleria.gov.co/en/newsroom/news/declaracion-punta-mita-ix-cumbre-alianza-pacifico

(20) Convenio específico de colaboración interistitucional entre el ministerio de educación y la universidad nacional mayor de San Marcos - example of application of PA scholarships in one of the member states (Peruvian website)

(21) XI Cumbre de la Alianza del Pacífico: Declaración de Puerto Varas (Colombian website) https://www.cancilleria.gov.co/newsroom/news/declaracion-puerto-varas

Therefore, in total for PA, I included 21 documents in the analysis.

APPENDIX B

DOCUMENT SORTING AND ANALYSIS

Table 5. MERCOSUR's documents categorization and analysis

	MERCOSUR						
	Document	**Date**	**Type of document**	**Actors involved**	**Purpose of the document's creation**	**CATEGORIES (education progams)**	**Rationale of cateories**
1	Acuerdo de intenciones de los ministros de educación (first Plan Trienal)	13-Dec-91	Agreement	Education ministers of MERCOSUR member states (Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay).	To aknowledge the importance of integration in the area of education for the further integration of the region and the success of their goals: "Educaction has a fundamental role for integration to consolidate and develop" To announce the strategies MERCOSUR will use to achieve educational integration across de the region: "For facilitating the achievement of MERCOSUR's objectives, it is considered essential to develop educational programs in the following areas: formation of social awareness favorable to the integration process, training of human resources that constibute to economic development, and the integration of education systems"	1. Mobility or interchange of teachers, specialists, and students. 2. Promote the learning of the two languages spoken in MERCOSUR 3. Achieve the articulation, equivalence, and validation between the different national education systems 4. Promote technical education 5. Secure basic education for all 6. Respect the cultural and linguistic characteristic of members states in all educational initiatives	1. To facilitate the understanding of the reality of the region and the culture of other member states. Also achieved by including MERCOSUR content in all education systems, and fomenting the cirulation of cultual goods and porducts across the region. 2. Spanish and Portuguese 3. To facilitate mobility (for education and professional experiences) and secure similar quality of education across the region 4. Highlight the education-work/job relationship, that enhances competitiveness and economic development. Promote pograms of technical education. Keep curriculum flexibles, in order to be able to answer quickly to the socio-economic demands. And provide stimulus for educational institutions to address the issues relating to work and production in the region.
2	Runión de ministros de educación	17-Dec-91	Decision	Education ministers of MERCOSUR member states (Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay).	To create the ministers of education reunion, in which they will propose measures to coordinate education policies across members	n/d	n/d
3	Protocolo de integración educativa y reconocimiento de certificados, títulos y estudios de nivel primario y medio no técnico	5-Aug-94	Protocol	Representatives of the gobernments of MERCOSUR member states (Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay).	This protocol exposes the agreement in regards to equalization of non-technical primary and middle school across member states. Students' degrees from primary and middle school will, therefore, be valid in all four member states, and they will be able to continue their education in any member country. In order to agree on this protocol, they included some minimum contents in History and Geography, they created a Regional Technic Comission, and they agreed that member states must let know the other members about any changes in their education systems.	1. Mobility or interchange of teachers, specialists, and students. 2. Achieve the articulation, equivalence, and validation between the different national education systems.	1. and 2. To promote cultural development through an armonic integration, that will also allow knowledge to flow easily among the members of mercosur

4	Protocolo de integración educativa y revalida de diplomas, certificados, títulos, y reconocimiento de estudios de nivel medio técnico.	5-Aug-94	Protocol	Education ministers of MERCOSUR member states (Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay).	This protocol exposes the agreement in regards to equalization of technical middle school across member states. Students' degrees from technical middle school will, therefore, be valid in all four member states, and they will be able to continue their education in any member country. In most of these protocols, education ministers appoint the ministry of one of the member countries to be in charge of the program discussed dring acertain period and then delegating the responsibilities to another member for the next period, and so on.	1. Mobility or interchange of teachers, specialists, and students. 2. Achieve the articulation, equivalence, and validation between the different national education systems.	1. and 2. To promote cultural development through a harmonic integration, that will also allow knowledge to flow easily among the members of mercosur	a. Education is key for integration b. MERCOSUR members share cultural heritage, identity, and history. It is important to facilitate the circulation of knowledge across member states.
5	Mercosur 2000: Desafíos y metas para el sector educacional	20-Jun-96	Plan	Education Sector of Mercosur (SEM or Sector Educatvo del MERCOSUR), represented by member's education ministers.	This document sumarizes priority work areas for the education sector of MERCOSUR. These areas are: education renovation (incorporating a regional perspective into education institutions of members to booster a shared cultural and social identity, and improve qualityof education), education evaluation (establish regional parameters to facilitate the recognition of degrees across the region), higher education coperation, IT systems (consolidate IT services in education so all members have access to digitalize resources and information), and education and work (promote a better relationship between technical education and the workforce).	1. Achieve the articulation, equivalence, and validation between the different national education systems. 2. Promote technical education 3. Booster cooperation across higher education institutions in the area. 4. Promote the creation of a shared identity and cultural understanding throughout the members of the region. 5. Work to digitalize resources and information and improve members' access to technology and internet	1. To facilitate the recognition of degrees and, in this way, booster the mobility of students between members. But, also, to incoportate a regional perspective into the culture of institutions, and to guarantee quality education throughout. 2. Promote a better link between education systems and the workforce. 3. To impulse the generation of new knowledge and the formation of human recources befeficial for the regional integration.	a. Educational cooperation and integration is key aspect of a process that includes: further democratization of societies, productive tranformation with equity, affirmation of cutural identities, respect for diversity, and development and consolidation of regional identity or consciousness.
6	Protocolo de integración educativa para la formación de recursos humanos a nivel de post-grado entre los paises miembros del Mercosur	16-Dec-96	Protocol	Education ministers of MERCOSUR member states (Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay).	This protocol exposes the agreement in regards to the training of university professors and researchers, with the objetive to facilitate the reconition of degrees across the region and enhance student mobility. It also exposes the plan to create an exchange system in which professors and researchers travel to member countries to provide training, to exchange sientific and technological information, and to establish common criteria and standards for postgraduate assessment.	1. Mobility or interchange of professors and researchers. 2.Development of research projects.	1. To promote cultural development through an armonic integration 2. Sharing of research projects in areas of interest to the region, that are strategic in helping enhance its development.	a. Education is key for integration b. Cooperation between higher education institutions is key to improve scientific and technological training, that enhances the modernization of member states. c. It is important for the region to have a shared and harmonious development in the scientific and technological fields, in response to the economic and social challenges of the continent and the world.

7	Protocolo de integración Educacional para el proseguimiento de estudios de pos-grado en las universidades de los estados miembros del Mercosur	16-Dec-97	Protocol	Education ministers of MERCOSUR member states (Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay).	This protocol exposes the agreement in regards to the importance of recognition o post-graduate degrees across member states, and determines which are the requirements for degrees to be recognized: these degrees must be conferred by higher education institutions that are considered legitimite and official and the degrees must be conferred after at least four years of study or 2700 hours attended. In addition, such diplomas per se do not entitle the exercise of the profession.	1. Mobility or interchange of post-graduate students. 2. Achieve the articulation, equivalence, and validation between the different national education systems, though recognition of post-graduate degrees.	1. Education has a key role in regional integration, as it consolidates and transmits values and scientific and technological knowledge. This is achieved at the regional level through the mobility of people acros education systems. 2. To promote joint scientific research that enables the modernization of the region.	a. Education is key for integration b. Education is key for modernization of the region, achieved through shared education systems in all levels (basic to higher)
8	Plan Trienal de Educación 1998-2000	10-Dec-98	Plan	Education ministers of MERCOSUR (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, y Uruguay), and the ministers of education of two associated members (Bolivia and Chile).	This is the second version of the Plan Trienal, created in 1992. This document first states all the actions and programs in education MERCOSUR has ben developing since its creation until 1998, which have led to the expasion of this plan. The plan proposes several objectives to achieve two main goals: 1. The development of a regional identity, through the stimulation of mutual knowledge and a culture of integration; and 2. the prmotion of reginal policies for the training of human resources and improvement of the quality of education. Each of these goals include the following strategies: 1. Create the conditions that facilitate mobility of students and teachers; encourage the construction of programs of a regional nature; encourage the learning of the two official languages of MRCOSUR (Spanish and Portuguese); training teacher and educational administratives from a regional perspective; difusion and fomention of regional literature and art; implementation of pograms of regional history and geography; elaboration and application of programs that teach values that boosters democratic coexistance in the region. 2. Creation of strategic studies to identify wich are the professional and technical	1.Mobility or interchange of students, teachers, and researchers. 2. Create regional indicators of basic quality, and shared methods of evaluation and accreditation. 3. Determine the most important study areas for the development of the region. 4. Work to digitalize resources and information and improve members' access to technology and internet 5. Promote the creation of a shared identity and cultural understanding throughout the members of the region. 6. Promote the learning of the two official languages spoken in MERCOSUR	1. The promotion of student and teacher mobility includes the articulation, equivalence, and validation of national education systems and degrees, so students are able to continue or finish their studies abroad. Also, promoting technical assistantships is key. 2. Define indicators of basic quality commo to all education levels and methodologies. Finish the creation of a national accreditation agency, present in all member states. 4. Consolidate a system of information and comunication, capable of providing data and information useful to ministers and other regional workers developin educational programs. Create spaces dedicated to the reflectin, discusion, and publication of actions in the educaional sector of MERCOSUR (sharebest practices). 5. and 6. Through the compatibility of curriculums and methodologies, following a regional perspective. History and Geography are central. The difusion of regional literature and art too, and of the two languages spoken in the area (portuguese and spanish).	a. Education is a key integration factor, and essential for the consolidation and development of the customs union MERCOSUR inaugurated. b. Education is key for the re-encounter of Latin American countries (in this case MERCOSUR members more specifically) wih their shared cultures and values, at the same time maintaining their own identities as individual nations. c. Education is fundamental for the transmition of certain values, and for the expansion of cientific and technologcal knowledge than can led to modernization.
9	Acuerdo de admisión de títulos de grado universitarios para el ejercicio de actividades académicas de los estados partes del Mercosur	14-Jun-99	Agreement	Education ministers of MERCOSUR member states (Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay).	Document through with members of MERCOSUR agree upon the importance of facilitating the mobility of professionals across the region, and determine the requirements for allowing such movement (such as having degrees from accredited higher education institutions, among others)	1.Mobility or interchange of people. 2. Create regional indicators of basic quality, and shared methods of evaluation and accreditation. 3. Achieve the articulation, equivalence, and validation between the different national education systems, though recognition of post-graduate degrees. 4. Booster cooperation across higher education institutions in the area.	1. In this case, of graduated students from accredited institutions and four-year long programs. 2. and 3. These systems of accreditation, equivalence, and quality indicators is what possibilites the movement of people for the exchange of experiences, that wil led to better human resources training and development: "improvement of the fomation and cientific, technological, and cultural capacitation, and for the modernization of mber states" (MERCOSUR, 1999, p. 2).	a. Education is key for integration b. Academic exchange among higher education institutions is key for improving cientific and technological capacities, and for the modernization of the region. c. There is a need to establish juridical instruments to control and define the regional edcation policies and strategies d. Members agree on the need of mechanisms to facilitate the development of regional academic programs

10	Estructura orgánica y plan de acción 2001-2005 del sector educativo del Mercosur, Bolivia, y Chile	2001	Decision Plan	Education ministers of MERCOSUR member states (Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay), and of Bolivia and Chile	The document first defnes the organic structureof MERCOSUR's education sector (SEM or sector educativo del mercosur). Three type of functions are defines: political, technical, and executive. These functions are developed by 5 different bodies: the reunion of ministers of education of MERCOSUR, the regional coordinating commetee, the regional comisions in charge of the coordination of sepcific areas, the project management groups, and a system of information and communication. The second part presents the action plan of the sector for the period of 2001-2005, developed based on the sector's goals, misions, and values. The plan is extensive, and includes the following sections: context (challenges, guiding principles, strategic objectives, and strategies in action), action plan (about the regional coordinating commetee, basic education, technologic eduation, higher edycation, and system of information and communication), and anexes.	1.Mobility or interchange of people. 2. Create regional indicators of basic quality, and shared methods of evaluation and accreditation. 3. Achieve the articulation, equivalence, and validation between the different national education systems, though recognition of post-graduate degrees. 4. Promote technical education 5. Jointly acctions in educational programs in basic education, technological education, and higher education.	3. to facilitate movement of peopl across de region, improve the quality o education, and improve the human resources formation in a way that boosters regional integration. 4. technical education is essentail in the face of the transformation of the production sectors. 5. in basic education, to secure all have access to quality education, especially vulnerable groups, and to promote school as a cultural space. The cientific and technical development in the world requires education to keep up. Finally, in higher education, especial emphasis will be put in theexchange of knowledge and investigations, to promote educational, cultural, and csientific development of the region and promote modernization of socities.	a. Guaranteeing the right to basic education and enhancing the access to technical education are both key to social and economic mobility, and the overcoming of poverty. There is only real integration if countries are able to revert the situation of inequality existing in the region. b. Education is especially a cultural process that looks to strengthen identities. In this sense, the teaching of language, history, geography, culture, and new technologies are key. c. The creation of a common educational space, a shared regional identity that promotes integration, and the mobility and interchange of students, professionals, and knowledge, is essential for achieving a quality of education for all and respect for the cultural dversity of the region. d. Educational cooperation and integration is key aspect of a process that includes: further democratization of societies, productive tranformation with equity, affirmation of cutural identities, respect for diversity, and development and consolidation of regional identity or consciousness.
11	Acuerdos emanados de la XXIII reunion de ministros de educación del Mercosur, Bolivia, y Chile	6-Dec-02	Agreement	Common Market Council (CMC or Concejo del Mercado Común), that is composed by the ministers of exterior relationship and of economy of each of the membe states. In this case, also ministers of exterior relations of Bolivia and Chile are present	This is an agreement in which the Common Market Council announces the approval of the following protocols: protocol of educative integration and recognition of ceritifcates, degrees, and studies in no-technic primary and middle school; protocol of educative integration for the formation of human resources in higher education; protocol of educative integration for the prosecution of higher education studies in the universities of members of MERCOSUR and Bolivia.	1. Achieve the articulation, equivalence, and validation between the different national education systems, though recognition of primary and middle school degrees, and of post-graduate degrees. 2. Formation of human resources in harmony with the region interests and culture.	n/d (does not go into detail)	a. Armonization of the education stytems of member states is key for integration
12	Convenio para la administración del fondo para el sector educacional del Mercosur entre la corporación andina de fomento y el MERCOSUR	18-Oct-05	Resolution	Coordinators of the Common Market Group (GMC or Grupo Mercado Común). There is one for each member state of MERCOSUR	This documents expreses how the GMC and SEM (Sector educativo del MERCOSUR or Mercosur education sector) have agreed to give the responsibility upong how to finance the educational programs and proyects of th region to a new institutions, that is the FEM (Fondo de Financiamiento del Sector Educativo del MERCOSUR or financial fund administrative of MEROSUR'S education sector).	n/d	n/d	a. The Corporación Andina de Fomento and MERCOSUR share their priority of regional integration. B. The FEM is at the service of the SEM and its ministers, who decide what programs and proyects should be funded. FEM has no power of its own.
13	Acuerdo sobre gratuidad de visados para estudiantes y docents de los estados partes del Mercosur	20-Jul-06	Agreement	Education ministers of MERCOSUR member states (Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay).	In this documents, members agree that the expedition of visas should be free for studing abroad in any member state (either in secondary school, graduate, or post-graduate level) or for carrying out teaching or research activities. This will enhance the mobility of people throughout the region.	1.Mobility or interchange of students, teachers, and researchers.	1. Enhances integration of the region	a. For deepening the integration process it is importat to enhance the circulation of people.

14	Plan del sector educativo del Mercosur 2006-2010	2006	Plan	Education ministers of MERCOSUR member states (Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay), after receiving feedback from different regional commisions.	After the evaluation of the previous action plan for 2001-2005 (that replaced the Plan Trienal for previous years), this document exposes the updated plan for the educational sector of MERCOSUR.	1. Guarantee the access and permanence of all children to a quality primary and secondary education. 2. Promote technical education 3. It is central to education: mutual knowledge, respect for diversity, cooperation in soidarity, and shared values that cooperate to the enhancement of the deelopment and democratization of education systems in the region. 4. promote the creation of a regional identity or regional citizenship, based on a culture of peace, social justice, democracy, and the caring of the environment. 5. Promote progrms of training a valoraization of teachers 6. Work to digitalize resources and information and improve members' access to technology and internet	2. the connection between the productive workd and education is fundamental. Reason why technical education has been started to be an essential tool for development. 4. Enhance cultural, language, and educational progrms that help to build a regional identity. Also through the promotion of the two languages of MERCOSUR (Spanish and Portuguese).	a. The goal for MERCOSUR is: "Be a regional space that offers and guarantees a quality and equitable education, characterized by mutual knowledge, interculturalism, respect for diversity, cooperation in solidarity, with shared values that contribute to the improvement and democratization of the education systems of the region and to generate favorable conditions por the peace, through social, economic, and sustainable human development" (MERCOSUR, 2006, p. 9). Despite the conciouss about the central role of education in this process of social justice and equality, the conditions of educaation systems are stll not the ideal ones for this to occur.
15	Acuerdo complementario de cooperación entre los estados partes del Mercado común del sur y el convenio Andrés Bello (CAB) sobre reconocimiento de estudios, tituos y certificados de educación primaria/básica y media/secundaria no técnica	28-Jun-07	Resolution	Education ministers of MERCOSUR member states (Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay) and CAB members (Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, España, México, Panamá, Paraguay, Perú, República Dominicana, and Venezuela).	This resolution aproves the agreement between MERCOSUR and the Convenio Andrés Bello (CAB) about the recognition of studies, degrees and certificates in basic and middle no technical education. It basically expands and agreement already existent for MERCOSUR members only, to other 11 countries, members of CAB.	1.Mobility or interchange of citizens across MERCOSUR and CAB member states. 2. Guarantee the access and permanence of all children to primary and high school. 3. Achieve the articulation, equivalence, and validation between the different national education systems, though recognition of primary, middle, and high school degrees	1. Good for integration, mutual respect, sharing of knowledge and cultures. 3. To promote mobility of students and citizens. Allowing students to finish their studies in any member part is fundamenal to boost this mobility.	a. education is key for integration. b. education is the pillar for development, sharing of knowledge, and the strengthening of democracy.
16	Convenio de financiación para el Proyecto "Apoyo al programa de movilidad Mercosur en educación superior"	16-May-08	Resolution	Coordinators of the Common Market Group (GMC or Grupo Mercado Común). There is one for each member state of MERCOSUR. And representatives of the EU, the European Community Comission	In this resoluion, members of MERCOSUR agree on the involvement of the European Union in the financing of different mobility programs developed by MERCOSUR	1.Mobility or interchange of people. 2. Promote technical education	1. Needed to generate a MERCOSUR citizenship and identity. 2. Following the example of the European Union	a. education is key for integration. And mobility of people is a central part in this b. Education is especially a cultural process that looks to strengthen identities.

17	Acuerdo sobre la creación e implementación de un sistema de acreditación de carreras universitarias para el reconocomiento regional de la calidad académica de las respectivas titutlaciones en el Mercosur y estados asociados (ARCU-SUR)	30-Jun-08	Agreement	Education ministers of MERCOSUR member states (Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay), and also of Bolivia and Chile.	In this document, members of MERCOSUR and Bolivia and Chile, agree on the creation of a definite mechanism of acrditation for the regions' higher education (ARCU-SUR), that will relplace the experimental system of accreditation (MEXA). This system will publicly guarantee the academic and cientific level of the careers and institutions that have gone through this system.The goals of this mechanis is to enhance movement of people in the region, strengthen regional cooperation and mutual repect and knowledge, and, especially, encourage further integration.	1.Mobility or interchange of people. 2. Achieve the articulation, equivalence, and validation between the different national education systems, though recognition of higher education degrees across members of MERCOSUR, Bolivia, and Chile. 3. Secure quality of higher education acros the region. 4. Booster cooperation across higher education institutions in the area. 5. Formation of human resources in harmony with the region interests and culture.	2. A shared system of acrditation of the quality of higher education will boost the mobility of people aong the region. It will also secure mutual knowledge and respect, and cooperation in shared interests that will, at the same time, ecourage the creation of a regional identity. The mobility pogram is known as Regional Academic Movility of Accredited Careers (MARCA Movilidad Académica Regional de Carreras Acreditadas), which started to form in 2006.	a. education is key for integration, for mutual knowldedge and respect, for cooperation, and for the creation of a regional identity.
18	Protocolo de intenciones entre el Mercosur y la organización de estados iberoamericanos para la educación, la ciencia y la cultura	30-Jun-08	Protocol	Education ministers of MERCOSUR member states (Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay) and UNESCO (or OEI) representatives.	To approve a protocol that allows and boosters the cooperation and interchange among MERCOSUR and UNESCO, and the development of joint strategies to reach shared educational and social goals.	1. Cooperation and agreement with international organisms (in this case UNESCO)	1. Belief that cooperation with these organizations is beneficial for national education systems and the societies of member states.	a. UNESCO (OEI) has provided key presence and cooperation to the education goals that have led to the deeper integration of MERCOSUR. b. It is convenient for both MERCOSUR and UNESCO to continue working together in shared strategies for the improvement of education systems and societies. c. There is need for an institutional instument (this protocol) to formalize the colaboration between MERCOSUR and UNESCO.
19	Protocolo de integración educativa y reconocimiento de certificados, títulos y edtuios de nivel primario/fundamental básico y medio/secundario entre los estados partes del Mercosur y estados asociados	2-Aug-10	Protocol	Education ministers of MERCOSUR member states (Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay) and of associate states Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela.	To aprove a protocol about the recognition of certificates, degrees and studies in primary and secondary level among MERCOSUR membes and associate states.	1. Promote quality of education across the region. 2. Guarantee the access and permanence of all children to primary, middle, and high school. 3. Achieve the articulation, equivalence, and validation between the different national education systems. 4. Mobility and interchange of people, research, and technology.	1. In order to achieve a harmonic and equitable development in the region. 3. This will enhance the permanence of children in school and their overall formation. 4. This is the ultimate goal of any project of articulation and validation of degrees. Mechanisms of exchange can promote the educational, cultural, and cientific-technologic of the members and associate states.	a. Education systems should respond to the challenges of the socio-cultural and productive changes. B. Education can help members of MERCOSUR and associate sates to consolidate a regional identity, and the history and culture countries of Latin America share.
20	Estructura orgánica y reglamento interno de la reunion de ministros de educación y los órganos dependientes del sector educativo del Mercosur	28-Jun-11	Decision	The Common Market Council (a group selected by the members of MERCOSUR, and with representatives of each state)	In this document they go over the structure of the MERCOSUR educational sector (SEM or Sector Educativo MERCOSUR): its different groups and the role of each of them. It continues to describe how thei sesions are organized and who is in charge of saving and securing the information discussed.	n/d	n/d	n/d

21	Fondo para la convergencia estructural del Mercosur Proyecto "investigación, educación y biotecnologías aplicadas a la salud"	28-Jun-11	Decision	The decision to accept the project is done by the Common Market Council. But the project is directed by the Specialized Reunion in Science and Technology of MERCOSUR (RECyT or Reunión especializada de ciencia y tecnologia del MERCOSU). This reunion is formed by the ministers of each member state in charge of technology, science, or investigation in their countries.	Propolsal for an integrative regional project in the areas of science, technology and innovation. Member states coming together to enhance research and the training of human resourcesin the area of chronic degenerative diseases. Education is key fro the project, in both post-graduate education health programs and in cooperative research.	1. Promote post-graduate education programs that answer to the need of further investigation and cooperation in a specific area (health).	1. The program is answering to a problem society has, that is the present and transmition of chronic degenerative diseses. These programs are also encouraged as an opportunity for innovation and development of biotechnology. "The science and technology of the region presents asimetries and delays, and there is no institutional approach at the regional level in this area, something that this project aims to solve" (MERCOSUR, 2011, p. 12).	
22	Educación rural	19-Dec-11	Recommendation	Education ministers of MERCOSUR member states (Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay).	This document is a recommendation on how to improve rural education in the member states, given a higher rate of inequalities and lower quality of education in these.	1. Secure quality of education acros the region to fight inequality. 2. Promote educational programs that are in line with the reality of the students. 3. Take measures to solve analphabetism 4. Train teachers for certain contexts, such as rural areas 5. Guarantee access to education to indigineous groups, adapting educational curriculums to their needs, and respecting their traditions, cultural diversity, and language.	1. Being aware that educational conditions and qiality in rural areas tend to be much inferior than in urban areas. Improving quality of education is this areas is needed for people to stay in rural areas and help to continue improving this industry so important to the region. 2. In the case of rurl education, this means using both formal and infomal methods of education, use methodologies that match with students' reality and needs, and also flexibilize the organization and academic calendars in those schools, following the agricultural cycle and the wheather conditions. 4. Teacher training for rural areas mean focusing in preparing them to attend the specificity of rural schools, considering the concrete conditions of production and social life in those areas.	a. Education is a fundamental right, no matter genre, ethnic group, cultural identity and specific charactersitis of the place where people live and work (including rural areas). b. People will only stay in rural areas if educational policies are improved in this areas and a quality of education is offered. c. Addressin the issue of education in rural settings is being respectful of diversity and culture. d. Education programs should ecnourage and respect cultural diveristy.

23	Plan de acción del sector eductivo del Mercosur 2011-2015	2011	Plan	SEM or Educational Sector of MERCOSUR (do not specify who or what group within SEM)	After the evaluation of the previous action plan for 2006-2010, this document exposes the updated plan for the educational sector of MERCOSUR for the years 2011-2015, given all the regional and global changes that had place (especially the 2008 economic crisis that especially impacted Europe and North America, and the growth of the so called 'emerging countries,' such as the BRIC countries) and the need to answer to new challenges.	1. Guarantee the access and permanence of all children to a quality primary and middle education. 2. Promote technical education 3. It is central to education: mutual knowledge, respect for diversity, cooperation in soidarity, and shared values that cooperate to the enhancement of the deelopment and democratization of education systems in the region. 4. promote the creation of a regional identity or regional citizenship, based on a culture of peace, social justice, democracy, and the caring of the environment. Education is at the center of the promoton of a regional identity and culture of peace and respect. 6. Work to digitalize resources and information and improve members' access to technology and internet 7. Promotion of programs consistent with Education for All and Millenium Development Goals	1. Development of programs to improve the quality and access to education in MERCOSUR. This includes promoting progrms of training and valoraization of teachers 2. the connection between the productive workd and education is fundamental. Reason why technical education has started to be an essential tool for development. 4. Enhance cultural, language, and educational progrms that help to build a regional identity. Also hrough the promotion of the two languages of MERCOSUR (Spanish and Portuguese)."	a. Education is key for regional integracion, being SEM (Educational Sector of MERCOSUR) an essential instrument in the construction of an integrated educational space. B. Growing importance of MERCOSUR's participation in global and regional educational agendas. Up to date, MERCOSUR has worked together with the European Union, UNESCO, OEA (organization of American states), OEI (Organization of iberoamerican states for education, science, and culture), and UNASUR (the union of South American nations), among others. c. In the last 5 years, it has been determined that education is a human right and a public and social good, increasing the funds for education and working towards improving its quality throughout the region.
24	Unidad técnica de educación	29-Jul-14	Resolution	Common Market Group (GMC or Grupo Mercado Común). There is one coordinator for each member state of MERCOSUR	Decision to create the Technic Union of Education (UTE or Unión Técnica de Educación), whih is responsible of administrating and centralizing an intgrated system of mobility for MERCOSUR (denominated 'SIMERCOSUR'). This group is also in charge of finance planning, project management, and of creating documents, manuals, and other instruments for the SIMERCOSUR agenda. It is also in charge of difusing the information about SIMERCOSUR programs, among many other functions.	1. Mobility of people across the region, especially of students and tachers.	n/d	
25	Género y educación en una perspectiva no sexista e inclusiva	16-Jul-15	Recommendation	Common Market Group (GMC or Grupo Mercado Común). There is one coordinator for each member state of MERCOSUR	Given the persistence of gender inequalities that exist in MERCOSUR's member states and other countries in Latin America, the SEM considers the access to an education that is inclusive and not-sexist is fundamental for the social development of the region, and offers reccomendations to achieve this.	1. Promote programs that discuss gender issues, and offers spaces to think how gener inequalities emerge and are maintained. 2. National education systems should focus in prmoting the acces of girls and women into science, technology, and innvoation - areas that are usually pursued by more men than women. 3. Promote the creation of a shared identity and cultural understanding throughout the members of the region. Respect of gender and sociocultural peculiarities is part of this aim too. 4. Nationl education systems should offer a comprehensive sex education	4. This means a sex education with scientific bases, that is absolutely necessary to guarantee citizens' exercise of their sexual and reproductive rights.	a. Educacion is a human right, to which all should have access with the same opportunities an quality. b. Education programs should ecnourage and respect cultural diveristy.

26	Directrices para una politica de educación y cultura en derechos humanos en el Mercosur.	2015	Decision	Common Market Group (GMC or Grupo Mercado Común). There is one coordinator for each member state of MERCOSUR	In this decision, the SEM considers the global and regional importance of including human rights in the educational agendas, and creates a new institution (Public Affairs in Human Rights Istitute or IPPDDHH) that will work to enhance educational and cultural polciies in human rights in the region.	1. Start the develoment of some educational and cultural policies in human rights for the members of MERCOSUR. 2. Creation of the public affais in human rights institutte.	n/d	a. Education can help members of MERCOSUR to consolidate a regional identity, and the history and culture countries of Latin America share. B. Education in human rights is a priority for MERCOSUR as a region. This priority is included in MERCOSUR's main goals: the promotion of a regional citizenship, a culture of peace, respet for the environment and human rights, and strengthening of democracy.
27	Apoyo al programa del movilidad Mercosur en educación superior – financiación entre la Unión Europea y el Mercosur	23-Sep-15	Resolution	Common Market Group (GMC or Grupo Mercado Común). There is one coordinator for each member state of MERCOSUR	In this resolution, the SEM confirms the development of a project that supports the mobility program in MERCOSUR, through a financial agreement between the European Union and MERCOSUR. A significant part of this document discusses the condition in which money should be granted and used. But there is also a significant section about the fundaments of the program. It describes the role of Europe as an example of MERCOSUR's mobility programs and also the rationale behind the importance of mobility of students, researchers, teachers, and professionals in the region: enhances regional inegration and promotes a shared regional identity, which are still very fragile in MERCOSUR and need a lot of development.	1. Mobility of people, and especially of students and teachers is key for the development of a regional educational space. This particular project supports the mobility programs of MERCOSUR, with the objective of strengthening the feeling of being part of the same region and educational space. 2. A system of accreditation and equivalence of degrees across members is key to the mobility program and to further the integration of education systems. 3. Promotion of prgrams that facilitate the creation of a shared regional identity or mebership.	One of the mail goals of SEM is to "contribute to the objectives of MERCOSUR confroming a common educational space, through a development with social justice and respect for the cultural diversity of the people in the region, stimulating the creation of a public awareness that enhances integration, mobility, and exchange, with the objective ofachieving a quality education for all an especially for the most vulnerable" (MERCOSUR, 2015, p. 23). 1. The promotion of mobility programs aims especially to the solution of lack of regional identity. The social and cultural integration of peoples in MERCOSUR's member states is something that needs a lot of work, and mobility is a first step. There is also not enough culture of mobility in the region, and these programs are trying to end this.	a. Education is key for integration. B. The European Union's ERASMUS mobility program, and its numerous benefits (encourages the internationalization of education systems, gives young people the opportunity to experience other cultures and be more respectful and unerstanding, promotes the creation of a hared regional identity, etc.), has served as an example to mobility projects proposed in MERCOSUR.
28	Plan de acción del sector eductivo del Mercosur 2016-2020	2016	Decision Plan	Common Market Group (GMC or Grupo Mercado Común)	This document exposes the updated plan for the educational sector of MERCOSUR for the years 2015-2020. SEM continues to aspire to be a regional space that guarantees equality and quality of education, characterized by mutual knowledge, interculturality, respect for diversity, cooperation in solidarity, with shared values that promotes the growth and democratization of education systems in the region. Member states of MERCOSUR and associate state states reafirm their compromise for the achievement of these goals.	1. Mobility of people across the region, especially of students and tachers. 2. Programs that enhance the creacion of a regional identity or membership. 3. Secure a quality education for all across the region, and especially for the more vulnerable sectors. 4. Share best practices, knowledge, experiences, and information among members and associate members of MERCOSUR	All these programs and projects are oriented to generating an educational common space for the region, promoting integration. 1. This includes, among other things, a system of homologation for continuing studies in member and associatestates. 2. Implementation of certain regional programs, such as MERCOSUR's Juvenil Parlament (Parlamento Juvenil del MERCOSUR), MERCOSUR roads (Caminos del MERCOSUR), and Intercultural Fronteer Schools (EscuelasInterculturales de Frontera). 3. Dvelopment of regional indicators: 2030 Action Education Framework (Marco de Acción Educación 2030). 4. This includes: difucion of investigations and publications, exchange of socioeducative experiences in early childhood education, and having a regional system of professional and educative qualifications	

29	Educación y trabajo infantil	20-Jul-17	Recommendation	Common Market Group (GMC or Grupo Mercado Común)	This documents exposes the recommendation to implement a series of actions to end and prevent child labor in the region of MERCOSUR. It is based on a socolaboral declaration signed on 2015, that expreses the compromise of member states to adopt politics and actions conducive to the prevention and erradication of child labor, and the progressive elevation of minimum age for the excerice or work activities.	1. Guarantee the access and permanence of all children to a quality primary and middle education. 2. Articulate the connection between mandatory primary and secondary schooling and the protection of teenagersregarding the age they enter the work force. 3. Incorporate in the curriculum what is a decent job. Alo promote the knowledge about the principles and fundamental rights in decent jobs for teachers of all levels. 4. Train techers and workers in education to help detect and prevent child labor. 5. Elaborate a norm that makes employers who hire teenagers responsible of making them comply with mandatory schooling. Also promote the idea of making all teenage work to develop within an educative framework (like assistantships).	Al these are actually recommendations and not programs or projects that are in place or workin13g.	a, Education is a human right that should be granted to all children and youth, with quality and equal access. Children and teenagers main respnsibility is school. B. Quality education for all is the main bases for the economic and social development of countries and regions.
30	Acuerdo sobre el reconocimiento de títulos de grado de educación superior en el Mercosur.	17-Dec-18	Agreement	Common Market Group (GMC or Grupo Mercado Común)	Based on the previous agreements of the admision of higher education degrees and certificates for the exercise of academic activities in the member stets of MERCOSUR (1999) and the agreement of the creation and implementation of an accreditation system for the recognition of academic quality of careers in MERCOSUR universities involved (2008), this agreement is another step towards a more integrated educational space.	1. A system of accreditation and equivalence of higher education degrees across members is key to enhance the mobility of students and professionals, and to further the integration of education systems.	1. For this to be valid, the accreditation institution of each member state will work to recognize the degrees and aceritifcates that follow the requirements to be consider valid (having the required quality) across member states of MERCOSUR.	a. Education is key for integration, and the cooperation in educational matters favors the educational, cultural and technic-scientific development in MERCOUSUR member states.

Table 6. ALBA-TCP's documents categorization and analysis.

	ALBA-TCP							
	Document	**Date**	**Type of document**	**Actors involved**	**Purpose of the document's creation**	**CATEGORIES (education programs)**	**Rationale of catrgories**	**Main points**
1	**Acuerdo para la aplicación del ALBA**	14-Dec-04	Agreement	Venezuela and Cuba (The document mentions the presidents of each country as the actors. Do not specify institutions or other persons involved)	Agreement in which Venezuela's president, Hugo Chávez Frias, and Cuba's president, Fidel Castro Ruz, have decided to enlarge and modify their previous cooperation agreement, signed on 2000. This new agreement is composed by 12 articles, and numerous actions each state commits to implement. At least six of these are in education.	1. Implementation of shared cultural plans that recognize the unique cultural characteristics of each country and their identities. 2. Implementation of programs to fight anlphabetism: Yo, si puedo! and Yo, si puedo seguir! already implemented with success in Venezuela. 3. Education colaboration will include the implementation of methods, programs, and teacher-student relationship thechniques. 4. Cuba offers more than 15.000 health professionals to participate in the project Misión Barrio Adentro. Also offers any student who is interested in studying medicine and gratuate as general doctors, to participate in the project Misión Sucre. 5. Collaboration in investigation projects, especially in biodivesity. 6. Venezuela offers all the scholarships Cuba needs in the energetic, scientific, or investigation sectors. 7. Cuba offers 2.000 annual scholarships to Venezuelans for higher education in Cuba	n/d	a. Medicine and health professionals is an area of professional and educational strenght for the region. B. Cooperation from the inside: enhancing the strengths already present (endogenous development). Solidarity as the guiding value for cooperation. C. Respect for cultural particularities of each member. Include shared cultural projects, for value and respect of diversity.

2	**Acuerdo para la aplicación de ALBA-TCP**	28 and 29, Apr 2006	Agreement	Venezuela, Cuba and Bolivia (the document mentions the presidents of each country as the actors)	Agreement in which Venezuela's president, Hugo Chávez Frias, Cuba's president, Fidel Castro Ruz, and Bolivia's president, Evo Morales Ayma, have decided to enlarge and modify their previous cooperation agreement, signed on December 14th 2004, by Venezuela and Cuba, given the new integration of Bolivia and the expansion of ALBA to ALBA-TCP. This new agreement is composed by 14 articles, and numerous actions each state commits to implement. At least 12 of these are in education.	1. Implementation of programs to fight anlphabetism: Yo, si puedo! and Yo, si puedo seguir! already implemented with success in Venezuela. 2. Implementation of shared cultural plans that recognize the unique cultural characteristics of each country and their identities. 3. Collaboration in investigation projects, especially in biodiversity. 4. Collaboration in comunication infrastructure and services (production and distribtion of content; Telesur), including production of cultural and educational contents. 5. Cuba offers Bolivia 5.000 scholarships for the formation of doctors and specialists in general medicine. 6. Cuba will provide Bolivia with all the necessary resources for the program of alphabetization in four languages: Spanish, Aymara, Quechua, and Guarani. 7. Education colaboration will include the implementation of methods, programs, and teacher-student relationship	n/d	a. Medicine and health professionals is an area of professional and educational strenght for the region. B. Cooperation from the inside: enhancing the strengths already present (endogenous development). Solidarity as the guiding value for cooperation. C. Respect for cultural particularities of each member. Include shared cultural projects, for value and respect of diversity. d. The union of all Latin American people is the main goal of ALBA-TCP. e. Importance of studying and understanding the indigenous peoples that were in these countries before colonization. Learning to understand them, through educational and cultural projects.
3	**Declaración de Cochabamba: Proyecto Grannacional de educación para los pueblos de nuestra América ALBA-Educación**	20, 21 and 22, Apr 2008	Declaration/ agreement	Education or cultural ministers from the following countries: Bolivia, Cuba, Venezuela, Nicaragua, and Dominica	In this declaration, Venezuela, Cuba, Bolivia, Nicaragua, and Dominica, agree on coordinating their educational systems to achieve shared objectives, related to the importance of culture, past history, indigenous peoples, and their fight against colonialism and neocolonialism. The Grannational Education Project, that includes the higher education project, is to reinforce the compromise to articulate education systems of ALBA members. This coordination is based on the belief that education is the motor of social transformations. And social transformation and the regaining of a cultural identity and history is key for the resurgence of Latin America.	1. Ratification of the importance of programs to fight anlphabetism: Yo, si puedo! and Yo, si puedo seguir! already implemented with success in Venezuela. 2. Implementation of the Grannational Program ALBA-Educación, in order to further the integration of education systems of members of ALBA. Some of the actios this project wil promote: policies for training of educators in graduate and post-graduate level, develoment of a distance learning program and IT education program, recognition of degrees and ceritificates across the region, carry out research projects to booster quality of education, promote movement of students and professionals across member states of ALBA. 3. Ministers of education and of higher education should work together to articulate their education plans, programs, and projects that answer to the specific needs of the region	n/d	a. Latin American countries are living revolutionary processes of resurgence and regaining their identities. Cooperation of all Latin American countries is ALBA's main objective, reason why it proposed itself as the Bolivarian Alternative for the peoples of our America. Eduction is key in the revolutionary process because it enhances social transformation. The edification of socialist societies, that are equal, just, and based on solidarity, is the horizon for ALBA. b. Only through the strengthening of our public education systems, based on the international agreements that propose a quality education for all, we will be able to offer eduation as an individual and social right. Education systems will help societies achieve the economic growth they look for. c. Education in ALBA is based on the idea of Patria Grance. Education

4	**Declaración de la I reunión de ministros de educación del ALBA**	13-Mar-09	Agreement	Ministers of education of the members of ALBA: Venezuela, Cuba, Bolivia, Honduras, Dominica, and Nicaragua.	This agreement expreses the educational objectives determined in the I reunion of education ministers of ALBA. All members committ to put into practice all the programs and projects detailed in the next column.	1. Ratification of the importance of programs to fight anlphabetism: Yo, si puedo! and Yo, si puedo seguir! already implemented with success in Venezuela. There is need to expand these programs in Bolivia, Dominica, Nicaragua, and Honduras. 2. Develop education programs to prevent teenage pregnancy, that is raising the infant mortality rate, the expasion of sexualy transmitted diseases, and school drop outs, among other problems. 3. Join forces to design and put into work common teacher training programs and programs in areas of shared interest fteor ALBA members. 4. Respecting individual differences, develop a shared educational curriculum for ALBA countries, especially for social sciences. 5. Implement information and communication technology in education systems, especially the TV education mechanism (taking advantage of the satelite Simón Bolivar). 6. Elaborate, with the support of all	3. In order to promote a shared integral development of ALBA countries. 4. Social sciences should be re-thought taking the geo-historical determinants into account as the impulse for continuous revolutionary efforts (against traditional forms of domination and exclusion that have force asimetries across ALBA members)	a. Education is a key element for the transformation of society and for the fulfillment of higher levels of human development, growth, and quality of life. Based on what Simón Bolivar said: "Moral y luces: son los polos de una República; Moral y Luces son nuestras primeras necesidades" b. Members of ALBA are committed to offer their citizens a quality education accessibe to all, without exclusions. An education based on the values of complementarity, solidarity, and humanity.
5	**Misión Alma Mater: Educación Universitaria Bolivariana y Socialista**	24-Mar-09	Mission/ project	Venezuela's gobernments	This mission was developed by Venezuela, with the objective of impulse the transformation of their higher education system, in line with Simón Bolivar's Grannational System and the belief that all citizens should have access to free and quality university education. This plan was not created for ALBA, but it is relevant as Venezuela is a main founder of the region and passes its educational ideologies along to the rest of the region. Misión Alma Mater works jointly with Misión Sucre (implemented in 2003, taking higher education to all the municipalities of the national territory) in favoring the expansion of higher education to all the national territory. They plan to do this through the expansion of universities in all local spaces, developing University towns	1. Promote programs that make higher education as a place for where the individual can develop as a whole human being. 2. Make higher education be committed to social transformation and inclusion. 3. Articulate the higher education system in Venezuela, under the value of cooperation in solidarity. 4. Articulat higher education with the other education levels. 5. Promote higher education as a space of Latin America and Caribbean unity and cooperation, through promotion of exchanges, shared investigations, scholarship programs, etc.	n/d	a. The development and transformation of higher education are the bases for the construction of a socialist nation. B. It is important to guarantee the participation of all citizens in the tranformation and difussion of knowledge. This is guaranteed by universalizing access to higher education.

6	**Declaración VI cumbre de de jefes de estado y de gobierno de la Alternativa Bolivariana para los pueblos de nuestra América - Tratado de Comercio de los Pueblos**	24-Jun-09	Declaration/ ratification	Head of states of all ALBA members: Venezuela, Cuba, Bolivia, Honduras, Dominca, Nicaragua, Ecuador, San Vicente y las Granadinas, and Antigua y Barbuda.	Declaration in which ALBA member states decide to enlarge and modify the previous cooperation agreement, signed on December 14th, 2004, by Venezuela and Cuba. Numerous notes regarding cooperaton in education matters are included in the declaration.	1. Within the framework of the Grannational ALBA-Eduction proyect, member states agreed to the creation of the University of the peoples of ALBA-TCP (UNILABA) - a network of universities committed to inclusion and training of professionals, techniques, and specialists needed for the Grannational protect to succeed. 2. They approved the creation of a group of work in the matters of accreditation anad evaluation of higher education systems, with the aim of improving the quality of higher education systems in the region. 3. Implement information and communication technology in education systems, especially the TV education mechanism (taking advantage of the satelite Simón Bolivar). 4. Encourage an agreement of recognition of higher education degrees. This agreement will promote student mobility across the region, so they can, based on the cooperation in solidarity value. 5. Ratification of the importance of programs	3. To help overcome the obstacles for the access to information, knowledge, and technology, especially in the poorest areas of the region. 4. The objective of mobility is for students to then return to their countries to practice their professionas and contribute in the transofmration of the quality of live of their	a. Higher education has a central role in the development of inclusive nations that respect each of its citizens and their individual development. b. All cultures have the right to exist, preserve their own identity and their ancestral practice and intrisecal to their cultures. There is need to a re-valorization of historic-cultural values.
7	**Declaración de Managua por la Unión Educativa del ALBA**	26-Jun-09	Declaration	Ministers of education of the following members of ALBA: Venzuela, Cuba, Bolivia, Nicaragua, and Honduras.	This is the declaration that emanates from the II Workshop of Education for ALBA. Ministers discuss the following plans, among others: training of professionals in graduate and post-graduate level, research for ALBA, mobility of students across higher education institutions of member states, common curriculum for ALBA, IT education and distance learning, enhancing of the quality of levels and methods of basic education (primary and secondary), and the project of education, science, technology, and innovation for the productive and social transformation of members of ALBA.	1. Recognize the importance of the programs of alphabetization and post-alphabetization, like Yo, si puedo! And Yo, si puedo seguir! 2. Request to the Banc of ALBA to continue with the financing of the alphabetization and post-alphabetization projects proposed by the Grannational plan, with the aim to extend it to other countries. 3. Approve the action plans of the Grannational Proyect Alba-Education as discussed in this workshop: professional training for graduate and postgraduate levels, reseach projects for ALBA, mobility of university students among ALBA member states, common curriculum for ALBA, IT education and distance learning, enhancing of the quality of levels and methods of basic education (primary and secondary), and the project of education, science, technology, and innovation for the productive and social transformation of members of ALBA.	n/d	a. Education is essential, and a fundamental right the State must guarantee to all citizens. A universal human right. B. Education is fundamental to the socializing process, that should be in the service of the formation of an integral human being. Education is key for transforming our realities and giving dignity to our life. And it is also essential to provide union to the countries of the South. c. Integration, armonization and union of education systems of ALBA members is a fundamental need for the development of the region and its countries, in solidarty, cooperation and complementarity. This integration is a first step for the union of all the countries of the South. d. ALBA works towards the creation of a multiipolar world, with justice and solidarity.

8	**Acuerdos de integración. V cumbre del Alba - Proyecto Grannacional. Alba-Educación**	2009	Agreement	Presidents of Venezuela, Cuba, Bolivia, and vicepresident of Nicaragua	In this document, presidents of four member countries review the agreements of integration in the region, being cooperation in education one of them. Other areas of integration are culture, commerce, finance, health, transportation, turism, industry, and energy, among others.	1. Grannational plan for the mission of alphabetization and post-alphabetization in ALBA member states and other Latin American and Caribbean countries. Using the experiences of the implementation of these programs in Cuba, Venezuela, and Bolivia. 2. Plan to improve access to higher education, and especially encourage the careers of social medine and social work, among others. 3. Implement the common program for a producive work.	n/d	a. Education is fundamental to the transformations that ALBA wants to generate in its member nations: create a historic conscience of the union of all Latin American peoples.
9	**Documento presentado por el III-CAB (Instituto International de Integración del Convenio Andrés Bello) y aprobado como Documento Base del ALBA-Educación (short book)**	2009	Teorethical-political educational document	Instituto Internacional de integración Convenio Andrés Bello (III - CAB). Its member states are Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, España, México, Panamá, Paraguay, Perú, República Dominicana, Venezuela.	This document was created for the first higher education meeting of ALBA, and ended up being used as the base document for ALBA-education. It exprsess the theoretical and political position of ALBA and the role of education within this ideological perspective. Education is considered a "praxis liberadora" in the context of members of ALBA freeing themselves from the pressure and dominance of external forces (northern countries). The document includes all the educational programs and projects that have been proposed (and are already working or still in the process of being defined) in ALBA.	1. Promote the network ALBA-educación, with the objective of dealing with educational problems and boost the comunication acros member states, in order to expand the regional educational aims and objetives. 2. Promote universal access to education, in an equitable way to end with inequalities and disadvantages. 3. Improve the quality of educational services in all levels. Education should be significant and hlp with the development of the whole being. 4. Training programs for teachers and eduational administratives in all levels - including higher education and post-graduate -, in order to guarantee quality. There is also a training on ideologic politics. 5. Articulation of the different curriculums of ALBA's member states' education systems, including higher education. 6. Promote the exchange of students and educational experiences, especially in those countries of ALBA with the best results, so they can serve as example.	n/d	a. Education is key for development. In the context of poverty, missery, and inequality, so present in Latin America and the Caribbean, joining forces and uniting education systems is a great strategy for boostering development. B. Is through education that a region can achieve a shared identity, based on shared history and culture: "we need to make education the main strength of the transformation we are enciuraging in our nations, for boosting the historic conscience regarding the union of Latin American peoples" (III - CAB, 2009, p. 18). c. In the last decades, education has been influenced and shaped by capitalism. Capitalism has promoted an education that is oriented to the material and ideological reproduction of an injust and unequal social order: "considering that capital is esentially a specific ensemble of social relationships of production based on exploitation and domination, what education has started to do in this

10	**I Consejo Social La Paz, Bolivia**	21-Aug-09	Agreement	Social Area Ministers of all of ALBA members: Venezuela, Cuba, Bolivia, Honduras, Dominca, Nicaragua, Ecuador, San Vicente y las Granadinas, and Antigua y Barbuda.	In this agreement, members of ALBA decide to install the Social Council of ALBA-TCP, coordinted by the social area ministers of each country, in order to work together to improve social aspects of the region and states. The topics of work for this council are health, work, housing, and education. Here we are looking particularly at the education themes discussed.	1. Boost the implementation of the Grannational ALBA-Education plan, in order to ahieve the integration of members' education systems. 2. Guarantee the financing of the alphabetization and post-alphabetization projects proposed by the Grannational plan. 3. Encourage the creation of a system of recognition of higher education degrees across member states. 4. Ratify the decision to design and put the UNILABA plan into action. Also of achieving the agreements on accreditation of higher education systems for rising the quality of univerisites in member states. 5. Propose the creation of Fondo Editorial Educativo ALBA-TECP (a regional publisher), with the objective to publish educational texts and materials of shared interests (such as social justice).	n/d	a. ALBA presents itself as a model of union and instrument of real liberation, able to produce structural transformations, an alternative system of relatonships, using the principles of sovereignity, solidarity, cooperation, complementarity, justice, and self-determination as guiding values. It searches to grow and include all countries of Latin America and the Caribbean.
11	**II Consejo Social La Habana, Cuba**	11-Dec-09	Reunion minutes and agreements	ALBA-TCP's Social Council, chaired by the Cuba's Minister of Public Health and Cuba's Minister of Higher Education	The reunion of the Social Council gave place to a series of agreements in diverse areas: Education, Health, Culture, Sports, Work, Women, Housing, and Others. Here we are looking particularly at the education themes discussed.	1. Work to implement shared bases for education curiculums across members. 2. Build education systems that enhance critical thinking in their students. 3. Boost the implementation of the Grannational ALBA-Education plan (that includes several projects, such as the alphabetization project, post-alphabetization, training of graduate and post-graduate teachers, UNILABA, among others) in order to ahieve the integration of members' education systems. 4. Build mechanisms for reducing the gap in educational development between different members of ALBA (such as implementing the alphabetization programs) 5. Define strategies to improve the quality of education. 6. Highlight the importance of generating a system of recognition of degrees of higher eucation between ALBA member states. 7. Build the UNILABA network no later than the first trimester of 2010. 8. Oficialize the creation of an ALBA publisher for the publication of shared	n/d	a. Grannational Education Project is the most important education program in ALBA, as it includes a variety of themes.

12	**Manifiesto general de la primera cumbre de concejos de movimientos sociales del ALB-TCP**	20-Oct-09	Mnifest	The Social Movement Council of ALBA	This manifest summarizes the problems and themes dicussed in the reunion of the Social Movement Council of ALBA.	n/d	n/d	
13	**III Consejo Social Cochabamba, Bolivia**	19-Mar-11	Agreements/ Action Plans	ALBA-TCP's Social Council, chaired by the Bolivia's Minister of work, eployment, and social security	This documents expresses the social action plans proposed during ALBA's Social Council reunion.The areas in which they developed plans are: education, science and tchnology, health and sports, employment, public wors, and cuture, decolonization and interculturality.	1. Grannational plan for the mission of alphabetization and post-alphabetization 2. Build the UNILABA network 3. Unite ALBA's member states education systems in the following areas: a common curriculum that respects diveristy but highlights aspects and cultural features in common; agreement of recognition of universities degrees across the region; training program of graduate and pot-graduate teachers; tv education of ALBA; and ALBA's publisher 'Fondo Editorial de ALBA' 4. Creation of an institute of research of ALBA (proposed by Bolivia). 5. Enhance the democratization of education systems, by implementing the Grannational program specialized in the excluded members of society, including people with disabilities, people who live in vulnerable environments and poor environments, and indigenous communities. 6. Work to implement an accreditation and evaluation mechanism to improve the quality of higher education across members, and to strengthen the legitimicy of		a. Education is key for the social transformations that ALBA aims to achieve in the region. B. Respect for diversity and interculturality in the region need to be included in education programs. C. Exchange and movility are at the service of strengthening local job market, by encouraging professionals to develop their careers in their home countries.

14	**Educación para el cambio: propuestas educativas para los países de ALBA-TCP (Introduction of the book)**	2011	Summary of educational proposals and programs for ALBA-TCP	n/d	This book was written by Dr. David Mora with the objective of summarizing and putting together ALBA's efforts to engender an educational space in the region through different educational projects. The book is written in the form of proposals for different topics (one for chapter). The educational proposals included are: implementation of alphabetization and post-alphabetization programs; design of a program for teacher training in member states of ALBA; development of a shared curriculum; development of a shared research program and of exchange of experiences in the topics of sexual education and sexual health; proposals for the incorporation of new technologies in education; and development of a shared online library; implementation of a system of evaluation of education systms for the improvement of quality.	1. Work to implement shared bases for education curiculums across members. 2. Implementation of alphabetizatin and post-alphabetization programs across the region. 3. Design and implementation of a shared teacher training program 4. Development of shared research projects 5. Development of regional sexual health and sexual education programs 6. Incorporation of technology in education 7. Shared online library 8. Work to implement an accreditation and evaluation mechanism to improve the quality of higher education across members, and to strengthen the legitimicy of universities in the region.	n/d	1. Education in ALBA-TCP answers to the region's belief on the negative consequences of neoliberalism and capitalism on Latin American and Caribbean states - "good part of Latin American and Caribbean states suffered the attacks of the free market policies into their national systems, policies that forced states to boost policies and laws that answer positively to the interests of te capitalistt system" (Mora, 2011, p. 15). - "The capital ended up controlling the politics and economy of most countries of Abya Yala. This imperial and capitalist dominance affected education, culture, employment, production, environment, territory, sociocultural interactions, etc., leaging to the point of privatizing food production, water, natural resources, transportation, communication systems, and the whol existence in the Pachamama...Most countries in our continent started to participate in this system, while a small number of states, like Cuba and Venezuela, started a war against this neoliberal
15	**IV Consejo Social La Habana, Cuba**	17-May-13	Agreements/ Action Plans	ALBA-TCP's Social Council, chaired by the Cuba's Minister of higher education.	Ministers met to review the compliance of previous agreements in the social areas of ALBA, and to elaborate new social action plans.	1. Grannational plan for the mission of alphabetization and post-alphabetization. Progrms reviewed: Yo, si puedo!, "Ya puedo leer y escribir," and "Yo, si puedo seguir." 2. Build the UNILABA network 3. Ratify the agreement for the recognition of higher education degrees across member states. 4. There is a need to strengthen the evaluation processes of programs, careers and institutions, to boost the quality of education.	n/d	a. Education is key for the social transformations that ALBA aims to achieve in the region. B. Respect for diversity and interculturality in the region need to be included in education programs.

16	**V Consejo Social Caracas, Venezuela - propuesta de creación de la Universidad de las Ciencias de la Salud del Alba**	14-Dec-13	Agreements/ Action Plans	ALBA-TCP's Social Council, chaired by the Venezuela's Viceminister of the ministers council for the social areas of Venezuela. Also ALBA-TCP'S Executive Secretary, the coorinator of Social Policies of ALBA, and minsters of the different member states.	Ministers met to discuss the creation of the University of Health Sciences of ALBA, and also review the initiatives and ongoing projects in the social area of ALBA.	1. Proposal to create the Health Sciences University of ALBA. This university will be created based on the experiences and existent conditions in the member states of ALBA. Student mobility will be encourage, and the degrees of the students graduating from this university will be recognized across members states. 2. Strengthen the evaluation processes, in order to create indicators of quality and enhance the improvement of health education.	n/d	a. Health is a funamental human right, and it should be public, universal, and free. This is the reason why promoting education programs in health is so key to raising quality of life in ALBA. B. The intercultural perspective shoul be included in all educational programs.
17	**Información sobre el método de alfabetización Yo, sí puedo**	n/d	program guide/ presentatin	n/d	PPT presetation birfly exposing the creation and difusion, characteristics of the method, theorical framework, methodological design, and structure of implementation in class of the Yo, si puedo! alfabetization method widely used by ALBA members	1. Implementation of programs to fight anlphabetism: Yo, si puedo! and Yo, si puedo seguir!	n/d	1. Education is the main socializer, and it is related to culture.

Table 7. PA's documents categorization and analysis.

	PA							
	Document	**Date**	**Type of document**	**Actors involved**	**Purpose of the document's creation**	**CATEGORIES (education programs)**	**Rationale of categories**	**Main points**
1	Convenio especifico de colaboración interistitucional entre el ministerio de educación y la universidad nacional mayor de San Marcos - example of application of PA scholarships in one of the member states	2013		Peru's minister of education, PRONABEC (that is the institution in charge of administering the PA scholarchips in Peru) and the University of San Marcos	To promote the academic exchange of undergraduate and graduate students (Master and Doctoral degrees) and also to boost the interships in research and inivestigation, among the countries of the Pactific Aliance (Peru, Chile, Colombia, and Mexico). This is within the program of scholarships tat PA developed to enhance the academic mobility across de region. Mobility enhances the training of valuable human capital for the region.	1. Implementation of a program of scholarchips (each country providing 100) for promoting students and academics movements across the countries of PA. 2. Do not promote or support the extension of resdency of the students or academic who received the scholarships. 3. Incorporate a system of validation of degrees, certificates, and professionale experiences acquired in any of the member countries of PA. 4. The scholarchips program work within the Platform of Academic and Student Mobility of Pacific Alliance (the program that organizes mobility in the region)	1. The objective is to improve the formation of professionals through experiences abroad and sharing with people from other cultures. 2. With the aim to develop a similar level of human resources across members of PA. 3.This facilitates and boosters movility.	a. Exchange is key for an advanced formation of human capital.

2	IX Cumbre de la Alianza del Pacífico: Declaración de Punta Mita	20-Jun-14	Declaration	Presidents of the four member states of PA (Peru, Mexico, Colombia, and Chile)	In this declaration, members of PA renew their commitment of joining forces with each other to achieve the objectives of the region, being its fundamental bases: "free circulation of goodds, services, capital, and people, and the cooperation among members" (Alianza del Pacífico, 214, p. 1).	1. The Academic and Students mobility program has offered scholarships for undergraduate and graduate students, and also exchange of techers and researchers across the region. 2. There are shared programs of cultural activities and sports, in order to promote the mutual knowledge and the social inclusion of our citizens. 3. There is a special emphasis on promoting technical and productive education , as a tool to develop human capital that can booster productivity and the competitivity of PA's economies.		
3	Bases de operación del Grupo Técnico de Educación	10-Oct-14	Settlement/ Bases	The ministers of education of each member state integrate the new Technical Education Group (Grupo Técnico de Educación), that is in charge of education policies and programs in the region	This documents summarizes the reason why education is so important for PA, and the roles and functionings of the new regional institution in charge of coordinating educational programs and projects across the region. The Technical Education Grupo (or Grupo Técnico de Educación) has as goals to strengthen the educational integration through cooperation plans, that aim to improve the competencies and capacities of the citizens of member states and their access to a quality education. This is key for the development of superior human resources in the region, and to boster productivity and competititvity of the members of PA (Alianza del Pacífico, 2014, p. 1).	1. Regional education matters are discussed and decided by the Grupo Técnico de Educación.	n/d	a. The objective of PA is to "booster a superior growth, development, and competitivity of the economies of the member states, with the aim of promoting wellbeing, the overcoming of socio-economic inequalities, and the social inclusion of all their citizens" (Alianza del Pacífico, 2014, p. 1). Especially the goal of overcoming the socio-economic inequalities cannot be reach without the access to quality education that allows individuals their integral development and their insertion in the productive structure of societies.

4	XV reunión del Grupo Técnico de Cooperación - GTC Alianza del Pacífico	7, 8 and 9 Oct-2014	Reunion minutes	Grupo Técnico de Cooperación	In this reunion, the Cooperation Technical Group, an institution conformed by representatives of the members of PA, went over different regional programs, their implementation and working status. This includes educational programs.	1. Academic and student mobility platform. 2. Common network for the scienific study of climate change.	n/d	a. Education programs are key for regional cooperation
5	Estudio comparado de los sistemas de la educación técnica de los países de la Alianza del Pacífico (long study)	May, 2016	Study	GTE (Grupo Técnico de Educación or Educational Technical Group), guided by the ministers of education of member states of PA.	This study presents the goals of the educational area of PA and the importance of technical education, and offers a comparative study of the development of technical education in the four different member states of PA. It includes ongoing programs and projects, and areas to improve.	1. Promoting and improving programs of technical and professional education in PA is key, and it is related to its' members productivity and economic competitiveness in the world 2. System of quality assurance in higher education and technical education. 3. System of information technology for expanding the knowledge of and access to different forms of technical educaion. 4. Teacher training 5. Programs to articulate the educational spaces with the work spaces. This includes, for example, vertican articulation between middle superior technical education and tertiari technical education. Also competencies acquired from work experience should be counted towards	1. It is important to promote technical education as a valuable alternative to a university degree, as it makes individuals able to enter the labor market faster, and answer to specific needs of the country. 2. In PA, the institutions in charge of securing quality are different for each country, though they all work looking at similar standards. 4. Key for securing quality education, reason why shard standards of teacher training are needed to guarantee quality of education is similar across PA members. This is alo needed for the accrefditation and recognition systems.	a. Even though PA eerged with economic and comercial goals in mind, later discusions have been including no-commercial topics that boost the development of member states through convergence and dialogue in other areas. The Grupo Técnico de Educación emerged in this context, in 2014 in the Declaration of Punta Mita. It is guided by the joint work of the education ministers of the four members. b. Technical Education or Vocational Educational Training (VET, or ETP: Educación Técnico Profesional) is esential for developing human capital, boosting productivity, and making PA's economies competitive - being the ultimate goal to overcome socio-economic inequalities and achieve social inclusion. This is the reason why technical education has become one of the priorities of educatin policies in PA. Technical Education includes all the educational modalities that combine theoric and practical learning. These modalities of education are especially in secondary education and terciary education.

6	Declaración conjunta sobre la asociación entre los miembros de la Alianza del Pacífico y Canadá	8-Jun-16	Declaration	Representatives of Colombia, Peru, Chile, Mexico, and Canada	This document declares the decision of PA and Canada to create a space of free commerce and free circulation of goods, services, capital, and people, in order to boost their socio-economic development and become more competitive in the global market. Two of their areas of cooperation are related to education: education and capacitation, and science, technology and innovation.	n/d	n/d	a. Canada agrees to cooperate with PA members, as they share the conviction that free commerce is key for boosting the socio-economic development of their nations and how competitive they are in the global market. Free commerce includes free circulation of goods, services, capital, and people. Cooperation and agreement in education policy is important, especially for mobility of people between PA and Canada.
7	XI Cumbre de la Alianza del Pacífico: Declaración de Puerto Varas	1-Jul-16	Declaration	Presidents of the four member states of PA (Peru, Mexico, Colombia, and Chile)	Declaration that emerges from the XI meeting of PA, in which they discuss all the areas they should work on for achieving their goals of free circulation of goods, services, capital, and people, among others.	1. Students mobility program, that has provided more than 1200 scholarships in the last three years. 2. Develop mechanisms of recognition of degrees and ceritificates, especially in highe education. 3. Strengthen technical education, promoting the relationship between the educational and labor sectors. Promotion of the comparative study of Technical Education, to detect areas of improvement. 4. Include observer states in the cooperation and dialogue in different areas, that include education, science, technology, and innovation. 5. Develop a system of quality evaluation for the region, to secure quality of education. 6. Promote the learning of English in PA members. 7. Develop programs that	n/d	a. Education is one of the areas of cooperation among PA members and also PA with observer states. Especially technical education is at the service of economic growth and development, that is the main objective of PA.

8	Ficha Técnica: Programa EPE para la Alianza del Pacífico	2016	Program information sheet	PA members, and Canada (who is financing the program)	This program is focused in the development of workers for the extractive sector of PA. It has a duration of 5 years (2016-2021) and it is finances by the gobernment of Canada, and implemented in all four PA members.	1. Program to train people for the extractive labor sector of PA members. Development of skilled technical labor.	n/d	a. The education sector must be in dialogue with the productive sector.
9	Delcaración de Cali	30-Jun-17	Declaration	Presidents of the four member states of PA (Peru, Mexico, Colombia, and Chile)	This declaration emerges from the XII reunion of PA members. They go again over the goals of the region (mainly, to guarantee the free circulation of goods, services, capital, and people) and renew their comittments in all the different areas.	1. Education should be a space where issues of gender and the role of women in society are addressed and discussed. 2. Consolidation of the student and academic mobility platform. Up to date, the program has provided 1440 scholarships. 3. PA should be involved in promoting spaces of interchange of culture and goods. 4. Implementation of instruments for the recognition of degrees from PA members' higher education institutions. And create national cualification standards.	n/d	a. Free commerce is key for boosting the socio-economic development of their nations and how competitive they are in the global market. Free commerce includes free circulation of goods, services, capital, and people.
10	Declaración conjunta entre los estados parte del acuerdo marco de la Alianza del Pacífico y el reino de España	20-Sep-17	Declaration	Representatives of Colombia, Peru, Chile, Mexico, and Spain	Declaration in which Spain agrees to cooperate and work jointly with PA countries in their shared goals.	n/d	n/d	a. Believe in free comerce, and the free movement of goods, services, capital, and people, as fundamental for the ecomoic and sustainable devlopment, and the social inclusion of all citizens. Education and training is one of the areas of cooperation needed to achieve these goals.

11	Plan de trabajo del Grupo Técnico de Educación de la Alianza del Pacífico 2017-2018	2017	Action plan	GTE (Grupo Técnico de Educación or Educational Technical Group), guided by the ministers of education of member states of PA.	Document that briefly presents the objectives of PA's education sector, guided by GTE. Its main objective is to strengthen and develop technical education across the countries of PA, with the aim of contributing to productiviy, competitiveness, and the human development of citizens, including the overcoming of social inequalities.	1. Implementation of instruments for the recognition of degrees from PA members' higher education institutions. And create national cualification standards. 2. Strengthen technical education, promoting the articulation between the educaton and labor sectors. Improve communication to boost technical education in the area. 3. Promote mobility of human capital across the area, through intership programs in technical and technological careers. 4. Work with oberver states to strengthen English as a second language in PA countries.	n/d	a. Education is central to cooperation among the different members of PA, reason why their own group (GTE) was created to develop shared programs and projects.
12	Visón estratégica de la Alianza del Pacífico al año 2030	2018	vision sheet/ summary	PA presidents	This document summarizes the vision of PA and the objectives it aims to achieve by 2030 (in 12 years). This includes the objectives for the area of education.	1. Extend the platform of academic and student mobility, in both technical education and higher education. This platform will be strengthen by a system of recognition of degrees and a shared network of qualifications for the whole region. B. Promote a cultural identity through exchanges, and also volunteer programs, vacations and work, and sports.		a. PA is an initiative of regional integration, with the goals of strengthening the growth, development, and competitiveness of its members, and building an area of deep integration through the free circulation of capital, goods, services, and people. b. PA aims to transform the region in a more integraed, more global, and more connected area, that cooperated to engender a more equitative and just world for the benefit of current and future generations.
13	Declaración conjunta sobre una asociación entre los Estados parte del acuerdo macro de la Alianza del Pacífico y la organización para la cooperación y el desarrollo económicos	5-Jul-19	Declaration	OCDE (the organization for the cooperation and economic development), and the ministers of economy of exterior relationships of Chile, Colombia, Peru, and Mexico.	Document in which PA declares its joint projects with OCDE, cooperation that helps the region to achieve its many goals. Education is one of the areas in which OCDE cooperates with PA. The ways of cooperation includes, but are not reduced to: organization of reunions, seminars, workshops, and capacitation spaces; colaboration in studies and projects; preparation and difucion of regional publications; development of activites and specific proycts of cooperation in diferen areas; exchange of informaiton, material, and data; helping find financing; among others.	n/d	n/d	a. PA is an initiative of regional integration, with the goals of strengthening the growth, development, and competitiveness of its members, and building an area of deep integration through the free circulation of capital, goods, services, and people. b. OCDE is an intrnational organization that cooperate to reach national and international policies that led to sustainable economic growth, improve living standads, and contribute to the development of the global economy. c. Integration is aldo about friendship, solidarity, and cooperation among members (first time I see this, reminds me of ALBA).

14	Declaración conjunta sobre una asociación entre los Estados parte del acuerdo macro de la Alianza del Pacifico y la Unión Europea	25-Sep-19	Declaration	PA members (represented by the ministers of exterior relations of each country), and the European Union.	In this document, members of PA and EU remember the benefits of ther cooperation, and renew their commitment to cooperate in different areas, being education one of them (especially through the form of student mobility)	1. Stdent mobility between members of PA and the EU.	n/d	a. Pa searches to strengthen their friendhip, solidarity, and close economic relationship with the EU. B. Their free commerce policies have already strengthen their links with EU.
15	Declaración de Santiago - Anexo 1	2020	Declaration	PA members	This documet expresses the different themes in which PA members will continue to cooperate. It is divided by topics, that include: commerce; support to innovation and enterpeneuers; commerce of services; investments; finance; industrial revolution 4.0; turism; agriculture and fishing; free circulation of people; social development and inclusion; education; culture; genre; labor; environment; among others.	1. Developmet of a roadmap that can serve as guidance for the implementation and strengthening of public policies in technical education and technological education. 2. Conducting a forum about technical education and trainin, its best practices and policies. 3. Design of strategies for teaching English in the PA members. This includes teacher training, development of educational materials, and strengthening English in the context of technical education, technological education, and basic and secondary school.	n/d	a. Technical education continues to be one of the main axis of educational policies and programs in PA members.
16	Declaración de Santiago - Anexo 2	2020	Declaration	PA members	This documents expands upon Anexo 1 of the Santiago Declaration, including themes for each of the topics presented before.	1. Strengthen technical education and training in PA members, through the establishment of synergies among the national qualification frameworks, the promotion of the articulation between the productive and education sectors, the revalorization of technical education, and the relationship with oberver states. 2. Develop the program "Red de Inglés de la Alianza del Pacífico," that is a program that promotes the teaching of English in the bloc.	n/d	a. Technical education continues to be one of the main axis of educational policies and programs in PA members. B. English is key for competitiveness

17	Cartilla 4naciones: un acuerdo de integración profunda	n/d	Booklet/ summary	PA members	This booklet summarizes PA's functioning, achievements, and future goals in all areas, being education one of these areas.	1. Implementation of a student and academic mobility program. Through the implementation of scholarships, this program promotes students to have an experience or finish their studies abroad, in one of the other PA members. Each member country gives 100 scholarships per year (25 of these are for doctoral programs).	n/d	
18	Informe de gestión: Plataforma de movilidad estudiantil y académica.Gestión 2013-2019	n/d	Booklet/ summary	PA members	This booklet summarizes PA's functioning, achievements, and future goals of the student and academic mobility program and platform.	1. The student and academic mobility program is a program through which each country gives scholarships to studens to study courses or excersice academic activities during one semester or one year, in one of the other members of PA. The platform is available for unergraduate students, students of technical or technological careers, doctorate students, university professors, and researchers. 2. Network of higher education institution across the region. This network is conformed by 138 institutions, universities, and technical and training institutions.	1. This program has several benefits: it positions higher education institutions in these 4 countries as places recognized globally; the strengthening of a netwok of knowledge sharing and cooperation; progress in the internationalization of higher education through the exchange of culture and experiences; increasing understanding and respect among citizens of PA members; more cooperation in the area of higher education with observerstates.	a. Student and academic mobility is very beneficial for PA, and any other regionalism, because it increases cultural awareness, and sharing of expereinces and viewpoints, among other reasons.
19	Informe: Mandatos presidenciales sobre educación	n/d	summary	PA members	This document summarizes the different presidential decisions regading education, as discussed in the reunions of PA through the years 2015-2018.	1. Explore mechanisms for the recognition of degrees and ceriticates of higher education across members. Implement the instruments designed for 2016-2017 of recognition of degrees of higher education. 2. Work to develop regional frameworks of qualification. 3. Strengthen the technical education, promoting the relationship between the education and productive sectors. 4. Promote the mobility of human capital through programs of scholaships and interships. 5. Implement a campaign to value technical and technological education in PA members. 6. Elaborate a working plan for the development and generation of synergies among the qualification frameworks of PA members.	n/d	a. It is important for PA to expand its cooperative activities in higher education, teacher training, development of human capital, and articulation between the prodcutive and educational sectors. This will led to more social equity and economic devlopment of countries.

20	Grupo Técnico de Educación: Marco de cualificaciones	n/d	informative sheet (website)	PA members	Summary of how the qualification framework for PA region works	1. Implementation of a regional qulification framework. 2. This framework makes student and academic mobiity more feasible, promoting it. 3. It is important to analyze experiences and best practices to develop the best qualification network possible for the region.	1. Qualification frameworks facilitate the construction of educational curriculums that can answer tospecific individuals' needs. In addition, it guarantees quality of education and training, by offering norms and procedures for the development of the defined qualifications.	n/d
21	Grupo Técnico de Educación: Reconocimiento de titulos	n/d	informative sheet (website)	PA members	Summary of how the mechanism for recognition of degrees across PA members works.	1. Implementation of a mechanism for the recognition of degrees and ceritificates of higher education institutions across members of PA. This answers to the increasingly ammount of movement of students and professionals in the area and to other regions of the worl. 2. This mechanisms is needed to support and booster mobility of students, professionals, teachers, and researchers. Also for the exchange of knowledge, investigations, experiences, and technologies between PA members. 3. This mechanism is also key to guarantee the quality of educative institutions in the area, which helps with legitimization of these institutions.	n/d	a. Recognition of degrees and ceritificates is a mechanism that is relevant at the global level, needed to boost a lot of other educational projects, such as mobilty of students, professionals, teachers, and researchers, and the quality of educational institutions.

APPENDIX C

SUMMARY OF REGIMES'

EDUCATIONAL GOALS AND PROGRAMS

Table 8: Main educational goals of each regime and summary of the education programs promoted and/or implemented by each of them.

REGIONALISM	Regionlism model	Education main goals	Education programs
MERCOSUR (1991)	post-hegemonic (open/new) second generation	Education is at the service of creating a regional identity and an educational space. Both safeguarding own markets and being globally competitive are encouraged.	1. System of accreditation, validation and recognition of degrees 2. System of evaluation and quality assurance 3. Regional Academic Mobility of Accredited Careers (MARCA), with the main goal of promoting a regional identity 4. MERCOSUR's idea of interculturality includes the promotion of a shared regional identity, that is expected to strengthen the cooperation and integration in the region 5. Goal of achiving basic education for all (primary and secondary school) 6. Cooperation among the different higher education systems, especially for exchange of knowledge 7. Education and technology: digitalize educational resources and information, and improve schools access to technology and the internet 8. Technical education: valuable alternative for those who cannot access a univerity degree 9. Creation of a shared curriculum in geography, history, and language. These are specifically oriented to generate a conscious of shared culture and past experiences 10. Work to fight analphabetism in rural areas, and improve their quality of education (helps to promote the continued grow of rural markets) 11. MERCOSUR values the involvement of international agents in their education initiatives. Also follows their recommendations 12. Fomenting the teaching of Spanish and Portuguse among member states (helps with formation of regional identity) 13. Secure women's right to access the same quality of education
ALBA-TCP (2004)	counter-hegemonic (open/new) third generation	Education free and accessible to all, in all levels. Endogenous development guides education: strengthen the education that makes us strong as a region. Competitiveness in the global market comes accidentally.	1. System of accreditation, validation and recognition of degrees 2. System of evaluation and quality assurance 3. Student mobility program for exhange of experiences 4. Programs that promoe interculturality, for recognizing and respecting others' reality and the unique characteristics of each country (multipolar world) 5. Universal and free access to education in all levels, including higher education, is a key priority of their educational initiatives 6. Higher education network across members, bolstering equality and justice 7. Education and technology: implementation of the TV education mehanism (stelite Simon Bolivar), collaboration in communication infrastructure and services, and elabotation of a shared virtual library 8. Literacy and post-literacy programs to fight analphabetism (Yo, si puedo! and Yo, si puedo seguir!) 9. Language: Cuba would provide Bolivia with the necessary resources for carrying out the literacy program (Yo, sí puedo!) in their four spoken languages: Spanish, Aymara, Quechua, and Guarani
PA (2012)	hegemonic (open/new) first generation	Technical education is central; prepare youth for technical positions; make citizes useful for the countries' markets. Education is at the service of making PA members economically successful and competitive at the global level.	1. System of accreditation, validation and recognition of degrees 2. System of evaluation and quality assurance 3. Platform of Academic and Student Mobility of Pacific Alliance (based on a sholarship program) 4. Cultural and experiential exchange, that is key for the training of superior human capital 5. A network of higher education is encouraged especially for technical and professional education 6. Education and echnology: system of information technology for expanding the knowledge of and access to different forms of technical education. 7. Technical education: one of the key education programs (human capital) 8. of PA members in the global studies carried out by OCDE, UNESCO, and BID regarding the relevance of technical education for the generation of knowledge and strengthening of human capital in the country. PA also takes advantage of the opportunities of external funding for educational projects 9. Implementation of Red de Inglés de la Alianza del Pacífico (PA's English network) 10. Education should be reflective of the important role of women in society

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