Power and International Education Governance in a Post-Neoliberal World:

The Cases of Latin America and Southeast Asia

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May 8, 2012

Honors Capstone

University Honors in International Studies

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"Education is a contested terrain and moreover, one with tremendous power to shape the form that globalization takes in both the near and distant future."
    – William Watkins, *Handbook of Research in the Social Foundations of Education*

INTRODUCTION

One does not have to look far to see globalization at work: a simple visit to a local

convenience store could very well result in the purchase of products that have been manufactured

or assembled at various locations throughout the world. A conference call could connect an

American professional with colleagues spanning continents. Popular music and other forms of

entertainment now transcend language and political barriers – they have become global.

Attitudes towards globalization vary significantly. On the positive end, a consumer today

has many more options at more competitive prices than someone would have had decades

previous. Travel is easier and more abundant, allowing one to visit wonders of the world

someone could only have dreamed of seeing not too long ago. Communication improvements

facilitate the dissemination of information and transnational networks in an effective manner as

well. On the other end of the spectrum, globalization is often associated with environmental

degradation, labor rights controversies, and a deepening trench of inequality on a global scale.

Surely a worker who once had a steady factory job would not appreciate his place of

employment being shipped overseas. Typically, globalization is associated with economics, as

increased trade and capital flows are obvious results of greater levels of integration. A growth in

the number of multinational corporations and subsequent foreign direct investment support this.

Globalization, however, is a phenomenon that also permeates political, social, and cultural

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spheres as ideas, norms, and values are disseminated through mass media and migration flows. Ideas are powerful, driving forces of the movement, though not as immediately visible as material gains or losses.

While "globalization" may conjure up images of markets, this paper brings forth another venue through which globalization takes place: the classroom. Generally, children around the world are gaining more access to education. Schools can serve to promote ideologies or instill values related to dominant forces within globalization, especially primary schools that reach students in their formative years. Once the jurisdiction of local or national authorities, education has become much more global in nature through agendas set by international institutions and standards used to boost national competitiveness (King, Marginson and Naidoo, 2011). Greater access to new technologies, revamped curricula emphasizing relevant market skills, and pushing education funding under the auspices of the market are some of the effects of globalization on education.

Through a critical approach, this paper seeks to understand hegemony and changing power dynamics in international education, with specific attention to institutions and ideologies surrounding the globalization of education. How have educational governance structures changed over time and how do they adapt to local context? What tools do governance structures use to shape education? As Finnemore (1996, p. 3) writes, organizations "institutionalize" and "propagate" cultural norms, or "norms that define identities, interests, and social realities for the people who inhabit those organizations." Through international organizations and institutions one can see who holds power, how education is "governed" at an international or supranational level, and which ideologies prevail. This paper uses two case studies, Latin America and Southeast Asia and their accompanying regional organizations, to analyze these processes: How

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do global and regional organizations shape domestic education policies in Latin America and Southeast Asia? How do regional organizations shape ideology in international education?

Latin America and Southeast Asia have been chosen as case studies because they both emerged from the context of colonization, and they currently have comparable regional educational architecture in place -- regional organizations focusing on economic integration with secondary focuses on social and cultural forces with a similar extent of integration. Two current themes in international education and international political economy scholarship, regional governance and post-neoliberalism, are central to this paper. International educational governance often involves agenda-setting mechanisms employed by international organizations (or imperialist forces), which seek to intervene in a national or local education system. Many of such institutions have heeded neoliberalism, a set of values embracing free market reforms and modernization approaches to international development. In response, authors of "post-neoliberalism" propose embracing homegrown success, social justice, and recognition of local values and social contexts.

Through existing literature regarding international education governance, one can see that education governance and globalization have taken place under three "eras," each with an accompanying ideology. First, colonialism operated via imperialism, resulting in complete top-down change. The second era arose during the 1980s and 1990s with the World Bank and IMF-led reforms inspired by a neoliberal ideology. The third era, this paper will argue, has and will continue to be marked by the rise of regional organizations employing a post-neoliberal approach. This paper's core argument is that structural and ideological power shifts are occurring -- from the global to the regional, and from neoliberalism to post-neoliberalism -- in international education governance. Such a movement has great implications for international education.

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While global organizations have been dominated by Western voices and ideologies, regional movements have the capacity to adapt to unique historical and cultural contexts. The former tends to use one-size-fits-all methods while the latter can adjust education agendas to suit local populations. Transplanted systems push forward values and beliefs of an outside society, prolonging inequality and socioeconomic stagnation. Greater recognition of local values and voices in developing education programs allows for more just and equitable development.

The first half of this paper will present literature and discuss notions of education governance and ideologies. It will begin by addressing definitions surrounding globalization and will underline the benefits and costs of education globalization recognized by scholars in international education and international relations fields. This will be followed by a discussion of governing structures and ideologies in each of the aforementioned eras of international education: colonialism/imperialism, global organizations/neoliberalism, and regional organizations/post-neoliberalism. The second half of this paper focuses on the two case studies of interest, Latin America and Southeast Asia and their regional organizations. In order to demonstrate the structural and ideological shift taking place, agendas and policies of regional institutions will be examined. Many of the education organizations mentioned are subgroups of larger, powerful regional organizations: the Organization of American States, the Andean Community, Mercosur, and ASEAN. A comparison will demonstrate how regional structures may diverge or converge in their approaches. Ultimately, the similarities between the two are striking: both regions' organizations have largely come into being in the late 1990s, with the decline of the Washington Consensus models, and both seek to emphasize and enhance the cultural diversity within their own regions through targeted programs and dialogue forums.

The intention of this study is not to provide evaluations of regional organizations' rates of success. Instead, it seeks to add to existing discussions regarding education globalization. Neither regional governance nor post-neoliberalism are unique ideas; scholars from both education and political economy fields have addressed both. What has not been done, however, is the application of post-neoliberal ideas to regional governance in the realm of education. Literature on this subject matter would highly benefit from such a connection, as the two subjects complement each other, and, as will be shown, are indicative of the future of international education governance. While many studies have focused specifically on higher education, primary education, or early childhood education as a point of analysis, this paper looks at education as a whole, recognizing that education development in one category will influence development in others as well. The comparative nature of this study allows one to see how organic structures – that is, homegrown institutions – adhere to their unique contexts and appreciate cultural diversity.

A study such as this one will only increase in importance in an increasingly uncertain international climate. As already touched upon, globalization has an immense impact on the daily lives of people around the world. Schools and education not only spread knowledge and information, but also values and culture (Simpson, 2011). Education globalization can be used as a tool to enhance the potential of societies and peoples around the world. The reality of education governance throughout the past century, however, shows that education can range from a method of imperialism to a means of serving the international market. Regional methods of governance and post-neoliberalism, if effective, will shift power away from Washington-backed, multilateral institutions. The result will be a more multipolar international order – one that greater reflects the cultural richness and diversity of the world.

'EDUCATION GLOBALIZATION' AS A CONCEPT

While few deny the important impact of globalization on the daily lives of people around the globe, a precise meaning of "globalization" in reference to education is not so clear. Many authors situate education globalization in a broader context of economic globalization. Gallegos (2011, p. 293) associates globalization with "the phenomenal transformation of communication technology and transportation systems… new economic networks that transcend national boundaries and accelerate unprecedented accumulations of wealth." Naidoo (2011, p. 41) adds to this concept, "the actions and interests of transnational corporations, the workings of global financial and labor markets, the development of new forms of production based on new technologies, and the compression of time and space." Similarly, Marginson (2011, p. 5) equates "globalization" with the rise of European trading empires, the rise of the nation-state, and more recently "the growing mobility of ideas, people and educational capital across borders." The advent of the internet has facilitated higher education integration especially because it enhances visibility and information sharing via a "one-world library" (p. 5). Collectively, these scholars emphasize market forces in determining the incentives of active participants in education globalization.

Others offer a much more critical approach to understanding the definition of globalization. Waters (1995, p. 3) considers it "the direct consequence of the expansion of European cultures across the world via settlement, colonialisation and cultural mimesis." Yang (2003) connects globalization with the spread of markets at the expense of the world's poor. Yang mentions that the term has become a "buzzword" to describe many different processes. Apple (2009) and Torres (2009) also call to attention multiple interpretations of the concept of globalization. Apple writes that "globalization" and "postcolonial" have become "ceremonial

slogans" whose meaning largely depends on the context in which they are written. Because of this, Torres chooses to use the term "globalizations," indicating its variety of uses.

For the purposes of this paper, I will not propose a precise definition of globalization, but rather acknowledge it as a phenomenon involving increasing migration, flows of information, and trade. Most importantly, as Apple writes, globalization takes into account that "the world is seen relationally – as being made up of relations of dominance and subordination and of movements, cultures, and identities that seek to interrupt these relations" (Apple, 2009, p. xii).

When applied to education specifically, globalization entails the convergence of curricula and education structures and the movement of students and teachers across borders. This alone is not a source of controversy and has indeed been a phenomenon for much longer than the current era of heightened economic integration. Marginson (2011) writes that education, particularly higher education, has long been a tool of great empires in exchanging information and promoting migration: from ancient India, to the academy of Alexandria under the Ptolemaic Dynasty in Egypt, to the Sui Dynasty in China, "place-bound centers of learning" are prevalent throughout history. He continues, "The very raison d'être of the university lay in this paradoxical combination of place-bound concentrations of power based on localized resources and identity, with mobile and universal knowledge and discourse" (Marginson, 2011, p. 4). The postwar era's increase in trade has served to speed up the natural or traditional flows of education: "In the twentieth century nations began to need mass higher education to meet their economic, social and cultural needs, including the needs of their own global engagement." (Marginson, 2011, p. 5).

Authors following this trend have highlighted benefits and costs to education globalization, of which the benefits are predominantly economic and the costs are generally

social and cultural. International policymakers have heralded education as one of the most important tools for economic development. Neoclassical economists equate education to a means of human capital development and capacity building (Van Der Wende, 2011). The motivations for making education more global are often driven by private sector interests or governments seeking to increase their standing in the global economy. Luke (2011, p. 375) describes education globalization as "an ideology of marketization and standardization, aided and abetted by multinational educational enterprises." Higher education is especially a source of competition in the global economy. Production of knowledge and innovation stemming from universities are tools countries use to increase their comparative advantage and subsequently enhance development. Developing countries can use higher education to their benefit, as generation of and access to information will encourage them to "leapfrog," or surpass intermediate stages of development, and become more competitive globally (Naidoo, 2011). Universities also serve as systems for producing and spreading "economic values" as per a neoliberal ideology (Marginson 2011). Torres and Schugurensky (2002, p. 430) attribute the "international convergence of higher education systems" to the Bretton Woods institutions, powerful business groups, and a need to remain competitive in the global market.

Economic development and prosperity are extremely visible; someone growing up in poverty with a chance to receive an education has a chance to climb to higher standards of living. Globalized, standardized education can give students from developing countries similar sets of skills as students from the developed world, which in turn gives them the opportunity to migrate places with more opportunities, attend universities, or contribute to their own country's development and industries (Torres and Schugurensky, 2002; Ritzen, 2003). Education aiming to give students a chance to compete and operate globally can rapidly change the face of poverty.

As such, governments may see it in their interest politically to work with multinational corporations and multilateral institutions to develop curricula and school systems. Corporate involvement in international education has become more prevalent over the past few years, with large technology firms such as Cisco Systems, Oracle, and Microsoft leading the way.[1]

While education globalization is difficult to refute in an economic sense, the social and cultural aspects become much murkier. Whereas education was once under the jurisdiction of outright imperialism in much of the global south due to colonialism, today's globalizing education regimes are more indirectly controlled. Because many of the multinational corporations and multilateral institutions affecting international education systems are Western-based, indigenous values and local sources of knowledge are often overridden by transplanted Western methods. Critics of education globalization often call to imperialist tendencies of global education reform at both the K-12 and the post-secondary level. As Naidoo (2011, p. 44) writes,

> In a rapidly changing, uncertain and multipolar world higher education is also increasingly deployed to assert sociopolitical and cultural influence in regional and global contexts… Values are also transported into other countries through both explicit and 'hidden' curriculum strategies that include the kinds of learning deriving from the nature and organizational design of the institution and curriculum as well as from the behavior and attitudes of the faculty.

In the context of international relations, education can serve as "hard power" when it acts as an economic tool, but its "soft power" is quite influential as well. In this text, the "sociopolitical and cultural influence" to which Naidoo refers is an example of soft power spread from the dominant or great powers in the international system to their weaker, developing counterparts. As Freire

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[1] Cisco Systems has partnered with the Mexican government, Oracle has established multiple government partnerships, and Microsoft recently announced plans to start an African digital schools project. Cisco and Oracle have published reports regarding these programs on their websites (http://www.cisco.com/web/about/citizenship/socio-economic/globalEd.html, http://www.oracle.com/us/education/selectcountry-new-079003.html).

(1970) famously wrote in the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, social life is controlled by an "oppressive" class dominating the "oppressed." In the realm of education, the curriculum and structure is controlled by the oppressors and forced upon the oppressed, prolonging their dependence. Freire's (1970, p. 46) words are perhaps more relevant than ever with regards to the state of globalizing, international education: "More and more, the oppressors are using science and technology as unquestionably powerful instruments for their purpose: the maintenance of the oppressive order through manipulation and repression."

Similarly, Luke (2011) articulates the dangers of moving towards what he calls a "global curriculum." With such a large emphasis placed on standards and developing human capital, schools are increasingly omitting important foundations of a democratic education: "debates and learnings about civics, civility, language and culture; …diverse and common cultural touchstones; and … learning to live together" (p. 375). This, in turn, neglects indigenous and local knowledge, which traditionally has been a focus in homes and schools but is now being separated from the latter. Instilling values in youth generally is a role of primary schools, but this phenomenon is also applicable to higher education. Universities compete with other tertiary institutions globally for the world's best and brightest students, so it is to their advantage to have a global outlook and strong rankings. This system shuns local knowledge and diverse research because most academic journals are controlled by Western academics and dominant countries determine what is "high quality" and "relevant research" (Naidoo, 2011; Yang, 2003).

Critics also discuss inequality as a serious side effect of education globalization. Generally, more neoliberal societies have more social stratifications or higher gini coefficients (a measure of inequality in a society where "1" is perfect inequality and "0" is perfect equality). When applied to education, this means that market-led reforms and privatization of schools and

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universities allow only students from a certain socioeconomic background to be able to afford to attend (Torres and Schugurensky, 2002; Yang, 2003). Private schools and universities are often standards-driven and have quotas or required amounts of published research and progression in a given year. This inherently inhibits society-wide participation because "students from non-traditional constituencies are time- and resource- intensive" and thus schools have little incentive to incorporate them (Naidoo, 2011, p. 51). Presumably, a society using an indigenous education system would not have such divisions.

Essentially, economic advantages that come from curriculum convergence and greater global flows of people and information may also be politically advantageous because such reforms are very visible to a society; human capital and capacity building can lead to greater development. However, globalized education also has less visible, negative side effects (as economists would say, "opportunity costs") relating to "soft power" and cultural imperialism, social losses, and deepening inequalities. Most importantly, when globalization is a predominantly one-way process (moving from the West to the rest of the world), accompanying education policies will contain a "hidden curriculum," packaged with Western values. The divergence in outlooks regarding economic and sociocultural aspects of education globalization will be very important when analyzing the two themes of this paper, international structures and ideologies. Education globalization, a very multi-dimensional subject matter, can be both exacerbated and mitigated by international actors.

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION GOVERNANCE: STRUCTURES

In a global era, education is increasingly subject to international governance structures. Put simply, this means that power in educational sectors is transferred from local and national governments to international actors. Hirst and Thompson (1999, p. 269) describe governance as

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"the control of an activity… performed by a wide variety of public and private, state and non-state, national and international institutions and practices." This section outlines three eras in international education governance via literature regarding their institutions and structures. First, colonialism is briefly discussed. This turns to a description of how international actors have governed education on a macro level following decolonization over the past half-century. Following decolonization, global institutions that arose tended to fall into one of two camps, those who regarded education as a public good and those who saw it as a market tool, creating a divergence in governing mechanisms. Finally, and most recently, regional organizations reflect a multipolarizing world, with educational structures following suit.

ERA ONE: COLONIALISM

Colonialism arose from a geopolitical and economic desire on the part of Western European powers to expand their resources and labor capacities by exploiting populations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America (Torres, 2009). Although political and economic control in colonial movements was visible (and still remains visible in former colonies today), what is less understood generally is the psychological impact of the colonizer onto the colonized. As described by Fanon (1963) and Memmi (1965), the colonizer actively made the colonized populations subordinate in all aspects of life. Fanon (1963, p. 72) writes, "The appearance of the settler has meant in the terms of syncretism the death of the aboriginal society, cultural lethargy, and the petrification of individuals." Memmi (1965, p. 114) adds, "To subdue and exploit, the colonizer pushed the colonized out of the historical and social, cultural and technical current." Both of these authors discuss the extreme violence that was a part of everyday life in colonies, forcefully maintaining the power of the colonizer. This oppression was done under the guise of keeping the peace, although it was actually the "bringer of violence into the home and into the

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mind of the native" (Fanon, 1963, p. 31). Ironically, the colonized looked up to the colonizers as

idols as a result of the stratified power structure. The colonized began to adopt the colonizers'

customs and behaviors, including the use of their language over native languages.

> In order to assimilate and to experience the oppressor's culture, the native has had to
> leave certain of his intellectual possessions in pawn. These pledges include his adoption
> of the forms of thought of the colonialist bourgeoisie. This is very noticeable in the
> inaptitude of the native intellectual to carry on a two-sided discussion; for he cannot
> eliminate himself when confronted with an object or an idea (Fanon, 1963, p. 39)

Thus, the implementation of foreign norms and values in colonies was just as damaging as

violence and economic exploitation.

The colonial era can be considered a "first era" of international education governance

because it consisted of a supranational power – the colonizer – actively influencing local

education systems. Predictably, education in colonial movements was most notable for its

complete lack of recognition of local histories, promotion of inequality and stratification, and

top-down approach. This sort of intellectual imperialism crafted a type of knowledge that

maintained the dominance of the colonial powers. The curriculum of the colonial education

system was replicated off of that in the colonizers' home country, which only served to prolong

the alienation felt by the colonized.

> The very great majority of colonized children are in the streets. And he who has the
> wonderful good luck to be accepted in a school will not be saved nationally. The memory
> which is assigned him is certainly not that of his people. The history which is taught him
> is not his own… The books talk to him of a world which in no way reminds him of his
> own… The teacher and school represent a world which is too different from his family
> environment. (Memmi, 1965, p. 104-106).

Although the "great powers" of Western Europe and major leaders of the colonial movement

(France, the United Kingdom, Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Spain) differed in their

exact approaches to governing colonies, transplanted education from the colonizer to the

colonized was a consistent pattern across colonies. This often meant "limited access to study, preference for the language of the colonial ruling group, and limited freedom of association and freedom of curricula" (Teferra and Altbach, 2004, cited in Carpentier and Unterhalter, 2011, p. 152). For example, in Indonesia in the 1950s, education was completely replicated off Dutch models with Dutch as the language of instruction. The higher education system in Dutch-ruled Indonesia was staffed by Dutch professors and "characterized by emphasis on the education of a few individuals with little attention given to the need for a more systematic approach to mass education" (UNESCO, 1991, cited in Carpentier and Unterhalter, 2011, p. 152-153).

Decolonization movements led to political independence, but economic dependence on colonial powers continued. This, in turn, had a lasting effect on the development of national education and higher education systems: "Global inequalities inherited from the colonial era imposed a mode of expansion of higher education that reproduced local inequalities and severely constrained newly formed institutions in closing gaps in relation to research and teaching" (Carpentier and Unterhalter, 2011, p. 153). Although imperialism was not the raison d'être of subsequent international education governance movements, the colonial era has left a lasting impact.

ERA TWO: GLOBAL GOVERNANCE AND MULTI-LATERAL INSTITUTIONS

While the decolonization era posed challenges to newly independent states in the developing world, another major trend was occurring throughout its developed counterpart: reconstruction and institution-building following WWII. The postwar era has seen an exponential growth in the number of international organizations. In large part due to the atrocities in and destruction following World War II, victors of the war assembled to create many of the world's most prevalent international organizations, which borne governance structures in security and

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macroeconomic domains. The United Nations, World Bank (originally known as International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) and the International Monetary Fund were direct results of meetings and conferences taking place during and immediately following WWII. The European Union, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and the World Trade Organization were also indirect results of postwar decision-making (Judt, 2005).

Contrary to the preceding colonial era that employed top-down, imperlialist means of facilitating education, each of these organizations have used more indirect tools of lending conditionality (providing loans with a set of conditions relating to education reform), agenda setting (distributing policy prescriptions or starting initiatives regarding education), or market coercion (incentivized trade liberalization). Interestingly, these organizations were not originally intended to compose a global education system or standards. While the World Bank and the IMF were originally intended to foster reconstruction in war-torn Europe, subsequent decolonization movements gave the World Bank and the IMF a new raison d'être – lending and facilitating development in much of the post-colonial world. (Castro, 2002) The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) was similarly created with goals to reconstruct and develop Europe by acting as the forum to administer Marshall Plan funds (it was originally the Organization for European Economic Cooperation). Since its official inception in 1961, the OECD has turned towards promoting development and international business on a global scale (OECD, 2012). The World Trade Organization is the bureaucratized version of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which was created along with the IMF and the World Bank at Bretton Woods. The only organization discussed here that did not originally have an economic focus is the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

(UNESCO), a subgroup of the United Nations (whose main mission at its creation was the maintenance of world security).

An international focus on education at an institutional level began with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights' inclusion of a "right to education" and UNESCO's establishment in 1946 (Lebeau and Sall, 2011, p. 130). In 1959, the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Rights of the Child, which stated that all education should be free, compulsory and available to all children (UNESCO, 2011). Since then, UNESCO has played a large role in the development of both higher education and primary and early childhood education in much of the developing world. Regional conferences held by UNESCO throughout the 1950s and 1960s greatly shaped university development in developing countries, and also established regional networks and university associations (Lebeau and Sall, 2011). These "development universities" were focused on teaching (with the incorporation of indigenous culture and "practical problems of development"), research, and service (Coleman, 1986, cited in Lebeau and Sall, 2011). UNESCO was active in early childcare education development in developing countries as well. Rosemberg (2003, p. 255) explains that UNESCO (along with UNICEF) disseminated a specific model for education in the developing world through "publications, international and regional seminars, projects carried about by experts working with the national ministries, and on a smaller scale, the direct financing of projects." The main tenants of UNESCO were to combat poverty, improve elementary education, and using a community participation model.

The United Nations and UNESCO over the past two decades have attempted to set the international education agenda through the "Education for All" program created in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990, and through the 2000 United Nations Millennium Development Goals. The

latter lists two education-specific goals: universal primary education by 2015, and the elimination of gender disparities by 2005. The "Education for All" agenda emphasizes access to schools and completion of primary education, as well as secondary and higher education, which Ritzen (2003, p. 6) calls "important components for a dynamic economy and human development." Others are more dubious as to the effectiveness of "Education for All" since its inception in 1990 (Alexander, 2001; Dahlstrom, 2009). A consensus appears to emerge throughout literature on this subject regarding a power shift from UNESCO to the World Bank in setting the international education agenda post-1985 (Lebeau and Sall, 2001; Rosemberg, 2003; Weiner, 2011). From that point forward, community-based approaches made way for free market institutions.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the World Bank and IMF were notable for their active role in international development via lending and conditionality. Loans granted by the World Bank and the IMF to indebted countries often come with lower interest rates than loans from private banks, with the caveat that the borrowing country must fulfill a set of conditions. These conditions, often called the "Washington Consensus," were known for their embracement of neoliberal ideas including state-owned business privatization, trade liberalization, and tighter fiscal policy (Barnett and Finnemore, 2004; Castro, 2002; Woods, 2006). The World Bank's primary mission regarding education development concerns bridging the "finance gap" and the "policy gap" (Ritzen, 2003). The former refers to the unequal amounts of funds going towards education in developed and developing countries, and the latter involves the different approaches to education seen in developing countries. Overall, the World Bank and the IMF use economics as the sine qua non of education development. This is not surprising, as both of these organizations have primarily economic purposes. Ritzen (2003, p. 10), from the Human

Development sector of the World Bank, writes, "Good education policy is rooted in good macroeconomic policy." The World Bank's approach to education is consistent with human capital theory, or investment in skills building in an effort to build a strong labor force for a given country (Lebeau and Sall, 2011).

The World Bank and the IMF's primary instruments are grants and loans, although loans are much more frequent. Loans come in two forms: project lending and adjustment lending. Alexander (2001) explains that adjustment loans have a greater impact in influencing the demand and supply of education. Traditionally, World Bank-financed education projects have been supply-side in nature; it has been assumed that developing educational services, materials, and schools will lead to greater amounts of students in schools. Overall, the World Bank's recipe for international education development has focused on privatization, decentralization, cost recovery, and an emphasis on primary education over secondary or higher education. More recently, however, the World Bank has loosened its staunch support of primary over higher education (Lebeau and Sall, 2011).

With the large financial might of the World Bank, many countries have taken outright loans to develop their education sectors or have accepted other adjustment loans with conditions of education reform attached. Lending for educational development from the World Bank increased dramatically throughout the 1990s, and from 1991-1998, $15 billion was lent to low-income and middle-income countries (Alexander, 2001, p. 289). A specific example of World Bank and IMF reform policies at work can be found in Rosemberg's (2003) analysis of such policies on the Brazilian education system. In 1994, Brazil incorporated World Bank and IMF guidelines into its social and economic policies, subsequently redirecting funds from early childhood programs and secondary education towards primary education. Just one year previous,

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the Ministry of Education had set forth a plan amping up investment and funding to early

childhood programs. The adoption of policy prescriptions from the IMF and World Bank also led

Brazil to decentralize its education system and privatize educational services.

One does not have to look far to find critics of the World Bank. Easterly (2006), has

accused the World Bank of facilitating grandiose, ineffective government projects when

development strategies should be focused at an individual, attainable level instead. He also

mentions the lack of transparency and accountability in World Bank projects; rarely does the

World Bank produce a report highlighting its failures. Similarly, Castro (2002), a former

employee of the World Bank, explains that the problems do not arise from the actual policies

themselves, but rather the actual implementation efforts.

> The issue is not whether teachers have taken courses. But have they learned anything? Are the students benefiting from their increased skills? Are the purchased books being distributed? Are they being used? Are students learning more as a consequence? The loan officers and the regular bank bureaucracy rarely if ever ask these questions (Castro, 2002, p. 395)

Stiglitz (2003), former Chief Economist at the World Bank, has also criticized the Washington

Consensus approach. Simply implementing a top-down approach to fostering development and

poverty reduction will not be fruitful: "Development requires a transformation of society" (p.

76). He brings attention to the example of Uganda, a country that completely eliminated school

fees, despite the fact that the IMF had prescribed a policy of school fee implementation. Doing

so shifted the mindset regarding the attainability of education throughout the Ugandan populace,

and as a result, more Ugandan children attended school than ever before. Finally, Torres and

Schugurensky (2002, p. 439) write that World Bank documents contain "eminently technical"

language "without enough conversant historical analysis of the social context of education, the

political dynamics, or issues of power."

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What motivates the World Bank and the IMF to maintain such methods, when criticisms are so rampant? Woods (2006) provides a rationale for Washington Consensus decision-making. First, the bureaucratic and technocratic nature of the organizations allow its staff to work in "replicable ways," because any unique projects would leave each staff member individually responsible for their success, rather than the institution as a whole. "Templates," or one-size-fits-all policy frameworks, "permit the Fund and the Bank to 'stand above' local knowledge and to claim a universally applicable expertise, based squarely in the discipline of economics" (p. 64). Furthermore, she calls attention to the geopolitical climate out of which the Washington Consensus was born:

> In the 1980s the Washington Consensus offered a simple, intuitively appealing set of ideas and a vision of future competitiveness and wealth… Old nationalist identities and solidarity were replaced with a new identity of entrepreneurialism, modernization, and integration into the world economy… Neoliberal ideas offered not just a clear way to respond to crisis but a whole new social language and rationale for reform" (p. 69).

Although today we can understand that such an ideology is not a panacea for poverty reduction or education reform, just three decades ago it held great promise.

Another important actor in the economically-driven international education governance community is the OECD, which has taken on a similar ideology to the Washington Consensus model. The OECD has also concerned itself with the use of education in development human capital. According to van der Wende (2011), the OECD operates via "peer pressure" and "consensus-building" to set the international education agenda. Its tools are its research capacity and publications, which scrutinize and compare education sectors and statistics in countries worldwide. The annual *Education at a Glance* publication, for instance, gives performance standards and benchmarks. Also in its library are reviews of country policies and studies on future scenarios (van der Wende, 2011). Just as the World Bank and the IMF rely heavily on

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their technocratic nature and expert staff, the OECD operates as "a kind of think tank, able to take up issues that are not necessarily a priority of its member states, and initiating analysis and formulating alternative strategies that do not necessarily reflect the views of those states" (Sadlak and Hüfner, 2002, p. 95, cited in van der Wende, 2011, p. 103). Essentially, these publications hold national governments accountable for their actions in education. Van der Wende (2011, p. 95) calls the OECD a "central actor in initiating policy debates." This is especially important for higher education, because it is not compulsory and may motivate international students to migrate to one country over another if one country's policies in particular stand out as more favorable. Through its policy prescriptions, countries may decide to take advantage of the expert authority in the OECD.

Altogether, the World Bank, IMF, and OECD view education as a market tool. As Western-based, financially powerful organizations, they have held a formidable presence in the realm of international education governance. More recently, another player has come into the mix: the World Trade Organization (WTO), with its accompanying General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). Education services fall under the auspices of GATS, which means that as trade liberalization measures ensue, countries will be less and less able to protect their education industries from international commercial flows and migration. This has been the subject of much controversy, as have many issues surrounding the WTO. Debate over GATS and education as per GATS is still at large, despite the fact that the current round of trade negotiations in the WTO, the Doha Round, has not reached a conclusion in over a decade (Ravenhill, 2011). Sauvé (2002) brings to attention the massive growth in international trade and diverse market surrounding education services. Since countries are most concerned with development of human capital when it comes to education, according to Sauvé, they will take advantage of market

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demands and opportunities that come from greater market liberalization. Ultimately, countries will continue to pursue economic integration strategies, including education services, with or without the WTO and GATS.

What does this mean for the future of education? Scherrer (2005) sees GATS as leading a large scale "commodification" of education that favors the private owners of education services while possibly exploiting the public and teachers. Additionally, WTO and GATS are supranational in nature, meaning they transcend the power of a single national government. While the decision to become a member of the WTO takes place at a national level, "it pertains to 'bourgeois society' beyond the borders of the individual nation state" (Scherrer, 2005, p. 490). As such, GATS is providing a means of international governance in that it is allowing market forces to determine what education programs a country or industry might decide to implement.

In sum, UNESCO sees education as a "public good," while the rest of the institutions mentioned here use education as an ingredient for competition, development, and profit. This tension has grown as the latter institutions have increased their presence on the global stage. Marginson (2011, p. 11) contests that establishing education as tradable commodity will not work, as it "is unable to function as a conventional market economy… Once disseminated, knowledge retains intrinsic value but cannot be owned by one subject or produced on the basis of scarcity, competition, and market price." While pro-World Bank authors (for example, Ritzen, 2003), insist international financial institutions and international development agencies work in tandem with the United Nations and UNESCO, the conflicting approaches are increasingly insoluble. Yet still, these organizations claim their devotion to the Millennium Development Goals and the need for international cooperation to reach them. Nevertheless, Lebeau and Sall (2011, p. 144) allude to the growing power of market-based approaches: "The 2009 World

Conference on Higher Education appears – in some respects at least – as a desperate attempt by UNESCO to rescue and restore the notion of public good in higher education, even while trying to keep pace with the rapid development of internationalization and the strong infusion of free trade rules in higher education." Cox (2002, p. 86) paints an even gloomier image by contending that the United Nations as a whole has started subscribing to a neoliberal ideology akin to the World Bank, IMF, and WTO. Dahlstrom (2009) has accused UNESCO's Education for All agenda of "neoliberal doublespeak." Although compromises between the two camps appear to have been attempted, the global institutions are merging onto the same lane of market-based education reform.

Education in the developing world is no longer completely controlled by colonizers, but it has been tremendously influenced through the power of Western-based institutions. Yang (2003, p. 275), in a critical analysis of education globalization, writes, "National and global governance can, and must, be reinvented with human development and equity as their core." International governance and organizations have played an immense role in facilitating and shaping education globalization. Indeed, Dale (2005, p. 133, cited in Kupfer, 2008) concludes, "Education policy can no longer be seen as the exclusive preserve of individual nation-states." While UNESCO tends to favor community-based approaches and recognition of education as a public good, others have developed education through a lens of neoliberalism and free marketeering. Recent international political economy scholarship indicates that another type of international organization is on the rise – one that is regional, rather than global, in scope.

ERA THREE: REGIONALISM AND EUROPE'S BOLOGNA PROCESS

In a January 2012 issue of the *Financial Times*, Ian Bremmer, a former member of the executive board of the International Monetary Fund, wrote, "The dearth of truly effective global

institutions is consistent with a broader geopolitical trend, one in which the global agenda is increasingly influenced as much on regional level as on a global one." Regionalism has been a large point of contention amongst international relations scholars since the end of the Cold War, and it is becoming an increasingly relevant issue as global regimes lose power. The World Trade Organization's Doha Round, for instance, has not reached a conclusion largely due to greater relative power in the developing world. Many countries have found it more efficient to reach regional agreements than attempt to negotiate at the global level (Ravenhill, 2011). As demonstrated in the Washington Consensus era, international education governance tends to follow the lead of economic institutions. Accordingly, it is important to see how regionalism is underway in a macro manner, as this will indicate how education governance likely will follow suit.

"Regions" are social constructs that can be defined in economic, political, or sociocultural ways. Huntington (1993) famously predicted the increasing regionalizing of the world due to religious and racial reasons. He outlines multiple regions, which he terms "civilizations," that will divide the world's population, directly in contrast with theories of globalization and homogenization. A civilization is a group of similar communities: "the civilization to which [one] belongs is the broadest level of identification with which he intensely identifies" (p. 24). The civilization will be the most important marker for world organization because of large migration intra-civilization. This is an important issue for the present discussion of regionalism because it shows that first, the nation-state is not the end-all of international affairs, and second, the West will lose relative power and work in a truly multipolar world.

> With the end of the Cold War, international politics moves out of its Western phase, and its centerpiece becomes the interaction between the West and non-Western civilizations and among non-Western civilizations. In the politics of civilizations, the peoples and

governments of non-Western civilizations no longer remain the objects of history as targets of Western colonialism but join the West as movers and shapers of history (Huntington, 1993, p. 23).

Organizations are bureaucratized forms of regions. In some ways, regional organizations are already starting to show Huntington's hypothesis at work – the European Union has largely defined what it means to be "European," seen through the debates over Turkey's possible membership (Ravenhill, 2011).

The growth of regionalism in the international system does not have any singular theory or prediction. Katzenstein (2005) and Calleo (2009) discuss the increasing regionalism of the world in the context of waning or changing American hegemony. Katzenstein argues that the world is becoming more complex with a large host of actors besides the nation-state (although he does not argue that the nation-state will cease to be an important player in the international system) and that "American imperium" must recognize this to be an effective hegemon. Calleo, by contrast, emphasizes the finite power of the United States. The world is turning to a "Pax Europea," following the European Union's model of regional integration. In both of these analyses, economic, as well as geopolitical and cultural factors are present. More empirically, this phenomenon can be seen through the rapid growth in economic integration through regional and preferential trade agreements. From 1948 to 1994, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT, the precursor to the WTO) received 142 notices of regional trade agreements (RTAs). From 1995 to 2008, GATT saw 279 more agreements established, and by 2010, close to 400 were scheduled to be operational (Ravenhill, 2011, p. 187). Ravenhill (2011) attributes the growth in economic regionalism beginning in the 1990s to the end of the Cold War, a rise in global interdependence, and prominence of neoliberalism in the West.

How does this apply to international education? Luke (2011) refers to harmonization of curricula and standards in international education within preferential trading areas. As the global focus of world trade is broken down in favor of a regional focus, education governance is likely to follow suit. A key example of this, and by extension, a possible indication of what is to come, is Europe's Bologna Accords. Through this process, European countries agreed to set standards aligning higher education programs. The reason for this was twofold: First, Europe wanted to make its higher education industry more competitive, and acting as one cohesive bloc of quality universities could allow the European Union to compete more readily with the United States (known as the "Lisbon Strategy") (Välimaa, 2011); Second, such a process facilitates economic integration and intra-Europe migration: "The aim of the accords was to enable a freer flow across the E.U. of educated subjects, and credentials, with verifiable 'quality assured' degrees and expertise across borders" (King, Maginson and Naidoo, 2011, cited in Luke, 2011). The European Union, through this process, is marking a turning point in international education governance; agendas and standards are not being set by a global organization, but a regional one.

The European Commission, the executive body of the European Union (prior to 1991, the European Community), approved a decision to create an "Erasmus" program in 1986. Erasmus was a major initiative to promote the flow of students and teachers and promote cooperation among universities in Europe (Välimaa, 2011). In 1991, the Maastricht Treaty moved Europe from a "community" to a "union," and heightened integration in political and economic spheres. According to Välimaa (2011), Maastricht contained provisions and authority for the European Union to interfere in state education systems, and the Amsterdam Treaty in 2004 laid the groundwork for a European Research Area. The Bologna Process was launched with the Bologna Declaration in 1999, with the intention of creating a European Area of Higher Education. After

this agreement, universities in Europe had to harmonize their credit and degree systems and enact the same processes of accreditation and quality assurance (Bologna Declaration, 1999, cited in Välimaa, 2011).

The Bologna Declaration was an intergovernmental decision. That is, its initiative and aftermath have not been under the complete jurisdiction of the European Union (Ertl, 2006). This occurrence is important for scholars of regionalism because Bologna took place in the context of an already integrated Europe led by a predominantly supranational institution. Kupfer (2008) concludes that states have not surrendered all of their power in the Bologna process, but they have been operating in international settings with the backdrop of an agenda to increase regional competition. Evidence of success or a lack thereof in promoting integration of students is unclear, however the growth in membership within the European Area of Higher Education demonstrates a desire at the national level to regionally integrate: the Bologna Process has reached beyond the 27 European Union member states to its neighbors – in 2010, it had 46 signatories (Välimaa, 2011).

Such a structure of regional education governance has only taken place at the European level, although "embryonic regional structures" exist elsewhere, especially in Southeast Asia and South America, according to Marginson (2011, p. 21). He outlines four prerequisites that must be reached in order to achieve effective regional education governance: "adequate national wealth and educational infrastructure; geographical proximity; some cultural commonality; and political will." Yepes (2006) introduces a 'new regionalism' paradigm, a form of integration transcending economic trading blocs or political alliances by themselves. Such a regional archetype also embraces modern "world values" such as social development and environmental sustainability that are so often ignored by multilateral, neoliberal institutions (Hettne et al., 2001, cited in

Yepes, 2006). Education, in particular higher education, is a subject matter of interest to regional organizations because of its ties to important economic and social issues. Yepes (2006) agrees with Marginson (2011) that after Europe, the next largest regional initiatives are found in Latin America and Southeast Asia, despite regional education organizations existing in Africa, the Arab world, Eurasia, South Asia and the South Pacific.

While the impetus for regional integration generally takes place from within a region due to the perceived economic and political security gains, regionalism in some cases has external support as well. Ravenhill (2011, p. 180) writes, "The EU has been a particularly enthusiastic supporter of regionalism in other parts of the world, providing financial assistance and technical support for other regional schemes." UNESCO has also supported numerous regional conventions, although Yepes (2006) notes they "assumed a grandiose macro-regional approach" that was ultimately unsuccessful in promoting a natural integration process. Yepes recommends that UNESCO support homegrown regional approaches rather than "trying to impose its regional vision of the world" (p. 123). He continues to provide recommendations for the World Bank and the WTO to similarly promote regionalism. With all this to consider, one might wonder whether educational governance structures focused at a more regional, rather than global, level could continue to provide economic benefits while mitigating some of the social and cultural concerns that come with neoliberal, global institutions. As regional organizations are more culturally-specific, they have a greater chance to take advantage of unique or indigenous knowledge vis-à-vis their global counterparts. Huntington's (1993) hypothesis that the world will become more divided through culture shows that global governance will become increasingly infeasible.

Much of the groundwork for regional governance is already set up through trading regimes. Following the logic of neo-functionalism, such institutions may "spillover" to involve

more political and sociocultural integrations. The European Union is a primary example of this, as it began as an economic institution and now can enact decisions such as the Lisbon Strategy (Ravenhill, 2011; Välimaa, 2011). Since the European Union is the most integrated regional organization to date, its incorporation of higher education cooperation could be foreshadowing of other up-and-coming regional organizations. Indeed, the Bologna Process has sought to instill a regional identity throughout European higher education institutions while pushing out the "Americanization" trend previously lamented by European university community (Torres and Schugurensky, 2002, p. 442). Macroeconomic trends and institutions have put architecture for a region-based international education governance system. While this provides for a structural shift, how might underlying ideologies shift?

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION GOVERNANCE: POWER AND IDEOLOGY

The ideologies behind colonial movements as well as the Washington Consensus-driven multilateral institutions are both apparent; colonizers were motivated by imperialism, while the technocrats in Washington-based organizations proudly exhibited their neoliberal approaches. Both of these ideologies focused on economic gain that consequently steered education: "In capitalist societies the education system" represents an "esthetic expression of respect for the established order" that "serves to create around the exploited person an atmosphere of submission and inhibition" (Fanon, 1963, p. 31). Those who control school curricula and education systems in a given country are in a powerful position: they have the ability to push forward their own ideologies and values. Ideologies taught in classrooms help the dominant groups in society retain their status by suppressing the non-dominant. Hegemonic, or supreme, forces in a society create and perpetuate knowledge that the marginalized are expected to follow.

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The Washington Consensus operated on a neoliberal creed in the last decades of the twentieth century. "Neoliberal" has been interpreted multiple ways (similar to the debates over "globalization"). Ravenhill (2011b, p. 485) defines neoliberalism as, "A political orientation that came to prominence in the 1980s, celebrating the desirability of market-based economic institutions and exposure to market ideology as a means of disciplining the population." Macdonald and Ruckert (2009) point out that "neoliberalism" does not only imply macroeconomic policies but also an attempt at greater societal change; in order for a market economy to function properly, a society must be individualistic and embrace competition. Neoliberalism, in the context of education, pushed for decentralization, privatization, administering of school fees, and emphasis on skills and human capital building in curricula. Many authors point out the disastrous effects of these reforms on education systems. According to Torres (2009), excessive privatization of schools caused greater class divisions and inequality, leaving the notion of a "universal public school" in the past. He goes on to explain that schools often have a significant position and role in communities, but constant emphasis on skills building and competition has left a cultural void. Additionally, repeated emphasis on cost reduction and threat of layoffs has placed great burden on teachers, and teachers are blamed for failing schools (Torres, 2009). Weiner (2011, p. 311) lists some of the specific costs of neoliberal programs: "deteriorated school buildings, cuts in teachers' salaries, increased student fees, shrunken school enrollments and diminished academic achievement." Additionally, market-based schools have the power to exert a consumerist ideology on students through various training programs, partnerships with businesses, and even advertisements in schools (Apple, 1999).

The phenomenon of neoliberalism in schools and education policy is just one aspect of a larger narrative involving power dynamics in education. In the case of neoliberal ideology, the Washington Consensus institutions pushed forward their appreciation of capitalism, individualism, and competition through privatization and decentralization of schools. Doing so prolonged their dominance in society, forcing inhabitants in targeted countries to look up to the Western model as the superior one (similar to the psychological dominance of the colonizer onto the colonized). In this situation, local values and community structures were marginalized. As neoliberalism was pervasive in countries receiving IMF and World Bank loans, it became the hegemonic force in affected societies, effectively "oppressing" natural, or homegrown community models. The great scope of this ideology – it fueled development operations led by the West throughout Latin America, Africa, and Asia – maintained or exacerbated inequalities already in place following decolonization movements. Essentially, the "oppressor" of the colonizer was switched to the "oppressor" of the development community.

Leading the oppressor/oppressed dialectic are the writings of Paulo Freire (Apple, 1999, 2009; Torres, 2009). A Brazilian educator and education equality activist, Freire discussed the power of hegemony, or the oppressor, in society and how education can serve to liberate or marginalize. The oppressed are not free, but they are the only ones who can free themselves. Through Freire's words, one can see that imperialism and oppression are not limited to colonization movements, but in any instance when one group attempts to exploit another:

> The oppressor is solidary with the oppressed only when he stops regarding the oppressed as an abstract category and sees them as persons who have been unjustly dealt with, deprived of their voice, cheated in the sale of their labor… To affirm that men are persons and as persons should be free, and yet to do nothing tangible to make this affirmation a reality, is a farce (Freire, 1970, p. 34-35).

A Freirean lens is instrumental in offering a critical perspective regarding ideology in international education governance. International institutions implementing Washington Consensus reforms were creating a model of oppression in that they viewed people in developing countries as tools for economic development. According to Freire, the most important indicator of development should be whether a society (or country) is a "being for itself" (Freire, 1970, p. 160-161). Instead of embracing homegrown approaches to education and development, governments were pushed and at times coerced to privatize public services and education and implement trade liberalization reforms. Such reforms brought out, in the words of Gray (1998), "the worst kinds of capitalism," involving a degradation of social and family values and greater inequality.

Luke (2011, p. 372) writes, "standardization of educational practices has the potential to flatten out cultural, linguistic, intellectual, and educational diversity, with potentially deleterious effects on residual and emergent educational traditions." The neoliberal, Washington Consensus push to globalize and economically develop generally came with a set of Western values and models. Anglo-Saxon culture is based off of the individual, but cultures in much of the Global South are based off of community and extended families (Gray, 1998). Cox (2002) notes that Anglo-Saxon capitalism has even created unrest on continental Europe. Thus, any kind of top-down or outsider implementation of economic, social, and political norms is doomed to be very artificial and more likely to fail. In regards to globalization, Ball (1998, p. 123) writes, "In some contexts this movement 'carries ideas and creates a kind of cultural and political dependency which works to devalue or deny the feasibility of 'local solutions'." Freire (1970) dives deep into a discussion on the importance of dialogue and mutual understanding. Often, "oppressors"

impose a "banking" pedagogy consisting of rote memorization and lacking inquiry. In order to entertain effective dialogue, participants (students and teachers) must be culturally aware.

TOWARDS POST-NEOLIBERALISM?

Two decades ago, one may have presumed that a "New World Order" based off of free marketeering and globalization was inevitable. Growing numbers of multinational corporations and international organizations appeared to be making the nation-state obsolete (Held, 1991). Fukuyama (1992) infamously projected that humanity had reached "the end of history" – that is, the end of the Cold War had left capitalism and liberal democracy as the final forms of economics and government, to which all societies would eventually subscribe. And of course, one could not forget Margaret Thatcher's slogan, "There is no alternative" (Cox, 2002). Such broad projections have received criticisms, most notably from Gray (1998), who discusses the inherent incompatibility between liberal democracy and free markets and the "delusions of global capitalism," and Huntington (1993), who, as previously mentioned, saw the world as increasingly fragmented on the basis of culture and religion. Cox (2002) echoes off of Huntington's point by discussing an increasingly plural world that will begin to challenge the central power of the American "empire." Judt (2010, p. 193-195) also cautions against resting confidence in the status quo:

> Today, it is as though the 20th century never happened. We have been swept up into a new master narrative of 'integrated global capitalism', economic growth and indefinite productivity gains… However, it is not true that an increasingly globalized economy tends to the equalization of wealth… After decades of relative eclipse, nation-states are poised to reassert their dominant role in international affairs.

Judt reminds us that the first era of globalization took place in the decades preceding World War I. Economic interdependence had reached unprecedented levels – no one could have predicted the following conflict.

In both economic development and education, neoliberal policies saw mixed results throughout the global south: Latin America has seen a steady decline in annual growth rates since 1980, and Sub-Saharan African countries' growth has been stagnant, if not negative (Phillips, 2011). Although developing countries were expected to modernize in the same manner as the developed world, structural adjustment programs and lending conditionality implemented by the World Bank and the IMF led to higher levels of indebtedness. Because of this, the "neoliberal policy credo has been discredited" (Peters, 2011, p. 90) Moreover, Dahlstrom (2009) calls the Global Financial Crisis beginning in 2008 the "neoliberal meltdown."

Freire (1970, p. 84) brings a core message forward: "One cannot expect positive results from an educational or political action program which fails to respect the particular view of the world held by the people. Such a program constitutes cultural invasion, good intentions notwithstanding." A "cultural invasion" can be seen concretely through the example brought forth by Torres and Schugurensky (2002, p. 443-444) regarding Latin American university reform. Fueled by pressure from the IMF and World Bank, higher education systems in Latin America implemented "American models," resulting in changes such as the "increasing blurring of the public-private distinction, the implementation of tuition fees in public universities," and, "the partnerships between universities and business," to name a few. Along these same lines, Fanon stresses the need for former colonies to adopt their own approaches, apart from their former colonial powers: "If we want humanity to advance a step further, if we want to bring it up to a different level than that which Europe has shown it, then we must invent and we must make discoveries" (1963, p. 255).

Stiglitz (2003), a critic of the international financial institutions and the Washington Consensus, has proposed a "post-Washington Consensus" model. This new plan for development

does not regard privatization and trade liberalization as the end-all solution to underdevelopment, but incorporates "all aspects of society" to promote sustainable and equitable development (Phillips, 2011). Unlike its predecessor, the post-Washington Consensus heeds community and individual levels (in addition to the private sector and the state) and gives states greater ownership of their own development. Phillips (2011) notes that Stiglitz's model does not attempt to install any greater macro-level change on the world economy; free markets and capitalism still reign supreme. However, this model does appear to be placing emphasis in a new direction – towards individuals and their families.

The post-Washington Consensus model is a definite step away from World Bank and IMF policies throughout the 1980s and 1990s, but recently some authors have taken one step farther in proposing a "post-neoliberal" system. MacDonald and Ruckert (2009) point out that "post-neoliberal" is not intended to mean simply an era following the dominance of neoliberalism, but rather an era "characterized by a search for progressive policy alternatives out of the many contradictions of neoliberalism" (p. 6). Major divisions between "post-neoliberalism" and its counterpart include greater involvement of the state in the economy, strengthening democracy by "engaging citizens more directly," reducing inequality, greater regional (South-South) integration through trade and investment, and development of regional development banks (MacDonald and Ruckert, p. 7). The last two of this list are particularly significant, because they show an exertion of autonomy and independence from Western-led international financial institutions and trading regimes. Perhaps more idealistically, Brown and Lauder (2001, cited in Collin and Apple, 2011, p. 304) argue for a new form of social organization based off of "post-industrial cooperation which reflects the growing importance of human collaboration, knowledge, skills and talents" and "empowerment through the

development and pooling of intelligence to attain common goals or resolve common problems."

The object is not to deny the existence of capitalism, but to transform the way society approaches it.

Apart from political economy, post-neoliberalism has a presence in international education literature. Dahlstrom (2009) specifically uses the term "post-neoliberal" to articulate the necessity of a new international education standard. In the global south, reform in education systems should not be the result of top-down influence from market-based, multilateral organizations. "Restructuring" and "openness" are the key tenets to a new, post-neoliberal education system Dahlstrom proposes.

> A curriculum offensive can build on a philosophical base about humanity oriented towards a concern about the creation of awareness and social justice rather than concerns about markets, bureaucracy and control and their educational variations in the form of competition, management and testing. Furthermore, a new start can position the students and the teachers at the educational steering wheel instead of the managers and planners of the global machinery of education (p. 175).

Matthews (2002) does not specifically use the term "post-neoliberal," but she does stress the urgency of transcending a neoliberal agenda. She discusses secondary schools in Australia, which are beginning to follow tertiary practices of globalization and increasing competitiveness through accepting international students. According to Matthews, a diverted focus toward equality and social justice and a shift away from education based on economic policy should be a priority.

Concerns about social justice are not new, but policymakers in international institutions have neglected them. As mentioned earlier, the World Bank and IMF have largely set the education agenda, using "templates" and their expert authority to install policies that often neglected local context (Woods, 2006). The unsustainability of such methods has become

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evident with the ineffectiveness of reforms in the 1980s and 1990s. Before these policies gained

prominence, Freire predicted their demise.

> The starting point for organizing the program content of education or political action must be the present, existential, concrete situation, reflecting the aspirations of the people. It is not our role to speak to the people about our own view of the world, nor to attempt to impose that view on them, but rather to dialogue with the people about their view and ours. We must realize that their view of the world, manifested variously in their action, reflects their situation in the world (Freire, 1970, p. 85).

Post-neoliberal approaches appear to strive to use Freire's philosophy as their core

principles, judging from their progressive nature and emphasis on awareness and social justice.

A formally implemented education governance program (thus implying at least some top-down

element) cannot truly encompass Freirean ideals, as Freire's model is a community-based,

bottom-up approach to controlling education. Freire's ideas offer a means of analyzing ideology

and control in education, however. In practice societal change does not fit neatly into a top-

down/bottom-up duality. Instead, ideology pertaining to international education governance, seen

through the analysis above, resembles a continuum or spectrum with "top-down" and "bottom-

up" as the extreme ends. At the "top-down" end is imperialism, with the other end consisting of

"bottom-up" Freireanism. Neoliberalism and post-neoliberalism fall between these two extremes,

Ideology Continuum: International Education Governance

Top-Down
Control

Bottom-Up
Control

Imperialism   Neoliberalism   Post-Neoliberalism   Freireanism

with neoliberalism as a more top-down approach than post-neoliberalism, which is more amenable to local voices and contexts. Neoliberalism, as employed by multilateral institutions, permitted for some national and local autonomy. These organizations still played an influential role in mandating change and control, however. Post-neoliberalism, as this continuum indicates, allows for more bottom-up control, which is the most ideal means of education governance, according to Freire: "It is only the oppressed who, by freeing themselves, can free their oppressors. The latter, as an oppressive class, can free neither others nor themselves… It is therefore essential that the oppressed wage the struggle to resolve the contradiction in which they are caught" (1970, p. 42). The people being served by the international community will not be heavily invested in their own development and reform without activism on their part; change must be initiated and implemented by those directly affected.

What does a post-neoliberal future for education mean for international governance institutions? Kelly (2008) does not support the idea of a World Bank-led "post-Washington Consensus" because states in Latin America and East Asia have played too autonomous a role in determining their own development methods. Similarly, Alexander (2001, p. 286) writes, "Even with vigorous campaigns, there will be disappointing progress unless creditors – especially the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank – begin to support homegrown, national development strategies and education action plans." Furthermore, Simpson (2011) adds, "An educational globalization program based on a naïve form of value relativism or neutrality can hardly deal with critical international concerns of justice, freedom, respect, peace, health, education and nutrition." When determining what makes for effective international education governance, a global picture looks bleak. States are already showing an interest in integrating regionally as a means of diverging from neoliberal, multilateral institutions (Macdonald and

Ruckert, 2009). Waning American relative power also predicts that the world is becoming more plural, or multipolar, so international institutions logically would follow suit (Calleo, 2009; Cox, 2002; Katzenstein 2005). All of these occurrences considered, regional organizations have a great opportunity to fill the cultural gap that many neoliberal policies and reforms have created – but will they rise to the occasion?

CASE STUDIES: LATIN AMERICA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

This section applies the two concepts previously discussed, regional governance and post-neoliberalism, to Latin America and East Asia. Specific organizations will be examined to demonstrate how regional organizations govern education policy: the Organization of American States (OAS), the Andean Community, and Mercosur in Latin America and the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in Southeast Asia. These organizations have education and culture-focused subgroups, such as the Inter-American Committee on Education and the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization. Neither of these regions has reached the extent of integration of the European Union, but both have the potential to dramatically strengthen their regional scope of governance. By looking at policies implemented over the past decade, this section will examine how these organizations have used a "post-neoliberal" approach in line with the predictions of Dahlstrom (2009) and toward the prescriptions of Freire (1970).

LATIN AMERICA: AUTONOMY THROUGH THE REGIONAL

Over the past two decades, Latin America has demonstrated its own autonomy through the development of regional organizations such as Mercosur, the Andean Community, and most recently, UNASUR. Latin American states, along with all other countries in North and South America are part of the Organization of American States. This involvement presents a duality

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that also reflects the region's post-colonial narrative: shifting power and influence from the United States (and multilateral institutions backed by Washington) to Latin American nation-states themselves. The discussion in this case study will cover these regional organizations. First, the Organization of American States (OAS) and its accompanying education agenda through the Inter-American Committee on Education (CIE) will be examined. Although this organization is not specific to Latin America, it is an important forum for heads of government and ministers of education to meet and coordinate initiatives in education. As the name implies, OAS, while international, is not a global institution, and therefore has the ability to implement policies best fitted for the Americas. Next, educational components of Mercosur and the Andean Community will be addressed. These two organizations are very relevant because they are examples of homegrown organizations – that is, they were started by initiatives and treaties outside the scope of the United States or multilateral institutions. An analysis of these two organizations' ability to govern education throughout the region will also involve how these organizations separate themselves from one-sized fits all policies from neoliberal institutions.

Economic integration is a driving force of education globalization. As noted by King, Marginson, and Naidoo (2011) as well as Luke (2011), preferential trading areas and economic integration often lead to a harmonization of education standards and policies. Such has been seen through the European Union's Lisbon Strategy and Bologna Process. In Latin America, institutions such as Mercosur and the Andean Community, and less directly, OAS, have supported greater regional economic cooperation. Neo-functionalist logic predicts that regional institutions will eventually "spillover" into other domains (Sweet and Sandholtz, 1997). Gacel-Ávila (2011) supports this notion, and reminds opponents that a common higher education system does not automatically mean homogenization or pushing out cultural differences. While

social and political post-neoliberal policies differ widely in scope and intensity throughout the continent, the rise of regional autonomy via free trade networks and supporting organizations is fairly consistent. An editorial in a March 2012 issue of the *Financial Times* reads, "[Latin America's] linguistic and cultural affinities make it a natural single market... Anything that slows the integration of national economies, either directly or by souring their political relations, removes from sight the ultimate prize: a huge middle-income economy whose members enrich each other with higher-skill products and services" (Financial Times, 2012). This article stresses the need for Brazil to act as a driving force for integration throughout the continent. Similarly, other authors have encouraged Brazil and Argentina to form a partnership in promoting economic development and harmonization of policies throughout the region (Lima, 2002; Bernal-Meza, 2002). This process is very reminiscent of the France and Germany's leadership in the European Union, as the two were founding members and have overall played the greatest role in shaping the organization (Judt, 2005).

As previously mentioned, Latin America hosts multiple regional organizations that deal with education in some capacity. The largest and oldest organization within the Americas is the Organization of American States (OAS), which includes all of North, Central, and South America. The OAS Charter was signed in 1948 to establish "an order of peace and justice, to promote their solidarity, to strengthen their collaboration, and to defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity, and their independence" (Organization of American States, 2012). Two sub-regional organizations under OAS of note are the Andean Community and the Southern Common Market (Mercosur). The Andean Community consists of Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, and Ecuador, while Mercosur consists of Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Venezuela, and Uruguay. These organizations seek to foster economic and political integration. Both of these groups are

customs unions, meaning that they have free trade between member states and have a common external trade policy (Lima, 2002). In 2008, these two groups laid the groundwork for a large-scale integration project leading to the establishment of the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) (UNASUR, 2008). OAS works internationally on a variety of economic and political issues; the key tenets of this organization are "Promoting democracy," "Defending human rights," "Ensuring a multidimensional approach to security," "Fostering integral development and prosperity," and "Supporting Inter-American legal cooperation." One of OAS's issue areas is education, which is led by a subgroup named the Inter-American Committee on Education. Mercosur and the Andean Community also have subgroups focused on education, and UNASUR outlines the importance of education equality in its founding treaty.

Latin American states operate cautiously after the detrimental effects of the neoliberal era in the 1980s and 1990s. Taylor (2009, p. 23) sums up the aftermath of two decades of neoliberal policies: "escalating social polarization, profoundly uneven development, and repeated economic and social crises." The Washington Consensus and other policies administered by international financial institutions were borne out of deep economic and political turmoil spread throughout the continent in the 1970s and early 1980s. In the decades following WWII, Latin American countries were responsible for implementing their own development strategies. This Keynesian "national developmentalism" created major political and social unrest by the 1980s. As such, Taylor (2009) attributes the rapid adoption of neoliberal policies in Latin America to these crises as well as the "coercive power" of the World Bank and IMF. Neoliberalism "promised to eradicate [the crises'] social and political roots" (p. 25).

While Taylor contends that neoliberalism has endured in Latin America by way of inertia, others have pointed towards the rise of post-neoliberal policies. Heidrich and Tussie

(2009) point to the rise in new administrations committed to bringing forward a new series of policies radically different from their predecessors. Venezuela's Chávez, Bolivia's Morales, and Ecuador's Correa have promised to uphold "true socialism to the 21st century in the region" (Touraine, 2006, cited in Heidrich and Tussie, 2009, p. 38). Heidrich and Tussie attribute the rise of these administrations to rising mass mobilization as well as general social discontent with the Washington Consensus. Brand and Sekler (2009) focus on social movements associated with post-neoliberalism within Latin America. Post-neoliberal social movements "have abandoned the assumption that there is one privileged actor," that is, they use "counterhegemonic social strategies and practices" (Brand and Sekler, 2009, p. 59). They use Zibechi's (2006) ideas of social mobilization as a means of "delegitimizing neoliberal politics" and as a tool for creating a new, plural society: "A new world is emerging on the territories of the movements… It is not only one world, but different worlds" (Zibechi, 2006, p. 123, cited in Brand and Sekler, 2009). The rise of post-neoliberalism in Latin America lacks formal structure vis-à-vis neoliberal practices of multilateral institutions. This, however, is beneficial in ensuring that a new form of hegemony, or dominant group in society, does not arise to marginalize others. Regarding education specifically, teachers unions have acted collectively against neoliberal policies. Davidson-Harden (2009) calls to attention the hegemonic means of instilling an ideology of education as a commodity, rather than social investment, in schools through neoliberal education reform. He also acknowledges, however, that the hegemony of neoliberalism is still at large and movements in Latin America are by no means uniform.

In 1991, the United States launched the "Americas Initiative," which subsequently became the Free Trade Area of the Americas, a plan to install a free trade regime throughout the Western Hemisphere (with Cuba as the exception) in 1994. This initiative was an American

response to the passage of the European Single Market and the rise of East Asia and Japan; the creation of a trading block in the Western Hemisphere would boost the United States' competitiveness in the global economy (Lima, 2002). Rather than conceding to American influence in a manner similar to the neoliberal era, South American countries, largely led by Brazil, eventually brought the plan to a halt. Lima (2002) explains that this was an important moment in establishing autonomy for Latin America, as Brazil, and by extension Mercosur, refused to become the host of a flood of cheap American and Canadian exports. He continues that an "open regionalism" policy is necessary to confront globalization challenges and take charge of its own development (Lima, 2002, p. 148). Latin American open regionalism has been described as "the quest for market integration via synchronized trade policies" and "the quest for factor integration via a convergence of macroeconomic policies" (Bernal-Meza, 2002, p. 155). The cause for market integration as a means of relieving dependency from the United States and global institutions is a strong one that is gaining force. In 2002, Mercosur was already the fourth largest trading block in the world (Bernal-Meza, 2002).

At first glance, education governance seems like an obvious priority for each of these regional organizations. In order to see whether such attention is superficial or meaningful for member states, one must examine the policies and agendas put in place by each of these organizations. How have each of these regional organizations shaped the Latin American education agenda? How great of a priority is education for these organizations? And, to what extent do these organizations reflect the rise of post-neoliberal political and social movements in states throughout the region?

THE INTER-AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

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The Organization of American States' Office of Education has both a political and a technical dimension. The political dimensions include the Summit of the Americas, where heads of state in the 34 member states meet to discuss common policy issues, the OAS General Assembly, which is the legislative body of the organization, and the Inter-American Meetings of Ministers of Education. The latter meets every two years to discuss issues in education policy and practice and acts as a forum for knowledge sharing and collaboration on policy. The technical component, the Inter-American Committee on Education (CIE), implements and follows up on decisions made at the Meetings of Ministers of Education. CIE involves representatives from each OAS member state's ministry of education. This group falls under the jurisdiction of the OAS Secretariat (Organization of American States, 2008).

CIE's agenda is set through several means. First, the Summits involving heads of state can result in project or policy proposals involving education. Second, the Inter-American Meetings of Ministers of Education similarly make proposals or follow up on those made at the main Summits. The Inter-American Committee on Education then has regular meetings of its staff as well as meetings of authorities. Since CIE's founding in 2003, there have been eleven meetings of authorities and five regular meetings of the actual CIE bureaucracy. While the meetings of authorities generally take place at the OAS headquarters in Washington, D.C., the CIE regular meetings rotate locations (Organization of American States, 2008).

The final report of the first CIE regular meeting outlines the formal functions of the group along with existing summit and hemispheric projects officially within the jurisdiction of CIE. The functions include, "provide a forum in which to advance the inter-American dialogue on education; assume responsibility for following up on mandates and liaison with the Summits process; act as a catalyst for ideas and proposals for Summit mandates," in addition to adhering

to the decisions made at meetings of ministers. Thus, while CIE must follow decisions made by meetings and groups higher on the organizational hierarchy, it has some flexibility in proposing new initiatives and interpreting the decisions to create action plans. The phrase "act as a catalyst" is particularly important, as it shows that CIE can have influence in shaping the ideas of ministers or heads of state in summits (Organization of American States, 2003).

During the first regular meeting, multiple existing summit and hemispheric projects were addressed. These have played a large role in determining the actions of CIE since its inception. These projects include the Education Portal of the Americas, a website that serves as a virtual classroom hub, digital library, scholarship directory, and central site of the OAS Consortium of Universities. The final report of the first regular meeting explains that in the years 2001-2003, the website received 62 million visitors and provided training to 22,000. The Institute of Connectivity of the Americas, another project initiated by the Canadian delegation, facilitates electronic learning strategies by developing online education programs and promoting virtual collaboration. The Inter-American University Organization promotes dialogue among universities in the Americas and has two separate parts, the Institute for University Management and Leadership (founded in 1983) and the College of the Americas (founded in 1997). The Hemisphere Project for the Evaluation of Educational Quality, coordinated by Brazil and put into effect in 2000, focuses on strengthening national evaluation systems, technical assistance, and country participation in international comparative studies. Similarly, the Regional Educators Indicators Project (PRIE), also started in 2000, has developed a set of "comparable education indicators," which in turn help policymakers create effective education policies. This project also aims to create a permanent information system regarding education at a regional level. Finally, the Hemispheric Centers for Educational Excellence is a United States Agency for International

Development (USAID)-based initiative concentrated on reading instruction in the first three grades of school and improving teaching skills to support this specific age group (Organization of American States, 2003).

The summit and hemispheric projects listed in the final report of the first CIE regular meeting were its launch point. Today, however, the group has five specific priorities that are derivations of the original projects: 1) Education in Democratic Practice and Values; 2) Teacher Education and Professionalization; 3) Early Childhood Care and Education; 4) Education Indicators; and 5) Literacy and Adult Education (Organization of American States, 2012). The "Education Indicators" priority area is a continuation of the Regional Education Indicators Project (PRIE) originally started in 2000, but the rest of the priorities are the results of combinations of old projects and new initiatives put forward by ministers of education and craftsmanship by CIE itself.

The most recent activities in the way of projects and policies of CIE are demonstrated in its 2010-2012 Work Plan. The largest focus of this work plan is early childhood care and education. CIE outlined its intention to follow up with member states on the "Hemispheric Commitment to Early Childhood Education" adopted in 2007 and ratified in 2009. Two symposia regarding this subject culminated in the "Policies and Strategies for a Successful Transition of the Child to Socialization and School" project, which consists of creating CDs and books in multiple languages (to ensure accessibility by speakers of non-dominant languages) that will be distributed to non-governmental organizations and member states. The "Trends in Transition Policies in Rural, Indigenous and Border Communities" project features case studies on Brazil, Guatemala, Mexico, and Bolivia, in addition to "political, advocacy and social communication actions" in Chile, Colombia, Peru and Venezuela. An international symposium

and workshop titled, "Comprehensive Attention to Children between the Ages of Zero and Three in Amazonian and Indigenous Communities," was held in November 2010. A conference on Early Childhood Education for Peace was held in May 2011, along with another international symposium titled, "Early Childhood and the Challenges of Basic Education in the 21st Century," in January 2010, both of which took place in Mexico. An online course was created to teach educators and childcare providers how to work with children up to the age of three (Organization of American States, 2010).

Regarding professional development and education, the 2010-2012 Work Plan highlighted plans to consolidate online courses and update the online portal. The course, "Education for Democratic Citizenship in the Caribbean," was set to be re-evaluated, and proceedings from the workshop, "The Role of the Arts and Communications Media in Promoting Democratic Values and Practices among Children and Youth," were set to be published. Additionally, a regional forum regarding citizenship competencies was developed. Other matters discussed including following up with PRIE, the establishment of the Inter-American Teacher Education Network with an accompanying website, a world conference on challenges of adult education and literacy, and the development of a plan of action targeted towards youth and democratic values and practices. Finally, "Ignite the Americas 2010" was held in Brazil with the intention "to strengthen a network of young leaders in arts and culture programs for positive social change, emphasizing the participation of youth from vulnerable groups or with experience in programs aimed at those groups" (Organization of American States, 2010, p. 11).

The third CIE regular meeting held in 2006 began with words from the delegates from Ecuador and Guatemala. The former reported that Ecuador had implemented a ten-year educational plan in response to CIE's policy foundations; the latter explained that Guatemalan

education policies were in line with mandates set by the Fourth Meeting of Ministers of Education (Organization of American States, 2007). These two anecdotes are indicative of CIE's effectiveness through the multiple governance mechanisms at its disposal to push its policies, projects, and agendas. CIE is an intergovernmental organization, so it serves as a means of fostering state cooperation but it does not have supranational power, or actual coercive power over states. The dialogue mechanisms of meetings and conferences at the ministerial level employed by this organization are relevant, however, because they disseminate ideas to education ministries, which then implement domestic education policies. If all representatives in CIE reach a consensus on a certain policy prescription or agenda, one could presume that those policies would in turn be enacted because ministers themselves play such a prevalent role. Other tools include its large research capacity, publications, and oversight. Similar to the governance power seen through the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which uses reports to hold countries accountable for actions, CIE can use its research capabilities to keep the public and other member states aware of education policies within each state. For example, in 2005, the Inter-American Meeting of the Ministers of Education established the Inter-American Program on Democratic Values and Practices sub-group, which now has its very own academic journal, *The Inter-American Journal of Education for Democracy.* Other notable reports within this group include the "Hemispheric Report on National Policies Education for Democratic Citizenship" and "Strengthening Democracy in the Americas through Civic Education." This group takes an issue it sees as important, democratic values, and works to use its tools of dialogue and research to push the issue within its member states.

Technological capability is imperative to CIE's mission and regional governance. The Education Portal of the Americas facilitates communication and information sharing through

publications and a digital library. CIE also creates online classes that are reached through this portal, which allow it to enact teacher training programs with greater ease and efficiency. This central resource connects students throughout the Americas to scholarship resources and information about universities in neighboring countries. The portal thus transcends the intergovernmental nature of the organization and reaches people inside and outside the government in all countries; while the actual policies and conferences take place government to government, anyone with an internet connection can interact with CIE through this website. Research and publications may only be relevant in academic or government realms, but one cannot deny the power the internet has had in fostering international integration and communication.

The policies and strategies used by CIE differ from previous international education governance structures in several ways. The World Bank and IMF have been accused of implementing "one-sized fits all" policies independent of local context (see for example, Woods, 2006). These organizations, along with the OECD, WTO-GATS, and to a lesser extent, UNESCO, have used neoliberal education policies that have largely been discredited, as discussed in the previous section of this paper. CIE, by contrast, uses sub-regional and culturally specific strategies when implementing policy. Distance courses for Caribbean educators and symposia for indigenous communities are examples of specialized policies to fit unique challenges in different areas. Additionally, neoliberal policies emphasize privatization and decentralization of schools. CIE clearly appreciates state involvement in education, as ministers of education coordinate ways they can directly intervene or improve their school systems to benefit the communities they serve. "Sustainability" is frequently used in CIE publications, and scholarships and assistance from states and foundations are used to facilitate student exchanges

and initiative implementation. In describing programs as "sustainable" CIE emphasizes the

endurance of effective education programs, both financially and when considering possible

student/teacher involvement and interest. CIE's stress on democratic education and positive

social change also differs immensely from the previous era's educational policies, which

prioritized building human capital as a means of stimulating economic growth. The World Bank,

the IMF, and the WTO claim to be "global" institutions, yet their directors are always American

(in the World Bank) or European (in the IMF and WTO) and they are headquartered in

Washington and Geneva. CIE has rotating leadership and meeting locations.

CIE is far from a classification of "neoliberal," but how does it measure up to post-

neoliberalism? The projects within this organization do not use an entirely bottom-up approach,

as government ministers initiate them. This then may not be an ideal portrayal of "homegrown

success" as defined by Easterly (2006). However, the emphases on social justice and context,

including embracement of local knowledge through projects focused on indigenous

communities, approach education and societal transformation as mentioned in post-neoliberal

literature. As Freire (1970) mentioned, an education program that does not recognize the

situation of a people is doomed to fail. CIE is not entirely independent, as a few of their projects

are in collaboration with, or receive funding from, multilateral institutions such as the World

Bank and UNESCO (some early childcare programs also feature UNICEF). The Hemispheric

Centers for Education Excellence project originally underlined when CIE first convened in 2003

has some private sector involvement, although this is not surprising because the project is largely

backed by USAID. Interestingly, this specific project also stresses primary education, as the

Washington Consensus institutions did during the neoliberal era. Ultimately, however, CIE's

governing mechanisms of meetings, conferences, workshops, and symposia align with Freire's

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emphasis on dialogue, as they actively engage people at various levels of government. With equal and engaging dialogue, beneficial policies are more likely to ensue.

The example of CIE and OAS is problematic for the idea of regional governance and autonomy for two reasons, though. First, OAS encompasses all states in the Western Hemisphere, including the United States and Canada, so the actual autonomy gained for Latin America states is difficult to determine. Although all states are equally represented, the presence of the United States may shift the policies that result from this organization simply because of the pure weight and prevalence the United States has in the global community. Secondly, since the meetings are intergovernmental, an analysis of OAS does not allow for social movements or apolitical events to be represented. As this paper is concerned with regional governance, an organization that operates government-to-government may not effectively show how supra-national governing structures are formed. An examination of organizations unique to Latin America is in order to better demonstrate the two phenomena regarding this paper, regional governance and post-neoliberalism.

ANDEAN COMMUNITY, MERCOSUR, and UNASUR

The Andean Community focuses primarily on economic integration and sociopolitical cooperation within its five member states, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela. Its objectives include promoting "balanced and harmonious development under equitable conditions through integration and economic and social cooperation," facilitating member states' "participation in the regional integration process, with a view to the gradual formation of a Latin American common market," and reinforcing "subregional solidarity." The groundwork for integration was laid out in 1979, but a free trade area was not officially established until 1993. In 1997, the Andean Community broadened to include political dimensions and in 2003, a plan for

social development and integration was created (Comunidad Andina, 2012). Thus, the primary

purpose of this organization is fostering economic integration, with political and social aspects as

resulting spillovers.

The social development element of the organization considers educational integration and

cooperation a priority. Starting with Decision 593 of the Andean Community, signed in 2004,

education cooperation gained organizational structure through the development of an Andean

Council of Ministers of Education. One of the main objectives of this group is to promote policy

convergence and the "progressive harmonization of school programs." Interestingly, this

decision incorporates both economic (via a need for regional competitiveness) and sociocultural

aspects of education globalization:

> Concerning education and culture, the Andean Presidential Council has reiterated its
> concern for the coverage, quality and pertinence of education, and has expressed the need
> that it should respond to the challenges of development and the imperatives of
> competitiveness. It has also recognized the importance to strengthen the Andean cultural
> identity based on its rich diversity and the development of an integration culture among
> the Andean citizens (Comunidad Andina, 2004a).

This idea is carried into Decision 601, the Integral Plan for Social Development, in which

education one of three basic pillars (along with quality employment and health). The language in

this document consistently refers to education as a human right; it promotes the use of education

as a means of societal development, therefore treating it as a public good. This document

mapping the Integral Plan for Social Development reads, "Education that is poor in quality for

the masses and elitist for the chosen few reproduces the concentrated income distribution pattern

and consolidates the inflexible social structure," and commits member states of the Andean

Community to "broaden the coverage and improve the quality of education not only to help fight

poverty and guarantee the exercise of a fundamental human right, but also allow the population

to take a more active and better-informed part in decision-making, including decisions that affect the course of the integration process" (Comunidad Andina, 2004b, p. 8-10).

The Andean Community General Secretariat's 2009 Working Plan includes steps to strengthen "Educación para la integración," or education for integration, as well as "educación formal." This includes content integration in basic education curricula and greater resources for teachers through training and development of materials. This plan mentions Simon Bolivar Andean University as a tool for education integration specifically regarding tertiary education. Simon Bolivar Andean University is an official institution of the Andean Community promoting cooperation and coordination among universities in the region. In regards to formal education, the Secretariat's work plan lists a commitment to zero illiteracy and use of technology in basic education to augment science, mathematics, and communications curricula (Comunidad Andina 2009).

Unlike the Inter-American Committee on Education, whose tools of dialogue, conferences, and research publications target government ministries and academia, the Andean Community's governing mechanisms mobilize and target the root of society, that is people on the ground along with their local governance systems. Literature presented by the Andean Community allows education to be understood as the development of values as well as capacity and skill building. This shows a stark transformation from the neoliberal era; education is once again a public good. The 2004 Integral Plan for Social Development presents multiple projects focused on fostering a culturally sensitive educational system (Comunidad Andina, 2004). The "Subregional harmonization of labor education and training methodologies, criteria and priorities" program begins by addressing that "the hallmark of our societies is social, linguistic and cultural heterogeneity, for monolingualism and cultural uniformity are not the common

pattern" (Comunidad Andina, 2004b, p. 29). The "Andean Intercultural Program" project seeks to develop an "intercultural vision" to be implemented in the school curriculum throughout the region, thus instilling a cultural awareness while maintaining curriculum integration. Similarly, the "Andean Program on Educational Quality and Equity" promotes the development of an "Andean cultural identity" and a "culture of integration" to complement improvement of basic educational quality (Comunidad Andina, 2004b, p. 30-31).

The First Forum of Indigenous Intellectuals and Researchers took place in July 2007, and in September 2008, a "consultative council" was established, giving indigenous peoples a formal means of participating in the Andean integration process. The forum's mission was to "organize and develop an indigenous professorship in the Andean Community Member Countries and offer it to their universities and institutes; become involved in the organization of university curricula in order to incorporate the wisdom, knowledge and art of indigenous peoples; and support the establishment of teaching centers of the indigenous school of knowledge and actively influence schools in general" (Comunidad Andina, 2007). Rather than imposing a top-down approach irrespective of local voices and knowledge, the Andean Community reports of their obligation to engage in "open debate" and dialogue with communities. The ultimate goal is to make the collaboration with indigenous communities "an example of the future plurinational state."

Mercosur's origins are similar to the Andean Community's, with economic integration as its raison d'être and political and social spheres as subsequent spillovers. Mercosur's institutional educational structure is the Educational Mercosur Board (EMB). This body aims to build a regional identity through a common educational space while improving education quality and equity. Mercosur specifically mentions the need for reciprocity and interculturalism, social justice, and respect for "the cultural diversity of Mercosur peoples" (Mercosur, 2011, p. 10).

Since 1998, the EMB has published action plans highlighting the plans and objectives of Mercosur's educational sphere. In the 2011-2015 Action Plan, several priorities are outlined. These involve constructing a regional identity by developing curricula emphasizing peace, democracy, human rights, history and environment. Additionally, improving equity and the quality of education in accordance with the Education for All agenda and the Millenium Development Goals is specifically mentioned. Although this hints towards involvement with multilateral organizations, the majority of the plan stresses regional solidarity and cooperation, for instance, through partnerships and exchanges between schools and universities in the region. The current Action Plan pays particular attention to linguistic and cultural diversity, development of information and communications platforms, and coordination of its four regional commissions: basic education, technology education, teacher training, and higher education.

Interestingly, very little discussion of education as a means of capacity building or labor development is present in the literature put forth by Mercosur and the EMB. Much of it is grounded in the goals of cultural and linguistic awareness, such as the Frontier Schools Project, which creates bilingual schools in Argentina in Brazil (teaching Spanish and Portuguese). Thus, Mercosur's primary governance strategy regarding education is to create and maintain a regional identity based off of common social principles and values.

As of 2008, the Andean Community and Mercosur agreed to integrate beyond their subregions to the entirety of South America. A new organization, the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) seeks to move toward a European Union-style of regional governance and integration. The founding treaty of UNASUR begins by recognizing "the shared history and solidarity of [its] multiethnic, multilingual, and multicultural nations," and goes on to mention a desire for a shared identity. The region's aspiration for autonomy from outside states and

multilateral institutions is evident through the line, "The South American integration and South American unity are necessary to promote the sustainable development and wellbeing of our peoples, and to contribute to the solution of the problems which still affect our region, such as persistent poverty, social exclusion and inequality" (UNASUR, 2008, p. 1). Education as a means of integration and a priority area for growth is specifically addressed in this treaty. "The eradication of illiteracy, the universal access to quality education and the regional recognition of courses and titles" is listed as an objective (p. 3). Additionally, broad plans for initiatives and dialogues on educational development are included. As this document is only fifteen pages in length, such attention paid to education shows that as the organization becomes stronger and comes into full effect, it will likely play a role in international education governance throughout Latin America.

Although the Andean Community and Mercosur target different parts of the South American continent, and have differing internal dynamics (as Lima (2002) notes, Brazil is the powerhouse behind Mercosur, while the Andean Community does not have such an economically hegemonic figure), their approaches to education are strikingly similar. Both emphasize indigenous participation though direct fora or policies targeted towards greater recognition of cultural and linguistic diversity. Mercosur directly mentions the importance of "reciprocity" in the student-teacher relationship, and both groups place great emphasis on human rights and social justice within education. Aside from "educación para la integración," formal education goals such as universal literacy are present in all three of these organizations – "illiteracy eradication" even has a place in UNASUR's founding treaty.

Conclusions

When examining the present regional education governance structures in Latin America – the Inter-American Committee on Education, the Andean Community, Mercosur, and UNASUR – one trend is consistent: each of these bodies arose after the decline of the neoliberal era in the 1990s. One can deduce that these arose within the past two decades for multiple reasons. First, as neoliberal policies administered by the World Bank and other global organizations continued to lead to stagnant growth rates and greater inequality, a new governance system with new policies needed to step in to fill the void. Second, while the previous era consisted of an ultimately supranational force dictating prescribed policies, national governments wanted more authority within their own education systems and used intergovernmental organizations (with greater resources and expertise than a small government would have at its disposal) as a forum to create policies. Additionally, regarding the Andean Community and Mercosur especially, organizational structures binding countries together were already in place through economic integration, and education was a natural spillover effect.

The Andean Community's Decision 601 specifically mentions its intention to distance itself from neoliberal policies. It criticizes "macroeconomic structural adjustment policies," accusing them of exacerbating inequality and asymmetry in Latin American societies, and goes so far as to call these programs human rights violations (Comunidad Andina, 2004b, p. 8). The decision for countries throughout Latin America to act in sync with and cooperate through regional and sub-regional organizations is indicative of a new era. This new system of governance essentially harmonizes the two distinct patterns seen in the regional in the postcolonial epoch. First, the protectionist and nation-based development policies, which led to economic and political chaos; and second, the neoliberal era of the 1980s and 1990s conducted by international organizations such as the World Bank. As most of the decisions made by the

Andean Community, Mercosur, and UNASUR regarding education have taken place in the past decade, it is hard to determine any large-scale successes or failures as of yet. What cannot be denied, gathered from this examination of agendas and policies within these organizations, is their resolve to emit their own autonomy and take charge of their own development. Patterns of emphasis on social justice and participation at all levels of society show that this region is indeed heading in a "post-neoliberal" direction.

SOUTHEAST ASIA: ASEAN, THE ASIAN FINANCIAL CRISIS, AND BEYOND

Overall, regions in the global south such as Latin America have experienced dramatic changes in development policy and autonomy throughout the postwar era. The story of East Asia is a much different one, as the region has had much greater autonomy overall. This section focuses on one of the most prominent regional organizations the world has seen over the past four decades, Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and its accompanying educational arms. Contrary to the case of Latin America, which has multiple sub-regional organizations focused on trade, ASEAN (and its educational group) is a singular organization represented Southeast Asia encompassing economic, political, and sociocultural dimensions. In the words of Mutalib (1997, p. 75), ASEAN is "a key to understanding Southeast Asia." In this respect, ASEAN resembles the EU much more than any of the organizations discussed in the Latin American case (with the exception of Unasur, which has the potential to head in that direction but is still too young to decisively determine).

ASEAN was founded in 1967 in hopes of creating peace and stability via economic cooperation, as the region had hosted many Cold War hostilities previously (Ravenhill, 2011). As the founding states – Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, and the Phillipines – were small and weak and could easily succumb to communism under pressure, they decided to join

forces to show strength through unity. Since its founding, five more states have joined: Brunei, Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar, and Vietnam. Though the greatest impetus for regional integration was economic development, ASEAN has two additional goals: fostering sociocultural integration and political cooperation (Mutalib, 1997). ASEAN operates with a "looser institutional framework," than what would be seen in other regional organizations, given the historical animosities and diversity among member states (Hussey, 1991, p. 88). The diversity within ASEAN relates to population size, exporting industries, GDP per capita, and overall levels of development. This has posed a problem for economic integration that has not been as pertinent in other regional systems whose states have similar levels of development; advanced economies like Singapore dominate intra-ASEAN trade because smaller economies prefer protectionist policies (Hussey, 1991).

ASEAN countries were not free from influence by Washington Consensus institutions, but their early and rapid economic success allowed them greater state autonomy. Contrary to neoliberal policy prescriptions, the past half-century of East Asian development has been marked by a strong state role in politics and economics (Kelly, 2008). While the "Asian tigers" showed much promise in the decades following WWII, the Asian Financial Crisis of the late 1990s was a large setback in development for financial and business sectors in these countries. The severity of the Asian Financial Crisis threatened the IMF's credibility in managing international financial crises, but overall gave neoliberalism more weight, as finance had been very state-regulated in East Asian countries up until that point (Hellmann, 2007). In response to the crisis, East Asian countries gave even more pause to the regionalism agenda – the crisis demonstrated the great extent to which their economies were interlinked, making cooperation all the more necessary. The IMF attempted to impose a Washington Consensus-style strategy in the region after the

crisis, but conditions to its loans were implemented in an uneven manner. Contrary to Western

expectations, East Asia has become even more integrated in global financial and trade markets

following the crisis. In order to avoid dependence on the IMF, East Asian states turned to greater

regional governance mechanisms and integration through bilateral and multilateral trade

agreements and institutions (Hellmann, 2007).

ASEAN education cooperation and integration was not the result of a spillover effect

after integration in other sectors – it was directly codified in the Bangkok Declaration of 1967.

This founding document of the organization reads, "The aims and purposes of the Association

shall be… to provide assistance to each other in the form of training and research facilities in the

educational, professional, technical and administrative spheres," and "to promote Southeast

Asian studies" (ASEAN, 2009). Additionally, the broader statements pertaining to social and

cultural dimensions of cooperation presumably include education as well. ASEAN seeks to

fulfill this category by establishing a group identity, which is ameliorated by cooperation in

education and tourism industries and non-governmental organizations. A three-part program for

education was adopted in 1976, which aimed to (1) introduce official study of the organization,

its member states and languages in school curricula, (2) encourage promotion of a regional

identity among scholars, artists, and the media, and (3) push for national institutes to collaborate.

Two decades ago, Hussey (1991), expressed the dubious effectiveness of the plan, and by

extension, social and cultural cooperation as a whole. However, regional research institutes, he

explained, are the "best examples of educational cooperation in ASEAN" (Hussey, 1991, p. 95).

More recently, Møller (2006) has expressed the need for schools and their curriculum to foster an

ASEAN identity. These opinions imply that ASEAN education cooperation is a work in

progress. With a renewed focus on regional integration over the past decade following the Asian

Financial Crisis, education cooperation has a new, and perhaps more beneficial climate, however.

Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization

Multiple groups exist within ASEAN that promote cooperation and install regional education structures. The oldest of these, the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO), actually came into existence before ASEAN itself, in 1965, and was not officially involved in the ASEAN bureaucracy until 2005. SEAMEO involves eleven states in Southeast Asia: Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao PDR, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Phillipines Singapore, Thailand, Timor-Leste, and Vietnam. SEAMEO's structure is primarily intergovernmental, incorporating ministers of education from all of its member states, although a smaller secretariat is also a part of the organization. Its mission is "to enhance regional understanding, cooperation and unity of purpose among Member Countries" through cooperation in education (SEAMEO 2012a). Some core values include, "respect for cultural diversity," "belief in people," "striving for excellence," and "collaborativeness."

SEAMEO is not limited to an institution of dialogue; the organization boasts 20 "centres," each acting as a research base for issues in education, science, and technology. Their details are outlined in Chart 1.

Chart 1: SEAMEO Centres			
Name of Centre	**Location**	**Year Est.**	**Focus**
Biotrop	Bogor, Indonesia	1968	Tropical Biology; sustainable development and solutions to critical ecological problems
Chat	Myanmar	2000	History and Tradition; Cooperation in study of culture and history of all member states
Innotech	Phillipines	2007	Educational Innovation and Technology; initiates education programs to confront

			unique educational challenges
QITEP in Language	Jakarta, Indonesia	2009	Quality Improvement of Teachers and Education Personnel in Language
QITEP in Mathematics	Yogyakarta, Indonesia	2009	Quality Improvement of Teachers and Education Personnel in Mathematics
QITEP in Science	Bandung, Indonesia	2009	Quality Improvement of Teachers and Education Personnel in Science
Recfon	Jakarta, Indonesia	2010	Food and Nutrition; Community Nutrition
Recsam	Penang, Malaysia	1967	Science and Math Education; Developing STEM programs
Relc	Singapore	1968	Regional Language Centre; Training programs for language specialists and educators
Retrac	Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam	1996	Regional Training Centre; Education management and human resource development (focus in Vietnam, Lao PDR, and Cambodia)
Rihed	Thailand	1999	Higher Education and Development; Policy, planning and management of higher education
Seamolec	Indonesia	1997	Regional Open Learning Centre; finding solutions to educational problems and distance learning
Searca	Phillipines	1966	Graduate Study and Research in Agriculture
Sen	Malaysia	2009	Special Education; curriculum development
Spafa	Thailand	1978	Archeology and Fine Arts; promotes and advances cultural heritage
Tropmed Network	Bangkok, Thailand	1966	Central office; public health and tropical disease control
Tropmed Malaysia	Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia	1967	Microbiology, parasitology and entomology medical research
Tropmed Phillipines	Manila, Phillipines	1967	Public Health, Hospital Administration, Environmental Health training
Tropmed Thailand	Bangkok, Thailand	1967	Tropical medecine; health worker training and medical research
Voctech	Brunei	1990	Vocational and Technical Education and Training

Source: (SEAMEO, 2012b)

These centres show multiple aspects of the organization. First, the organization is truly regional – centres are not focused in one specific country or even couple of countries. Second, the scope of the organization includes aspects beyond just primary and second education, but also higher education, special education, vocational and technical education, and training in medical fields. The research capabilities in the innovation/technology centres and medical facilities are also notable. Finally, this array of centres shows how the organization has grown over time has grown in size and scope. Interestingly, the development of these centres over time resembles a U-shaped curve (see Chart 2); the majority of centres were developed immediately following SEAMEO's inception in 1965 and from the 1990s to present.

Chart 2: Number of Centres Established by Decade
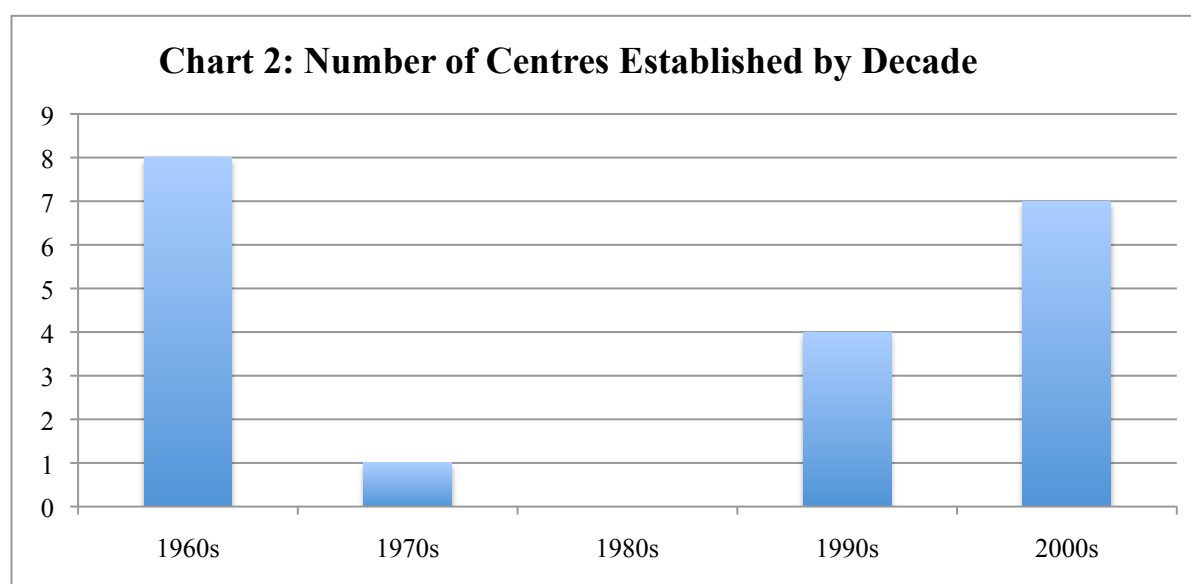
From the continuous development of centres, one can infer that overall the research and training gained they have produced has been successful. In its 2009-2010 Annual Report, SEAMEO discusses accomplishments for each centre. Some examples include the Regional Centre for History and Tradition (CHAT), which incorporated participants from six SEAMEO member countries in a field study program called "Myanmar History from Myanmar

Perspectives." The Regional Centre for Educational Innovation and Technology (INNOTECH) "designed 2 courses for 34 school leaders and managers from SEAMEO Member Countries which focused on the promotion of culture of peace and respect for multicultural diversity; and development of action research for school impovement." Additionally, INNOTECH has used technology education platforms to create a curriculum emphasizing peace called "PEACeXCELS," which was piloted in 2009-2010 with participants from six SEAMEO countries. The Quality Improvement in Teachers and Education Personnel (QITEP) in Language centre "cooperated with the SEAMEO Secretariat and spearheaded the development of a proposal on the use of mother tongue as a bridge language of instruction in kindergarten and early years of primary school in some provinces in Indonesia." The Regional Centre for Higher Education and Development has continued to work towards the goal of a common higher education space in Southeast Asia: "After SEAMEO RIHED proposed the Structured Framework for Regional Integration in Higher Education in Southeast Asia: "SEAMEO RIHED conducted activities that strengthen the capacity of university board members and administrators in the areas of university governance, quality enhancement and strategic planning, and knowledge." This report lists each of SEAMEO's 20 centres as having reached varying accomplishments regarding regional cooperation in education and research (SEAMEO Secretariat, 2011, p. 18-48).

Apart from SEAMEO's centres, the organization also has several programs in place through which its actions are conducted. The Community Involvement Project disseminates knowledge and expertise gained at SEAMEO's centres to schools in member states. SEAMEO has incorporated UNESCO's Education for All agenda via its "Reaching the Unreached" project, which (as the name implies) works to get children from extremely impoverished or rural settings

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into schools. Another project seeks to develop mother tongue-based multilingual education programs (true to its embracement of cultural and linguistic diversity), which is in partnership with the World Bank. It has also partnered with UN HABITAT to create a public health and hygiene education program in schools focusing on water and sanitation. A few other programs emphasize e-learning and distance education (SEAMEO Secretariat, 2011).

Overall, SEAMEO has several governance mechanisms. The dialogue component, the SEAMEO Council, which hosts education ministers from each member state, is important for facilitating information exchange among government leaders. The secretariat implements the decisions made by the Council but may also propose ideas to the Council. Its centres are the foundation of the organization, however, as they are continuous and growing and have tangible or visible outputs (research and education/training). Finally, similar to other global and regional organizations already addressed in this paper, SEAMEO's ability to publish and disseminate information via reports and journals is important because it holds its member states accountable for their educational policies while maintaining transparency. For instance, the organization publishes annual reports, work schedules, publications related to specific programs and policies, the *SEAMEO Education Access* Magazine, and the academic *Journal of Southeast Asian Education* (SEAMEO, 2012c).

Although the most powerful arm of the organization is intergovernmental, its emphasis on diversity, cultural heritage, and mother tongue languages show its contrast to neoliberal education policies of the 1980s and 1990s. SEAMEO has been active since the 1960s to the present – before, during, and after the neoliberal era's zenith. Its priorities have not changed according to external forces such as Washington Consensus policy prescriptions, so it would be difficult to label this organization's approach as "post-neoliberal," but its emphasis on quality

and equity in education encompass the same principles. Most important is the recognition of local contexts and history in the organization. Although it seeks to establish regional thinking and identity building, it has an entire centre dedicated to cultural heritage and tradition. SEAMEO's autonomy is questionable, however, because it partners with UNESCO and World Bank on projects and receives some funding from the British Council and other Western governments. The primary source of funding is its member states, though, and apart from a few programs SEAMEO appears self-directed.

ASEAN Education Sub-Groups

Directly in the structure of ASEAN are the Sub-Committee on Education (ASCOE) and ASEAN Education Ministers' Meetings (ASED). The very first official meeting of ASEAN Education Ministers in 1977 influenced both of these groups. During this meeting, the ministers approved a plan to create an ASEAN Network of Development Education Centers. This project laid the groundwork for education integration in work education, teacher education reform, test development, a management information system, and special education (ASEAN Secretariat, 2003). ASEAN Education Ministers also used this meeting introduce the concept of an "ASEAN University." ASCOE is referenced in the Joint Communique describing this meeting, as it was the original proposer of the ASEAN Network of Development Education Centers -- the ministers had to formally agree to implement it at their official meeting. While the influential 1977 meeting and ASED are by nature intergovernmental, as they involve meetings of government ministers, ASCOE shows hints of supranationality. That is, it is ultimately independent of government leaders and is directed by bureaucrats responsible for thinking regionally. These bureaucrats can play a very influential role in determining the depth and scope of education governance.

Notably, ASCOE and ASED fall under the sociocultural, rather than political-security or economic, arm of ASEAN. Although some attention is paid to economic competitiveness and human capital building, the majority of literature and discourse within ASEAN education groups is concerned with social development and identity building. For instance, the eighth regular meeting of ASCOE in September 2000 hosted discussions regarding the development of an "ASEAN studies" curriculum for primary and secondary schools. The Communique reads, "ASCOE officials will collaborate to compile an ASEAN sourcebook containing information on the history, origins, formation, and organisation of ASEAN, and profiles of ASEAN Member Countries providing information on the political, economic, social and cultural life of the peoples in each ASEAN country" (ASEAN Secretariat, 2009a). ASED officially came into being as in 2005 when ASEAN leaders established plans for regular, rather than ad hoc, meetings of education ministers to discuss regional cooperation regarding education. The four priorities of this group are "promoting ASEAN awareness, particularly among youth; strengthening ASEAN unity through education; building ASEAN resources in the field of education; and strengthening ASEAN university networking" (ASEAN Secretariat, 2009b).

Another separate organization, the ASEAN University Network (AUN), was chartered in 1995. This group is charged with promoting cooperation and collaboration among universities, academics, and students, and crafting integrationist policies. As of 2010, this included 22 universities from the ten ASEAN member states. AUN's "key concerns" are listed as follows: bottom-up/student-driven approach, quality, and sustainability. In a presentation given at a 2010 conference regarding education in ASEAN, AUN made repeated mentions of their "student-driven approach" including, "fostering a sense of regional identity among the youth of ASEAN, promoting ASEAN studies programs to students in the region and beyond, promoting mutual

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recognition of academic qualifications among universities in the region, and encouraging collaborative research and information networking on ASEAN's integration goals." Furthermore, AUN works to improve quality assurance/oversight, establishment of a uniform credit system to facilitate easier student mobility intra-region, intellectual property network, along with networks focused on engineering, business and economics, and an internship program. China, Japan, South Korea, and the EU have acknowledged AUN, giving ASEAN a single, more powerful voice in global higher education (ASEAN University Network, 2010).

Interestingly, SEAMEO and ASEAN's affiliated groups did not decide to combine forces until 2005. Although they both have intergovernmental components, and as such involve the same education ministers, the organizational elements remained separate for the first 40 years of SEAMEO's existence. ASEAN appears to place great emphasis on its own autonomy, so SEAMEO's incorporation of UNESCO's Education for All agenda may have played a role in the division. Nonetheless, the relatively new partnership has great potential, given the large size and scope of both organizations. The two organizations also share multiple similarities. First, they appreciate diversity and approach education primarily as a public good, with less emphasis on its role as a market tool or device for human capital development. Second, they emphasize the need for regional collaboration and fostering a regional identity through school programs. Finally, the both appear to have accelerated in the 1990s. Both organizations were established in the 1960s and immediately began action on educational development. However, since the 1990s both have grown substantially. Eleven of SEAMEO's twenty centres were established from 1990 onward, and ASEAN's university network and minister meetings were officially made into institutions beginning in the 1990s.

What was the catalyst in this movement? The Asian Financial Crisis is unlikely; although it renewed a focus on regional integration, it occurred in the late 1990s and these movements began in the early 1990s. More likely was the rapid development of the countries over the preceding decades in the context of ASEAN, instilling a greater sense of regional interdependency. Another possibility for this occurrence is the global movement towards regionalism and regional thinking. Alexander (2001) refers to the 1980s as a "lost development decade," which was led by global, Western-based organizations. As seen from the previous case study regarding Latin America, trends supporting state and regional-focused governance began to take hold, and as a result, "regional" thinking was much more pervasive. The EU, though not a member of the developing world, supports the notion of regionalism because some of its most dramatic integration movements took place in the 1990s, including its Lisbon Strategy in the 1990s (Välimaa, 2011). Although East Asia retained much of its autonomy at state levels throughout the neoliberal era, this regional thinking could have been contagious, especially if it was placed in an ecosystem of competition. The ASEAN University Network, after all, arose at the same time as Europe's Bologna Process.

Mutalib (1997) writes that higher living standards and improvements in education have made populations within ASEAN more politically aware, which will likely lead to a greater demand for political pluralism and democracy. Though an emphasis on social equality and educational equity is already present in ASEAN and its accompanying institutions, member states such as Singapore have held onto authoritarian regimes. Educational governance through the regional has appeared to gain speed over the past two decades. How it will transform society will surely have interesting political and economic implications.

REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS: CONVERGENCES AND DIVERGENCES

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Regional organizations reviewed in this paper's two case studies, Latin America and Southeast Asia, demonstrate the shift in education governance from the global to the regional and divergences in approaching education governance. Latin America hosts the Inter-American Committee on Education (a subgroup of the Organization of American States) as well as education arms of Mercosur, the Andean Community, and UNASUR. East Asia is home to the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization and education subgroups of ASEAN. Both of these regions are homes to former colonies, but their histories over the past half-century are quite different: while Latin America played the role of guinea pig for the World Bank and IMF's structural adjustment policies with low growth rates overall, East Asia has experienced high economic growth rates and much more state autonomy.

Interestingly, despite the different historical contexts over the past half-century, regional education organizations found in Latin America and Southeast Asia show many similarities. Both regions saw a significant growth in regional educational structures beginning in the 1990s. In Latin America, the Inter-American Committee on Education was created in 2003. The Andean Community developed its Plan for Social Development and Integration in 2003, and in 2004 it passed Decision 593, codifying its education cooperation strategy. The Educational Mercosur Board began publishing action plans in 1998. South American states signed the UNASUR charter in 2008, explicitly outlining education as a priority. In East Asia, SEAMEO had a second wave of "centre" development in the 1990s (after the first wave in the 1960s), the ASEAN University Network came into being in 1995, and the ASEAN Ministers of Education Meetings were officially institutionalized in 2005.

It comes as no coincidence that these regional groups rose with the fall of the Washington Consensus era; the decline of effective and just global organizations has created a window of

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opportunity for regional institutions. In an interconnected world, regional institution development in one area can push other regions to follow suit. ASEAN for instance, had the example of the EU to follow in order to resolve its Cold War security woes. As education is governed at a regional level increasingly, more regions will find it in their interest to also develop regional education policies.

Chart 3: Regional Organizations		
Organization	Region	Year Education Group Founded
Organization of American States (Inter-American Committee on Education)	North and South America	2003
Andean Community (Education via Integral Plan for Social Development)	Sub-group in South America (Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, Ecuador)	2004
Mercosur (Educational Mercosur Board)	Sub-group in South America (Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Venezuela after ratification) South America	1998
UNASUR	South America	2008
Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization	Southeast Asia	1965 (Less active in the 1970s and 1980s, more active since 1990s)
ASEAN (ASEAN Ministers of Education Meetings)	Southeast Asia	2005

Another striking consistency between the two regions is their intention to use education and schools as a means of fostering a regional identity and promoting social and economic integration. "Educación para la integración" in the Andean Community and development of "ASEAN studies" curricula among member states' schools are examples of an increasingly prevalent regional focus in education systems. Along these lines, each of the regional organizations discussed in this paper emphasize educational cooperation and collaboration through some means, whether that is curriculum convergence or information sharing. The digital

library in CIE and publications through SEAMEO facilitate spreading of resources, research, and materials. Furthermore, both of these regions have one or more "shared" regional universities. In the Andean Community, the Simon Bolivar University plays this role, and through the ASEAN University Network, universities in ASEAN have adopted a uniform credit system and standards. Promoting exchanges of students and academics is seen as an essential means of regional integration and identity building.

A key structural difference between the two regions is that both organizations in Southeast Asia actually began to look at education in the 1960s. ASEAN's Bangkok Declaration specifically mentioned education and SEAMEO, an entirely education-focused education, was established in 1965. As noted previously, region-based education policies saw a resurgence in the 1990s, but the architecture was actually put in place in Southeast Asia in the 1960s (compared to Latin America in the 1990s). This structural difference points to a difference in cultural and historical contexts between the two regions. Southeast Asia, following WWII, experienced rapid economic growth and, due to its geographical location, was thrust into Cold War security politics. Latin America, by contrast, was under the United States security umbrella and was plagued with economic crises and low growth rates. This made Latin America much more amenable to practices by international financial institutions, and neoliberalism adversely affected Latin America to a much greater extent. This is seen through literature from the Latin American organizations, which emphasizes their movement away from "destructive" structural adjustment policies -- the Andean Community goes so far as to call them "human rights violations." Southeast Asia does not have as much obvious contempt for neoliberal institutions in education organizations. ASEAN was borne out of a need to cooperate politically and economically to ward off communist advances. The immediate inclusion of education in

ASEAN, and the development of SEAMEO, reflects deeper cultural characteristics in Asian countries that place great importance on education and honor. Latin America's social and economic turmoil did not allow structures to form so early. Nevertheless, the early existence of SEAMEO shows a heightened capacity and motivation among Southeast Asian nations to cooperate on educational matters.

While these trends point to general structural convergences towards the regional and away from the global, what are the ideological implications of these organizations? Chart 4 outlines four categories that determine the regional institutions' ideologies and approaches. Voices, focus, tools, and relations with multilateral organizations have been chosen as points of focus because these indicate the extent to which the organizations in question adhere to local context and how they facilitate bottom-up or top-down approaches. "Voices," refers to those present during decision and policy-making. "Focus" regards the goals of the organization along with social, political, and economic dimensions. "Tools" are the governing mechanisms of each organization. Relations with multilateral organizations have also been included.

Chart 4: Regional Organizations in Practice				
	Voices	**Focus**	**Tools**	**Relations with Multilateral Orgs**
OAS/CIE	Member States' Ministers, OAS Officials, University Officials, Multilateral Orgs such as World Bank and the UN.	Social and political; collaboration on education policy to promote development	Conferences, inter-governmental fora, research and publications, technology (website and databases)	Works together and receives funding from World Bank, UNESCO, and UNICEF
Andean Community	Andean Community officials/policy makers, indigenous groups, universities	Social; strengthening "Andean cultural identity based on	Inter-governmental fora, Indigenous consultative	None; language in publications embraces autonomy

		its rich diversity"	councils, common university	
Mercosur	"Educational Mercosur Board" consists of Mercosur officials, though documents speak to diversity and imply some indigenous participation	Social; cultural and linguistic awareness, human rights	Oversight, research, publications, educational development expertise	Some World Bank/UNESCO influence; EFA and MDGs specifically mentioned as targets/goals
UNASUR	Treaty founded inter-governmentally (heads of state level)	"Eradication of illiteracy, the universal access to quality education and regional recognition of courses and titles."	[Unclear]	[Unclear]
SEAMEO	Ministers of education, national governments facilitate "centres"	Social; "Enhance regional understanding, cooperation and unity of purpose among Member Countries"	Centres with large research capacity, publications, dialogue mechanisms at ministerial level	Some projects in collaboration with the World Bank and UNESCO
ASEAN	ASEAN officials, education ministers, some voices from multilateral community	Economic and social; use education to push regional identity and facilitate research and industry development	Inter-governmental for a, large size and reputation give policies credibility, common university network	UNESCO present at ASEAN education conferences

The Freirean notion of "dialogue" is somewhat present in these organizations, although only the Andean Community and Mercosur show direct inclusion of indigenous voices and local education systems. SEAMEO's centres show the inclusion of local populations and attention
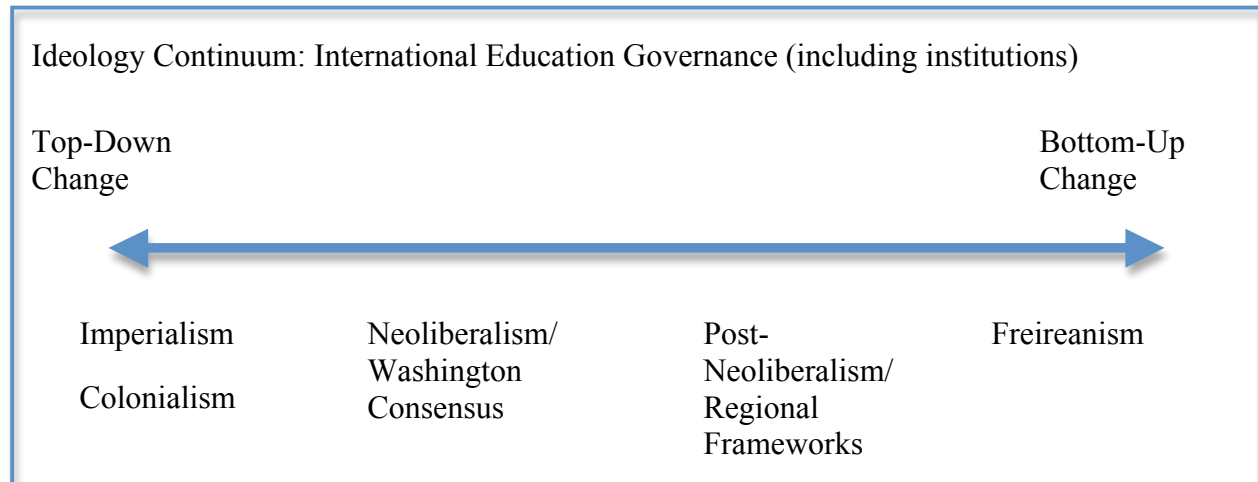
towards local languages, though the extent to which voices outside of government and bureaucracy are included is unclear. This is also the case for CIE, which mentions indigenous involvement but does not show any formal groups or means of their inclusion. However, the meetings at ministerial levels show a difference in approaches from organizations such as the World Bank and IMF, as the inter-governmental forums do not give the greatest weight to the most politically or economically powerful states. Instead, all states have equal representation, leadership rotates, and often, meeting locations rotate throughout the region. The structures of these organizations do not only incorporate government ministers, but also people in each country outside of government or power structures. Indigenous involvement is mentioned by multiple organizations, whether or not those voices are directly included. Attention is also paid to indigenous communities in the projects of CIE/OAS. SEAMEO's Community Involvement Project and Reaching the Unreached Project disseminate information and materials to schools in rural communities while engaging them in the workings of ASEAN. Each regional organization speaks to linguistic and cultural diversity, emphasizing the need to highlight diversity rather than flatten it through curriculum homogenization.

Although the heavy emphasis on inter-governmentalism and ministerial voices in these organizations does not indicate they employ a strong "bottom-up" approach, each organization speaks to cultural and linguistic diversity and social justice. An emphasis on diversity is a direct contradiction to one-size-fits-all templates used in the previous, global era of international education governance. None of these organizations uses lending conditionality to actively influence or change education policy and curricula. While some of these organizations receive funding or collaborate with global institutions, publications and agendas make it clear that the regional organization is the one holding most of the power. For instance, SEAMEO's Mother

Tongue language program is in collaboration with the World Bank, but it uses SEAMEO centres to conduct relevant policy research and reach out to affected communities. The Education for All agenda set forth by UNESCO also provides a benchmark or standards for regional education policies, but does not change how these institutions approach reaching those goals. Indeed, "educación formal" goals from the Andean Community and Mercosur are very much in line with recommendations and goals of UNESCO.

How do these organizations fit into a framework based off of Freirean principles of bottom-up control, dialogue, and cultural awareness? Three levels of power are present in international education governance and must be analyzed in education governance: people/local contexts, their state governments, and international institutions (both global and regional). Marginson (2011) originally articulated this triad in the context of globalizing higher education, but it is also useful to understand international education power dynamics as a whole. In the colonial era, imperalism/great powers played the role of international institution, national governments were often nonexistent because direct control came from the colonizer, and people were impacted directly as a result. In the Washington Consensus era, international institutions directly influenced governments, which directly influenced the people. In this context, the clear oppressor was the international institution, with both national governments and people acting as the oppressed. With the era of regional governance, dialogue mechanisms engaging people outside of government, along with inter-governmental forums incorporating government leaders, show a stark contrast. Although these programs do not represent an entirely "bottom-up" approach to education management, they allow for Freire's concept of cooperation through communication.

Revisiting the ideology continuum from the previous section on power and ideology, the institutional forms of each ideology can be added: colonialism with imperialism, Washington

Ideology Continuum: International Education Governance (including institutions)

Top-Down
Change

Bottom-Up
Change

Imperialism

Colonialism

Neoliberalism/
Washington
Consensus

Post-
Neoliberalism/
Regional
Frameworks

Freireanism

Consensus institutions with neoliberalism, and regional organizations with post-neoliberalism. A truly "Freirean" institution at the international governing level has not emerged, although whether Freire's ideas of bottom-up change can be put purely into institutions is problematic. Instead, the regional institutions discussed in this paper have incorporated some elements of Freire's philosophy, such as dialogue among those concerned, but there are still top-down elements of the organizations and their policies.

Only recently has a "post-neoliberal" ideology entered academic and political discussion. The rise of leftist governments and progressive policies in Latin America inspired MacDonald and Ruckert's (2009) volume on post-neoliberalism. Some of their post-neoliberal criteria include direct citizen engagement, reducing inequality, and greater regional economic integration. Regarding education specifically, Dahlstrom (2009) has used "post-neoliberal" interchangeably with attention to social justice and awareness and putting power back in the hands of teachers and students, rather than international technocrats. Education strategies

managed by regional institutions discussed in this paper fit these broad ideas, as they include

more voices from diverse communities in policy making processes and are largely motivated by

a need to reduce inequality. Although the presence of market forces cannot be denied, the

classification of education as a "sociocultural" issue indicates a separation from neoliberalism.

CONCLUSIONS AND THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS:

A FREIREAN FRAMEWORK FOR THE 21ST CENTURY?

Using a Freirean approach to understand the grand narrative of international education

governance, one can see three great shifts over the past century: The colonial era, the

Washington Consensus epoch, and more recently, the rise of regionalism and post-neoliberalism

(see Chart 5). These three eras have witnessed attempts (both successful and unsuccessful) of

larger states and institutions to alter and influence state education policies and systems. The first

of these, colonialism, displayed outright imperialism and oppression. Inhabitants of colonies

were deliberately deprived of their voices and treated as objects. The oppressed were either

purposely kept ignorant through a lack of education or were placed in a transplanted school

system replicated from that of their colonizers. As such, cultural and linguistic diversity was

suppressed for a hegemonic model. The effects of this can still be seen in many developing

countries, such as Senegal, which still uses French as the official language of instruction and

operates on a French academic calendar. The governing tools used by colonizers were coercion

and force.

Chart 5: Eras of International Education Governance			
ERA	**LEADERS**	**IDEOLOGY**	**TIMEFRAME**
Colonialism	Western European "Great Powers"	Imperialism/Capitalism	Until mid-1900s
Washington Consensus	Multilateral Institutions such as	Neo-liberalism	1980s-1990s

	World Bank and IMF (under the direction of the West)		
Regionalism	Regional organizations, led by respective regions	Leaning towards post-neoliberalism	1990s - Present

It was not long after the decolonization era before the second form of international education governance took hold through Western-based multilateral institutions such as UNESCO, the World Bank, the IMF, OECD, and GATT/WTO. As discussed at length earlier in this paper, each of these organizations influenced state education policies in different ways and took slightly different approaches to education. UNESCO has generally tried to mobilize education as a tool for social development, treating it as a "public good." In the 1980s and 1990s, UNESCO's efforts were largely overshadowed by the neoliberal and Washington Consensus approaches of the World Bank, IMF, and OECD. This has been exacerbated by the WTO-GATS strategy to make education a tradable commodity. With the rise of neoliberalism, market forces alone have played a large role in shaping and "governing" education, incentivizing the use of education to promote marketable skills-building and competition. The tools used by these institutions ranged from lending conditionality and policy prescriptions to oversight coupled with research and publishing abilities.

While the World Bank and its fellow institutions tried to correct for the injustices of the colonial era, there was also a clear political and ideological dimension to their policies. In the context of the Cold War, these Western-based groups perpetuated an ideology of free markets and attempted to strengthen the developing world to prevent the spread of communism to volatile areas. As a result, their emphasis on privatization, decentralization and shifting education to

perform the role of a market tool carried a "hidden curriculum" reminiscent of their colonial predecessors – they carried forth a subliminal message promoting Western values and power (Naidoo, 2011). This hegemonic force was often blind to local and historical contexts, constituting a "cultural invasion" as articulated by Freire (1970). In sum, the Washington Consensus was destined not to live up to the expectations of the World Bank community, because the technocrats and policy-makers in Washington saw the people in developing countries as an "abstract category" (Freire, 1970, p. 34).

This paper has focused on the third era of international education governance: regionalism. Starting in the 1990s, regionalization became an increasingly prevalent phenomenon in international political economy, seen through the grown of regional institutions and growth of regional trade agreements. The end of the Cold War ended the "bipolar" organization of the international order – that is, the political and economic rivalry of the Soviet Union and the United States gave way to the latter. Although this made the United States the global hegemon, the relative decline of its economic share of world GDP coincided with relative gains in other regions. Western-based institutions were also seen as the cause of the "lost decade" of development in the developing world and the neoliberal ideology of the West increasingly lost credibility (Alexander, 2001). This has spilled over into the realm of education, allowing regional organizations to exert influence on state education policies and systems.

This regional governance structure has differed from its two predecessors in a key way: it has directly involved individuals outside of power structures and government leaders from the states whose education systems are concerned. The market has still played a role in decision-making in these organizations, as they speak to competitiveness, development, and economic growth. However, the market has not been their central concern – building regional identities and

autonomy, recognition of local contexts and diversity, and incorporating indigenous voices are the new modus operandi.

Using Dahlstrom's ideas, a clear area for growth in these institutions is to allow more teacher autonomy and bottom-up or homegrown movements. Doing so would allow for true community-based learning. Considering that power has shifted from the global to the regional, though, this trend has the ability to continue to more focused groups. Regional structures have the capacity to become "post-neoliberal" vis-à-vis global institutions because they are more specific to certain cultures that share similar histories.

The discussion in this paper expands on the ideas of Marginson (2011) and Yepes (2006). Marginson calls the regional educational movements in Latin America and East Asia "embryonic structures," and Yepes connects them to a greater "new regionalism" paradigm. Although the structures in Latin America and East Asia are not as defined as those in Europe (the EU and the Bologna Process), they are actually more developed than these authors give them credit for. Europe's regional education system is at its level of advancement because of its economic advantage and resurgence immediately following WWII. By contrast, Latin America and East Asia had to start from scratch upon decolonization. Europe's regional education agenda is consistent with those in Latin America and East Asia because it was also launched in the 1990s. Paradoxically, this indicates that Latin America and East Asia are not "following in the footsteps" of Europe – they arose at the same time. This paper has shown other regions have the possibility to rise to the prestige of the European regional education model; educational governance structures at the regional level will not stay "embryonic" for long.

The ideas and concepts discussed here have several theoretical implications for international relations and international political economy. Power shifts in international

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education governance support the regionalization hypothesis in international political economy, as articulated by scholars such as Katzenstein (2005) and Calleo (2009). Europe, Latin America, and East Asia have built up education systems for economic reasons, to become more competitive, and for social and political reasons, to support the human development needs of their populaces and to create regional identities. The rise of regional education infrastructure in the 1990s is yet another piece of evidence to support regionalization, in addition to regional trade agreements and rise of regional institutions as a whole. Moreover, the inward focus on cultural specificity and regional autonomy seen in this paper supports Huntington's (1993) hypothesis that the future international order will resemble a framework of "civilizations."

Given the observations outlined in this paper, one can reasonably expect growth in the number and the power of regional education structures in the coming years. As these regional structures are able to more easily adapt to local context, they will be able to offer post-neoliberal solutions to a much greater extent than global organizations. Echoing off the ideas of Yepes (2006), the World Bank and IMF, and the WTO, should take this as their opportunity to end strategies of global governance in the realm of education and embrace regionalism. UNESCO has a regional agenda of its own, which can work in tandem with existing regional organizations, but should not attempt to surpass existing organizations. Indeed, groups such as SEAMEO and Mercosur advocated for the Education for All agenda. The present analysis has demonstrated the shift in power over time, ultimately favoring the regional, along with their governing mechanisms and approaches to incorporate "local knowledge."

More broadly, a demonstration of regional autonomy and separation from Western-based international organizations indicates their counterhegemonic intentions. The international order is shifting to a multi-polar structure, with power moving from the West to the periphery. The

regions discussed in this paper each have at least one powerful state that has given the region economic weight. In Latin America, this is Brazil and to a certain extent Argentina, and in the ASEAN, Indonesia and Singapore play these roles to varying degrees. States' willingness to group together into international organizations supports liberal institutionalist theory, which dictates that states maximize interest by cooperating in institutions.

Constructivist theory, which considers ideas, norms, and identities as the primary conduit of international relations, is particularly relevant in the approaches of regional education organizations. The regional organizations examined were concerned with creating and perpetuating a regional identity and spreading integrationist ideas and values. Similarly, a shift in norms surrounding education (i.e. that it should be treated as a public good rather than market tool) is important for constructivist interpretations of this pattern. The dialogue mechanisms and inter-governmental fora in these organizations also act as important venues for the spread of ideas and strategies targeted towards education development. Tangentially related, but also relevant, is neo-functionalist theory. Should a regional organization decide to integrate the industries or economies of member states, integration in political and sociocultural spheres will follow. The prime example of neo-functionalism is the European Union, which grew from the European Coal and Steel Community with six member states to the European Union with 27 (Judt, 2005). Only recently, with the advent of the Lisbon Strategy, has the EU delved into the field of education. Mercosur and the Andean Community also began as primarily economic institutions, but since have taken up political and sociocultural roles. The creation of the all-encompassing UNASUR is an example of neo-functionalism at work. The example of ASEAN is a little problematic however, as it had economic, political, and sociocultural purposes from the start – one was not a spillover of the other. Ultimately, the endurance of these institutions is a

testament to the pertinence of constructivism.

A Freirean framework for the 21st century would be beneficial in mitigating the costs and benefits of education globalization. As seen through the international education ideology continuum featured in this paper, governance appears to be moving toward a bottom-up, Freirean ideal. Considering this an inevitable path is a very dangerous assumption, however. Without constant questioning and activism within the present system, a new hegemonic force and new forms of cultural invasion are in store. One thing that is certain is that regionalism will lead to a much more diverse and culturally rich world than permitted by unilateral globalization. Contrary to previous regimes of international education governance, regionalism, coupled with post-neoliberal policies, allows for the active participation of voices that have been silent for decades, if not centuries. Most importantly, these new structures appear to evaluate societies and cultures not on their adherence to prescribed policies, but rather, on their capacity to "be for themselves."

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