

INTRODUCTION TO ISSUE 4

THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN EDUCATIONAL REFORMS IN LATIN AMERICA

In this monograph, we analyze the role of International Organizations (IOs) as transmitters of development proposal and educational reforms in Latin America. Nowadays, IOs are central agents of educational government. In this case, we refer only to IOs that are part of intra governmental organizations that act in the educational field. Since the decade of 1990, the presence of OIs has considerable increased; furthermore, they have expanded to new activities related to education. IOs are part of national debates regarding educational policies, the role of the National State in the regulation of formal educational, and the characteristics of academic structures in the national educational system. They have promoted the insertion of high-quality performance standards for the students, professors, and even to the institutions, as well as implementing new educational evaluation criteria and new delimitations for public education offering and financing. The upsurge of IOs in the educational field, allows us to identify new ways of educational management. Because of this, they are conceptualized as transmitters of very exceptional perspectives of what education should be and about educational reforms in developing countries, which should incorporate an instrumental orientation and market-oriented criteria, promoting the marketization of education as a service that may be acquired in the labor market through consumer competition. Under this perspective, education is not conceived as a basic human; instead, it should be promoted by the nations through educational policies to make it accessible to every member of society.

Accordingly, the first feature to highlight as a framework for this paper is the fact that, since the decade of 1980, important changes have occurred in the internal structures of the national state, which are part of the contemporary global era (Ruggie, 1998; Tabb, 2004). To the detriment of the generalized practices by which it is claimed that globalization has promoted a decadence of the State, it has been observed in many cases, that the States increasingly face and incorporate two new geographies of power. On one hand, an internal redistribution of power has become evident to the detriment of the Legislative authority to favor the Executive authority and, on another hand, the presence of a variety of extra state agents, as well as the summit of new regulatory regimes that exceed the State-Nation, has been proven (Sassen, 2012). In this context, the definition of education policies establishes a research field and a space of action of public policies that reflect these unstable and fluctuating dynamics. We should ask ourselves, under the context of the educational policy definitions that are implemented by the States nowadays, if globalization is a process that embraces all society components, since the national State administrative capacity is needed and irreplaceable to manage the national educational systems and even to the educational ventures inspired by the organizational logic of the global era.

Under this contextual framework, and as second feature to highlight, as shown in previous publications, it is possible to support that what prevails in Latin American social development is diversity rather than homogeneity (Ruiz, 2014). The region has geographical and climatic differences, inhabited by different social groups. Diversity is based on the configuration of their countries' social structure, wealth distribution, culture and languages. Certainly, even though Spanish and Portuguese are the most spoken languages in the region, there are an extended number of languages spoken by aboriginal populations². Nevertheless, it is also evident that the region

¹ Traducción del original en castellano por Luisa Fernanda Gutiérrez y Leandro de Campos Caldeirao.

owns legacies, stories, and shared problems, as well as challenges in both, politics and development of the social institutions and education.

Regarding the regional educational development, it is evident that it displays a vast diversity in all dimensions: normative, academic, curricular, institutional, and organizational. Yet, in the last decades, the profusion of educational research done by International Organizations in the region stands by referring to “the” education in Latin America as a homogenous whole (Ruiz, 2014). Thus, the whole region has been submerged in indicators and general interpretations, covering the regional educational diversity. Over the last three decades, the recurrence of structural reforms in Latin America educational systems has been built over non-homogeneous educational realities, and therefore, even in the cases in which programs sharing similar reforms were implemented, their results were not only different but also differential.

Such educational reforms have modified different stages of educational systems such as general implementation, curricular policies, formation associated with the labor market, the evaluation of quality at different levels, teacher training, and higher education. One feature, characterized by the research done since the 90s, has been the documentation of the pressure that the national States have suffered by some international organisms, such as the World Bank Group and the Inter-American Development Bank, to make structural changes in the educational systems parallel to State reform processes. This reformed education was highly affected by the increase of social inequalities, the new forms of social exclusion (that were added to structural and historical exclusions), and the consequential social cohesion crisis. Regarding this context of educational inequalities, framed in larger historical and social inequalities, several reforms have been implemented in the beginning of the new century (Ruiz y Molinari, 2015).

A third feature to consider in this introduction is given by the possibility of identifying an international architecture of organisms and institutions which, after World War II, have emerged in the global context with a strong discourse of commitment to the country-wise educational development, the expansion of massive schooling and the promotion of the right to the education. Despite several international legislative instruments have consecrated definitions the place education as one of the essentials rights of human beings (Cardinaux, 2014), in this article we are interested in stating the International Organisms that have encompassed efforts and resources since the decade of 1960 to the promotion of the education for the development and the education for all around the end of the 20th century. Initially, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization is a specialized agency of the United Nations (UNESCO) had the leadership on the international promotion of the education associated with developing countries, hosting ambitious regional conferences during the decades of 1960 and 1970. However, as the progression of the Cold War was strengthening, the support and confidence in the role of the UNESCO, as a main institution for the worldwide educational development, was deteriorating meanwhile the internal debates of this organization were becoming more politicized (Mundy, 1999; 2016). Thus, the international efforts were reduced and the architecture of projects was concentrated in short-termed bilateral transactions with limited scope. This situation profoundly persists nowadays.

One fact that became evident was that this international architecture started to count on a more active and ambitious participation from international benefactor communities which supported the development of new international educational programs, with resources from more prosperous occidental countries (among them are, the Swedish International Development Agency and the United States Agency for International Development). Contrary to what had happened until then, with the United Nations programs, and within itself, with the actions of the UNESCO, this type of bilateral international programs were not focused on the growth of basic education, but, on post-elementary training, on the formation for labor, on post-graduate training for university

graduates as well as in the technical assistance to governments (or its ministries) of recipient countries of these international financial aids programs (on educational matter).

Towards the last two decades of the 20th century, efforts from the UNESCO's multilateral programs became more and more limited, especially in fundamental education (today known as basic education). This gradually allowed a larger presence of other international organizations from the United Nations with more corporative perspectives, particularly the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), to obtain more international attention and carrying forward educational development programs for early childhood stages, specially since the decade of 1970 (Mundy, 1999).

During the decade of 1980 the executional frame for structural adjustment policies and austerity in expenses that assumed the implementation of social policies, was carried out under an intense international debate about the roles and responsibilities that the international organisms have, and also the governments of the neediest and underdeveloped countries in regards of the development of policies and projects intended to attend the basic needs of the poorest sectors in the world. In the decade of 1990, UNICEF consecrated its efforts in the early-childhood rights and in the establishment of alliances with sectors from the civil society and nationwide, regional wide and international wide non-governmental organisms.

Nevertheless, also in the decade of 1980, it was visible an increasingly presence (as a source of international financial resources destined to educational programs) of funding International Organizations. Particularly, the World Bank Group became the most important source of financial resources intended to the educational development and in the main institution of incisive and penetrating educational reforms in the poorest and socially underdeveloped economies. Highly influenced by the ideological orientations from the United States government, the World Bank Group promoted the development of a political frame of educational reforms that were responsible for the reconfiguration of the schooling systems (especially in the poorest countries, recipients of international loans from this financial institution), to reduce its expenses, reduce its bureaucracy and to promote strategic investment of the loans in human capital with the intention to achieve economic growth of the poorest countries. The use of competitive market mechanisms and instruments started to be introduced in the schooling system operations, with higher or lower adaptation levels (from the state authorities) and of the social resistances (from the educational communities in each country).

In the last two decades of the 20th century, at the same time that the internal debate inside of the United Nations Organizations (UNICEF, UNESCO) about their role and international responsibility in the promotion of basic education for everyone was taking place, the World Bank Group was converted in the largest international agent that promotes educational reforms on a global scale and had a decisive participation in the design of structural reform of the States, that at the same time were facing loan crises. Thus, the educational reform programs sponsored by this International Organization, included the deregulation of private education worldwide, the incorporation of competition mechanisms between users and institutions for accessing the educational services, the introduction of duties and fees to educational services in some of its levels, and the adoption of entrepreneurial efficiency criteria to evaluate the educational system results (in terms of academic efficiency of its students, professors and institutions).

All of this happened in the framework of a global dialogue, promoted by this entity, which preached for a larger participation of the civil society in educational management as well as the responsibility of each user and each institution for the results achieved in the schooling system. It is here where we have the paradigm of the public policies, named responsiveness, which aims to improve the

response capacity of public services. The belief, that it is possible to achieve a better response capacity of the system and social services to the immediate community demands, becomes evident. To this, it is required a redistribution of the responsibilities in the decision-making processes, in which the users of these services must be allowed to participate and take actions.

In the case of education, these global discourses, promoted by the IOs, claim that the users should participate in educational establishments, which should have institutional autonomous levels to be self-managed. In this regard, it is possible to assume the global promotion of school reforms that included decentralization of the educational policies that, in turn, were included in the structural reform processes of the States. These policies pointed towards a reduction of the National State parallel to the expansion of the interference of the jurisdictional and local States, as well as the private sector. Thus, it is possible to identify the pair privatization/decentralization, where the former concept is a specific modality of the latter: a larger decentralization of decisions would be a valid mechanism for resource mobilization under a more dynamic approach that will overcome the management problems of governmental centralized structures.

Accordingly, some authors³ distinguish between the privatization in and of the education (analysis perspective that differentiates between endogenous and exogenous dynamics of privatization). The first one refers to the disguised privatization of education, in other words, to “the importation of ideas, methods and practices of the private sector with the aims of making the public sector more and more like a business and increasingly profitable” (Ball and Youdell, 2007, p. 8). Here, it is highlighted the importance of new actors, like: investment funds, philanthropic foundations and organizations, think tanks and global market corporations.

Several articles (Verger, 2009; Verger, Novelli y Altinyelken 2012) have shown that more than a group of consistent ideas, rationally organized as policies proposal of educational reforms, what the IOs present is a cluster of universal political ideas, which are disseminated through powerful mechanisms and resources with the purpose of that the state authorities take them at their internal policies decision-taking instances. So, it defines what should be bought and what should not, as a policy of and educational reform sponsored or promoted by the OIs. These proposals are presented through numerous documents and reports (policy briefs, policy paper, report launches) in different types of event, some public, some private, which, generally, are attended by state authorities, technical teams from the ministries and political leaders from different sectors of the government as well as the oppositions.

The seemingly neutral and technical language of the documents written by the OIs are an extremely efficient characteristic to attract attention: the evidence of the facts, the empirical referents that support the proposals, are key factors in the diffusion of these proposals of educational reforms which are highly promoted by the IOs (under the cover of the data neutrality). Here it is evident how the measuring practices of educational quality, of the measurable performance of the scholar systems results (in its diverse dimensions), and data production are not neutral technics. On the contrary, they constitute one of the most successful instruments of governmental policies: it is not enough to collect data of academic performance but to create a process of formation of educational realities while they are being described: the government through the data (Novoa, 2010). They are, therefore, new ways of building and legitimating policies. The policies of educational reforms fostered from these perspectives supported by the IOs are built, legitimated and launched through new concepts that are developed to give the best solutions, the more efficient ones to the problems that the data shows. Thus, a perpetual comparison is formed that serves as a foundation to policies built around different ideas circulating in all countries.

Nevertheless, in Latin America, due to the globalization process, countries have been less capable of controlling their economies. As a consequence, their restricted budgets have limited the capacity of the States to satisfy the increasing demand for accessible education. Usually, Latin-American States are incapable of managing and solving these problems by themselves and they have been faced with the necessity to involve other agents with the purpose of finding solutions to their problems, which are similar despite of the regional diversity. Consequently, one of the most recurrent characteristics in the region has been the growing internalization of the educational policy, and, in this context, through the last three decades, the IOs have begun to perform a more important role in the formulation of these educational policies. However, the IOs that have no authority on education (for example, the World Bank Group, the Inter American Bank of Development, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) have been the main agents in the process of formulating educational reforms that many countries have taken forward.

In accordance with several studies and research (Philips, 2004; Moods 2006), the IOs are though as the main transmitter of development and educational proposals in Latin America, mainly through the diffusion of new norms, new standards and new values in respect to what they consider as the “best” practices in educational development. In Latin America, IOs have exercised their power through the organization and the promotion of apolitical actions and technics with the purpose of reshaping public education. The “imposition”, the “harmonization”, “normalization” are some of the mechanisms used by the IOs (Dale, 1999) in Latin America countries to obligate or persuade them to use their values and guidelines of educational reform.

We understand, and according to the conceptualization that precedes, that the articles that integrate this monograph contribute to understand the complexity, beyond of the high pervasiveness, that International Organizations have as promoters of policies and educational reforms in regions as Latin America. The order of presentation of the articles is closely related to criteria from geographic extension, projection of policies considered by part of these institutions, and transformations promoted in different levels and sectors of educational systems from a region so diverse as Latin America. In addition to this, the closing article was included with the purpose of allowing a global comparative lecture (with another developing region) but, also, contrastive, that invites to reflect about the few possibilities that are presented by the interpretations, which, with comprehensive pretension, do not achieve to describe in a rigorous way, the complexity that have the global incidence in the local environment, beyond the convergence discursive. Articles written in Spanish, English and Portuguese have been included to promote access to the work by different groups of readers. The authors of the article, who come from different Ibero-American countries and have different institutional appointments, have different methodological approaches to the development of their studies, some are empirical, and some more theoretical and reflexive. All of them have done a systematic and rigorous elaboration work of their writings and collaborations, having a close dialogue with the general purpose of this monograph through years of exchange and contributions.

In the first article that is part of this monograph, *La educación y los organismos internacionales de crédito. Préstamos y recomendaciones para América Latina (2000-2015)*, Maria Betania Oreja Cerruti y Susana E. Vior state that since the middle of the 20th century these institutions have had an increasing presence in defining public policies in Latin America, and this incidence is exercised through diverse international mechanisms such as the definition of the themes and problems agenda that should be considered (or not), establishment of common goals, financing lines, and the explicit conditioning of the policies. This first article presents how, besides having different characteristics and varied through their history, Latin American countries have been affected by the orientations and recommendations to education presented by the Organization of American States (OAS), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization is a specialized

agency of the United Nations (UNESCO) through the OREALC, its regional office, the Organization of Ibero-American States for Education, Science and Culture (OEI), Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), the World Bank Group (WBG), Interamerican Development Bank (IDB), and, recently, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

The authors distinguish between the organizations that act, mainly, as agencies of technical cooperation, as UNESCO, of those that their main action is financial founding like, WBG and IDB. Nevertheless, the action of technical cooperation of these entities has been increasing, in the last decades, through the reports and the sectorial, regional and national documents and the recovery of what their named learned lessons obtained from technical evaluations of the funded projects. Due to this, they consider the intervention of the organizations in the educational area answer as a double strategy: 1) as a support for the social policy and, 2) as a part of the economic policy interested in the improvement of their productivity. Regarding this, Oreja Cerruti and Vior show that the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank, as financial entities, have accomplished a main role in the economic viability of the public policies in the region. The multi-million loans granted to Latin American countries have increased the national public debts and have contributed to the valorization of the financial capital of these entities and to the rise of their technical teams and private consulting.

The incidence of these credit organizations regarding Latin American educational policies has increased in the last decade of the 20th century in the framework of structural adjustment process of the States of these countries, these organizations prompted deep changes in the educational system from efficient and privatizing orientations. The homogenization of reform speeches and the adopted measures promoted the decentralization of the institutions towards the subnational States or provinces (subject that is reviewed in the Sironi article, in this monograph), the recentralization of the decisions national-central of the government, the establishment of the evaluation of students learning systems (subject reviewed and re-posed on the 21st century, and a topic that the media has started to give a particular attention, that is approached by Caldo in his work), among other reforms and strategies as the deregulation, the establishment of fees in higher educational levels. This gave place to mayor criticism and manifestations by unions, social movements and political groups that condemned their regressive consequences and the participation of the organizations in these processes, which adopted specifics forms in each country. Considering the differences among the countries, in the acute social and economic crisis, it is possible to identify, in the whole region, the increasing social riots at the end of the decade of 1990 and beginning of the 21th century. The reforms fomented by the organizations have left as result poverty, inequality, debts and educational systems more unequal and segmented, with new and old problems. This is the clearest evidence of their participation in the region and of the regressive effects regarding the respect of the fundamental human rights, such as access to food and nutrition, health care and education.

The authors analyze the supposed evaluations that both BM and BID have done, about their proposals to achieve mayor consensus, as part of their funding strategy in each country. The critic seems to have led to the naturalization and, even, the invisibilization. Thus, the strategy changes, either from the organizations and the governments – where consensus, mutual dialogue and more sublet forms of manipulation, depending on the country or government, are profuse– have played an important role. The elaboration process of the strategies that these two entities indicate for each country and the established priorities in each case, gives lights of the capability of both organizations to negotiate and move forward based on the history of each country, its particular relationship, the resistances that it may found and the advices that it may promote. Thus, the organizations, in order to adapt, begun to support emergency programs facing crises and, later on,

projects of social inclusion, governability improvement and equity economic growth. Here is where one of the most notorious aspects of the idea of this article is brought up and where deeper analysis is needed: the achievement by the new IOs governance in the region of a common sense related to educational reforms and necessary changes to overcome both old and more recent problems as well as the relationships that are generated between the employees of each bank, intellectuals and public workers from each country.

Precisely, the theme regarding the regional governability is the focus of analysis of Cesar Tello in his work *Globalización neoliberal y políticas educativas en Latinoamérica* where he describes educational policies in the development of the Neoliberal State Governments (NSG) and Post-Neoliberal State Governments (PSP) in the period between 1990 and 2010. The author analyses the government linkage models in the region with the international organizations of credit (WBG; IDB), in particular, through the policies of educational transfer (loans) and the learned lessons, the approach of evidence-based policies and the symbolic analysts participation. According to Tello, it is possible to identify the periods of neoliberalism and post-neoliberalism, as well as the continuities in public policies that evidence that the transformations and neoliberal logics have not been dismantled from the bureaucratic structure of the Latin American States.

The analysis period, from the last decades of educational policies, has been marked by significant pressures from the international organizations regarding the structure of the State and the orientations and reorientations in the public policies. The binomial neoliberalism-post-neoliberalism allows – according to the author – to understand the way in which the state governments are linked to the international organizations considering that the focus is reviewing the level of intensity of this links and not the absence of relations. These continuities and ruptures would configure part of the same amalgam that constitutes the process of educational policies in the region.

From a review of the actions of the Latin American governments framed into two variables of the liberalism (neoliberalism and post-neoliberalism), Tello achieved to identify continuities of some logics in the education policies despite some discursive and method changes. He sustains that is possible to differentiate several possible interpretations of the political analysis in the characterization of the state governments. This would give place to new translations of the neoliberal globalization policies belonging to the left wing speeches. What it is named post-neoliberal would be the circulation of a series of politic speeches mainly coming from several Latin American administrators, the promulgation of the new educational laws, in some countries, and the new associations with the WBG and the IDB in general educational policies.

Among the most important ideas of this work, we found the definition of the different modes of installation and, so, of the post-neoliberalism passages, in terms of the neoliberal discontinuity. That means that, countries in which the neoliberal decade allowed and fomented deep installations on the governmental logics and that in this current century are confronted with governments that do not want that logic, in certain cases without big results due to the intensity in which the relationships were established in 1990.

The third article that is part of this monograph, written by Daniela Vanesa Perrotta, (*Regionalism and higher education in South America: A comparative analysis for understanding internalization*) addressed the case of higher education in current projects of regional integration promotion and its effects and changes in the management of higher education. According with the author, almost all the regional schemes have implemented programs and policies to promote the coordination, cooperation, or integration between systems and higher educational institutions. In her work, which is organized around a comparative regionalist scheme, the author moves towards a detailed

characterization of the integration processes in South America to – starting with it – give place to a comparative analysis of four regionalisms: The Mercado Común del Sur (MERCOSUR), the Alianza Bolivariana para los Pueblos de Nuestra América – Tratado de Comercio de los Pueblos (ALBA-TCP), la Unión de Naciones Suramericanas (UNASUR) y la Alianza del Pacífico (AP). These regional projects, independently of their ideological orientation, would be steering policies to promote the cooperation, coordination and/or integration of higher education.

According to Perrotta, it is possible to identify at least three tendencies of university internationalization that spread and consolidate through the regionalism: First, the status-quo internationalization (hegemonic); second, a revisionist internationalization; third, an anti-hegemonic internationalization. The Alianza del Pacífico would be the first type; MERCOSUR would be the revisionist case; and the ALBA-TCP would represent an intention of an anti-hegemonic process. Perhaps the last one is shown in an overvalued way by the author comparing to the revisionist one, because MERCOSUR not only had the capacity to gradually implement different States along its short history (as full members or associate States) but, also, showed an adaptive capacity to the ideological changes as well as a higher level of contentions of different orientations in the common framework of the imperfect regional integration that it is. Finally, according to the author, UNASUR would be an intermediate case, as it, it would result into a division around an Atlantic axis and Pacific one.

The fourth article is entitled *Os relatórios do Desenvolvimento Humano encomendados pelas Nações Unidas e o papel do poder público local na solução dos problemas nas áreas de educação e saúde*, by Maria José de Rezende. In this work, the author concentrates in the analysis of the rapports of human development, which are published yearly by the United Nations (under the United Nations Program for Human Development, PNUD), that covers a diversity of areas and themes, and has differential effects in fields as health care and the public education.

Despite its analysis complexity, due to the extension of these documents and the analysis dimensions that have to be considered, Rezende focus her study in those rapports that, for the Brazilian case, aim to incidence on the local government to eradicate poverty, low-quality housing and the lack of access to health care and education. Even though, these rapports recognize accurately the role of the local State in the solution of the problems that are diagnosed, in general, they align with the idea of promoting the intervention of the local agents from a human development perspective. The ought is set as the following one, from the PNUD perspective, in the non governmental organization, the private sector and a variety of agents member of the civil society. Nevertheless, the author intends to show how the State role, including the local level (in a country with a governmental federal regime as is Brazil), turns out to be essential, since it counts with the normative resources to the public policies formulation that can counteract the low levels that show the human development indicators, highlighted by the PNUD.

The article written by Rezende, brings to the light the role of this program from the United Nations (the PNUD) and its high incidence in developing countries, beyond Latin America. These rapports that refer to the cases of the education and health care condense debates and, also, crystalize political disputes that have been gaining space inside the United Nations Organization and, through the promotion of local power (cities and counties) actually promote the privatization of the solutions to the problems (educational and public health) and also, like highlighted by the author, the impotence.

In his work (*La agenda educativa del Banco Mundial en Argentina y Brasil y la cuestión de los niveles subnacionales del Estado. Notas sobre un posible abordaje teórico-metodológico entre la educación comparada y el institucionalismo de la ciencia política*) Mariano Sironi does an analysis

of the characteristics that were adopted by the decentralization process in Brazil and Argentina regarding the theme of the educational agenda of the World Bank Group and states the necessity of carrying forward studies about the implementation of educational policies in the sub national level from approaches and categories from the science policy theoretical neo-institutionalism of to the field of comparative education.

According to the author, the decentralization processes has been one of the pillars of the state reforms from the last decades of the 20th century in Latin America, in which the role of the sub national States and the territorial actors in the national political process have changed and, they have acquired relevance in the social sciences research agenda. In the frame of the reforms named post-bureaucratic that, among other things, re-equilibrated the centralization-decentralization dynamic of the educational systems, without denying the existence of an internationalization process of the education or the creation of a global agenda regulated in an international way, Sironi questions the centrality of the World Bank in the consolidation of theses contemporaneous processes in some analyses of the educational field and he takes the cases of Brazil and Argentina to analyze the similarities and contrasts between the process of educational decentralization promoted by this international organization.

According to the author, these structural scholar reforms were intersected with a national institutionalism, in each of the countries, that had already generated educational decentralization processes before their promotion by the WBG and, in each case, this intervention led to unequal situations of access to the right of education took place. Brazil y Argentina, due to their specific educational policies, executed from the second half of 20th century, have had a different relation with the World Bank Group, that goes beyond a World Bank Group presence in their territories and the applied formulas that were taken since of the speech of neoliberalism. Due to this, we observe that while in the Northeast states in Brazil the intervention happened earlier, in Argentina, it was only in the decade of 1990 of the 20th century, that its presence was more noticeable. Municipalizing in Brazil and provincializing in Argentina, both were processes of administrative decentralization that introduced different times and deepness. The administrative decentralization in Argentina started earlier, and it had more resistance and ended in 1993, after Brazil constitutionally established decentralization. On another side, the network of state schools in Brazil and the strong presence of the municipalities in guaranteeing education differ substantially from the role assumed by the provinces in Argentina in which the municipalities do not have the same protagonist.

In this context, Sironi claims the necessity to deepen more specific investigations on historical process of the subnational educational systems, the institutionally of their legacies, the formal and informal rules and the identification of the subnational agents, in order to understand the complex processes of interdependency or hybridization of the educational policies. Thus, it might be possible to identify the impact of the educational agenda promoted by intergovernmental IOs as the World Bank in each national context inside the same geographic region.

On the sixth article of this monograph, Organismos Internacionales y Educación Superior: indicios y tensiones. El caso argentino (1990-2000), Marisa Zelaya brings the main postures and incidences of the financial and cooperative IOs, in relation with Latin America higher education during the last two decades. In her work, the author presents a controversy between the guaranteed visions and market views related to higher education in a post-neoliberalism context. Thus, the politicization of the public policies in the Latin America countries are highlighted, this is located in an historical process that takes more than three decades characterized by the increasing complexity and diverse relations among the State, the market, the society and education marked by a deep economical globalization. According to Zelaya, the economy globalization means an expansion of transnational

links between the economic unities that create different ways in the collective taking of decisions, new contacts and communication, technology transfer, distinct relations in the culture and society, among other process that do are not defined exclusively inside of the national States mark.

In her article, Zelaya concentrates in the relationship of the international organizations and the higher education, but, differently to Perrota, she does not bring the regionalization as an interpretative category, but, instead she focuses on the instable and conflictive relationship between State-Society-University, historically situated as a central category of analysis to understand the educational systems configuration and reconfiguration. In order to contextualize this relationship, a historic perspective is adopted and it considers the different policies rationalities and types that the State in Latin America has assumed (which she names post social, although she coincides with Tello in the characterization of his neoliberal and post-neoliberal tendencies). This is why the author goes forward to the problematization of one of the constitutive tensions of the Latin American higher educational system: the definition, the intervention, the regulation and the articulation between public, private, and State participation.

According to Zelaya, the tendencies that have marked the private educational development and the marketization of Latin America higher education can be explained as a consequence of the vigorous promotion of international financial credits of international organizations. The author points that even though the privatization movement has flourished in different parts of the world and it is correspondent with a privatization on the economical politic sphere. Specifically, the incidence of the international organizations of cooperation, and of the agents (national and regional), is increasingly competing for new scenarios in higher education. In these large regional scenarios, it seems necessary to revise –again– as part of the agenda the consideration of the State and IOs roles in higher education. This means a rethink the destiny of universities understanding the present complexity of new scenarios.

In the penultimate chapter, (OIs, pruebas internacionales, medios, redes y la educación en America Latina) Martin Caldo brings a reflection on international evaluations, specially in regards of the Program of International Student Assessment (PISA) and its penetration in several urban sectors in Latin America originating from the imposition of discussions agendas that are acquired by the media and the social networks. According to the author, the combination of these information transmission devices end up exerting a complementarity action that installs a strong discourse that impact common sense. As a consequence it becomes extremely complex to establish public educational policies that contradict what seems imperative: the necessity of evaluate the scholar performance.

The author centers his investigation from the data dissemination from the PISA tests performed in the year of 2012 in Argentina. He questions the legitimacy that could be reached by international standardized tests as indicators of the current situation of an educational system in any country. Then, he warns that the PISA tests assume the idea that there is a good education which would be reachable through the acquisitions of, supposedly, universal knowledge, objective and non-political, transmitted by teachers, acquired by the students and measured by the Ministry. In order to question these assumptions, Caldo takes forward the analysis of two different options of politics response to this data interpretation raised by the media. Finally, he proposes a possible alternative that encompasses the development of a Pedagogical Congress, which allows building another way of thinking about education, which combines physical presence participation with virtual participation proportioned by virtual networks.

According to Caldo, the development of a Pedagogical Congress, in social network times, could incorporate, in a proactive way, these forms of communications to establish mechanisms of active

participation, through orderly proposals that allow maximization of the sustentation basis of these proposals and the opinions that they might generate. Internet and network access would establish spaces that have a large load of positivity, which would be used to foment participation. One of the more remarkable aspects of this article is the juxtaposition of the concept of right to the education understood as a fundamental human right and the “good education” supported by PISA tests, is considerable pertinent to put a central axis in the dichotomy homogenization-diversity. While PISA and the technocratic model propose the idea of a single way to teach and evaluate, to think from the right to education, it implies to attend and respect the diversity. That is something that is not considered from the perspectives of the international evaluations of academic performance (of the systems, students and professors), in which the PISA tests is based on: an additive scope of evaluation.

Finally, this monograph ends with the text of Ramón Aguadero Miguel, *La internacionalización de las problemáticas educativas y la homogeneización de las reformas educativas más allá de América Latina: el caso de Mozambique*. In this text, that addresses the case of a country in another region of the world, Mozambique in Africa, has as objective to bring evidence from a rigorous analyzed case for the increasing homogenization in neoliberal aspects of the educational speech and the educational reforms abroad the Latin American case, where the IOs are present, that promote and distort the educational reform process from a human rights perspective. The author focuses on the reality present in Sub Saharan Africa from the years of 1990 and highlights that even though the educational change is a plural and complex subject in this subcontinent, the colonial legacy is still present and exercises a strong influence in the collective imagination and in the life of the States and their citizens, yet the African participation in the global dynamic has propitiated, in the whole region, market economic openings and a liberal democracy (more formal than real in several of these countries). This context has paved and legitimated the way that educational reforms process in sub-Saharan Africa counting on the prime role of the donors in the re-formulation of policies, educational systems and the pedagogical keys that sustain the new curriculums, and, in special, he highlights the presence and influence of the institutions such as the United Nations, International Monetary Fund (FMI) and the World Bank Group.

Similar to what happened in the Latin American countries (analyzed in other article in this monograph), in the decade of 1990 Mozambique started an educational reform process that resulted on a paradigm change from the socialists thesis (which until then had prevailed in this country) in the educational neoliberal approach. This choice allowed access the help of the donors and begun a post-military way of reconstruction after years of civil war. The educational policy has adopted since then pedagogical, organizational and curricular approaches that come from organizations originating from the United Nations and the World Bank Group. The progresses in these goals, nevertheless, cannot hide the difficult to reach an evenhanded education that allows the social promotion of the more vulnerable groups. Aguadero Miguel sustains that the evidence that exist is nothing else than fallacies of an educational model that serves more to legitimate and give credibility to the authorities in front the community than to promote an internal social development.

The author highlights how the reformulation of the Mozambique educational model, supported by the educational point of view of the donors countries and organizations, has resulted on an educational speech centered in the vision of the education as a key factor to the social development of their country, which concentrated on focalized proposals in the progressively universalization of elementary education, in the achievement of an educational quality understood as an optimization of the educational process to the service of the formation of a work force that would be needed to the economic take off, and in the improvement of the educational public management to all levels as an essential scaffolding to sustain the reformation process. Many of the terms of

these proposals match with the ones promoted by the International Organization for Latin America. Nevertheless, the starting debilities in the Mozambique case (as consequence of its historical development characterized for the political and social oppression, counts more than in the Latin American countries) have given place along the last decade to a tension between the enlargement of the education access and the education and relevance and coherence of the acquired knowledge in the scholar institutions.

According to Aguadero Miguel, it is hard to find the solution to the educational problems of this African country specially in what concerns to four tension areas: the centralization versus the decentralization, the technical-professional formation versus the humanistic formation, the uniformity versus the cultural diversity valuation. These difficulties not only lie in financial factors but, also, in others, historical and political (like the acceptance of the cultural plurality of the country by the potential questioning about the national unity), ethnic regeneration, strengthening of the management mechanisms and technological dependency in the formulation of an educational policy

Additionally, we hope that this monographic edition performs substantial contributions to the comprehension of the International Organization roles in Latin America and that it can become a source of information to academics, politics, advisors and everyone involved in the debates related to this question. The initiatives of educational reforms promoted by International Organizations in the region are developed in particular contexts, in each national case and with notorious diversities in each country. They face institutional logics and formative systems that clog harmonization intra-regional and intra- national intents, as the ones that were analyzed in some of the articles in this monograph.

The influences are not linear although the countries evidence tendencies and adaptations in similar fashions and even in similar periods of time regarding the base of this transnational institutions and agencies (Moods, 2006). It is possible to claim, in alignment with Philips (2008), that a linear process of linear educational internationalization does not exist; this is possible to identify the Latin American case (the African case of Mozambique also aligns with this situation). According to Phillips it results more appropriate to talk about cross-national attraction process of educational policies (that can be located in a four stage conceptual scheme: attraction, decision, implementation, internationalization/indigenization), which will give place to a continuous circular progression of educational policies among the countries. In all of this, the key result is the investigation of the contextual and historical reasons that give support to the adaptations of the politic proposals executed by the International Organizations, the context of their reception allow the interpretation of what is taken in each international proposal and how it is adapted (and implemented) in each national case. The transformations and reforms promoted in the region are proof of this circulation, intermittent but constant between the educational policies that push forward Latin American countries in function of the different influences and, more or less intense and meaningful coming from the IOs.

As a general conclusion, we can affirm that the studies on policy transfer establishes an interesting area for understanding the power arrangements (IOs, national States, jurisdictional States, civil society) and the policy conflicts extended in specific contexts, as in Latin American countries. We think that this theme regarding the incidence of the IOs in regional education, as the Latin American one, characterized by the diversity in the educational development of each country, has renovated as a subject of study in the last four decades and, because of this, incites not only analytical and political interests but, also, an intellectual challenge that should be faced and extended.

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