



**UNIVERSITY OF  
BIRMINGHAM**

**EUROPEAN INFLUENCE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF DOMESTIC  
POLICIES IN CHILE AND MEXICO: THE CASE OF HIGHER EDUCATION.**

**By**

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*When Spaniards invaded the North of Chile, they subordinated and dominated the indigenous population through imposing the Spanish language. Of course, there were other forms of domination such as religion. However, the common practice of coercion was to cut off their tongues if they refused to learn the master's language (Just an oral story transmitted from generation to generation).*

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*In memoriam of my beloved friend, Carlos Pereira (Carlitos),  
who helped me to fly as high as I could.*

## **Abstract.**

The EU as an ideational actor has a significant impact on non-European countries. This thesis examines the growth of European ideas circulating throughout the field of Latin American Higher Education (HE), as part of the Bologna Process, which has manifested itself in a set of procedures, methods and tools that have contributed to the transformation of Chilean and Mexican HE. This phenomenon requires a rigorous analysis of European ideational factors present within Normative Power Europe (NPE), not only through a cluster of ideas, norms, principles and values but also through analysing language. The thesis examines such claims, focusing on Chile and Mexico, and argues that the impact of European influences upon receiver countries is mediated by domestic circumstances. The thesis makes a contribution to both existing understanding of the European Union's influence over Latin America and Latin American HE, and also seeks to advance upon existing debates around the notion of Normative Power Europe in particular, by illustrating how the NPE literature would benefit from a deeper consideration of the use of language and considering translation processes of receiver countries.



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# **Chapter 1: Introduction and key aspects of this research.**

## **1.1. Introduction**

*1.1.1. General considerations.*

*1.1.2. The Statement of a problem: European Influences on the development of domestic policies in Chile and Mexico: the case of Higher Education (HE).*

*1.1.2.1. Rationale: why this research.*

*1.1.2.2. The context of this research: European influences in Latin American Higher Education (HE).*

## **1.2. Fundamental basis of this research.**

*1.2.1 Empirical considerations.*

*1.2.2. Theoretical considerations and principles.*

*1.2.3. Research Questions.*

*1.2.4.. Research Objectives.*

*1.2.5. Research Methodology.*

*1.2.5.1. Working with GT.*

*1.2.5.2. Working with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).*

## **1.3. Structure of thesis.**

## **1.4. Conclusions.**

## **Summary.**

This introduction aims to set out the general plan of the thesis. The character of this chapter is merely expositive and descriptive and contributes towards laying the foundations of the research. The first part states the essentials of the problem, the significance of this research and the context of the investigation, on *European Influences in Latin American Higher Education (HE)*. The following section describes the fundamental bases of the thesis in terms of its empirical, theoretical and methodological considerations. Finally the structure of the thesis is outlined in order to understand the logic of induction, explanations and thinking of this piece of research.

## 1.1. Introduction.

### 1.1.1. General considerations.

This thesis represents a rigorous process of investigation conducted systematically over five years of exhaustive empirical and bibliographical work. Most of the chapters involved original and creative pieces of research resulting from an in-depth procedure of data collection and its subsequent analysis. Therefore the starting point of this study was mainly empirical. Nevertheless existing literature on the subject was consulted, analysed and expounded with care in order to widen the debate and find new approaches to endorse the phenomena under investigation.

This research was also enriched with contributions offered by the ‘state of the art’ as exposed in diverse conferences attended by the researcher, especially those in Africa (Lubumbashi), Switzerland (Lausanne) and Turkey (Istanbul). Furthermore, permanent support coming from a group of scholars led by Professor Susan Robertson (University of Bristol), Dr. Roger Dale (University of Bristol) and Dr. Eva Hartman (University of Lausanne) working on the cultural political economy of signs and knowledge-based economy in Higher Education (HE), was fundamental for the development of this investigation. Additionally it is interesting to remark here that empirical chapters were strongly supported by the work of experts in the field of Higher Education (HE) particularly in Latin America<sup>1</sup>.

The main goal of this investigation is to present an honest, clear and rigorous approach to the phenomenon being studied, namely *European influences on the development of domestic policies in Chile and Mexico: the case of Higher Education*

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. José Joaquín Brunner deserves special mention as a significant scholar who could in some way be considered as my external supervisor.



(HE). As we shall observe throughout the thesis, this approach does not belong specifically to European studies and their corresponding focal issues such as European foreign policy, on the processes of enlargement and integration. Certainly the field of HE has not been studied in depth by scholars who refer to the EU as an influential actor/power beyond the limits of Europe.

Considering the cases under study (Chile and Mexico) and with the personal experiential identity of being Latin American, this researcher approaches the phenomenon through Latin American, not European, 'eyes'. Therefore it is necessary to consider that a Post-colonial condition is (un)fortunately unavoidable here, and this is demonstrable in three main aspects: (i) a highly critical point of view with regard to European influences, (ii) the immanent presence of a serendipity variable<sup>2</sup> connected with linguistic/semantic aspects that contribute to understanding European influences as a discursive process of domination, and (iii) the need of listening to "the silence of developing countries" (Kapoor, 2008). This thesis will possibly reach very different conclusions from those normally drawn within European scholarship.

Nevertheless, I realised throughout the investigation that there was a need for re-thinking the research, considering: (a) leaving behind analyses of the transmitter (the EU) in order to focus on the recipients of European influences; (b) the study of European influences as part of a wider phenomenon. For example, we must take into account the presence of limited, even mediated effects (Lazarsfeld and Katz, 1950)<sup>3</sup> rather than direct effects; and (c) the point that domestic policies of non-European countries play a fundamental role in mediating European ideational influences.

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<sup>2</sup> Understanding a variable as a characteristic or significant attribute of reality which deserves to be 'measured' or considered, a serendipity variable implies the presence of those attributes that, by accident or insight, make the researcher achieve discoveries, not considered as such during the research process.

<sup>3</sup> <ftp://intranet.dei.polimi.it/users/Carlo.Piccardi/VarieDsc/Wa07.pdf>.

Therefore analyses of mediation could open the scope of proper studies of impact or receptiveness by others. They would represent the first step for organising a post-colonialist academia focused on listening to the voices of developing countries (Kapoor, 2008) Furthermore these kinds of investigation make it possible to see the receivers of European influence as active recipients and creators of sense and reality (Ravault, 1996)<sup>4</sup>.

The following aspect describes the real statement of the phenomenon. With an inductive approach for this research, i.e. from particular to general observations, the problem is described firstly through what was observed early in the case studies. However it is fundamental to note here that this research goes beyond a simple case study, because this did not involve an in-depth, longitudinal (over a long period of time) examination of a single instance or event, i.e. of a case. Furthermore this investigation does not ‘rest’ only upon the analysis of cases considered as part of concrete data, but it also makes a theoretical contribution, opening up the debate on the EU as an ideational power rather than as a material force and, after all, on the processes of the receptiveness of this powers by non-European actors. This aspect is readily acknowledged because the area of research chosen, namely Higher Education (HE), deserves analysis within the ‘battlefield’ of ideas.

*1.1.2. The Statement of a problem: European Influences on the development of domestic policies in Chile and Mexico: the case of Higher Education.*

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<sup>4</sup> For these reasons, within the examination of analytical aspects of NPE, I contemplated an additional type of effects called ‘null’ or ‘adverse’ impact.

From the 2000s until the present day, the development of certain rapid changes has been observable in a significant number of Latin American Higher Education (HE) institutions as the result of an intervenient variable within the process, -a sort of external influence. This phenomenon can be described as *the manifestation of new ideas circulating throughout the field of Latin American Higher Education (HE), especially in Chile and Mexico*. At the outset it can be seen that these ideas have transmuted into a set of procedures, methods and tools applicable for transforming Chilean and Mexican HE. Such ideas were not coming, as they usually did, from the US: instead they were arriving from the EU as part of a more significant phenomenon occurring in Europe, in the form of the Bologna Process and its executive instrument, the Tuning Project.

The ‘Bologna Process’ is the name of the most important reform in Higher Education in Europe over the last few decades. It is an intergovernmental agreement amongst Ministry of Education, Vice-chancellors and academic personnel, who have been working in at least four core processes: (i) reforms for undergraduate and postgraduate studies, (ii) a transparent system for harmonising modules and courses (ECTS) in order to establish formal mobility amongst different actors of the system, (iii) methods of quality assurance and improvements of HE institutions and students, and (iv) pedagogic and structural strategies for implementing systems of lifelong education.

On the other hand, the Tuning Project constitutes the concrete materialisation of the ten lines of Bologna. It institutes procedures of comparability of curricula in terms of structures, programmes and current processes of teaching and learning. The whole methodology seeks to enhance HE institutions in discussions about the recognition and European amalgamation of diplomas, considering the diversity of nation-states, cultures and language.

The object of this investigation, the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project, does not belong to traditional areas of research into European impact upon non-European countries, such as EU assistance and aid policies, foreign policy, enlargement, pillars and agreements. However the significance of Higher Education for the Union can already be observed in the Lisbon Strategy for jobs and growth, and in other European formal commitments made previously, even though one may agree with what Ruth Keeling claims that the field of higher education is still not viewed as part of a European capability (2006: 204).

Nevertheless, the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project are considered the most significant intergovernmental agreements to reforming the European higher education system. According to Ruth Keeling both processes have contributed to stabilising and establishing “an emergent policy framework for the EU in higher education” (2006: 203). Though for the rest of the world, the restructuring of European HE means nothing without what Bologna experts call the external dimension of this phenomenon. This dimension is based on the exportation of a European model and ideational practices that characterise a ‘Bologna Language’, because it has been transmitted as a common language determined by a specific vocabulary, and through that they exert power.

Therefore the manifestation of European ideas ‘colouring’ conversations and procedures at two levels, public and university/institutional policies in Chilean and Mexican HE, requires a rigorous analysis of European ideational aspects present not only through a cluster of ideas, norms, principles and values but also through analysing language.

I started the investigation with merely preliminary ideas about the phenomenon; however my feeling about the Bologna Process and its executive tool, the Tuning Project, impacting upon Latin American ‘realities’, was that language is used to reproduce discursive practices of domination. These practices are grounded in ontologies that reveal only the experiences of superpowers, which historically have played the role of master.

*1.1.2.1. Rationale: why this research.*

A piece of research implies the development of certain processes of inquiry, giving systematic answers to different questions and discovering something new or not previously observed. In the case of this investigation, its existence was conceived as a result of a personal experience of perceiving changes in the field of HE. As a lecturer in a Chilean university, this researcher was part of the very process being studied. Therefore it was difficult to play both roles, to be part of the object under analysis and to perform as a ‘CCTV camera’ in order to study the phenomenon. However in qualitative investigations, the researcher is a necessary part of the phenomenon studied (Glaser & Strauss, 2009).

The title of the thesis gives us an interesting starting point to determine why this research is important. The common field study of the EU as an influential power has focused on areas related to three European pillars, such as European Communities, Common Foreign and Security Policy and Police and Judicial Co-operation. It is important to note here that European scholars have studied other aspects of Europe as a

superpower, considering initial themes of the former European Community<sup>5</sup> and other European matters. By contrast, the area of Higher Education is new and attractive for observing European influences upon non-European countries.

Furthermore, the following preliminary questions show certain gaps within the ‘state of the art’ of phenomena that justify the existence of this study.

*Is the EU an influential actor in the field of Higher Education (HE)?* This question is extremely relevant because any influential actor in the area of HE could constitute a hegemonic power or superpower on the two fronts of material and ideational sources. In terms of material factors, nowadays the field of HE embodies the most important aspect of training human resources, -the power of human capital (Ridderstrale & Nordström, 2000). Therefore, a superpower could exert supremacy within the core of productive processes and determine the course of future ‘economic waves’. Considering ideational aspects, Europe could exert an intellectual hegemony (Robertson, 2009) based on a pedagogic force which offers models of teaching and learning (as seen in the Bologna Process) within the area of HE. The only literature analysing European influences in HE upon overseas countries is fairly recent.

The EU seen as a ‘global teacher’ (Adelman, 2009: 170) refers to a notion of the Union spreading and exporting its model beyond the geographical boundaries of Europe. This idea presents serious connotations when analysing European influences reaching beyond Europe. It presents a powerful image of the EU as an international actor, endorsed it with a special capability, a force that manifests a pedagogic potential for establishing its (external) relationships. Therefore, its power is not ‘deposited’ in its

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<sup>5</sup> Such as members, institutions, agencies and bodies.

material capabilities for exerting physical strength, but rather it is to be found in its ability to structure/organise, (to shape) knowledge.

*How has scholarship dealt with European influences on Latin American HE?*

*How do non-European actors receive this impact?* There exists a hitherto incipient literature focusing on the impact of Europe upon Latin American HE. However, it is possible to observe two significant positions: that of scholars who support the idea that Latin America has experienced powerful influence coming from Europe, and that of researchers who deny this idea, arguing that this phenomenon of influences arises from global trends. However it is difficult to find sufficient literature supporting the argument that Europe has had a real impact upon Latin American HE. Two opposite positions claim that: (a) it is possible to transplant the idea of the European Common Space into Latin American HE (Lazarri Barlete, 2008) and (b) there are no structural conditions in place in Latin America for transplanting a European model into its HE (Brunner, 2008).

The historical relationships literature shows Europe as a ‘model-maker’ or ‘model-offerer’ impacting on Latin American HE from the ‘birth’ of universities and study centres there. By contrast, Latin America is seen as a ‘model-taker’, which transplants foreign patterns into its HE in order to reach a certain degree of global influence, in the line with the trends of superpowers.

#### *1.1.2.2. The context of this research: European influences in Latin American HE.*

The relationships between the European Union, Latin America, and the Caribbean have been determined by historical processes of social, political, and economic influences. Most of these influences can be explained as arising from the

condition of ex-colonies of European countries and the strong ties established after the decolonisation processes, especially those between Spain and certain Latin American countries.

One of the most significant European influences within Latin American countries has been in the area of higher education. In recent decades, the EU has formed many ties with countries in Latin America, bringing many new economic and knowledge-based developments, with considerable advantage to the Latin American participants. One of the most visible effects of this “political dialogue” between the European Union and Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) is the strengthened cooperation in Higher Education (HE). Certainly, in this area, it is possible to observe many European influences emerging from the very founding of Latin American universities. These influences have been affecting the upper levels of Latin American HE, such as the alignment of its academic and administrative structures, its systems of university government, and currently the ways of teaching and learning and the structuring of curricula.

Considering the process of ‘path dependence’ of this research, the latter introduces a sequence of historical events which seem to have determined the inception of European influences in Chilean and Mexican HE. This aspect is fundamental to the understanding of why these influences have shown a stronger impact during recent decades, when it is possible to observe a process of formalisation of relationships between Europe and Latin America. Therefore we might consider at least three historical moments that determine the strengthening of European impact upon the cases for study.



(i) Latin American HE institutions have developed more links with Europe owing to the fact that most of the universities were created as a mirror image of European institutions, i.e. presenting historical links from the beginning of universities.

(ii) European ideas about the construction of a Common Space in Higher Education were beginning to circulate in Latin America in the nineties before the Bologna Process appeared in the Higher Education arena through the first Triennial Plan for the MERCOSUR Education Area.

(iii) The establishment of Social and Cooperation Agreements (3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> generation) between the EU, Chile and Mexico, and bi-regional approaches consolidated through the so-called ‘Horizontal Programmes’<sup>6</sup> which involved the participation of the EU in economic and social programmes, by which Europe has strengthened its influence over the domestic policies developing in a Latin American context.

The current changes in Latin American higher education have been implanted through two tools, the Bologna process and the Tuning Project, which have sought to facilitate the sharing of knowledge, the transfer of technologies, and the mobility of students, academics, researchers, and administrators, focusing on training, employment, and scientific knowledge.

In addition, the scenario of Latin America in the higher education area, especially in Chile and Mexico, appears to be significantly affected by other European influences, such as the new bi-regional relationships (between the EU and LAC), horizontal programmes and social and cooperation agreements (“global agreements”) signed by Chile and Mexico. This political and social scenario will offer the tools

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<sup>6</sup> URB – AL, ALFA, Alβan, @LIS, and AL – INVEST.

needed to construct the “European dream,” a common space for higher education among the countries involved.

## **1.2. Fundamental bases of this research.**

### *1.2.1. Empirical considerations.*

This research started with the conducting of preliminary interviews. These interviews facilitated the development of targeted searches on particular areas, subjects for investigation and other research tools. In addition, the investigation required an in-depth bibliographical analysis in three main areas: (i) Latin American Higher Education (HE), specifically in Chile and Mexico, (ii) European relationships with Latin America and (iii) The European Union as an influential power/actor.

The formal process of collection and analysis of data was conducted through a triangulation process using the research tools of interviews and analysis of documents.

Over the next few sections, I describe the fundamental epistemological and methodological aspects of this research. I decided to introduce these foundations here, because they are connected with the whole investigation, not only with the analysis of data. Additionally I preferred to include a single chapter (3<sup>rd</sup>) that analyses further ontological considerations for this thesis.

### *1.2.2. Theoretical considerations and principles.*

I introduced the concept of ‘gnosiology’ in one of the chapters (3<sup>rd</sup>) in order to describe the ‘universe’ of knowledge of this thesis. This ‘universe’ includes epistemological and methodological aspects, and is composed of three dimensions or research pillars which sometimes overlap, making the research more flexible. They are: *methodology* which is studied through Grounded Theory (GT), *theoretical dimension*

where Normative Power Europe (NPE) is portrayed to examine European influences through its ideational power, and an *analytical scope* developed through Critical Discourse Analysis, specifically focused on the socio-cognitive approach of Teun van Dijk.

It is important to note here that there is an epistemological correlation amongst these three theoretical frameworks, because:

- a.) They belong to the field of middle-range theory or ‘middle ground’ alternative (Wiessala, 2006: 22); they are not ‘grand theories’.
- b.) They are useful for studying long-term effects and they interact with each other at ideational/discursive level.
- c.) They are necessarily contextual-dependent theories. The context of phenomena plays a fundamental role in order to understand processes of influences and changes.

Methodologically, I would like to place my GT position within a Straussian ‘spirit’ belonging to the second generation of this theory. This aspect will explain in depth of late. Theoretically, I would like to allocate myself against the literature of Normative Power Europe (‘dissenting academia’) by highlighting how the empirical work demonstrates a key area of weakness in the approach.

*1.2.3. Research Questions.*

The research questions of this investigation were mainly empirical. They were focused on determining the presence of European influence in the field of HE in Chile and Mexico, on recording the changes observed and identifying the main actors within the process.

- (1) Have there been any strong European influences on HE in Chile and Mexico in the course of their dealings with the EU? If so, when and how were they seen?
- (2) What changes have been observed as a result of the sudden emergence of the Bologna Process in Chilean and Mexican Higher Education?
- (3) Who has been involved in the process? What has been their role?
- (4) What were the main events and factors (facts) in this process?
- (5) To what extent was this process linked to other policy fields and social trends in Latin America?

Certain questions were not considered in the final part of the research process. In addition, after the primary coding procedure, other interrogations appeared as part of a deeper analysis and of certain theoretical considerations:

- (1) What has literature offered in terms of the following issue: European Influences in Latin American HE?
- (2) What European ideational aspects are really received by Chilean Mexican HE? (ideas & principles).

(3) How do Chilean and Mexican HE use European ideational standpoints within their practices and discourses? (Norms)

(4) Is the EU exercising Normative Power?: What ideational aspects are diffused by the EU? (EU principles), how does the EU diffuse its ideational outlook? (Transmission of norms), how does the EU construct its ideational (normative) practices and discourses? (Ways of exerting NPE)

#### *1.2.4. Research Objectives.*

The objectives of this research are divided into two categories: general and specific. The verbs used to describe the main objectives of the research correspond to those belonging to qualitative investigations of an *exploratory-descriptive character*. The objectives performing as navigation cartographies facilitate the organisation of this thesis into its chapters.

##### *1.2.4.1. General objective.*

- To determine the presence of European influences in the development of domestic policies in the field of Higher Education (HE) in Chile and Mexico.
- To analyse how non-European countries, especially Chile and Mexico, receive and use European ideational influences.

##### *1.2.4.2. Specific objectives.*

- To identify historical ‘traces’ of European influences in Chilean and Mexican HE focusing on the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project.
- To demonstrate how domestic circumstances of non-European countries, specifically Chile and Mexico, mediate upon the exercise of Normative Power Europe in Chilean and Mexican HE.

#### 1.2.5. Research Methodology.

This research involves a systematic process of *qualitative methodology*. Strauss and Corbin argue that there are diverse reasons for opting to use qualitative research including the philosophical orientation, the disciplines studied and the nature of the research problem (1990: 19). In the case of this investigation, qualitative research was chosen because social sciences represent the main field of research, particularly focusing on the disciplines of sociology and international relations. In addition, the nature of the research question is essentially *an analysis of ideational aspects of European influences present in Chilean and Mexican HE, based on a critical study of discourse*.

Furthermore, its type is *exploratory-descriptive with a transversal design of study*. This research is *exploratory*, because it is pioneering in diverse aspects such as: (i) it focuses on the recipients of European influences, leaving behind analyses of the transmitter (the EU); (ii) the empirical area chosen, the study of European influences on Higher Education (HE), is not considered as part of traditional European studies; (iii) linguistic/semantic variables have not previously been studied by scholars who consider the EU as an ideational power/actor; (iv) finally the use of a specific scientific method,

such as Grounded Theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990: 27) to conduct a complex qualitative research of this nature, is rarely observable within the investigation into European influences.

Besides, this investigation is *descriptive* because it has the purpose of describing events and representative situations of a phenomenon or unity of analysis. The description of this research is seen in the title of the thesis: *European influences on the development of domestic policies in Chile and Mexico: the case of Higher Education (HE)*. The design of this study is transversal, also called cross-sectional study, because it constitutes a piece of research done at one time, not over the course of time. This study focuses on what I call the fourth period of formalisation of relationships between Europe and Latin America, specifically from 2000 when the Bologna Process arrived in Chilean and Mexican HE.

The abstract procedure of this research considers the necessary relationships between causal generative mechanisms and concrete phenomena produced. The original idea of the research was born as a result of an experiential phenomenon by the researcher. As part of her work in Chile, the researcher of this thesis began to be concerned about several rapid changes which were occurring in some traditional Chilean universities. In order to work with a comparative analysis, a second case was carefully sought. After examining different countries such as Jordan, Israel and other Latin American countries, Mexico was chosen by means of an empirical criterion, mainly because it shares with Chile a ‘package of instruments’, such as the establishment of agreements and programmes. Additionally, I would like to say here that the strong American influence upon Mexican policies and decision-making is a significant variable present in HE too. For this reason, Mexico constitutes a significant



case of study for examining European influences considering the solid impact of the US upon Mexican HE.

The table below (1.1) shows the process of research as a whole, starting with the description of the phenomenon, i.e. *European influences on the development of domestic policies in Chile and Mexico: the case of Higher Education (HE)*. The generative mechanisms and the phenomena of this research are described as follows: one can observe a description of the research process starting with the phenomenon studied. After that, it is possible to see the context and the conditions, both causal and intervening. Action strategies and consequences are the final part of the research. From the definition of the phenomenon, a relationship between both variables immediately appears, independent as European Influences and dependent when considering the cases for study, namely Chilean and Mexican HE.

**The process of research.**

Element	Description	Applying the elements to this research.
<b>Phenomenon.</b>	It might be called the name of the scheme or frame. It is the concept that holds the 'bits' together. It is sometimes the outcome of interest, or it can be its subject.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ European influences in developing domestic policies in Chile and Mexico: the case of Higher Education.</li> </ul>
<b>Causal conditions.</b>	These are the events or variables that lead to the occurrence or development of the phenomenon. It is a set of causes and their properties.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ European influences upon non-European countries.</li> </ul>
<b>Context</b>	The specific locations (values) of background variables. A set of conditions influencing the action/strategy. It could also be considered as <i>moderating</i> variables.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Latin American Higher Education, specifically the cases of Chile and Mexico.</li> </ul>
<b>Intervening conditions</b>	They represent the <i>mediating</i> variables.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Ideational aspects translated into linguistic/semantic aspects.</li> </ul>
<b>Action strategies</b>	The purposeful, goal-oriented activities that agents perform in response to the phenomenon and intervening conditions.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Interviewing expert and type subjects.</li> <li>▪ Bibliographical work.</li> <li>▪ Analysis of data and theoretical work.</li> </ul>
<b>Consequences</b>	These are the consequences of the action strategies, intended and unintended.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ To tell the story.</li> <li>▪ To make in-depth analyses.</li> <li>▪ To contribute to or expand theory.</li> </ul>

**Table 1.1**

Therefore causal conditions are observed in the sphere of *European influences upon non-European countries*, an aspect that is normally seen in other cases for study, specifically in areas where Europe shows significant impact, observable in its diverse domains of action, such as foreign policy, enlargement and European pillars. As the phenomenon is wider and more complex it is difficult to consider all sorts of variables, especially the mediating variables or intervening conditions. However the immanent presence of a *serendipity variable* connected with linguistic/semantic aspects

contributes to understanding European influences as discursive processes of domination and mediation. The action strategies and consequences can be seen at three levels:

i) Grasping the process of European Influences through Bologna. This comes from the analysis of interviews and helps to tell the story.

ii) As NPE can be seen as the maximum expression of the EU as ideational power, I analyse and compare empirical data with theoretical elements. This contributes to producing in-depth analyses.

iii) I study the Bologna Language and those aspects of European influences/NPE in order to make a contribution in terms of ideational power seen through language (or semantic lens). This comes from the analyses of documents or written evidence.

It is important to note here that all these analyses were worked with Latin American documents and people. So the perspective of ‘receiver’ countries (Chile and Mexico) was always present and it contributed to the observation of true receptiveness process, i.e. how these countries socialised, did own (internalise), adhered and criticised the normative presence of the EU through the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project.

#### 1.2.5.1. Working with Grounded Theory (GT).

The investigator initiates a study with a certain degree of openness to the research subject and what may be learned from it... The qualitative researcher starts out by selecting relevant researcher sites and cases, then identifies “sensitizing concepts”, clarifies major concepts and empirical categories in the course of the investigation, and may end the project by elaborating one or more analytic frames (Ragin, 1994: 85).

As Ragin argues above, a qualitative research requires some degrees of open-mindedness to deal with a phenomenon. This investigation as part of a *qualitative process* avoids ‘encapsulating’ the phenomenon in a specific theoretical framework. However the first steps of this thesis were guided by certain preliminary ideas, such as *European influences*, *Normative Power Europe (NPE)* and *ideational factors*. The methodological procedure considered then the search for cases and the identification of ‘sensitising concepts’. After these initial steps Grounded Theory (GT) became the ‘backbone’ of this research.

GT developed by Anselm Strauss and Barney Glaser in 1967 constitutes a systematic methodological procedure used in the social sciences that contributes to organising qualitative researches in order to generate or expand theory from empirical data. Originally GT had two main purposes: (i) to discover theory from data and (ii) to use it as a method of comparative analysis. However considering its application in use, some scholars have worked on other modalities of GT, such as verification methods that through empirical research give feedback into and can lead to the modification of theory (Glaser and Strauss, 2009: 2). This aspect is fundamental because as Glaser and Strauss argue we may make a distinction between *grounded modifying of theory* and *grounded generating of theory*. Nevertheless both scholars claim that “Surely no conflict between verifying and generating theory is logically necessary during the course of any given

research” (Ibid). Certainly the decision to adopt either verifying or generating theory depends on the primary of purpose of the investigation.

GT as a methodological procedure in this investigation has performed as the ‘conductive thread’ of the whole research and made it possible to deal with three main aspects: (i) justifying the empirical attitude of this researcher, (ii) connecting epistemological and methodological aspects within the thesis and (iii) an explanation of the methods for examining empirical data in qualitative research through coding processes.

#### *1.2.5.2. Working with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).*

Van Dijk’s approach is contextual-dependent, because it determines social and personal (socio-cognitive) conditions where communicative actors interact. Thus CDA analyses influences exerted by context characteristics, which finally reproduce power practices of language users. In turn, powerful speakers control contexts by imposing upon what people are talking about, i.e. setting a common agenda of conversations: “virtually all levels and structures of context, text, and talk can in principle be more or less controlled by powerful speakers, and such power may be abused at the expense of other participants” (van Dijk, 2003: 357). With this dominance, powerful groups influence other people through the construction of communicative situations that are seen as normal or even a part of the social preferences of the groups being dominated.

His methodology is useful for analysing powerful structures present in daily discursive practices. Some of them can be explicit; however implicit categories need deeper analysis to grasp discourse structures that influence mental representations. The

analysis starts scrutinising issues or topics, which constitute significant semantic structures as such. Here it is necessary to summarise the main *topics* extracted from the texts and their details at all levels, because they show how things are said, their lexis, syntaxes and semantic structures and strategies: implications, presuppositions and descriptions. They demonstrate rhetoric, pragmatic and interactional discursive practices:

At the *global level* of discourse, *topics* may influence what people see as the most important information of text or talk, and thus correspond to the top levels of their mental models” (ibid: 358).

After that these topics are condensed in *microstructures* that correspond to other semantic constructions. Microstructure is used for organising the topics, according to certain linguistic criteria which enable the analysis of the discourses to develop. The microstructure represents a lexical unit or form-meaning composite (lexeme) which is seen as a ‘whole’ in a text (which at the same time, is the whole as well).

### 1.3. Structure of the thesis.

This thesis is divided into seven chapters with their subsequent sub-chapters. The organisation and division of the chapters take into account main research aspects such as logical consistency, clarity, scope and integration. The first half sets out the statement of the problem and its contextual and theoretical frameworks. The chapter on epistemological and methodological aspects contributes to connecting the next sections. The second half shows the object and cases of study, i.e. the Bologna Process (Tuning Project) and Chilean and Mexican HE with its respective analyses. The description of each chapter is offered as follows:

As in all kinds of research, the introduction constitutes the first chapter. The title of the thesis gives us the relationship between the two variables: independent (European Influences) and dependent (Chilean and Mexican HE). Starting from this perspective, through the literature review the *second chapter* begins to seek those aspects related to the independent variable. This chapter is merely expositive, descriptive and analytical. The chapter starts as following: the EU as an ideational power is analysed and not simply described. The main purpose of this chapter is to study the EU in terms of its being an ideational power/actor. Considering the gaps that appeared in the Literature Review, taking into account European Influences impacting overseas, this chapter argues that there are no proper studies on the ideational impact of Europe beyond its frontiers. Therefore the ideational bases of European discourses are studied in order to demonstrate the ideational character of the EU. NPE, as a theoretical framework, has enabled this research to conceptualise and theorise about the impact of European ideas and language on Chilean Higher Education.

As this researcher started the research from the empirical cases, Grounded Theory (GT) has helped in supporting her pragmatist starting point. In addition GT contributes to a better explanation of the gnosiological aspects of the thesis (epistemological and methodological issues). Finally, working all the time with discourse and language throughout this investigation, GT has assisted in grasping all those coding aspects with rigorous methodology, especially with regard to the data coming from the interviews. This *third chapter* of the thesis describes the methodological stage, by which practical evidence is collected of ways in which the EU might be considered to be influencing developments in the domestic policies of Chile and Mexico. The methodological procedure of this thesis will be through interviews and analysis of documents; its analysis of empirical data will be undertaken through coding processes and critical discourse of analysis.

As it was difficult to find sufficient existing literature about EU influences on Latin American HE, the background chapter appeared in the scheme as the *fourth chapter*. The process of Higher Education changes in Chile and Mexico could be classified as occurring over four significant periods: the time of the shaping of the system, the period of academic exchanges, the Americanisation of Higher Education and the institutionalisation of international ties. This chapter emphasises the importance of the fourth period as demonstrating of a process of formalisation of international ties between the European Union and Latin America, and therefore a strengthening of European influences on domestic policies in Chile and Mexico. *Chapter 4* also examines the object of study: how the European Bologna Process and its lines of action leading to the creation of a common space for Higher Education are influencing Chilean and Mexican domestic policies, and the effects these policies will have on the constitution of the policies of these countries. This chapter analyses the most significant



reforms that affected the HE institutions and public policies separately to establish a common framework between Chile and Mexico, but considering the particular processes of change in each country. Within Higher Education the Chilean and Mexican universities are changing their undergraduate and postgraduate programmes in order to ally themselves with the Bologna Process. This is being followed not only in terms of structure, but also in terms of the whole concept of what Higher Education means.

*The 5<sup>th</sup> chapter* introduces an in depth analysis of the first case of study: Chile. It also offers an study of Normative Power Europe (NPE), based on ideas and language. Within this, there was an analysis of the impact of NPE on facts, ideas and norms in Chile, as witnessed in the period after the arrival and implementation of the Bologna Process in the country in 2004. Although the phenomenon of impact cannot be exclusively restricted to the Bologna Language, this aspect is significant because, according to experts, it represents the most ‘exportable European commodity’. This ‘commodity’, as a model for HE, is considered an essential part of Bologna’s social and external dimensions. This section also includes an analysis of NPE within the Bologna European Language and its impact on the Latin American Bologna Language observed in Chilean HE discourse.

*The next chapter (6<sup>th</sup>)* offers an in-depth analysis of the other case for study, the impact of European ideational aspects on Mexican Higher Education (HE). The first part of the analysis describes the processing of data using GT’s ‘open coding’. Both substantive area and codes demonstrate the presence of ‘European guidance’ within Mexican HE. After that, this study examines the presence of Normative Power Europe (NPE) in events, ideas and norms in Mexico, considering the period after the arrival and implementation of the Bologna Process in 2005. The examination of the NPE

contributes to identifying how NPE operates ‘gnosiologically’ in the field of Mexican domestic policies. This part also comprises an analysis of NPE within the Bologna European Language and its effects on Mexican Bologna Language.

The *seventh chapter* will show the conclusions of this research. In addition, it will describe different contributions made by this research to the current literature. It will end by focusing on implications and new avenues of future research in order to offer final reflections on this subject.

#### **1.4. Conclusions.**

This first chapter introduced the main ideas of this thesis, starting with the statement of the research problem. Other important aspects are for instance the fundamental basis of the research and the structure of the thesis. The character of this chapter is expositive and descriptive.

# Chapter 2: Literature Review.

## 2.1. Introduction.

## 2.2. The EU as an ideational power.

2.2.1. *The value-driven EU power/actor.*

2.2.2. *The normative nature of the European Union.*

2.2.2.1. *Conceptual dimension of Normative Power Europe (NPE).*

2.2.2.2. *Normative Power Europe (NPE) criticisms.*

## 2.3. Fundamental Epistemological Bases of Normative Power Europe (NPE).

2.3.1. *Analytical dimension of NPE.*

2.3.2. *Gnosiological dimension of NPE.*

## 2.4. Normative Power Europe ‘academia’.

2.4.1. *Organising Normative Power Europe (NPE) scholarship.*

2.4.2. *Does the dissenting academia of Normative Power Europe tell us about the receptiveness of ‘others’?*

2.4.2.1. *Epistemic Violence of NPE.*

2.4.2.2. *Ontological violence of NPE: the power of language.*

## 2.5. Conclusion.

### Summary.

The research character of this part is mainly analytical and its purpose is to study the normative nature of the EU as an ideational power. However, I argue here that there is a failure within the existing literature with regard to the discussion about how third parties use European influences: there are no proper studies of receptiveness by others (non-European countries). Firstly this part deals with the debate analysing the EU as an ideational actor (Whitman et. al, 2011). This force is not characterised by any interplay where the influential process ‘wins’ through better argument, as scholars from the pragmatism of language have argued (Habermas, 1986); this persuasive phenomenon operates in a climate of producing effects through a more influential ‘*weltanschauung*’. Secondly, in this chapter certain deficiencies within the analysis of the EU as an ideational power/actor and its ‘dissenting’ side are detected such as real concerns about how others have received European ideational influences. I divide this piece into two main sub-chapters: (i) the EU as an ideational power; (ii) an analysis of the normative dimension of the EU, which introduces the main theoretical framework -Normative Power Europe (NPE).

## 2.1. Introduction.

As a starting point, this chapter claims that European influences upon non-European countries might be studied considering the EU as an ‘influential actor’. An influential actor produces long-term effects which can be observed within complex and intersubjective spheres of ideatic<sup>7</sup> structures or systems.

*Firstly*, it is necessary to characterise the ‘actor’ in order to understand its dynamics and range of influence. It is argued here that the Union is distinguished by exerting a ‘special power’, or at least a different from traditional powers. Its power depends on its constitutive nature and its ways for establishing its internal and external relationships.

*Secondly*, having characterised the influential actor, it is important to analyse and understand the nature of the EU’s influences. Certainly some scholars rescue the idea that the Union exerts material or ideational sways, even both. Owing to the fact that the empirical experience and data of this research were observed on abstract fields of language and ideas, it is fundamental to argue here that an influential actor exerts an ideational power rather than a material force.

Thirdly, even though there are no perceivable studies of impact of European influences, the ‘dissenting side’ of Normative Power Europe constitutes the first attempt to fill the gap of this aspect. These narratives show real discourses of perception of others about European performance and actions. This is the case of the publication *Normative Power Europe: introductory observations on a controversial notion* (2009) edited by André Gerrits.

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<sup>7</sup> This concept, coming from literature and media studies, makes reference to ideologies, epistemologies, social constructs, social norms and laws.

The first purpose of this chapter is to discuss the existing literature that deals with the topics as follows: *the EU seen as an influential actor in the world politics through its exercise of ideational power.*

The European Union, as one of the significant participants in the decision-making processes in the global sphere, produces effects upon other actors through what it can do and does well, i.e. playing an international role as an actor, - as a 'distinctive agent' (Smith, 2003: 104). At the moment, the existing literature has been focused on answering the following two questions:

(i) *Is the EU an influential actor in the international arena?* In general terms, one can argue that there is a significant amount of literature supporting the view that Europe represents an influential actor that exerts power in the global sphere through its material and ideational capabilities. However, the Union is mainly seen as a force which does not exert any coercive power (Laïdi, 2008: 5). Certainly, Europe is seen as a different kind of actor, exerting neither hard power nor soft force. The EU constitutes a 'hybrid' entity (Manners & Whitman 2003, 388; cf. Wiessala, 2006: 19) posing/exercising a 'sui generis' nature/presence (Whitman, 1998: 2/15) through a mosaic of capabilities and tools. One may recognise that the EU offers very attractive models by which it establishes its external relations exerting power in a different and 'gentle' way. It is observable, then, that the 'European' literature is mainly focused on the role of the EU within the international arena: *the EU as a global* (Bretherton & Vogler, 2006) *or an international actor* (Smith, 2001: 289). This argument that the EU plays a role as an influential actor in the international arena contributes to identifying, within the existing literature, different aspects of the power of exertion as a phenomenon of influence and compliance (Cialdini, 2007).

*(ii) Is the EU an ideational power in the global arena?* European approaches supporting the idea that the Union constitutes a power exerting ‘magnetism’ and producing non-critical ‘complaisance’, institute the notion of what Whitman et al. consider as Europe behaving as an ‘ideational actor’ (2011). Hence, Europe as an influential actor is necessarily an actor that exerts power ideationally, a crucial aspect which justifies the existence of this study. The common field study of the EU as an ideational power has focused on areas related to three European pillars, such as European Communities, Common Foreign and Security Policy and Police and Judicial Co-operation. It is important to note here that European scholars have studied other aspects of Europe as a superpower, considering initial themes of the former European Community<sup>8</sup> and other European matters<sup>9</sup>. The area of Higher Education (HE) is new and attractive for observing European influences upon non-European countries.

These ‘leitmotivs’ are connected by a common denominator: the implicit idea that Europe produces effects upon others operating in different fields of activity and coordinating its external relationships based on value-driven external policy (Youngs, 2004: 415).

*(iii) Are there studies of receptiveness of European influences upon non-European countries?*

The existing literature should include other questions such as: Which are European ideational influences really received by non-European countries? How do non-European countries (others) receive these influences? How do non-European

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<sup>8</sup> Such as members, institutions, agencies and bodies.

<sup>9</sup> History and policies

countries use European impact within their practices and discourses? For this reason, Laïdi argues that:

Europe is also given meaning by non-Europeans. That dimension has not been investigated by the literature, and yet it needs to be explored seriously (Laïdi, 2008: 1).

Considering certain gaps which appear studying European influences impacting overseas, it is argued that there are no proper studies about the ideational impact of Europe beyond its frontiers. Furthermore there is a failure within the existing literature that does not offer in-depth analyses of how European ideational factors are captured by third parties and how they use this 'guidance'. Therefore I maintain that NPE cannot dispense with 'impact studies' which demonstrate real discourses of perception of others about European performance and actions.

Within the principal aims of the chapter and how it seeks to extend the existing literature, this first section studies the EU as an influential actor. This chapter offers a rigorous analysis of European ideational factors present within diverse European discourses, not only through a cluster of ideas, norms, principles and values but also through analysing language.

## **2.2. The EU as an ideational power.**

Traditionally ideational spheres are seen as untamed spaces of abstraction, inaccessible to the daily reflection, galaxies of exercises of power through imposing knowledge and Cosmo visions, games of language that defines immaterial and intangible aspects of human nature and its representation socially. The social constitution of the EU as an ideational ‘object-subject’ is still more complex and its literature is vast and boundless. However, I will refer briefly to few scholars who define the ideational structure of the Union.

Certainly, ideational aspects are difficult to prove or measure. Normally, they finish in ‘declarations of principles’ or only in ‘dead words’. Nowadays, the study of the ideational features of a phenomenon involves ontological priorities, especially those focused on transferring ideas and language. This is what Žižek calls the kingdom of superstructure (Žižek, 2008), i.e. the domain of ideational aspects.

In general terms, the narratives describing the EU as a ‘sui-generis’ model of superpower only tell us in the main about: (a) features of Europe or its nature for exerting power in the international arena, and (b) how other countries are following certain European archetypes of good government across the globe. European discourses rarely focus on the real impact of these ideas abroad. This is due to the fact that it is necessary to make comparative analyses of both discourses: the European and others. Furthermore, ‘foreign’ empirical cases do not offer critical views of the European impact on their discourses. At a certain point, they follow the post-colonialist attitude of validating asymmetrical discursive exchanges. They cannot desist from seeing Europe as the ‘big brother’.



What kind of ideational power does the EU exert? It is a difficult task to answer this question, owing to the fact that historically Europe has exerted different kinds of power. On the one hand, the EU as an ideational power is a notion originally presented, within the existing literature, through two significant claims: the introduction of the socio-cognitive dimension for studying Europe (Hyde-Price, 2004; Tonra, 2010) through a Constructivist ‘lens’, and the third dimension of power, which supports the idea of ‘shaping normality’ (Berenskoetter, 2007).

A formal interest for studying the EU ideational factors emerges with Constructivist scholars. A good example of this is the book *The Social Construction of Europe* (2001) edited by Thomas Christiansen, Knud Erik Jørgensen and Antje Wiener. In this tome, ideational elements of the Union are observed in three main areas: the constitution of ‘social ontologies’ and ‘social institutions’ on the permanent processes of integration and enlargement, the transformative impact of Europe, and phenomena of identity formation.

With regard to the third dimension of power, although this argument concentrates all the previous aspects of power, it is certainly more complex to define. In the first instance, it reminds us of Foucault’s conception of non-visible methods of exerting ‘institutionalised’ power. Thus power is not something material or tangible, it is not “something that is (or can be) centrally controlled by an Orwellian Ministry of Information, but something that works through diffuse ‘capillaries’ contained in seemingly neutral practices of people working in institutions such as hospitals or prisons” (Berenskoetter, 2007: 10).

This power can establish parameters of ‘normality’ amidst a social construction of reality. So whoever claims to shape the discourse on what constitutes the normal,

imposes a normative character through a discursive power that determines canons of ‘normativeness’.

On the other hand, it is argued that the specific literature of the EU as an ideational actor/power is centred on two discursive trends: (i) *an ideational side* as such where there exists a notion of power marked by the notion of ‘certainty of reason’, coming from Aristotelian and Cartesian traditions; and (ii) a *value-normative horizon* or subjective normative considerations (Hyde-Price, 2004: 102) based on principles and values, which belong to a Hebrew-Christian tradition. However, it is difficult to differentiate between the two tendencies to define ideational characteristics of the Union.

Although a considerable number of studies analyse the ideational nature of the EU in terms of narratives based on the power of ideas and ideation (Manners, 2009: 2) characterising Europe itself and its actions, its ‘mentality’<sup>10</sup> is mainly defined with reference to its normative side. Indeed ideational and normative do not perform as synonymous, but in the case of the Union, Manners argues that all examinations of it necessarily present a normative character (2007: 116). This aspect is understandable for four main reasons: (i) its constitutive nature strongly supported by the use of mechanisms of law, such as its own constitution; (ii) its history ‘marked’ for the development of a diplomacy grounded on treaties and agreements; and (iii) the establishment of its relationships sustained by “the normative basis of global governance” (Läidi, 2008: 5) and (iv) by the formalisation of commitments that enhance “normative standards in order to protect its own norms” (ibid).

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<sup>10</sup> I call European mentality the sum of Europe’s intellectual capabilities. In Freudian terms I conceive of this aspect as the super ego of Europe, which would prompt itself to develop an unimpeachable ethical behaviour whose morality is associated with normative principles and values that Europe wants to promote.

As one might realise in the second ideational aspect, there exists an inclination towards defining power as part of a process that involves value-driven interests. Therefore an axiology<sup>11</sup> (or deontology in Manners' words) of power is seen when a force is exercised through non-physical control, but where a particular set of principles and values are imposed as the result of a major purpose: the common good. This reminds us of Plato's 'The Form of the Good', *The Republic* (cf. Honderich, 2005: 349). The ultimate purpose of human beings is to pursue the Good through reason. So, 'goodness' has two capacities: a *teleological competence* determined by a 'transcendental morality' and a *rational ability* gained through the use of reason.

Even though a constructivist notion of normative aspects of power necessarily implies an implicit analysis of ideas, it is difficult to find scholars studying a continuity of European ideas circulating outside Europe. Ian Manners argues that "the diffusion of ideas in a normatively sustainable way works like water on stone, not like napalm in the morning" (Manners, 2008b: 80). Certainly the study of cartographies of ideas is a complex issue in social sciences, because ideas do not constitute 'material factors' which provide empirical evidence of impact, influence or even of hegemony of a superpower. Ideas constitute ideological factors imposing a non-material superstructure according to a Marxist perspective.

In the next part, I analyse the value-driven nature of the EU. I argue that the construction of the EU as a 'deontological' actor takes place through different discourses, depending which side of it scholars want to show and how this 'aspect' is analysed through a particular theoretical 'lens'.

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<sup>11</sup> From the Greek *axiā*, which means "value, worth", axiology is the philosophical study of value, ethics or aesthetics. Normative Power Europe (NPE), for example, represents a significant study of European values.

2.2.1. *The value-driven EU power/actor.*

A significant effort in the normative topic is seen in the book edited by Sonia Lucarelli and Ian Manners, *Values and Principles in European Union Foreign Policy* (2006). In this volume, the value-normative aspect of ideational outlook of the Union is overestimated, maybe because as Laïdi argues, the EU is more operative exerting a normative power around the world:

Europe cannot behave as a superpower that would arbitrate among the various components of its strategy. It is forced to impose its norms on the world system on a fragmentary basis and to mollify power politics through norms. That is why Europe is much more effective on issues pertaining to global public goods, such as the environment, international justice and sustainable development, than on security or diplomatic issues (Laïdi, 2008: 5).

Nevertheless, scholars go further than studying the normative bases of European ideational nature. Analysing the EU foreign policy, Knud-Erik Jørgensen proposes the notion of values, images and principles ('VIPs') with the purpose to 'amalgamate' ideational features present in European discourses. He observes five analytical contradictions at the moment to study VIPs (2006: 42-58):

(i) VIPs in themselves represent contested concepts. The problem here is that we cannot encapsulate these notions in a single box. They deserve to be analysed from different meanings, conceptualisations and schools of thought, because they do not share a similar discursive *weltanschauung*.

(ii) Jørgensen argues that these terms do not 'play in the same league'. This means that levels of analysis of each other should be different: "One solution would be to perceive images as related to issues of identity and worldviews, to regard values and principles as constituting part of normative superstructures" (Ibid: 42).

(iii) The linguistic/semantic game of describing VIPs could be considered a tautological trap: they refer to relative notions (synonyms or conceptual neighbours), but they are not identical. For example principles could be connected with norms 'if and only if', they would mention the difference amongst political, moral and legal principles (ibid). Here, the normative character of European discourses would be the predominant. Furthermore it is necessary to distinguish between what Jørgensen calls systemic and foreign policy principles. Even though he is not very clear defining this aspect, he implies what other scholars have extensively pointed out the confusion between universal versus true European values/principles present within the Union's speeches. Considering 'ideational image systems' (Lull, 2000: 17), Jørgensen considers that they belong to "the cluster of phenomena where we also find issues of identity, recognition and worldviews" (Ibid: 43).

(iv) There exists a contested relationship between European discourses and the practical way to apply VIPs into the EU's policies. In simple words, it is possible to observe a gap between policy makers and policy analysis, i.e. between the rhetorics and the daily practice of implementing the ideational aspects to the development of processes of policy-making.

(v) There exists a narrow relationship between VIPs and the way of behaving in foreign policy or within other European issues. Jørgensen offers a very simplistic idea of VIPs: they could perform as an independent or intervening variable when they refer to decision-making processes of both Union and member states.

Extending the scope of VIPs towards the analysis of ideas, Jørgensen explores different IR approaches with the purposes of connecting them with ideational aspects. This examination is interesting, because as one can observe, ideational factors do not

exclusively belong to Constructivist approaches. For example, even though Liberalism exalts material power, “... the perspective does not ask questions about social or ideational structures and their impact on state identity or behaviour” (Goldstein and Keohane, 1993; cf. Jørgensen, 2006: 46), but recognises certain parameters of subjective understanding. From a more pragmatic point of view, Realism seeks practical applicability of terms; however different currents offer their own version of ideational factors. Finally, the English School studies these ideatic systems as part of pluralist or solidarist conceptions of VIPs. The following table summarises the main ideational elements present in the referred theories.

### Theoretical and ideational aspects of VIPs

<b>Theoretical approaches.</b>	<b>Ideational aspects.</b>
<b>Liberalism.</b>	Material forces and subjective understandings.
<b>Realism.</b>	Applicable use of the concepts, such as rule and exception.
<i>Classical Realism</i>	Principles.
<i>Neo-Realism</i>	Values and norms.
<i>Post-Realism</i>	Non-material and domestic factors.
<b>The English School.</b>	Pluralist and solidarist conceptions of values, images and principles: norms, doctrines, rules, principles and values.

**Table 2.1**

It is argued that the normative conceptions establish clearer parameters to study the identity of Europe as a methodological procedure. This is seen, for example, in Normative Power Europe (NPE), a notion that perfectly combines the two courses, the ideational and the value-normative. Therefore, ideational constitution of the Union would seem to be essentially normative. The following section analyse the true

normative nature of the EU, considering as the key framework, Normative Power Europe (NPE).

### *2.2.2. The normative nature of the European Union.*

In Beethoven's 9<sup>th</sup> Symphony, The Choral Symphony, the final movement – 'Ode to Joy'<sup>12</sup> - is generally considered as the 'European Anthem', expressing the EU ideals of freedom, peace and solidarity. These values have been present in the internal political processes of the gradual construction of European identity as well as unwittingly indicating the way in which the EU is developing its foreign affairs, or in the progress of its 'external action' (Manners, 2001).

The EU has shown itself to be a model of modern democracy, which seeks to respect universal rights and the exercise of international laws, structuring its multilateral relationships on global cooperation. Furthermore, the 'European dream' as Jeremy Rifkin puts it (Rifkin, 2004: 3) is based on certain values especially treasured in Europe such as community relationships, cultural diversity, sustainable development and quality of life, which define its condition as a 'global actor' to which, as Raul Allard has commented, some countries have consented in transferring particular degrees of "supra nationality" (Allard, 2003).

The normative nature of the EU is very well represented by the theory called Normative Power Europe. I argue that Normative Power Europe (NPE) represents an amalgam of different meanings, views, theories and areas of development which

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<sup>12</sup> *Ode to Joy* is a poem by Friedrich Schiller, with text sung by soloists and a chorus in the last movement. It is used as the official anthem of the European Union, even though the German lyrics have no official status.

contribute to designing one of the most suitable forms of 'attire' for analysing ideational aspects of the EU.

NPE literature incorporates a wide and complex group of scholars working together around European Studies, the Foreign Policy of the EU and European Integration theories. Certainly NPE is a very European sort of scholarship, led by Ian Manners and an elite cluster of researchers analysing and exploring theoretical and empirical aspects of the nature of the European 'beast' (Risse-Kappen, 1996).

The concept of Normative Power Europe, NPE was coined by Ian Manners in 2000 in order to identify certain practices developed by the EU, especially in the establishment of its international relations.

In 2000 I chose the term 'normative' with care, hence a brief discussion of terminology is in order. Based upon my research into symbolic and normative discourses and practices within the EC/EU during the 1990s, I used the phrase 'normative power' as a response to the relative absence of normative theorizing and to promote normative approaches to the EU (Manners, 2007: 116).

Manners (*ibid*) argues that his leitmotifs were mainly (i) to theorise and promote normative frameworks that would constitute the right 'apparel', embracing European external activities, (ii) to keep a considerable distance from those other ideal typologies that are used to define the Union as typically civilian and military power and (iii) to avoid the classically US debate of 'soft power' and 'hard force' in the implementation of American national interests and foreign affairs.

Therefore, the EU looks like a different international power characterised by its normative distinctiveness. Referring to a practical way of using NPE, Forsberg argues that it is more convenient and more fashionable than other concepts such as Civilian Power Europe (CPE), but "the notion of normative power reinvents the wheel that was



already captured by ‘civilian power’” (2009: 7). However, there are significant differences between CPE and NPE, which go much further than the simple conception of the use of military power. Certainly, what Manners introduced was not merely a simple terminology; rather he brought to the table of European studies an expression with serious connotations and subsequent implications. He refers to the EU as a ‘Normative Power’ in order to demonstrate the difference between this concept and the terms of civilian and military powers. This would more usually be accepted as defining the presence of the EU as a superpower in International Relations.

Originally, Manners’ main objective was to propose a theory in order to examine and achieve a better understanding of the international role of the Union (2001: 2). However some scholars prefer to use the theory in different research ‘atmospheres’ especially focusing on internal processes - what Hiski Haukkala calls “power *in* Europe” (2007: 3). According to Manners, the study of the worldwide role of the EU presents at least three theoretical, empirical and normative deficiencies: (i) previous theoretical frameworks have underestimated the ontological hypotheses of the Union as a catalyst of norms; (ii) empirical research showing Europe as a changer of norms in world politics have long been studied only through a positivist ‘lens’; and (iii) former normative studies on the EU have not considered its capability for extending norms in the global arena. I argue here that Manners wished to redefine the bases of the EU as a superpower ontologically, epistemologically and empirically, - an aspect that he develops in depth using other disciplines to support his arguments such as philosophy, epistemology and deontology.

Taking into account the Union as a ‘shaper’ of canons of the normal in world politics, one can ask what roles the EU exerts so as to be considered a normative power

within the global sphere. Firstly, Manners argues that the EU shows two ways in which normative power is exercised, by ‘*virtue*’ of being a sui generis political entity, determined by “supranational and international forms of governance” (2008b: 65) and through its ‘*performance*’, acting ethically for the good. However, it is not possible to distinguish boundaries between these two elements, virtue and acts, because these aspects could be considered, in turn, as part of the European identity and as a result of its performance. So, *the EU is what it is and its acts*. In order to fill this gap, the author later extends his argument towards a tripartite analysis which combines what he calls procedural normative ethics: “by virtue of the principles of ‘living by example’; by duty of its actions in ‘being reasonable’; and by consequences of its impact in ‘doing least harm’” (Ibid: 66). This three-way notion establishes what I mention as the axiological bases of NPE.

Furthermore, analysing the existing literature, Manners proposes five different optics for examining why the Union represents a normative power and not some different kind of force: ‘*self-binding*’, ‘*vanishing mediator*’, ‘*deliberation*’, ‘*reflexivity*’ and ‘*inclusion*’ (2007: 119-120).

The first two arguments justify the presence of Europe as a ‘shaper’ of norms in the international arena. The EU ‘*self-binding*’ role is applied through the exercise of law, specifically considering its degrees of involvement with international norms, an aspect that gives the Union a certain kind of cosmopolitanism. As a ‘*vanishing mediator*’, NPE should not be considered power as such; rather it could be explained as “an intervener, a global partner” (Ibid: 119).

The three remaining points justify the ontological capability of the Union and they are seen through *communicative*, *reflexive* and *critical exercises*. Taking the

concept of ‘deliberation’ from Jürgen Habermas’ theory of communication, Sjørusen and Oddvar Eriksen (cf. Manners, 2007: 120) argue that the EU through ‘*deliberation*’ exerts a communicative power in world politics. This power is characterised by the use of a reason-giving communicative process in order to deliberate issues in foreign policy.

On the one hand, it is possible to observe that there is an implicit wish of achieving consensus in all negotiations that the Union conducts as normative force. On the other hand, a communicative exercise, based on the ‘rational’ use of language, “its innate capacity to reason...” (Merlingen, 2007: 439), implies considering Europe as an entity that exercise normative power through a discourse that empowers a system of values, a *weltanschauung* rooted in the Enlightenment or the age of reason. Later on I criticise this aspect, considering Merlingen’s argument that reason is used as an excuse to exert epistemic violence (Merlingen, 2007).

According to Thomas Diez, Europe has the ability to construct its own identity through a *self-reflexive way* that establishes degrees of commitment to others. These degrees of engagement justify European normativeness through “othering vis-à-vis non-European states” (Diez, 2004). Therefore if the Union is able to determine, shape or change the identity of others, it has an ontological capability of superimposing its own identity over other expressions of identity.

This reminds us of Daniel Defoe’s novel, *Robinson Crusoe*. Crusoe, a civilised white European man, has the fervent desire of obtaining one or two servants by freeing some prisoners. When one of them escapes, he helps him and establishes a friendship with this black slave, Man Friday, teaching him English and converting him to Christianity. Therefore the process of ‘European othering’ still demonstrates a patronal relationship which lacks self-reflexivity and real awareness of others. Later I make a

criticism of this aspect, arguing how language is used to reproduce discursive practices of domination. These practices are grounded in ontologies that reveal only the experiences of superpowers, which historically have played the role of master.

Finally, Forsberg (2009) summarises the main aspects of NPE through what he calls ‘types of normative power’. This characterisation is very interesting because it implicitly states the theory analytically at three levels: as a *discursive practice* developed through ‘persuading others’ by spreading information; a *deontological component* through ‘invoking norms’ that activate commitments, and an *ontology of language* through ‘shaping the discourse of what is normal’. This latter statement is clearly interpreted by Haukkala when he argues that:

In Europe, this ability is augmented by the fact that the EU has not only power to set the parameters over the legitimate aspects of international (and also domestic) life in general, but that it also has the recourse of being able to claim almost a sole monopoly on what can be called “Europeanness”. The Union seems to enjoy the authority of pronouncing what it means, and perhaps more importantly what it takes, to be “European” (2007: 6).

#### 2.2.2.1. *Conceptual dimension of Normative Power Europe (NPE).*

The concept NPE is expressed in terms of the ability of the EU to shape or change the normal or normality in the establishment of international relations (Manners 2008b: 65). Even though it is important to ask what is considered ‘normal’ and what is not, Manners is trying to say that Europe is capable of instituting certain parameters or launching canons: “it changes the norms, standards and prescriptions of world politics away from the bounded expectations of state-centricity” (Ibid). These normative aspects are usually associated with a ‘healthy social coexistence’. For this reason, Forsberg argues that this concept has positive connotations *per se*, because “the word is just used

to mark a positive attitude towards the object” (2009: 4). Simultaneously, Manners adds the adjective ‘ontological’ to the European capability for standardising international affairs, and through such ‘adjectival syntax’, this author leaves the door open for further interpretations of the same term, allowing in-depth analyses of what I call the ‘*ontology of NPE*’.

Furthermore, Manners’ notion reveals deontological aspects present in the conception of Europe as a normative power (Manners, 2008b). Therefore European ‘movements’ are determined by the existence of an intrinsic ethics that adheres to rules and duties and are specifically described as norms and principles, - the ‘*axiology of NPE*’. Here it is interesting to note that the concept of NPE suffers a significant evolution throughout Manners’ writings. In his first works, he refers almost specifically to ‘norms’ and ‘values’, then he prefers to use ‘principles’ and finally he develops his arguments through the term ‘normative principles’. Indeed these expressions do not have the same meaning in the same context, and thus Forsberg accuses the term of deriving from a linguistic fluidity that collapses within the *mare magnum* of understanding of ‘normative’ and ‘power’ (2009: 8).

However strictly speaking in linguistic terms, all concepts evolve and certainly NPE offers an interesting and logical etymological correlation in terms of the formation of its meaning. In simple words, norms/values, principles and normative principles share the same patterns of parent language and their vocabulary or associative meanings. The scope of NPE does not go further than its deontological ethics for adopting new concepts which are not at the same linguistic level.

However, one has to recognise that the concept itself is very contested and Manners recognises that “... the EU deserves and will attain something better in

terminology...” (2004: 2). The ‘contestedness’ character of NPE is one of the aspects that causes more ‘itching’ within European scholarship.

Forsberg argues that NPE literature considers only the empirical and normative contents of the term, excluding references about what kind of norms could be considered ‘normative’ and whether these normative principles are referred to “identity, interests, behaviour, adopted means of influence, or achievements of the EU” (2009: 1). Analysing components of the NPE, he identifies and analyses five criteria that characterise the concept itself: *normative identity*, *normative interests*, *normative behaviour*, *normative power* and *normative ends*.

*NPE identity* is determined by the EU’s nature of being a hybrid polity with a treaty-based legal system.

Its *normative interests*, an aspect that Manners (2008a) prefers to call ‘preferences’, can be seen through economic preferences in the development of aid policies; social preferences as part of European core labour standards; and conflict preferences observable in the management of crises. Forsberg claims that all states and great powers can justify their policies through normative discourses; after all, it is only sometimes that the EU pursues, normative interests (2009); but Manners says that social preferences have the capability of shaping empirical policies (2008a: 36).

*NPE performs* according to its international norms and conventional normative principles, but in treaty conflicts, the Union privileges its own law. This means that the EU’s behaviour oscillates between global and regional applications of legal procedures. Postel-Vinay confirms this aspect arguing that:

The geopolitical narrative that underlies European normative power is one that combines globalism and regionalism, producing the representation of a world that is no longer shaped by a dichotomous conflict but a globalized world in which regional entities are the main actors on the international scene (2008:40).

The EU exerts *normative power* rather than military or economic force: “A norms-based international system will only be achieved through normative power that persuades others of the *universality* of such norms” (Manners, 2008a: 37).

The final aspect analysed is the presence of normative outcomes, Forsberg emphasises that “With the notable exception of enlargement policy, the record of the EU achieving normative ends is however questionable” (Forsberg, 2009: 14). However Ian Manners argues that it is not possible to encapsulate NPE as the typical theoretical construct to verify theory through empirical cases as is extensively seen in CPE. He explains that:

There is a simple temptation to attempt to analyse EU policy and influence in world politics empirically without ever asking why the EU is or is not acting, or how we might best judge what the EU should be doing in world politics. A normative power approach rejects such temptations to unreflective and uncritical analysis. Instead it aims to contribute to a better understanding of what principles the EU promotes, how the EU acts, and what impact the EU has by attempting both to analyse and to judge the EU’s normative power in world politics (Manners, 2008b: 65-66).

#### 2.2.2.2. *Normative Power Europe (NPE) criticisms.*

Some authors insist that Europe is on a mission to save the world through the promotion of specific norms and values, and that it possesses the requisite ‘normative’ power to do so. Others, however, contest the very notion that the EU constitutes a single actor, let alone a normative power (MacDonald, 2007:2).

Through this quotation, MacDonald clearly establishes boundaries between proponents and critics of NPE. To organise criticism of NPE is a difficult task because it involves aspects that are often outside the theory. For example one of the aspects that

Diez (2005) and Postel-Vinay criticise is that “the discussion around the notion of normative power in itself, which defines for the time being Europe’s special presence in world affairs, has been so closely associated with the EU’s political trajectory that it tends to lose sight of the larger, i.e. larger than Europe, meaning of this notion” (2008: 38).

In particular I believe that there is a tendency to use NPE as synonymous with Europe or its identity, and for this reason it is possible to observe more ‘Europeanists’ than ‘normativists’ within NPE academia. Reaffirming this idea, special mention should be accorded to Helen Sjursen who argues that it is not possible to use NPE as a critical analysis because the very concept shows an enormous adherence towards the EU (2006: 170). Elisabeth De Zutter argues that Manners links actions and universal norms with the identity of the Union therefore this connection is justified through an ethical need (2010: 1108). This means that the inseparable dualism NPE/EU defends its existence through the use of practical instruments with an axiological discursive content, i.e. the axiology of NPE. Forsberg refers to the same problem: *NPE is not something exclusive of Europe*:

All states use normative rhetoric, behave according to some normative rules and have some normative interests. It is unlikely that only the EU would have exclusively normative and not any strategic interests (2009: 5).

However, Manners is emphatic in saying that all studies on Europe are necessarily normative, because they “cannot avoid normative assumptions regarding evidence, interpretation and significance in their research” (2007: 116).

This tautological game of words, the normative condition *per se* of an epistemological lens for studying Europe, presents in-depth implications; for example, one may ask what does the EU do (say or project) to be seen as a normative power, a



different normative force? *First*, as I explain somewhere, European scholarship, including its criticisms, expresses the concept through its diverse discursive exercises which give the Union its condition of normativeness.

*Secondly*, even if the above did not exist or had no relevance, the representation of the EU in official documents and discourses, its self-image according to some scholars (Diez, 2005: 614; Diez & Manners, 2007: 174; Smith, 2009: 604-605; De Zutter, 2010: 1111) reveals it to be an ideal standard or model, i.e. an epitome of setting exemplar parameters in the international arena, an aspect that is fully explained by Manners when referring to the virtuous dimension of the EU as ‘living by example’ (2008b: 66). Therefore practices of talking about normative Europe make sense, because NPE cannot simply be reduced to a set of norms, values and principles. *It means a set of discursive practices that involve many variables including phenomena of identification, representation and projection of Europe in the global sphere, processes of characterisation of European academia itself and onto-epistemological exercises of validation of the EU as a superpower.*

The sources of norms point to the involvement of academic and political elite in the production of normative power identity... It generates a set of images, values and norms that enable the EU to set itself apart from other actors in world politics (De Zutter, 2010: 1111).

*Third*, as we can see in the quotation above, the aspect of Europe’s distinctive normativeness is reinforced by De Zutter’s argument that the normative character of NPE is given by its “historical narratives; legal and institutional contexts; and internal and external practices” (ibid). Therefore three fundamental components justify the existence of NPE: the historical legacy of NPE studied through the European experience of war and class struggle (Ibid: 1110), a legal framework determined by its hybrid political and constitutional structure (ibid), the correlation between European internal

and external activities, a correspondence that can be analysed as both practices ‘travelling’ in parallel or what Federica Bicchì (2006) points out: the EU exports those norms which represent its own self-aspiration.

*Fourth*, through the existing literature of NPE one cannot apparently appreciate the true impact of the EU upon others (Forsberg, 2009: 6). This aspect is reinforced by Haukkala’s idea that the model offered by NPE is too passive to understand the Union “as a norm entrepreneur in international relations” (2007: 3). He argues that the Union’ impact is only seen at regional level in Europe. I maintain that NPE cannot dispense with ‘impact studies’ which demonstrate real discourses of perception of others about European performance and actions.

Furthermore some scholars question whether NPE is able to give accounts not only of the Union’ impacts but also of the role of EU within world politics. It is difficult to gauge the range edges of the theory. I insist that one cannot demand certain aspects that are beside the point of theoretical boundaries. However, trying to give some answers to this problem, I quote Forsberg who says: “NPE seemed to be a political rather than an analytical concept” (2009: 4). This does not solve the situation, but it introduces the idea that NPE should focus on social influence and transnational mobilisation.

*Fifth*, the concept of NPE is not different from others terms such as ‘civilian power’. The task of analysing European concepts can lead us to difficult and hazardous spaces. If one concentrates on *Civilian Power Europe (CPE)* itself, it is possible to observe that the meaning of CPE denotes a force of citizens. *On the one hand*, European academia has treated CPE as a power capable of offering joint dialogues based on diplomacy, co-operation and economic relationships. Its effectiveness is based on

‘means’ and ‘ends’ (Orbie, 2009: 9). Both ‘means’ and ‘ends’ symbolise representational processes of projections and stereotypes. *On the other hand*, considering ‘the ears of the receivers’, Civilian Power implies a kind of ‘benign’ pedagogic power through which Europe is called to civilise the rest of the ‘barbarian world’, as happened at the time of the Crusades. Therefore, the *connotative language* of CPE, i.e. what receivers interpret or perceive, is completely different from the original meanings coming from transmitters. This is just a basic first order semantic exercise (Geneva School), which is focused on the CPE as a sign, apart “from the conditions of its appearance and signification” (Dosse, 1998a: 49).

### 2.3. Fundamental Epistemological Foundations of NPE.

This part of the chapter is a first and modest approach to establishing the fundamental bases of NPE. Even though it is important to consider Sjurseren's suggestion of identifying "a core distinguishing feature of a 'normative' power" (2006: 236), my original idea was to label the parameters of the theory precisely with the purpose of using them in the subsequent analysis of empirical data. In order to organise the fundamental bases of the theory, I argue that NPE possesses three significant dimensions: *gnosiological* and *analytical*. These dimensions were chosen according to the order of appearance within different texts studied, especially in the writings of Ian Manners.

It is also a difficult task to establish the foundations of NPE, because it is a very changeable theory even in its founding fathers' hands. An example of this is that Manners presents the EU as a *promoter of norms* (2001: 2) and four years later he defines the Union as a *changer of norms* (2004: 1). This semantic deviation certainly has significant consequences. Such an aspect could be justifiable, because Manners seeks to transform NPE from a substantial theory to a formal theoretical framework.

#### 2.3.1. Analytical dimension of NPE.

The analytical dimension of NPE is constructed on the basis of two significant aspects, a set of procedures that allow scholars to apply the theory to empirical data, and the cases for study, supported by different objects of analysis normally related to European policies, such as the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), the EU Foreign Policy (EFP) and the EU's security policies. It is important to note here that some

scholars do not have specific objects of study or concrete cases for verifying the theory; rather they contribute to expanding epistemological boundaries of NPE.

The following table shows graphically the mosaic of scholars working with NPE at different analytical levels. This researcher did not wish to refer to theoretical frameworks in each case. Despite this, I illustrate a diversity of cases studied. This summary of analytical aspects could be further improved, taking into account other scholars, other pieces of research by the same authors and the different theories used for them.

**NPE scholarship.**

<b>SCHOLARS.</b>	<b>Object of study.</b>	<b>Cases</b>
<b>Ian Manners (2001).</b>	The EU's international Pursuit of Human Rights: the Abolition of the Death Penalty.	The EU.
<b>(2004).</b>	The EU's conflict prevention policy.	The Palestinian-Israeli conflict, Central America, South Africa, Central Europe and South-Eastern Europe.
<b>(2006).</b>	The constitutive nature of VIPs in the EU: Economic, Social, Environmental, Conflict and Political Perspectives.	The EU
<b>(2006).</b>	The EU's security policies.	The EU.
<b>Thomas Diez (2005).</b>	The power of the 'normative power Europe' discourse.	Series of empirical observations.
<b>Simon Lightfoot &amp; Jon Burchell (2005).</b>	The EU & the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD).	The EU.
<b>Federica Bicchi (2006).</b>	European Foreign Policy (EFP).	Euro-Mediterranean Partnership.
<b>Helene Sjursen (2006).</b>	EU Foreign Policy.	The EU.
<b>Robert Falkner (2007).</b>	EU environmental leadership in international biotechnology regulation.	The EU.
<b>Elisabeth Johansson-Nogués (2007),</b>	The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP).	The EU.
<b>Matthew A. MacDonald (2007).</b>	The EU's normative promotion in the Mediterranean Region for EU relations with the Arab World.	Turkey.
<b>Michael Merlingen (2007).</b>	The EU police aid under the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP).	Macedonia & Bosnia.
<b>Sibylle Scheipers &amp; Daniela Sicurelli (2007).</b>	The EU in the institutionalisation of the International Criminal Court and in the elaboration and ratification of the Kyoto Protocol.	The EU.
<b>Andrea Ciambra (2008).</b>	Theory and practice of EU norms.	Macedonia.
<b>M. Gülce KUMRULU (2008).</b>	The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) in the Southern neighbourhood.	Egypt.
<b>Hiski Haukkala (2008).</b>	The EU and its European Neighbourhood.	Ukraine.
<b>Michelle Pace (2008).</b>	The role of the EU in border conflict transformation.	Northern Ireland, Cyprus, Greece/Turkey, Russia/Europe's North & Israel/Palestine.
<b>Tuomas Forsberg (2009).</b>	A conceptual clarification and empirical analysis of NPE	No cases.
<b>Gergana Noutcheva (2009).</b>	The EU's foreign policy.	Western Balkans.
<b>Giuseppe Balducci (2010).</b>	The Case of Human Rights.	China.
<b>Francis Espinoza Figueroa (2010)</b>	The Bologna Process and the Tuning Project: Higher Education (HE).	Chile and Mexico.

**Table 2.2**

After analysing conceptual and some of the analytical elements of NPE, I will study those aspects that are used as the empirical basis for the theory, although they overlap with other gnosiological components. NPE is mainly verified empirically through three main constituents, which Manners calls ideational aspects of NPE: *(i) a system of values, (ii) a group of actions and (iii) processes of impact.*

(i) A ‘value system’ characterises European values as an exportable ‘commodity’. It is referred to sometimes as values, norms, or principles, and in the latest of Manners’ works, they are mentioned as normative principles. In the particular case of ENP (European Neighbourhood Policy), he mentions three principles, legitimacy, coherence and consistency. In general terms he distinguishes nine main European normative principles, within official documents and speeches, which represent the axiological (deontological) core of NPE. In order to respect the literal meaning of the European principles, I quote Manners’ particular interpretation of them:

1.

VALUE	NORM/PRINCIPLE/NORMATIVE PRINCIPLE
PEACE.	SUSTAINABLE PEACE.

The EU approach to conflict prevention emphasises addressing the roots or causes of conflict... The EU policy emphasis is placed on development aid, trade, interregional cooperation, political dialogue, and enlargement as part of a more holistic approach to conflict prevention (Manners, 2006: 33).

2.

VALUE	NORM/PRINCIPLE/NORMATIVE PRINCIPLE
<b>LIBERTY.</b>	<b>SOCIAL LIBERTY.</b>

Therefore, within the EU *social* liberty is circumscribed by the need to ensure that other values are not compromised by unwarranted freedom, such as anti-social behaviour, hate crimes, inflammatory speech, and pornography (Ibid).

3.

VALUE	NORM/PRINCIPLE/NORMATIVE PRINCIPLE
<b>DEMOCRACY.</b>	<b>CONSENSUAL DEMOCRACY.</b>

*Consensual* democracy is the operating principle within the majority of EU member states and includes proportional representation electoral systems, coalition governments, and power sharing amongst parties. Similarly, the EU itself is a consensual form of polity... (Ibid: 34).

4.

VALUE	NORM/PRINCIPLE/NORMATIVE PRINCIPLE
<b>HUMAN RIGHTS.</b>	<b>ASSOCIATIVE HUMAN RIGHTS.</b>

These are associative because they emphasise the interdependence between individual rights such as freedom of expression and collective rights such as the right of association (Ibid: 35).

5.

VALUE	NORM/PRINCIPLE/NORMATIVE PRINCIPLE
<b>RULE OF LAW.</b>	<b>SUPRANATIONAL RULE OF LAW.</b>

The Constitution for Europe sought to ensure that the rule of law continued to be promoted in external action and international relations... As suggested under European political perspective above, the EU principle of the rule of law is supranational in three senses – communitarian, international and cosmopolitan (Ibid).



6.

VALUE	NORM/PRINCIPLE/NORMATIVE PRINCIPLE
<b>EQUALITY.</b>	<b>INCLUSIVE EQUALITY.</b>

The particular EU interpretation of this value is the principle of a more inclusive, open ended and uninhibited understanding of which groups are particularly subject to discrimination (Ibid: 36).

7.

VALUE	NORM/PRINCIPLE/NORMATIVE PRINCIPLE
<b>SOLIDARITY.</b>	<b>SOCIAL SOLIDARITY.</b>

The extensive understanding of *social* solidarity became clear as the objectives of Article I-3 of the Constitution for Europe referred to ‘balanced economic growth, [and] a social market economy, aiming at full employment and social progress’ combating ‘social exclusion’, as well as promoting ‘social justice and protection’, inter-generational solidarity, and social solidarity among (and between) member states (ibid).

8.

VALUE	NORM/PRINCIPLE/NORMATIVE PRINCIPLE
<b>SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT.</b>	<b>SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT.</b>

The EU principle of sustainable development is intended to provide a balance between uninhibited economic growth and biocentric ecological crisis: ‘it seeks to promote balanced and sustainable development’ (preamble to the Charter of Fundamental Right) and ‘shall work for the sustainable development of Europe based on balanced economic growth (Article I-3 of the Constitution for Europe) (Ibid: 37).

9.

VALUE	NORM/PRINCIPLE/NORMATIVE PRINCIPLE
<b>GOOD GOVERNANCE.</b>	<b>GOOD GOVERNANCE.</b>

The particular EU interpretation of this value emphasises equality, representation, participation, social partnership, transparency and accountability in the ‘the democratic life of the Union’ (Constitution for Europe).

(ii) *A group of actions*, which is defined through three instruments, *persuasion*, *engagement* and *differentiation*, that motivates dialogue, debate and consensus (De Zutter, 2010: 1108). Quoting Rosemary Foot, Manners argues that the process of *persuasion* is fundamental since normative principles are expressed discursively, an aspect that would encourage discussion and debate and, through ‘language in use’, norms can be shaped domestically and within the international sphere (2010: 40). The EU constantly encourages dialogue and the participation of different actors within and outside the Union and at the time of establishing its relationships. Thus they *engage* in what experts call political dialogue; these speech acts commit speakers to future actions (Searle, 1969). The Union has the ability to *differentiate* when it shames or confers prestige in establishing its relations with others, an aspect that has earned it the pseudonym of ‘exclusive club’ (Rosecrance, 1998: 20, cf. Orbie, 2008: 10)

Furthermore, Forsberg adds two aspects that close the analysis of NPE, the activation of international norms and setting and showing an example. In the process of stimulation of worldwide normative principles, Laïdi argues that “Europe expresses its preferences for norms by strong support to the normative basis of global governance, which could be defined as the body of international texts and treaties that rules the international system” (2008: 5). However as he outlines, the Union supports global standards as well as its own rules. Considering the use of examples for validating NPE, two groups of scholars can be recognised: those who verify the theory and others who analyse empirical data with NPE as their theoretical ‘lenses’ for studying further aspects beyond the framework. This research belongs to the second group.

(iii) *A set of processes that determine EU impact*. These processes are described as *socialisation*, *ownership* and *positive conditionality*. Even though some

scholars such as Forsberg (2009) and Sjørnsen (2006) argue that effects upon others are scarcely observable, Manners is emphatic in saying that the diffusion of ideas is a long-term process: “the diffusion of ideas in a normatively sustainable way works like water on stone, not like napalm in the morning” (Manners, 2008a: 27). In addition, it is difficult to make a distinction between European acts and their effects, because socialisation could also be understood as a persuasive process, or conditionality may be considered as part of a decanting phenomenon of what one has received/perceived. However effects need to be studied in countries affected by European norms.

The *socialisation* process is something that can be seen both as a mechanism of diffusion of norms and an apparatus of decanting normative principles in norm-taker countries:

... socialisation should be seen as being a part of an open-ended process where the EU reflects on the impact of its policies with the partner countries, in particular through encouraging local ownership and practising positive conditionality (Manners, 2010: 42).

*Ownership* is seen as a process of self-motivation to adapt European norms to a nations’ own needs and interests. For this reason, Manners argues that NPE is not a neo-colonial power, because it encourages ‘other-empowerment’ (Ibid: 42). Certainly NPE is not neo-colonialist, but not for the reason given by Manners. It does not have the pretension of exerting a neo-colonialist power, because it does not exercise an economic or material force. Sjørnsen claims that “he [Manners] is not interested in capabilities but in ‘normative power of an ideational nature’...” (2006: 238).

*Positive conditionality* is determined by the recognition by others that the EU does not exert a punishing power. Rather it exercises a force based on alternative and positive ways to encourage a move from ‘passive engagement’ to ‘active engagement’

(Manners, 2010: 43). This European conditionality is exercised through aid programmes, agreements, political dialogue and other forms of authentic diplomacy. In general, they are welcome and the EU is seen as a benevolent power which espouses dialogue rather than conflict. For this reason, non-European countries wishing to establish political and economic relationships with the Union, accept its nature of being a settler of conditions.

There is a fourth dimension considering analytical aspects of NPE: a set of procedures to explain the transmission of norms and the ways of exerting NPE. With Richard Whitman, Manners explores these differences according to three notions: capabilities, cultururation and conciliation (1998).

(1) *Capabilities*. This expression implies the exertion of power in terms of physical force. Manners and Whitman argue that conventional approaches connect physical power with civilian and military power but in different ways. Civilian Power involves the role of international law and institutions, and its empirical meaning conveys the exertion of power in terms of influence. Military Power means peacekeeping, conflict prevention and strengthening international security, and it uses force, rather than influence. However, Thomas Diez (2005) suggests that Normative Power cannot be reduced merely to economic and military actions, but has further - possibly less visible - ramifications.

(2) *Cultururation*. This notion involves the construction of norms. In the EU case, these are founded on its foreign and development policy objectives, including the consolidation of democracy, the rule of law, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. In this sense, Manners believes that this concept:

... can be differentiated from civilian power by examining the extent to which [as an example] Westphalian *culturation* is changing. Hence, an emphasis on EU cosmopolitics within normative power representations clearly indicates a huge change of political culture away from the Westphalian frames of reference in which many discussions of civilian power take place (Manners, 2004: 3).

(3) *Conciliation*. This concept implies a way of solving a conflict or war, or of dealing with controversial humanitarian intervention. Some international relations scholars extend this word to include even military actions; but all agree that it applies to Civilian Power and the changing of the structures of conflict (Normative Power). From an empirical stance, it is possible to note some difference between these approaches in terms of whether conflicts are resolved through shorter-term intervention, i.e. changing the conflict itself, or through long-term conciliation of the parties, i.e. changing the norm of conflict.

In contrast, normative power theories emphasise the extent to which physical conflict is a manifestation of more structural violence and often the result of extreme constructions of difference (Manners, 2004: 4).

Even so, the promotion of the European normative principles is important, not with any expectation in terms of their being universally accepted, but with a view to spreading or diffusing them. In this sense, Manners proposes that EU norm diffusion is shaped by six factors: contagion, informational diffusion, procedural diffusion, transference, overt diffusion and the cultural filter.

(a) *Contagion*: along this route of norm diffusion, the EU spreads its norms through the unintentional diffusion of ideas to other Actors.

(b) *Informational diffusion* constitutes the result of the range of strategic communications, “such as new policy initiatives by the EU, and declaratory

communications, such as initiatives from the presidency of the EU or the president of the Commission” (Manners, 2002: 244).

(c) *Procedural diffusion* refers to an institutionalised relationship between the EU and a third party, “such as an inter-regional co-operation agreement, membership of an international organization or enlargement of the EU itself” (Ibid)

(d) *Transference*: in this case, norm diffusion happens when the EU develops exchanges of goods, trade, aid or technical assistance with third parties “through largely substantive or financial means. Such transference may be the result of the exportation of community norms and standards (Cremona, 1998: 86-90) or the ‘carrot and stickism’ of financial rewards and economic sanctions” (Manners, 2002: 245).

(e) *Overt diffusion* takes into account the physical presence of the EU in third states and international organisations.

(f) *Cultural filter* “is based on the interplay between the construction of knowledge and the creation of social and political identity by the subjects of norm diffusion” (Manners 2002: 245). Ian Manners says that this kind of norm diffusion produces effects in third states and organisations through the impact of international norms and political learning. The effects are produced in terms of learning, adaptation or rejection of norms imposed by the EU.

### 2.3.2. *Gnosiological dimension of NPE.*

Manners' interest in defining gnosiological<sup>13</sup> fundamental questions about the Union is seen in his early work when he defines four traditional contributions<sup>14</sup> to international theory from the English School (2001). These aspects are studied in depth when Manners categorises different types of norms diffused by the EU.

Considering fundamental aspects of the theory, its *ontology* or the way of conceiving, interpreting and constructing reality oscillates between *Objectivism* and *Constructionism*. Ian Manners uses definitions given by the English methodologist Alan Bryman to explain both conceptualisations as follows:

‘*Objectivism* is an ontological position that asserts that social phenomena and their meanings have an existence that is independent of social actors’ (Bryman 2004: 16)” (cf. Manners 2004: 6).

‘*Constructionism* is an ontological position that asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors’ (Bryman 2004: 17)” (ibid).

Epistemological elements of the NPE or those theoretical lenses for observing a particular reality, are defined through two general frameworks, *Positivism* and *Interpretivism*. These are defined again following Bryman's conceptualisations:

‘*Positivism* is an epistemological position that advocates the application of the method of natural sciences to the study of social reality and beyond’ (Bryman 2004: 11) (cf. Manners 2004: 5).

‘Interpretivism is... predicated upon the view that a strategy is required that respects the difference between people and the objects of the natural sciences and therefore requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action’ (Bryman 2004: 13) (ibid).

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<sup>13</sup> I am using this concept here in order to overlap ontological, epistemological and methodological aspect of analysis.

<sup>14</sup> Positivism, Critical Theory, interpretivism and postmodernism.

What types of norm are at work when the EU spreads its normative power in the international sphere? Ian Manners believes that the EU can be seen through four norms, which are: utility norms, maxim norms, social norms and narrative norms.

The first type, *utility norms*, is defined by a utilitarian perspective and seeks to maximise gains in political encounters. In this case, the utility is related to efforts for finding efficient solutions to concrete problems, conflicts or dilemmas.

From the approach taken by critical theory, the EU *maxim norms* offer the rules which would determine the rights or wrongs in political encounters.

Theoretical explanations for maxim norms focus on subjective meanings situated in interpretivist epistemology and, more often than not, assume concrete problems from objectivist ontology. From this perspective, the progressive normative power of the EU rests on the extent to which maxim norms motivate EU external action and are recognised as just by non-EU parties”(Manners, 2004: 6).

Those who adopt a social perspective define EU norms as the role of constituting identity in political encounters. “Theoretical explanations for *social norms* focus on individual and group identity from constructionist ontology, and more often than not, demonstrate this through apparent knowledge situated in positivist epistemology”(Manners, 2004: 7). According to Manners, the Normative Power of the EU represents a model and an Actor when it develops relationships with non-EU parties.

Finally, the discourse (or narrative) paradigms describe the EU norm as the story of legitimising the EU in political encounters. Normative Power as a progressive process tells us a meta-narrative about the EU encounters with non-EU parties.



Theoretical explanations for *narrative norms* focus on subjective meanings situated in interpretivist epistemology and on individual and group identity from constructionist ontology (Ibid).

Ian Manners uses these ontological and epistemological considerations to place ‘norms’ in the adequate range of social construction of reality. In the following table, I summarise these aspects of norms. Owing to the fact that utility norms show a discourse of ‘efficiency’, he identifies *utility norms* as part of the range of objectivism/positivism. *Maxim norms* are analysed within objectivism/interpretivism frameworks, because they seek ‘justness’, whereas *social norms* involve the constitution of processes established on through constructionism/positivism bases. Finally, Manners emphasises that *narrative norms* facilitate the construction of difference as part of constructionism/interpretivism Gnosiology.

#### **Ontological and epistemological considerations of norms.**

<b>NORMS</b>	<b>ONTOLOGY</b>	<b>EPISTEMOLOGY</b>	<b>DISCOURSE</b>
<b>Utility Norms.</b>	Objectivism.	Positivism.	Efficiency.
<b>Maxim Norms.</b>	Objectivism.	Interpretivism.	‘Justness’.
<b>Social Norms</b>	Constructionism.	Positivism.	Constitutive processes.
<b>Narrative Norms.</b>	Constructionism.	Interpretivism.	Construction of difference.

**Table 2.3**

Specific epistemological contributions to the theory are seen in different frameworks, such as the English School, Critical Theory and Post-structuralism. Other epistemological approaches are observed through Manners’ appetite for defining the role of theory by studying the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). Quoting Colin Hay, he agrees that “theory is a guide to empirical exploration, a means of reflecting... upon complex processes of [political] evolution and transformation in order to highlight key periods or phases of change which warrant closer empirical scrutiny” (Hay, 2002;

cf. Manners, 2010: 32). He speaks about *causal* and *constitutive* theories for analysing ENP. For him, causal theories are those that involve a *causal relationship*, i.e. a cause and its effect when the object of study is explained; in contrast, *constitutive frameworks* refer to those where “the subject of study is constituted or created within the context of a specific social relationship” (Ibid: 33). Even though Manners is not explicit in placing NPE within any specific kind of theory, one can assume that its range oscillates between causal and constitutive theories.

It is important to note that we need to make a distinction between the object and the subject of study. Maybe this discussion does not need to take place here; however it is mentioned because causal theories do not involve the subject studying; they refer to the phenomenon as the object of analysis and not as the subject of study. Contrarily constitutive theories put object and subject in the same place so that the observer or subject studying generates her/his own phenomenon being studied (Maturana & Varela, 1984).

#### **2.4. Normative Power Europe ‘academia’.**

It is important to distinguish between NPE scholarship and the theory itself even though both aspects constantly overlap. For example, academia and theory are powerful in the knowledge and management of empirical cases. Certainly scholars are contributing to constructing this theoretical framework, but one can argue that few of them are really building the epistemological foundations of NPE. Additionally we need to say that different scholars conducting research with NPE have different interests which go further than verifying the theory. In fact, they are working in different areas “from regional relations through the environment to global governance” (Manners, 2007: 118), such as relations with near neighbours, specific European policies and the EU in world politics (ibid: 118-119). This way, they are contributing to a better understanding of the Union, its procedures, relationships and processes of identity. Furthermore, some researchers are expanding the focus of analysis of cases centred in European member states, and they are looking at the impact of European influences outside Europe, such as Africa and Asia. At the moment, no observable cases can be seen in Latin America.

For this reason I decided to develop a two-fold analytical challenge (i) to attempt to organise NPE academia in order to observe the real dimensions of NPE, and (ii) to characterise a ‘dissenting academia’ of NPE in order to answer the following question: whether or not this group of scholars tell us about studies of impact or receptiveness of European ideational influences outside Europe..

#### 2.4.1. *Organising Normative Power Europe (NPE) scholarship.*

Over the past eight years I have attempted to develop an argument that normative power in general, and the EU's normative power in particular, is sustainable only if it is felt to be legitimate by those who practise and experience it (Manners, 2008b: 66).

Sporadic attempts have been made to organise NPE 'academia'. This exercise is very difficult because NPE scholarship itself lacks self-reflexiveness. For example some scholars, including Ian Manners, call themselves post-structuralists, yet they make only the briefest of references to a very few post-structuralist scholars, or else they accommodate post-structural arguments to their own positivist claims. They do not have any real sense of being post-structuralists in order to deny and criticise existing structures, because NPE is in fact a true and powerful existing structure, which would sometimes seem to behave as a metanarrative or arche-writing. On the other hand, it is not possible to observe in their works a proper post-structuralist analysis such as Foucault's genealogy or Derrida's de-construction. There are other scholars, such as Karoline Postel-Vinay (2008) who does not mention Post-structuralism at all, but implicitly introduces the need for a 'genealogical analysis' in terms of studying the development of NPE through time and space, both inside Europe and within the international arena. She points out the idea that the concept of 'norm' changes through time and according to context.

Another problem here is that to draw up a catalogue of scholars can become a very unfair exercise. Some might consider one a neo-functionalist, whilst other scholars may see one as a pure functionalist. This always results from a particular mode of projection and reception, i.e. what our mind-sets are and what is really perceived by others. I argue that NPE scholarship is a very mutable academia which takes advantage of different empirical and theoretical gaps. This aspect is fundamental because there is

in each theory an intrinsic need to develop growth from substantive areas to theoretical sensitivity (Glaser & Strauss, 1992).

The first step towards a classification of NPE scholarship could be to divide it into *adepts* and *critics*. This is a more difficult task because initially we need to ask who the proponents and critics of NPE actually are. Three aspects emerged from my observations:

(i) Clearly NPE is in the main a European academia and its scholars cannot shed their ‘European skin’, so their European condition necessarily determines their epistemological ‘lenses’ in studying it, or at least dictates their position within NPE.

(ii) On the other hand, through working with NPE over a long period, one develops a certain kind of ‘affectivity’ and so loses some margins of a rather questionable objectivity. This is observable in many articles that start in a very critical way, yet at the end one gets the feeling that the authors were completely ‘seduced’ by the theory. For example, one of the most fiercely critical scholars, Michael Merlingen refers to NPE as “one of the most interesting and theoretically sophisticated debates” (2007: 435). Furthermore, Haukkala calls Manners’ theory “inspirational work” (2007:2).

(iii) Power language is used by even the harshest of critics, for justifying and validating the existence of the theory. This is seen in Manners and Diez’ articles when he refers to Merlingen’s work<sup>15</sup>. They use his criticism in order to expand the theory. Here games of subjectivities contribute<sup>16</sup> to magnifying, even deifying, the theory.

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<sup>15</sup> This is also observed in references to Sjursen and Erik Oddvar Eriksen’s works.

<sup>16</sup> I have always thought that when we watch a film or read a book, we watch and read many films and books according as each person notes. Therefore we have as many films and books as there are people present. This is what Constructivist call ‘objectivity in-parenthesis’ (Maturana & Varela, 1984).

However there is no need to demonise it. There is a real need of passing from a substantive theory to a formal one. This aspect will be developed *in extenso* in the conclusion of the thesis.

Understanding these limitations, an interesting shift is observable in Forsberg (2009: 1) when he divided NPE academia into three groups: *post-colonialist scholars*, *those sceptical to the theory*, and *researchers who are refining the concept*. This classification is more focused on how different authors think about the term ‘normative power’. He does not mention names; rather he explains each argument of his categorisation. He argues that post-colonialists see the concept “... as a politically suspicious camouflage for European imperialism...” (ibid); the sceptical deem it to be a notion eminently empty in itself, and the final group, where he includes Manners, is defined as those that seek to refine and explain the idea adding related expressions, which “may have created more obscurity than clarity” (ibid).

It is interesting to note here that some scholars have contributed to redefining the term by annexing new concepts, whilst others have developed concrete claims that test the validity of NPE hypothesis. Matthew MacDonald (2007) classifies NPE scholarship in a more epistemological way. His three perspectives of the EU as a Normative Power facilitate an initial approach to the manifestation of the generations that I propose. His angles are (i) a liberal-idealist view of Europe as a normative power, (ii) Marxist understandings of the Union’s foreign policy that considers the EU as a single actor, and (iii) the neo-realist critique centred on the dimension of European security.

The *first dimension*, led by NPE’s founding father, Ian Manners, is characterised by the idyllic notion that the EU makes “a cosmopolitan response towards

others” (Borradori, 2003: 169-72, cf. Manners, 2007: 127), translated into a challenge of exerting an ideational power based on specific European norms and principles.

The *second perspective*, associated with the work of Samir Amin and Ali El Kenz and focused on a Marxist base-superstructure analysis, introduces the idea that Europe masks its selfish economic interests through a benign discourse of fundamental human normative values.

The *third approach* represented by Adrian Hyde-Price shows the EU to be an external catalyst of stability and security, which is used by the largest member-states with the purpose of exerting an ‘ethical’ foreign policy based on a ‘force for good’. In the following figure I have chosen significant quotations in order to exemplify each epistemological statement.

### Epistemological dimensions of NPE.

<b>(i) Liberal-idealist approach.</b>	“Manners represents the liberal-idealist view that believes the EU’s relative weakness in terms of military strength and other coercive instruments of foreign policy, compared with other state actors, in fact constitutes its strength. The EU is a benign force for good in the world that has little more than humanity’s highest interests at heart...” (2007: 3).
<b>(ii) Marxist view.</b>	“The EU’s foreign policy in the Mediterranean is dominated by economic interests, they assert, and thus all efforts on the part of the EU to encourage political liberalization in the Mediterranean are seen as little more than insidious attempts to make economic liberalization, privatization and deregulation either more palatable or simply unavoidable” (ibid).
<b>(iii) Neo-realist critique.</b>	“... when the EU appears united in its efforts to promote democratization, respect for human rights and political reform in non-member states, it is usually because its largest members are seeking to exploit the EU as an instrument for shaping their external environments in order to promote stability and ensure their security – it has little to do with liberal-idealist notions of uplifting humanity”(ibid: 5).

**Figure 2.1**



2.4.2. *Does the dissenting academia of NPE tell us about the receptiveness of 'others'?*

Following Forsberg's argument, in NPE it is possible to observe at least three kinds of scholars: a.) those who redefine the concept and theory, b.) those who are sceptical about the theory and (c) Post-colonialist scholars who criticise the theory, considering to be a reprehensible mask of European post-imperialism (2009).

I argue that there is a 'dissenting academia' which is difficult to encapsulate in the groups above. These scholars could belong to the 'b' and the 'c' cohort. However in some aspects they have contributed to re-defining NPE epistemologically. Nevertheless the dissenting scholarship of NPE is a very contested and diverse group of scholars who criticise the theory and underline the need for listening to other voices outside of Europe because, as Gerrits points out, "Europeans and non-Europeans often tend to think differently about the role and relevance of the European Union" (2009: 6).

The 'dissenting academia' has theoretically thrown down the gauntlet in an interesting and challenging way in the book *Normative Power Europe in a changing world: a Discussion* (2009), edited by André Gerrits. Here sceptical and pro-NPE scholars intertwine their claims with the purpose of seeking better clarification about the concept of Normative Power Europe in a different world order: that of fluctuating international relations.

In this tome, one can observe the presence of alternative voices (non-European) talking about their distinctive perceptions of NPE. However they focus only on criticising Euro-centric discourses and pointing out the need to study different perceptions of European identity. For example, Gerrits mentions Kishore Mahbubani who defines the EU as:

... an arrogant, inward-looking, self-obsessed and conservative identity in decline, which not only treats non-European cultures and societies with disdain and condescension but which also fails to establish any kind meaningful partnership with them (Mahbubani, 2008: 266; cf. Gerrits, 2009: 10)

By the same token, Tatiana Romanova argues that a concept such as NPE is not capable of embracing the EU's next neighbours "In the dichotomy of Russia versus Western/Europe, Russia can accept that it is not part of the 'West', but it will never agree with not being part of Europe. Additionally, Russia will always counter the EU's values-based definition of Europe and its arrogation to speak on behalf of Europe" (2009: 57). So if the EU does not care about its near neighbours, it could never worry about the rest of the world. Characteristics of sympathy would not be present within European concerns and decision-making policies.

Yiwei Wang (2009) is not less critical than Mahbubani and Romanova about NPE. However he prefers to compare the contrasting building of values within European on the one hand and Chinese normative power. For him, the EU confuses universalism, Messianism and cosmopolitanism as part of its own value-driven policies. Therefore Europe could represent a 'navel-gazing' power/actor in international politics.

As argued previously the existing literature of NPE does not offer true studies on the impact of the EU upon others (Forsberg, 2009: 6). This aspect is reinforced by Haukkala's idea that the model offered by NPE is too passive to offer an understanding of the Union as an international shaper of norms. He argues that the impact of the Union can be seen only at regional level in Europe. I maintain that an analysis of receptiveness is called for, with regard to NPE, in order to give a clearer demonstration of how others perceive the impact of European performance and actions rather than the theoretical conclusion of rhetorical discourse. This would provide empirical evidence as to how third parties receive and use European ideational influences.

Furthermore some scholars question whether NPE is a position to give an account not only of the Union's impact but also of the role of the EU within world politics. It is difficult to gauge the range edges of the theory. Whereas Forsberg (2009) and Sjurson (2006) argue that effects upon others are scarcely observable, Manners is emphatic in saying that the diffusion of ideas is a long-term process: "the diffusion of ideas in a normatively sustainable way works like water on stone, not like napalm in the morning" (Manners, 2008a: 27).

Gerrits (2009) gives good reasons for understanding why the dissenting scholarship of NPE does not offer proper studies of impact or receptiveness of others:

(i) European scholars are confused about the coercive possibilities of the EU and its own processes (or studies) of receptiveness, i.e. they favour certain aspects of the transmission combined with factors from the receivers angle.

(ii) Theoretical frameworks such as NPE are not easily understood, recognised or appreciated outside of the EU.

(iii) Normative or comparable notions of power cannot take the EU beyond rhetoric and self-perception. Concepts and theory cannot help to solve the problem of receptiveness.

Therefore the 'dissenting academia' of NPE does not tell us about the impact or receptiveness of European ideational influences. These scholars criticise the theory considering only its conceptual dimension. On the one hand, they analyse which aspects of European identity and particularly its actions can be encapsulated within the term 'normative power'. This theoretical construct therefore redefines the role of European normativeness as and when the EU establishes its international relations. On the other

hand, the presence of European ‘foreigners’ within academic circles helps to make a comparison between the canons of ‘normality’ proposed by the Union and the parameters of normative power understood by others.

European scholarship travels in parallel with outsiders to the EU, because the first group rests on an empirical demonstration of the Union exerting a normative power, whereas outsiders establish a critical discourse. This narrative condemns the fact that when Europe arrogates for itself the exhortative power to shape normality, in reality degrees of normality are related exclusively to European parameters, so they cannot be universal or applicable to everybody.

I argue that the significance of NPE does not lie in its ‘empiricality’, i.e. through practical demonstrations of the Union exerting a normative power, but rather its impact can be placed in the genesis of a powerful discourse characterised by the presence of a ‘common language’ shared by NPE scholars, “a set of concepts created to classify a power’s identity” (De Zutter, 2010: 1114). When this ‘language’ denominates Europe as a normative power, this gives it an ontological and epistemological superiority for seducing others with a particular European world view and performance. After constant discursive impacts, the EU is seen by others as an intelligent and virtuous power.

Therefore, in an exercise of analysing the real impact of the Union as an ideational power, it is necessary to observe another side of the coin, i.e. the place occupied by norm-takers. The following table shows some questions that emerge when studying the EU as a norm-maker and non-European countries as norm-takers.

**Questioning NPE in the EU and non-European countries.**

<b>The European Union.</b>	<b>Non-European countries.</b>
<b>What are norms diffused by the EU?</b>	What are the European norms really received by non-European countries?
<b>How does the EU diffuse norms?</b>	How do non-European countries (others) receive European norms?
<b>How does the EU construct its normative practices and discourses?</b>	How do non-European countries use European norms within their practices and discourses?

**Table 2.4**

Two concepts from the ‘dissenting’ academia offer further analyses of NPE: ‘epistemic violence’ (or the power of reason and morality) and ‘ontological violence’ (or the power of language). Even though both terms contribute to NPE discussion empirically, their involvement is more perceptible in the gnosiological dimension. ‘Epistemic violence’ analyses in depth those deontological aspects that give the EU its ethical superiority, -transformative and creative realities. ‘Ontological violence’ highlights the fact that dominance of the EU is determined by a discursive interplay that offers more than epistemologies or parcels of European collective mentalities; it exerts power based on an imposition of European ontologies or *weltanschauung*.

#### 2.4.2.1. *Epistemic Violence of NPE: the power of reason.*

The Union promotes human agency abroad through the promotion of fundamental civil, political and economic rights. This is the celebrated face of European foreign policy. Its other face –ignored by students of NPE (proponents and critics alike) - is that the EU’s self-styled mission for humanity inscribes the very agency of those it seeks to empower in relations characterized by epistemic violence, the technologization of politics and administrative arbitrariness. (Merlingen, 2007: 436).

A new generation of NPE led by Michel Merlingen, more post-structuralist and critical, refreshes the concept of NPE, opening the door for reflective analyses of the normative discourse itself. It de-constructs the metanarrative of NPE by providing evidence of the ‘epistemic violence’ that involves NPE *per se*.

Analysing the notion of ‘epistemic violence’, it is interesting to note that the adjective ‘epistemic’ comes from the noun (s) epistemology/epistemologies, a Greek concept used to denote ‘knowledge’. Honderich defines ‘epistemic’ as this proposition that “if and only if it has some implication for what, in some circumstances, is rationally worthy of belief” (2005: 259). Furthermore epistemologies or ‘mentalities’ are defined as those mind-sets or common assumptions that individuals share as part of their own experiences of living in particular places and epochs (Moses & Knutsen, 2007: 210). These mentalities determine limits of human thought and, in turn, establish an agenda of people’s conversations and actions: what it is possible to think [and do] and what it is not possible to think [and do] (Ibid: 211).

However, these notions of reality as truths change constantly from one epoch, society and social group to the next. Therefore what is considered as part of valid existential stories to be lived, i.e. social parameters of the construction of reality, differ from one practice to other, in terms of time and space. This is the fundamental argument developed by Michel Foucault (1997), who also claims that: (i) history is only a parcel

of collective mentalities, which change according to time and space; (ii) these epistemologies contribute to founding and restructuring society; and (iii) these gnosiological (pre) suppositions ‘organise’ societies with regard to parameters of social normality, affecting people’s freedom.

Considering these Foucaultian arguments and through an analysis of the ‘hidden face’ of the diffusion of European norms, Michael Merlingen defines the ‘epistemic violence’ of NPE as the EU’s own idea for embracing the mission to ‘humanise the world’ through the technologisation of public life and offering models of ‘administrative arbitrariness’ (2007: 436).

In this way, he offers a Foucaultian analysis of norms and power within NPE. Therefore, the way that ‘epistemic violence’ for Merlingen is implicit in NPE is clear on three fronts: (i) the presence of an eminent ‘rational’ discourse, reinforced by modernist notions of sovereignty and legitimacy; (ii) the notion of the EU as a ‘force for good’; and (iii) the need of standardising and universalising European axiological parameters through the exercise of power.

Probably privileging the use of the left hemisphere rather than the right one of its ‘brain’, the European ‘mentality’ offers a very ‘rational’ narrative. Merlingen (2007: 438) condemns that NPE structures its discourse of power and norms over the basis of the tradition of political theory that exalts the notion of sovereignty rather than valuing “the EU’s exercise of post-sovereign normative power” (ibid). Therefore it is possible to observe a contradictory discourse between the Union’s rhetorics and its practices. On the other hand, he criticises the fact that the notion of ‘norm’ present in theoretical and empirical works of NPE is closer to the idea of legitimacy. Here, Merlingen asks whether or not it is significant to focus the discussion on ‘moral arenas’ when one is

seeking actors and actions that legitimise European normative power. Therefore the study of norms in NPE academia is “expressed in the vocabulary of ethics” (Ibid: 439). By the same token, De Zutter (2010) argues that one cannot place ontological questions and ethical concerns in the same terrain.

I believe that this ‘rational-ethical’ dimension of NPE is part of certain European discourses: the constant presence of Freudian aspects of ‘ego’ and ‘super ego’ determining the ‘European language’. Furthermore, European history is composed of a series of discourses that overvalue philosophical political thought based on power as the *raison d’ être*, an aspect that comes from a Machiavellian perspective (Sellin, 1978; cf. Guzzini, 2007: 37) and the notion of the common good, approached from a neo-Aristotelian perspective. Additionally, a Christian tradition based on enlightenment principles of reason, or what Arendt called the ‘imperative conception of law’, and coming from Hebrew-Christian belief (Arendt, 1986: 61), is observable within NPE discourses. Then ‘reason’ and ‘morality’ constitute an inseparable binomial relationship that shapes the content of European narratives of NPE.

Following on the ethical criticisms, Merlingen excoriates the concept of the EU as a ‘force for good’, i.e. to act in the common good. This claim is supported by the idea of the EU as a diffuser of ‘universal’ values. Manners’ idea of the EU playing a global role as a Post-Westphalian Actor offers a clear definition of the EU as diffusing “universal values such as peace, democracy, the rule of law and human rights, by virtue of its international presence and value-rational conduct in foreign policy” (Merlingen, 2007: 437). Therefore, one could infer that the idea of the EU as a post-sovereign entity has a resonance with the Enlightenment or Age of Reason.



The potentially politically disruptive agency of individuals is tamed by constraining or encouraging them to live a ‘normal’ or moral life, say, as tireless consumers or as socially responsible citizens who do not question the existing socio-political order and the power relations that underpin it (ibid: 441)

From a technological determinist<sup>17</sup> view, Merlingen argues that the EU reveals the need to establish parameters of ‘normality’ in order to standardise and universalise its exercise of power. These ‘do’ constitute an ‘epistemic violence’, because they determine the notion of knowledge, imposing a ‘hierarchy that privileges the knowledge and morals of the former – the normal – over those of the latter – deviant or backward’ (ibid). This is what I call ontology of NPE, because through the ‘rapport’ of discursive (ideational, normative and ethical) standards, the Union is imposing a particular worldwide view, its own ontology. As Merlingen says: “this hierarchical ordering was a crucial element in rendering the Orient colonisable – that is, in justifying and legitimating the West’s *mission civilisatrice*” (ibid).

On the other hand, this epistemic violence exalts the presence of a technocracy. This technologisation of politics is characterised by the replacement of people’ organisation for an administrative arbitrariness focused on expert-based operations as “apolitical norms of good governance” (ibid). The normative character of the EU gives technocracy ‘carte blanche’ to launch operational models that justify the ‘normality’ of European discourses, maintaining the status quo.

Taking into account a non-explicit Foucaultian approach, Karoline Postel-Vinay (2008), in her chapter “the historicity of European Normative Power”, introduces the need for a ‘genealogical analysis’ in terms of studying the development of NPE through time and space, both inside Europe and within the international arena. She

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<sup>17</sup> Technological Determinism constitutes a reductionist theoretical framework that presumes that a society is driven by its technology, which in turn determine the development of its social structure and cultural values, i.e., a technological society.

points out the idea that the concept of ‘norm’ changes over time and according to context.

Historically, Postel-Vinay observes two periods in Europe’s exerting a normative power: the first stage, placed between the late nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth, is characterised by European globalisation over the French idea of *mission civilisatrice*; the second period, after 1945 when Europe became a provincial power: “Europe was a global norm-setter that became a provincial norm-setter after engendering the European community” (Postel-Vinay, 2008: 47). Therefore the current discursive representation of the EU oscillates between a world that is moulded by globalism as well as a reality shaped by regionalism.

As part of this generation, this thesis offers a hermeneutic prospective which criticises, first, those discursive constructions offered by the language of NPE itself. Secondly, it uses further constructions which reveal an influential process exerted by the EU exporting its models abroad (as in the case of the Bologna Process). Thirdly, this thesis undertakes a more critical analysis and perspective in which to study post-colonial strategies which possess an orientation and made an impact on the discourses and ‘vocabularies’ of others.

#### 2.4.2.2. *Ontological violence of NPE: the power of language.*

This researcher introduces the concept of ‘ontology’ in order to explain certain parameters of analysis of the ‘universe’ of knowledge of Normative Power. The term comes from the Greek expressions ὄν, genitive ὄντος, - on, ontos - meaning ‘of that which is’ (or ‘of being’), and -λογία, -logia, which refers to *science, study, theory*.

Therefore ontology is the science of knowledge in terms of conceiving reality. As a philosophical foundation, ontology is the study of the nature of being, existence or reality as such and the basic categories and relations of being (Honderich, 2005: 670). Consequently the ontology of NPE could be considered as a science of knowledge<sup>18</sup> that studies the nature of being of Europe as a particular reality.

I argue that the ontology of Normative Power Europe (NPE) is based on strategies that give it superiority over other theoretical constructs. These strategies show at least three different degrees of superiority: (i) a *gnosiological dominance*<sup>19</sup>, determined by the ontological capability of Europe “to shape conceptions of ‘normal in international relations’” (Manners, 2002: 239); (ii) an *axiological supremacy*<sup>20</sup> since the EU is considered a ‘force for good’ (Diez & Manners, 2007; Pace, 2008); and (iii) an *ontology of language*<sup>21</sup> able to exert an ‘epistemic violence’ (Merlingen, 2007) or a tyranny of language and thought (Espinoza Figueroa, 2010).

The ontological aspect of NPE, represents a language, a language within language, necessarily a ‘written language’ in Derrida’s words, determined by what Maturana and Varela have called ‘operational closure’ (Maturana & Varela, 1984). The ‘operational closure’ of NPE is given by a set of values, norms and principles which define the EU identity. Therefore, it is arguable that Manners uses language to construct a semantic model of the identity (or intersubjectivity in the words of Bucholtz and Hall

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<sup>18</sup> This argument that considers NPE as a science of knowledge is only expressed here in terms of connecting the main statements of NPE with its universe of knowledge. However, one should remember that NPE belongs to the domain of middle ground theory, it is not considered a grand theory. Therefore some scholars could argue that NPE is not a science as such.

<sup>19</sup> In this case, NPE perform as an ontology which offers a determined understanding of the nature and possibility of knowing Europe as an object of study and analysis.

<sup>20</sup> NPE represents a significant study of European values.

<sup>21</sup> This explores how semantic issues determine our conception of reality: it is language which creates the world in which we live (Social Constructivism). Furthermore, language imposes a determined reality by acting as an instrument that exerts an ideational power. Therefore, NPE through its own language exerts hegemony of thought through the establishment of its relationships with non-European countries.

[2004]) of the EU as a superpower in terms of factual capabilities which may, if required, exert persuasion rather than coercion. This is achieved through ‘ideational factors’ including ideas, norms, values and beliefs. Normative Power Europe can be seen as a ‘written language’ because it is starting to encapsulate and regulate something conceptually, the European identity. NPE as a writing is “derivative, accidental, particular, exterior, doubling the signifier: phonetic. ‘Sign of a sign’” (Derrida, 1974: 29).

Discourses, in other words, not only determine what can be meaningfully said; they also define the limits for what can be said (Moses & Knutsen, 2007: 214).

The question that arises here is which aspects determine the supremacy of one discourse over another. I argue that NPE discourses offer more than epistemologies or parcels of European collective mentalities. They exert power based on an imposition of European ontologies or *weltanschauung*. This ‘ontological force’ is exercised in each political encounter through practices of particular discourses. Those discourses that construct and identify the European ontology are semantically powerful, because:

(i) *Pragmatically*, NPE establishes an agenda of conversations about the Union and, through this discursive process, it determines European identity as an ‘*agenda settler*’.

(ii) *Axiologically*, concepts need to be based on ‘universals’ such as universal/ European norms and values. This ‘universal status’ also provides moral and ethical superiority based on normative power as a ‘force for good’ as a ‘*phenomenological violence*’. The deontological (axiological) ‘operational closure’ of NPE is given by a set of values, norms and principles which define the EU identity and its actions.

(iii) *Epistemologically*, NPE necessarily involves notions of totality (Foucault, 2002: 11). Here, one is moving from linguistic domains towards metaphysical fields. So, within the latter spaces, it is difficult to act outside of considerations such as ‘the certainty of reason’ or the ‘common good’. Here ‘knowledge’, ‘reason’ and ‘ethics’ constitute the DNA of discursive practices of Normative Power Europe as an ‘*epistemic violence*’.

(iv) *Metalinguistically*, these terms as such pose powerful connotations. They involve constant interplays between signified (mental/acoustic image) and signifier (concept). The absence of a true reference imposes on them the need to identify the Union with potent concepts such as ‘ontological capability’ and ‘force for good’. Therefore this discourse reveals a certain degree of arrogance, probably also characteristic in definitions of other superpowers.

(v) *Ontologically*, it involves dogmatic discourses, especially those present in the first generation. Concepts are transformed into and used as absolute truths. Therefore, if one does not believe them, one is ‘out of the game’. The truth here is that the EU exerts a normative power, and this power gives it the ontological capability to determine parameters of ‘normality’ and ‘reality’ within world politics as an ‘*ontological violence*’.

Furthermore, European discourses of NPE, when establishing canons of normality in the world politics, impose a particular ontology that favours the notions of knowledge and ethics hold by the shaper of the normality. This intellectual and pedagogical supremacy is analysed by Wisker as follows:

For centuries, Europeans viewed their intellectual and pedagogical relationship to the colonised and postcolonial periphery as a one-way street.

Missionaries, colonisers, social scientists and development agencies understood the flow of knowledge in similar ways (2007: 200).

This intellectual and pedagogical supremacy is supported by centuries of European history, especially that regarding Modernity and its “unmasking of the repressive potential of ‘instrumental reason’, which aims at a radical revolution in the historical totality of the contemporary world and at the utopian abolition of the difference between ‘alienated’ life spheres...” (Zizek, 1991: 142). Additionally, European history has always determined the role of Europe as a ‘conqueror’ or ‘emperor’, which institutes “its rule [s] in a radial manner through differing zones or order” (Haukkala, 2007: 5). Therefore its ‘power’ is given by its historical condition of being a superpower. However European history based on ‘Western normative power’ is merely a set of discursive practices that have been about for centuries; they could not represent or interpret other historical discourses such as the history of ‘colonised’.

These historical discursive practices operate in an ‘operational closure’ that validates the same discourse over and over again. They are reinforced through offering a language of specialisation based on an in-depth knowledge of normative aspects of the Union such as treaties, agreements and policies, and in the demonstration of the existence of NPE through practical cases. Nevertheless NPE is, or represents, only another European ‘story’ well told.

So, it is argued that NPE constitutes an ontology of language. This ontology is based on the principle that there are some concepts that imply hegemonic relationships *per se*. The only way to access the domain of these concepts is through a ‘dogmatic-believer’ attitude. This is no more evident than in the case of Normative Power Europe (NPE). It is difficult to identify and name one cohesive ontology *per se* in Europe. It is

the concept of NPE which can ‘construct’ the ontological capability of the EU through its language, to give it its validity as a lens through which to view a particular reality.

#### **2.4. Conclusion.**

In order to organise the universe of knowledge and reality of NPE, this research divides its scholarship into three main generations. Each cohort offers a different dimension of knowledge of NPE. For example, the first and the third generations contribute ontologically with the theory. The second generation establishes its epistemological bases, because it hosts sure foundations of knowledge through the ‘search for certainty’ (Honderich, 2005: 260). Within the scholarship of Normative Power Europe (NPE), it is possible to identify clearly three significant generations.

The first generation introduces the concept of NPE and offers an ontological contribution to the discussion because it shows us NPE as an instrument of analysis of the nature of the EU. Its existence prevails as a substantial element of the phenomenon of influence as a superpower.

Furthermore, it is possible to observe an ‘intermediate generation’ which is predicated on three main themes, namely: a) analysing NPE in official documents and treaties; b) looking for NPE in the ways that the EU conducts itself internationally, through its policies in foreign affairs; and c) studying NPE as a vehicle of transferring policies from the EU as a ‘norm-maker’ to others as ‘norm-takers’. According to Ian Manners, the EU as a normative power has followed a historical evolution through the

creation of declarations, policies, treaties and agreements. In practical terms, the EU implements 'normative' strategies which take purely 'civilian' objectives as their target.

The second generation contributes epistemologically to the discussion of NPE owing to the fact that it provides determined 'lenses' or approaches to a view of a reality called 'Normative Power Europe'. This is a reality which defines the EU as a catalyst of changes in the international arena. Additionally, the second generation introduces phenomenological elements because it contributes to the location of Europe within the ethical space of 'goodness' and its categories of understanding of 'identity' and 'others'.

The third generation contributes again ontologically, because it re-creates a new 'reality' of NPE called 'epistemic violence', through which an 'ontology of language' opens the door to the analysis of the language of NPE itself, and its implications beyond. Furthermore, as part of this third generation, this thesis makes a hermeneutical contribution in that it interprets NPE as an 'ontological violence', not an 'epistemic one', in its thinking that language is 'the house of being' (Heidegger, 1947). Language itself is central in the exertion of a 'tyranny of ideas'.

This last generation is what I have called the 'dissenting academia', because these scholars criticise the theory only considering its conceptual dimension. Nevertheless the 'dissenting academia' of NPE does not tell us about the impact or receptiveness of European ideational influences. Thus, as the section pointed out, 'the existing literature of NPE does not offer true studies of impact of the EU upon others (Forsberg, 2009: 6). The section concludes with the claim that the existing literature insufficiently focuses on receiver countries, thereby making the case for my present study, which seeks in part to rectify this lacuna.



# Chapter 3: Gnosiological Foundations of this Research.

## 3.1. Introduction.

## 3.2. Working with Grounded Theory (GT) in this research.

3.2.1. *Gnosiological basis of GT: 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generations.*

3.2.2. *Criticising Grounded Theory (GT): the ‘paradigmatic umbrella’ GT, Positivist or Reflexive Paradigm?*

3.2.3. *Placing this research within the field of GT.*

3.2.3.1. *Open coding: substantive areas and codes.*

3.2.3.2. *Starting the theoretical sampling: mapping Normative Power Europe (NPE).*

## 3.3. The significance of analysis of discourse.

3.3.1. *The significance of language.*

3.3.2. *Methods and approaches for Critical Discourse Analysis.*

3.3.3. *Critical Discourse Studies (CDS). Teun van Dijk’s Socio-Cognitive approach.*

## 3.4. Methodological considerations for analysing the empirical data

3.4.1. *Characterisation of the empirical data.*

3.4.1. *Interviews.*

3.4.2. *European Documents.*

3.4.3. *Chilean data resources and analysis.*

3.4.4. *Mexican data resources and analysis.*

## 3.5. Conclusions.

## Summary.

In this chapter, this researcher analyses further ontological considerations for this thesis. I attempt to describe epistemological and methodological aspects of this ‘universe of knowledge’, which is composed of three dimensions, or research pillars: *methodology* which is studied through Grounded Theory (GT), *theoretical dimension* where Normative Power Europe (NPE) is portrayed for analysing European ideational influences, and an *analytical scope* developed through Critical Discourse Analysis, specifically focused on the socio-cognitive approach of Teun van Dijk. Furthermore, this section presents the methodological framework used in the analysis of empirical data. It summarises the working process developed for the design, execution and integration of the research results and their socialisation, as well as the approaches and tools used for this research. The chapter highlights those aspects that have special relevance and have been dealt with in an innovative manner for conducting a piece of research.

### 3.1. Introduction.

This chapter proposes the objective of laying basic foundations of this investigation, considering its main epistemological and methodological aspects. I introduce the concept of ‘Gnosiology’<sup>22</sup> here just for embracing the ‘universe’ of knowledge of this research. The term comes from the Greek *gnosis* that means the science or philosophy of knowledge. Therefore the construction of the knowledge of this study as such is constituted by a repertoire of epistemological ‘lenses’ that determine this construction of reality (and no other), and methodological procedures that contribute to grasping or constructing patterns and regularities of this phenomenon (Moses & Knutsen, 2007: 192).

Considering my position as researcher who has generated her own phenomenon to investigate (Maturana & Varela, 1984), I have necessarily carried my ‘luggage’ of background, knowledge, attitudes, even stereotypes, deficiencies and presuppositions when I had faced this research. Certainly the so-desired ‘objectivity’ is an aim difficult even impossible to reach when we are challenged to construct worlds discursively with our own knowledge or *weltanschauung*, which is, in turn, part of greater phenomena: social constructions of reality.

This chapter is important because it describes and analyses the ‘gnosiological universe’ of a new story called “The European influence on the development of domestic policies in Chile and Mexico: the case of Higher Education”. The ‘terrains’ where this research has moved are apparently fragile, such as ideational aspects of European influences upon non-European countries. For this reason it has been necessary

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<sup>22</sup> I refused to use the expression ontology, because this is quite great concept for espousing a modest research like this, which tells only another story about European influences upon non-European countries. I did not like to use the term epistemology, because it seems to me very limiting for approaching to other aspects of knowledge.

to adopt a rigorous approach in order to address this investigation by the adequate epistemological and methodological pathways.

Taking into account the latter argument, Grounded Theory (GT) as a methodological procedure in this investigation has performed as the ‘conductive thread’ of the whole research and made it possible to deal with three main aspects: (i) justifying the empirical attitude of this researcher, (ii) connecting epistemological and methodological aspects within the thesis (iii) and connecting epistemological and methodological aspects within the thesis. These considerations will be described later in this chapter. Additionally I would like to place my GT position within a Straussian ‘spirit’ belonging to the second generation of this theory.

Additionally, this chapter presents the methodological framework used in the analysis of empirical data. It summarises the working process developed for the design, execution and integration of the research results and their socialisation, as well as the approaches and tools used for this research.

### 3.2. Working with Grounded theory (GT) in this research.

This investigation was conceived methodologically through **Grounded theory** (GT)<sup>23</sup>, a research method that operated in reverse order from traditional research and, at first, it could appear to be in contradiction to the scientific method normally adopted in social sciences. However, GT is a systematic qualitative research methodology<sup>24</sup> frequently used in social sciences and whose purpose is the generation of theory, or at least the creation of a reverse engineered hypothesis, from empirical data. This contradicts the traditional model of research, where the researcher chooses a theoretical framework, and only then applies this model to the phenomenon being studied (Allan, 2003).

As mentioned in the introduction, Grounded Theory (GT) developed by Anselm Strauss and Barney Glaser in 1967 constitutes a systematic methodological procedure in the social sciences that contributes to organising qualitative researches in order to generate or expand theory from empirical data. Originally GT had two main purposes: (i) to discover theory from data and (ii) to use it as a method of comparative analysis. However considering its application in use, some scholars have worked on other modalities of GT such as verification methods that through empirical research give feedback into and allow the modification of theory (Glaser and Strauss, 2009: 2). This aspect is fundamental because as Glaser and Strauss argue we may make a distinction between *grounded modifying of theory* and *grounded generating of theory*. Nevertheless both scholars claim that “Surely no conflict between verifying and generating theory is logically necessary during the course of any given research” (Ibid).

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<sup>23</sup> Grounded theory was developed by two sociologists, Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss

<sup>24</sup> According to Glaser, it is not an exclusive method for qualitative research.

Certainly the decision of verifying or generating theory depends on primacy of purpose of the investigation.

The ‘headstone’ of the theory was the book *Discovery* published in 1967 by the social scientists, Anselm Strauss and Barney Glaser. Both scholars worked together until the early 1990s, when their ‘academic divorce’ provided two different versions of GT or rather two lineages of the same theory: Straussian and Glaserian (Stern, 1995; cf. Morse, 2009: 15). Their methods and publications generated a traceable heritage amongst their students and their students’ students who placed their ‘visible school’ at the University of California at San Francisco (UCSF). Some scholars work with both authors with the purpose of expanding the scope of GT. This theoretical/methodological framework is used by diverse researchers “from different disciplines... with different personalities and different tolerances for ambiguity... with a varying need for structure, various creative abilities, a knowledge of different social science theory, with various paradigmatic perspectives, research goals, and even individual adherence to and respect for quantitative assumptions and principles...” (ibid: 14).

It is difficult to determine the exact boundaries of contributions of each generation. However it is argued here that the first generation only saw the theory as a qualitative methodological instrument of coding, categorising and analysing data. Strauss worked developing qualitative analysis as such whereas Glaser focused on studying the process of theoretical sensitivity what he defined it as the ability for generating notions or generalisations “from data and to relate them according to the normal models in general, and theory development in sociology, in particular” (Glaser, 1992: 27). Furthermore, the first cohort was emphatic in recommending an approach to

the phenomenon as a *tabula rasa*, i.e. researchers should have no ideas, preconceptions, theories and other intellectual concerns bearing in mind.

The second generation observes and uses the theory as both epistemological and methodological approaches. In fact, I pose that this cohort contributes gnosologically because they connect aspects from epistemology such as attitude for researching and theoretical lenses (middle range theories) and elements from methodology such as qualitative analysis of data. Considering this argument special mention deserve Kathy Charmaz (2009) who develops constructivist grounded theory and Adele Clarke who through her situational analysis extends the theory transforming it into a postmodern version of middle range theory (2009: 200).

The gnosiological contribution of GT is not clear within its scholarship. For this reason, this researcher decided to analyse this aspect through GT's criticisms, which are studied in the next part of this chapter.

### *3.2.1. Criticising Grounded Theory (GT): the 'paradigmatic umbrella' for GT, Positivist or Reflexive Paradigm?*

This part of the chapter points up the main criticisms of Grounded Theory (GT). In order to defend some aspects of Grounded Theory, it will be argued that the researcher behaves as a photographer: he or she develops a 'researching eye' as the professional photographer works with a 'photographic eye'. Both researcher and photographer constantly make decisions looking for (or seeking out) the 'master composition'. These decisions are made taking into account inductive-deductive processes (or vice versa) of thought, background and experiences of the researcher and

the phenomenon itself. With the purpose of explaining Mjøset's notions (2001, 2005) of theory in a practical way, we will continue using the metaphor of the researcher as a photographer and the phenomenon of research as the process of composing a picture.

Lars Mjøset, in the analysis of six notions of theory, considers Grounded Theory to be merely a typology of an explanation-based hypothesis in social sciences. These notions were constructed taking into account five main elements: standard dualism, an attitude or practical philosophy of social sciences, a model of science, the notion of theory and main empirical procedures.

This six-fold typology is a modest contribution to the classification and comparison of notions of theory that are implied in contemporary social science research. The typology intends to cover all notions of theory that are currently accepted in the various disciplines of social science (e.g. when phd dissertations or journal articles are evaluated). Several of the notions may be marginal in certain disciplines (in economics, for instance, the two standard ones largely dominate), but they are all involved in more than marginal positions in some discipline (Mjøset, 2005: 382).

The first one, *standard dualism*, represents the position from where the researcher faces the research and its process. In this case, it can be observed that this expression could be associated with the *photographic focal point* as a whole, i.e. the way he or she can achieve a good composition, or the technique of setting up the subject within the frame of the camera. Even though, from a technical point of view, the focal point is where collimated rays of light meet after passing through a convex lens or reflecting from a concave (reflex) mirror, in Fine Art it refers to a point of interest which makes a canvas into a unique 'object'. This happens with a piece of research, it may be a unique piece of investigation.

Reflexive science valorises intervention, process, structuration, and theory reconstruction. It is the Siamese twin of positive science that proscribes reactivity, but upholds reliability, replicability, and representativeness. Positive science, exemplified by survey research, works on the principle of the separation

between scientists and the subjects they examine. Positive science is limited by “context effects” (interview, respondent, field, and situational effects) while reflexive is limited by “power effects” (domination, silencing, objectification, and normalization). (Burawoy, 1998: 4).

It is argued that Grounded Theory (GT) belongs to a positivist paradigm as well as what Burawoy (1998) has called ‘reflexive science’. GT is not absent of this polarity, its ‘site’ could still be seen as an ‘adjusted’ position between the two. It is possible to summarise the main GT criticism as follows: GT would be wearing a ‘positivist suit’ for its theoretical foundation, but it would be performing in a more flexible way when working on empirical levels. However, it is necessary to remember that GT was developed in order to uncover theory based on data (Glaser & Strauss, 2009:1). Researchers sometimes demand many ‘resources’ from theories and research processes which cannot be provided. Theories and research processes have limitations for moving beyond their scope. For this reason, GT proposes that it is better to generate theory from the process of data analysis. GT criticism will be examined in detail:

Criticism about an ‘adjustable’ position of GT could be explained through its origins: the roots of GT can be found within American pragmatism, a movement called ‘symbolic interactionism’ led by Charles Cooley and George Herbert Mead. Herbert Blumer, continuing the work of George Herbert Mead, coined the expression ‘symbolic interactionism’ to mean a sociological perspective within which people’s behaviour is based on the meaning of things. These meanings derive from social interactions and are modified through people’s interpretations. The greatest symbolism is language, because the meaning of words is to be located through its use, or at least narrowly connected with it. Yet Searle argues that language is necessarily a human activity, therefore its significance is in its functional use (1995: 21). Language through symbols provides the means by which reality is constructed. Reality, then, is seen as a social product because



human beings live in a symbolic domain determined by the culture and society where they reside. Symbols are observed as social objects which allow for the development of shared meanings. Symbols and shared meanings are created and maintained through social interactions.

Even though symbolic interactionism comes from a positivist-functionalist paradigm, this theoretical movement represents one of the most subjective disciplines developed in social sciences. The duality present in GT, a positivist framework ‘wearing a reflexive suit’, comes from its roots, and its ontology necessarily offers this kind of dichotomy. Certainly within the ‘battle’ between positivism and reflexive science one could argue that there is an implicit ontological quest. The definition of a social and individual construction of reality may be understood in terms of two extreme positions: a reality outside of us, *Representationism*, or a reality created by a human being, *Solipsism*. Considering that reflexive science implies a subjective way to create (hold) reality, GT would oscillate between the two. GT, as a theory located close to a functionalism-positivism as well as Constructivism, does not escape from the limits of “the map is not the territory”<sup>25</sup> and the ‘map is reality’ (Bateson, 2000: 183). In simple words, this metaphor means that GT cannot be far away from a ‘reality-dependence’, even though reality could be created and determined socially. The question here is: what kind of theoretical framework close to Constructivism could not show this ‘existential duplexity’ considering what Burawoy argues: reflexive science “is the Siamese twin of positive science” (Burawoy, 1998: 4).

In addition, both creators of GT were trained in Columbia (Glaser) and Chicago (Strauss) respectively. Barney G. Glaser was a student of Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert K.

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<sup>25</sup> This expression appeared for the first time in Alfred Korzybski’s paper as a result of the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in New Orleans, Louisiana in 1931.

Merton, and he has carried in his mind “Merton’s middle-range theory and Lazarsfeld’s quantitative methodology” (Glaser & Strauss, 2009: vii). In contrast, Anselm L. Strauss belonged to the ‘Chicago tradition’ (1920-1950) and his interests were centred on qualitative research, “a less than rigorous methodology, and an unintegrated presentation of theory” (Ibid). Indeed, these two different schools have provided GT with a different -even dichotomic- tradition of quantitative and qualitative procedures for researching. However, Glaser and Strauss recognise that these traditions, and even others during post-war period, have not filled the gap between theory and empirical research (ibid).

The *attitude or practical philosophy* implies common habits of thought, different ways in which the researcher ‘observes’ or ‘generates’ the phenomenon studied. This concept could be compared with a *camera angle* which marks the specific location at which a camera is placed to take a picture. As a scene may be shot from several angles, a piece of research may be generated through one of these three ‘angles’: *standard*, *pragmatist (participatory)* and *philosophical*. Mjøset says that in social sciences, it is possible to find an extensive group of social scientists conducting research and legitimising what they are doing through ways that refer to routines similar to those employed in various natural sciences such as experimental designs and mathematical modelling techniques. They are using a *standard attitude* among social researchers (Mjøset, 2005: 380). In contrast, Mjøset argues that there is another group of researchers who work on interpreting and analysing texts, reconstructing events which are culturally significant and reflecting on what happens within the existential fields of human societies; this group is using a *social-philosophical attitude* in their social sciences.

In addition, it is possible to observe a third attitude which Mjøset called pragmatist. This attitude is developed by researchers who behave as social scientists, with no 'external' inspiration (Ibid: 381). Scholars investigating through GT belong to this attitude, a mind-set within which a piece of research as a phenomenon should tell the examiner all the problems experienced during the research process and how he/she could tackle and solve with these problems.

Methodologically, the researcher is required to enter the worlds of those under study in order to observe the actor's environment and the interactions and interpretations that occur. The researcher engaged in symbolic interaction is expected to interpret actions, transcend rich description and develop theory which incorporates concepts of "self, language, social setting and social object" (Schwandt 1994, p124). The developed theory should be presented in a form that creates an eidetic picture (Goulding, 1999: 5).

Following the metaphor of the photographer, one could consider seriously the comparison between the *depth of field* and the notion of theory because both imply the scope required for mastering a composition. The *notion of theory* conceived by Mjøset is probably limited; it manifests only six types of theories: *Middle range* and *Idealizing theories* in Natural science, *Explanation-based* and *Critical theories* in the field of Social science, and *Transcendental* and *Deconstructionist theories* in Humanities. These frameworks cover rigid spaces of working and developing theory. Therefore, the defence of GT here is directed towards getting more degrees of flexibility in research, such as the depth of field provides to the image.

It's hard to get excited about the depth of field, taken in its usual definition. In actual fact, however, it's about a lot more than merely the span within an image in which an object will appear acceptably sharp. Depth of field is really about the plasticity of the image – its feel, its handling of space (Ang, 2008: 14).

*On the one hand*, Mjøset's inflexible scheme leaves less 'margin' for creative and 'brave' researchers who want to move beyond, combining theories and procedures

and driving their research towards other ontological and epistemological territories. In fact, Lars Mjøset recognises that “the claim here is not that researchers with such attitudes rigidly copy these other fields of science, but that their inspiration is mainly drawn from models and philosophies of science relating to these fields, and that each type of social researcher communicates reasonably well with researchers in their respective fields of science (either natural science or the humanities), but *not* with those within the other field” (Mjøset, 2005: 381). *On the other hand*, this notion of theory does not fully embrace certain theoretical bases: for example one could guess that general social theories, often called ‘grand theories’, belong to the field of transcendental formulations, whereas micro-sociological theories are implicit in explanation-based foundations. However, approaches such as socio-psychological, discourse and linguistic theories (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 24) do not appear explicitly within Mjøset’s classification.

Continuing with the idea of notion of theory, GT would present an epistemological dichotomy: it seeks to escape from an exaggerated empiricism, yet it would also aim to be distinct from a merely abstract theoretical level. According to Goulding, Grounded Theory belongs to a new theory generation characterised by the generation of continuous process of research through interplaying data collection and analysis of data (Goulding, 1999: 6). Indeed, this aspect does not ‘combat’ GT epistemological duality, but it enriches the research process through providing “a fresh slant on existing knowledge about a particular phenomenon” (ibid). Originally, the GT project was born as an attempt to ‘bypass’ very abstract theoretical sociology, transforming itself into a fundamental part of a qualitative analysis movement during 1960-1970.

The development of grounded theory was part of a larger scale reaction against extreme empiricism, or 'Grand Theory', a term coined by Mills (1959) to refer pejoratively to sociological theories couched at a very abstract conceptual level. Mills similarly criticised abstracted empiricism or the process of accumulating quantitative data for its own sake (Ibid).

Following a pragmatist-participatory attitude in order to work as a social scientist, GT's main empirical procedures rely on cases for their explanatory basis. It is difficult to find here a point of comparison between GT and the metaphor of the photographer. One could probably argue that research methods might have certain relationships with types of cameras or films used by a professional in order to achieve a master composition. However, these 'cameras' or 'films' should share something in common, their qualitative principles for working on some research. According to Mjøset, Grounded Theory emerged as an idea to reflect on the practice of participant observation (Mjøset, 2005: 383). However other scholars have worked with other qualitative methods such as ethnomethodology (Burawoy, 1998) and interviews (Allan, 2003).

The following table represents a summary scheme of Mjøset's notions of theory used in contemporary social science. Originally Mjøset presents two diagrams to explain six notions of theory (Mjøset, 2005: 381) and theoretical levels of analysis (Ibid: 382). Grounded Theory is marked in red and it is placed on explanation-based theories in Social Science. The levels located at the end of the table (high, middle and low) imply the degree of abstraction reached for the different theories. GT has a tendency to move between low and middle levels. It could corroborate the idea that GT, using a pragmatist attitude, avoids high levels of abstraction in theory.

**Mjøset's notions of theory.**

Standard dualism	<<Positivism>>			Critique of positivism		
Practical philosophy of social sciences	Standard		Pragmatist (participatory)	Social-philosophical		
Model of Sciences	Natural science		Social science	Humanities		
Notion of theory	Middle range theory	Idealizing	Explanation-based	Critical	Transcendental	
					Deconstructionist	
Main empirical procedures	Variables oriented, cases treated in variables	Cases mainly treated as illustrations	Cases as the explanatory basis	Primary reference to contemporary legitimate claims for social change	Diverse sources on modernity	Conceptual history, discourse/conversation analysis
High Level		x			x	↓
Middle Level	x ↑		x	x ↓	↓	
Low Level			x ↑	x		x

**Note:** X marks the main level which the notion of the theory relates to, ↑ marks an ambition to move upwards to the next level, ↓ marks an ambition to move downwards (Mjøset 2005: 381-382).

**Table 3.1**

### 3.2.2. *Conducting a research with Grounded Theory (GT).*

It provides us with the tools to synthesize these data, developing concepts and midrange theory that remains linked to these data, yet is generalizable to other instances and to future instances. Grounded theory is a very powerful tool for the social sciences (Morse, 2009: 14).

As said in the quotation, as a methodological practice GT operates in the dimension of collecting and analysing data, which may constitute later the foundations of a formal theory or the contributions for extending an existent theoretical framework. Therefore in appearance GT seems to be only a methodological procedure for conducting pieces of research qualitatively and discursively, i.e. to analyse qualitative data through processes of coding concepts with the purpose of telling stories later. However as GT scholars argue it is not a 'cookbook' methodology, because as language, GT change in use, adapting particular modes of conceiving the research questions, contexts and actors involved in the process. Therefore Morse argues that GT is a way of thinking about data (ibid).

The grounded theory approach is a general methodology of analysis linked with data collection that uses a systematically applied set of methods to generate an inductive theory about a substantive area... That is all, the yield is just hypotheses! (Glaser, 1992: 16).

Contrarily I claim that this theory is certainly a particular way of thinking, but not only about data, but also about how we can conduct a research as a whole. I maintain that GT is also epistemologically significant, because it facilitates the connection amongst background, focal and data theories (Phillips & Pugh, 2005: 57-58) within the investigation. This is the one of the most significant differences between the first and second generations of GT, the notion of the theory itself as a fundamental generator of knowledge or as a simple tool for collecting and analysing empirical data.

The research principle behind Grounded Theory (GT) is neither inductive nor deductive, but combines the two in a method of abductive reasoning which came from the work of Charles Peirce<sup>26</sup>. This leads to a research practice where data sampling, data analysis and theory development are not seen as distinct and disconnected, but as different steps to be repeated until one can describe and explain the phenomenon that is to be researched.

GT allows the researcher to use a well-defined 'coding paradigm'. This paradigm helps to seek, in a systematic way, causal conditions, phenomena/context, intervening conditions, action strategies and consequences in the data.

The traditional process in GT starts with the collection of data through a variety of methods instead of beginning by researching and developing a hypothesis. After that, from the data, key aspects are marked with a series of codes. The codes identify anchors of research as key points of the data to be gathered. These codes, then, are grouped into similar concepts. The concepts represent collections of codes which offer a similar content allowing the data to be 'encapsulated'. From these concepts broad groups of similar concepts are used to generate a theory. Finally, a theory is considered as a collection of explanations which interpret the subject of the research.

GT uses 'theoretical codes', as they emerge in the same way as do 'substantive codes', but drawing on a huge fund of 'coding families'. This latter aspect is considered the original source of the split in theory between Glaserian (Barney Glaser) and Straussian (Anselm Strauss) paradigms. In 1987, after Strauss' book *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists* was published, Glaser and Strauss disagreed on how GT

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<sup>26</sup> A kind of logical inference which implies a process of guessing to reach knowledge: "Peirce proposes to begin from our everyday and scientific experience of inquiry, and to investigate the norms which govern cognition on that basis" (Honderich, 2005: 685).



should be effected. The methodological controversy related to how these two sociologists conceive the right process for researching. Glaser focuses on an abstract conceptualisation of time, place and people, emphasising induction and overvaluing the individual researcher's creativity. In contrast, Strauss emphasises validation criteria and a systematic approach supported by significant concepts, categories, codes and coding.

GT procedure or research practices (Locke, 2001: 44) therefore starts with a conceptual 'sensitivity' where main codes are extracted from empirical data, clarifying major concepts or categories of analysis and empirical categories during the research (Ragin, 1994: 85), absorbing the data as data (Glaser, 1992: 11). Strictly speaking this process is conducted through a process of memo coding or memo writing and the use of diagrams, as well as procedures for identifying and incorporating interaction and the processes employed.

In the case of this research, GT contributed with:

(i) *Justifying the empirical attitude of this researcher.* Considering the difficulties of a research procedure for investigating and proving the presence of ideational factors of European influences, it was necessary to adopt a *pragmatist attitude* from Grounded Theory (GT) in order to embrace the phenomenon as a search for empirical evidence of European influences (through the Bologna model) in Chilean and Mexican HE.

(ii) *Connecting epistemological and methodological aspects within the thesis.* It is interesting to remark here that GT is useful for understanding epistemological levels of explanatory-based theories such as Normative Power Europe (NPE). The understanding of epistemological stages permits a researcher to know in depth the boundaries of the

theory in order to address processes of analysis and criticism<sup>27</sup>. Methodologically it is possible to observe that “from the very moment a research project is begun, a grounded theory is systematically and inductively arrived at through covariant on-going collection and analysis of data” (Glaser, 1992: 12). Therefore GT contributed to the development of an in-depth qualitative investigation in terms of identifying key elements of the phenomenon, and then categorising the relationships of those elements to the context and the rest of the research.

(iii) *An explanation of the methods for examining empirical data in qualitative research through coding processes.* The GT procedure of coding facilitated the development of a systematic and ordered process of conceptual analysis (ibid: 12). This process was not conducted through a special computation programme owing to language barrier. GT coding was mainly used to analyse interviews in depth

### 3.2.3. *Placing this research within GT.*

In order to explain the place within which this research is situated in the field of Grounded Theory, a scheme (below) was designed, taking into account some main aspects from Mjøset. *Standard dualism* (Mjøset’s, 2005: 381-382) or the *ontology*<sup>28</sup> of this study is located in the ‘space’ of positivism-constructivism. This researcher argues that ontology is more related to the understanding of *what is there to be known* (Charlton, 2008: 43) in the world as reality rather than “to *being*, to *what is*, to *what exists*” (Hay, 2002: 61). These latter questions belong to a metaphysical sphere.

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<sup>27</sup> I am firmly of the opinion that it is not possible to force a theory into giving answers to those aspects that are outside its epistemological boundaries. Therefore it is fundamental to define, identify and classify a theoretical framework before criticising it.

<sup>28</sup> This is my ontological position.

Considering theory of Autopoiesis of Chilean biologists Maturana and Varela as more contemporary approaches of researching, it is argued here that ontology necessarily constitutes a domain of fundamental explanations based on the discursive (linguistic) capability of an observer. In simple words, an observer as researcher generates his or her phenomenon to study, constructing and setting the parameters of her (his) investigation through the use of language. Therefore, ontology plays the role of a ‘compass’ which moves throughout two explanatory paths: a space of *constitutive ontologies* or ‘objectivity-in-‘parenthesis (Solipsism) and a domain of *transcendental ontologies* or ‘objectivity-without-parenthesis’ (Representationism).

It is rather that, as Hegel would have put it, subject and object are inherently “meditated”, so that an “epistemological” shift in the subject’s point of view always reflect an “ontological” shift in the object itself (Zizek, 2006: 17).

Nowadays, it is very difficult to identify exact limits between ontology and epistemology, especially considering the development of the ‘ontology of observing’ or Cybernetics of 2nd and 3rd orders (self-referential systems). Scholars such as Gregory Bateson, Heinz von Foerster and Slavoj Zizek blend ontology and epistemology, they bring together and merge their understanding of *what is there* with *how we can know*. This ‘onto-epistemology condition’ provides practical definitions to encapsulate a phenomenon of knowledge in a specific theoretical framework. For example Bateson unifies ontology and epistemology in order to transcend the whole idealism/realism argument (Charlton, 2008:43). From a Radical Constructivism, Zizek develops his transcendental materialist theory of subjectivity and Foerster ‘takes refuge’ in second-order cybernetics.

Bearing in mind the ‘onto-epistemology condition’, I argue that the GT ontology of this research is in the range of the positivist-reflexive area. On the one hand,

this study ‘keeps its feet’ on the ground of a set of data as a result of collecting procedures, based on experience and positive verification: “experience is the cause, the world is the consequence”<sup>29</sup>. On the other hand, it is based on a domain of constitutive ontologies or ‘objectivity-in-parenthesis’. That can be seen from the beginning, when this researcher adopted a sceptical stance towards working methodologically, only verifying theory (Normative Power Europe, NPE) through data. Instead, an open-minded attitude was used in order to recognise that the existence of this research phenomenon was constitutively dependent on the observer as one of the domains of truth.

Indeed, the ‘soul’ of this research was conceived through a pragmatist attitude (Mjøset, 2005: 381-382) and an *inductive logic* (Hay, 2002: 30-31) or *epistemology*<sup>30</sup>. Understanding that epistemology involves the philosophy of how we come to know the world, this research started from an empirical problem, “neutral and dispassionate assessment of empirical evidence” (ibid: 30). One could argue that within exploratory studies, such an attitude is significant!

Following Grounded Theory methodological procedure, this research began by seeking substantive areas related to European influences in Latin America. After a diligent analysis of different fields for the study, such as the impact of the European model on small and medium size enterprises (SME) and the concept of Social Cohesion in different areas of social programmes, the field of this research chosen was Higher Education (HE). The study was focused, then, on European influences in developing domestic policies in Chile and Mexico, the case of HE. We consider some of the main reasons for adopting a *pragmatist attitude* in this research as the following:

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<sup>29</sup> <http://www.cybsoc.org/heinz.htm>

<sup>30</sup> This is my epistemological position.

(a.) There was no external inspiration, the inspiration was internal and personal. The original idea of this research arose as a result of an experiential phenomenon of the researcher. As part of her work in Chile, the researcher of this thesis began to be concerned about certain rapid changes which were occurring in some traditional Chilean universities.

(b) There was a 'spirit' for seeking and showing empirical evidence. The starting point of this research was European influences in Chilean and Mexican Higher Education (HE). These influences could be seen as long-term effects, because they are having an impact on ideas and language in Chilean and Mexican HE through the Bologna Process.

(c) Pragmatic criteria prevailed in the choice of Chile and Mexico for case studies. These cases were meticulously chosen, taking into account certain empirical similarities and differences, which show various ways in which these influences have had an impact.

The *Notion of theory* (Mjøset, 2005: 381-382) or *theoretical grounding* (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 23) of this research is focused on explanation-based and middle-range theories. Following the previous metaphor of 'researcher-photographer', the perspective drawing onto which parallel lines appear to converge, the *vanishing point* was eminently pragmatic. There is a pragmatist-constructivist confluence amongst theories used in this research: *Grounded Theory* for the methodological framework, *Normative Power Europe (NPE)* for the theoretical perspective and *Teun van Dijk's approach* for the analytical data. In the following table, one can observe a summary cartography of the main ontological, epistemological and methodological aspects of this research. This map of 'double entries' shows a characterisation of the coherent methodological process of how this investigation was carried out, correlating methodology, theory and analysis of data.

**Cartography of gnosiological aspects of this research.**

<b>Standard Dualism (Mjøset, 2005) or Ontology.</b>	Positivism – Post positivism.
Methodology	Positivist-Reflexive.
Theory	'Reflexive science'.
Analysis of data	Interpretivism.
<b>Philosophical attitude (Mjøset, 2005), Logic (Hay, 2002) or Epistemology.</b>	Pragmatist-participatory
Methodology	- Inductive logic. - Pragmatist attitude (participatory). - Post-colonial attitude.
Theory	Constructivism / Post-structuralism.
Analysis of data	Qualitative.
<b>Notion of theory (Mjøset, 2005) or theoretical grounding (Wodak &amp; Meyer, 2009)</b>	Grounded Theory (GT), Normative Power Europe (NPE) & Socio Cognitive Or Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).
Methodology	- Explanation-based. - Middle-range theory. Grounded Theory (GT).
Theory	- Explanation-based. - Middle-range theory. Normative Power Europe (NPE).
Analysis of data	- Critical theory. - Discourse theory. Socio Cognitive Or Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).
<b>Main empirical procedures (Mjøset, 2005).</b>	
Methodology	Cases as the explanatory basis.
Theory	Explanation- based.
Analysis of data	Teun van Dijk CDA

**Table 3.2**

3.2.3.1. *Open coding: substantive areas and codes.*

We construct research processes and products, but these constructions occur under pre-existing structural conditions, arise in emergent situations, and are influenced by the researcher's perspectives, privileges, positions, interactions, and geographical locations (Charmaz, 2009: 130).

The abstract procedure of this research considers the necessary relationships between causal generative mechanisms and concrete phenomena produced. The next step, called in GT 'coding', involves key aspects which were marked with a series of codes. As part of the initial steps in opening codes, this research 'constructed'<sup>31</sup> data, considering codes emerging in both European and Latin American discourses. These preliminary codes considered the analysis of documents and interviews. There was no further research needed for comparing the two discourses. They emerged 'spontaneously' from the Bologna Reports in the case of European codes and mainly from interviews in the case of Chilean and Mexican 'ciphers'.

In the following table, we can observe that preliminary codes 'emerged' in initial analyses. As was said previously, both discourses, European and Latin American, are exposed in order to show from the beginning that there were differences between what was transmitted and what was received. The codes described in the table were the result of a saturation code process, i.e. they represented the most significant codes found amongst a series.

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<sup>31</sup> "Constructivist view data as constructed rather than discovered, and we see our analyses as interpretative renderings not as objective reports of the only viewpoint on the topic" (Charmaz, 2009: 131).

**Preliminary codes of European and Latin American discourses.**

EUROPEAN CODES	LATIN AMERICAN CODES
Political Dialogue.	Horizontal programmes & agreements (3 <sup>rd</sup> and 4 <sup>th</sup> generation).
The Bologna Process & the Tuning Project.	The Tuning Latin America/EULAC.
The common space in HE.	The common space in Latin America HE/EULAC
European influences in HE.	Internationalisation of HE.
Social dimension of the Bologna Process.	Bologna Language.
External dimension of the Bologna Process.	Impact upon public and university policies.

**Table 3.3**

This is the starting point for understanding the present research as part of an *inductive process*: from particular premises, a researcher, such as the present author, ‘moved’ step by step until arriving at some general considerations. Despite this observation, it is important to note that taking into account my internal, personal and experiential inspiration for doing this research, the Bologna Process, as a particular aspect, or, at least, European ideational influences on the specific field of HE, were always in the researcher’s mind from the beginning of this investigation.

In addition, the observation of both discourses, European and Latin American, produced a *sceptical attitude* in me towards adopting a pre-determined framework from the beginning of this research. Rather, I assumed a more *eclectic* and *open minded investigative ‘posture’*. This position contributes, later, to the development of more critical arguments about European influences and their ‘theoretical translation’, Normative Power Europe (NPE). Furthermore this attitude was ratified in the empirical chapter when they show the need of listening to the silence/voices of the recipients.



As we examine to the table above, two preliminary codes, *political dialogue* and *European influences* (in yellow), allowed the ‘entrance’ to the theoretical sampling. This researcher abandoned the idea of the first code, because it was more associated with other fields of empirical investigation. The following programmes figure amongst these fields: Higher Education Institutions (ALFA/ALBAN Regional Cooperation Programmes), Security (EUFOR ALTHEA in Bosnia and Herzegovina), Socio-Productive Development (productive and social areas of cooperation partnership for small and medium enterprisers [SMEs], AL-INVEST Regional Aid Programme), Science and Technology (networks of excellence, @LIS Programme for Research and Technological Development), Political Dialogue (social cohesion/Gender, URB-AL Regional Aid Programme).

Therefore the opening code chosen, European influences, contributes with the basis for starting the theoretical sampling.

**Studying this research through GT.**

<b>Substantive area:</b> the presence of independent/dependent variables.	<b>European influences upon non-European countries.</b>
<b>Substantive theoretical code:</b> a substantive code or anchor of research which provides connection or development of theoretical aspects of the research such as a theoretical framework.	Influence: long-term effects.
<b>Substantive Field of Research:</b> the object of study.	Higher Education (HE) in Chile and Mexico.
<b>Unities of analysis:</b> where the object of study is analysed.	Public and institutional/university policies in HE.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Sampling units:</i> people (interviewees) and documents.</li> <li>• <i>Registration units:</i> public and institutional/university documents.</li> <li>• <i>Content units:</i> institutional adjustments, setting of standards, developments of specific policies and the use of European ‘language’.</li> </ul>

**Table 3.4**

Following GT’s procedure, this study focuses on a substantive area: *European influences upon non-European countries*. A substantive area means an access key for entry to a wider field of research. In methodological terms, a substantive area would imply independent/dependent variable, causes which produce the effects. However, it is important to understand that, strictly speaking, GT emphasises the necessity of having non-pre-conceived notions. Qualitative studies using Grounded Theory cannot have pre-conceived and pre-established hypotheses: “one does not begin with preconceived ideas or extant theory and then force them on data for the purpose of verifying them or

rearranging them into a corrected grounded theory. Theory is done without this burden and excess baggage” (Glaser, 1992: 15).

Nevertheless, one may approach a phenomenon having in mind some general notions of what a researcher would like to study or what might seem interesting. In the case of this research, these notions consider the following starting point: *a growth of European ideas circulating throughout the field of Latin American Higher Education (HE) is noticeable, as part of a more significant phenomenon occurring in Europe: the Bologna Process*. What was observable from the beginning was becoming a substantive area.

After identifying the substantive area, it was necessary to begin the coding process. A substantive code or anchor of research, implies a key point of the data. As a result of using an inductive method of analysis, European impact on Chilean and Mexican HE was translated into a main theoretical code named ‘*influence*’. After that, it was necessary to identify some concepts which provided modes of conceptualisation for describing and explaining the phenomenon under study. These concepts were described as *long-term effects*. Coming from the sociological field, influence is the capacity or power of producing effects or being a compelling force on the actions, behaviour and opinions of others.

As mentioned previously, the substantive field in this research was Higher Education (HE). As was said beforehand, the choice of area was a personal decision. Considering a further explanation, a field of empirical investigation, also called substantive field, provides modes of conceptualisation for describing and explaining the studied phenomenon. Methodologically, a substantive field would mean the object of study.

Furthermore, the unities of analysis were: public and institutional/university policies. These zones mean the 'entry' towards the field where the sampling, registration and context units were investigated. Substantive areas, the units and codes were very useful for contributing to developing a more rigorous process of data collection in terms of: (i) re-organising and re-orientating some of the interviews and (ii) identifying patterns to search for key documents. After that, analysis and conclusions offer a better interpretation of data.

Once data was organised, tabulated and first information obtained, these substantive aspects became associative hypotheses. The procedure of transforming organised and tabulated data in hypotheses was used in order to address the research: the first results made it possible to focus the study towards the search for empirical evidence that justifies the presence of European influences producing an impact on the development of domestic policies in Chilean and Mexican HE.

The first associative hypothesis was: *(1) European influences are observed on the development of domestic policies in Chile and Mexico in the field of Higher Education.*

Therefore, as a result of a process of tabulation of interviews and an in-depth bibliographical research, it was possible to tell a story based on the most important discoveries, such as declarations and public and university/institutional policies. The story plays a fundamental role, because it is told from a different viewpoint: through non-European eyes.

The politics of translation from a non-European woman's text too often suppresses this possibility because the translator cannot engage with, or cares insufficiently for, the rhetoricity of the original (Spivak, 2009: 202)

Certainly, each story involves a ‘politics’ of translation in which the original and the translator should share some patterns of ‘fidelity’. However, it is not possible to renounce all pre-determined conditions of being, such as, for example, gender, race and social conceptions of reality (socio-economic conditions, religion, ideology and beliefs). Therefore, the position of this narrative is found on the researcher side. This ‘tale’ is placed in the spectrum of *receiver-effect* rather than *transmitter-message*, which allows the development of re-constructive and de-constructive processes of ‘translation’ of a reality called “*European influences upon Chilean and Mexican HE*”.

### 3.2.3.2. *Starting the theoretical sampling: mapping Normative Power Europe (NPE).*

We should agree that in social research generating theory goes hand in hand with verifying it; but many [researchers] have been diverted from this truism in their zeal to test either existing theories or a theory that they have barely started to generate. (Glaser & Strauss, 2009: 2).

Certainly we have to recognise that the first approaches to empirical data did not have a pre-fixed theory in mind. Nonetheless, the procedure of approaching both data and theory did not consider the understanding as a process of *a tabula rasa* or blank slate.

Following the principles of GT, this research developed a procedure of observing/analysing data through a ‘theoretical lens’, Normative Power Europe. It is important to note here that Normative Power Europe (NPE) has been ‘tested’ in previous researches in different ways and using different case studies. It is argued that NPE shows a tendency to be verified through empirical examples, so, it has a pragmatist attitude in essence. This aspect is criticised by Forsberg (2009) who argues that middle-

range theories such as Normative Power Europe present an exaggerate need for verifying their hypotheses empirically through cases of study.

Most research dealing with NPE considers theory first rather than empirical work. However, it borrows some constructs from other theoretical perspectives in order to complement this framework. For instance, theories from European studies, integration and enlargement of the EU, are used in order to understand the complex dynamic of Europe behaving as an international power and considering its ‘domestic’ or policies.

In the case of this research and as we explained previously in this chapter, a pragmatist-empirical concern came first. *On the one hand*, it is possible to observe that this phenomenon is too complex to encapsulate it in a single theory. It is argued here that to have a single theoretical lens could sometimes provide a ‘capricious’, non-objective and conductive research. Hence, this research adopted a more eclectic and open minded position. *On the other hand*, it is difficult to place the main subject amongst European studies or the EU’s foreign policy as usually occurs with this kind of research. The present research is completely different, because it does not figure among European pillars. However, the field of Higher Education, especially the Bologna Process, is mentioned in the Treaty of Lisbon<sup>32</sup>. Therefore, Europe would be exerting NPE beyond its fundamental policies. Additionally, this phenomenon is not being observed by European eyes. It represents a different view of what it has called others beyond Europe’s own others.

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<sup>32</sup> <http://www.queesbolonia.gob.es/en/queesbolonia/proceso-en-marcha/grupo-seguimiento-bolonia/comision-europea-aval-del-proceso-de-bolonia.html>

Nevertheless, the presence of theory is fundamental in order to examine phenomena in greater depth: here, the existence of empirical work contributes to finding gaps and re-thinking the theoretical framework. The procedure for dealing with the theory did not include the idea of the understanding as *a tabula rasa* or blank slate process. On the contrary, knowledge of fundamental notions of NPE from almost the beginning of this research had facilitated the identification and comparison of patterns of EU politics that go beyond the usual examples of case studies.

The question which arises in this case study is: why is NPE considered to be a suitable theory for the analysis of empirical data? In general terms, NPE offers an interesting lens for observing the presence of European ideational factors within Chilean and Mexican discourses, because the EU itself is seen as an ideational actor: “The notion of Normative Power Europe (NPE) is that the European Union as an 'ideational' actor is characterised by common principles and acting to diffuse norms within international relations” (Whitman, 2011).

In specific terms, European ideational factors are very volatile aspects for researching and it is, in some way, necessary to establish their parameters.. Therefore, NPE poses the most suitable theory for this research because it gathers together all ideational features of Europe. These characteristics are expressed in ideas, values, principles and language.

The ‘theoretical sampling’ was developed through two processes: *first*, it was necessary to characterise the actor in order to understand its dynamics and range of influence. It is argued here that the Union is distinguished by exerting a ‘special power’ or at least a different from the traditional powers. Its power depends on its constitutive nature and its way for establishing its internal and external relationships. *Second*, having

characterised the influential actor, it was important to analyse and understanding the nature of the EU's influences. Owing to the fact that the empirical experience and data of this research were observed on abstract fields of language and ideas, it is fundamental to argue that the influential actor exerts an ideational power rather than a material force.

After studying European ideational influences through the theoretical framework, Normative Power Europe, it was necessary to establish a second associative hypothesis in order to be faithful to the position of this researcher (Latin American eyes) and the findings of this investigation. Therefore the hypothesis was: **(2) *the impact of European influences upon received countries is mediated by domestic circumstances.***

The findings highlighted the need to re-think the theory (NPE), in consideration of the following aspects:

- a.) The need to prescind from analyses of the transmitter (the EU) in order to focus on the recipients of European influences.
- b.) The necessity of studying European influences as part of a wider phenomenon. For example, we must take into account the presence of limited effects rather than direct effects.
- c.) Following upon the previous aspect and findings, we shall consider that domestic policies of non-European countries play a fundamental role in mediating European ideational influences.

This thesis classified data from interviews into specific events such as declarations and public/university policies. Through a simple analysis of interviews as 'texts', main ideas are extracted (summarised) in order to identify parameters of



comparison with key notions of the 'Bologna European mentality' or ideational factors. This part of the study is one of the most difficult tasks of the investigation, because the process of grasping and examining European influences through the core content of NPE, namely ideas, principles and norms, met some significant barriers, such as obstacles with language and the examination of Chilean and Mexican, not European data.

Therefore this research follows the same mechanical method for analysing theory, but it starts from the organisation of empirical information until it connects with the theoretical framework, taking into account different aspects of NPE.

A 'matrix' of main NPE's concepts is applied. These NPE's 'substantive codes' involve the verification of European norms and principles within a 'Bologna mentality' observable in Chile and Mexico. Finally, the table considers two crucial aspects of NPE: processes of transmission of European norms and the way of exerting NPE.

This final part in the first phase of the analysis contributed to demonstrating the presence of NPE's procedures for exerting power as long-term effects. Furthermore, analysing the presence of NPE within Chilean and Mexican events, allowed us the reconstruction/retelling of a story in which European ideational factors through the Bologna Process suggest some considerations beyond how Chile and Mexico adopted and implemented the process within their own policies. Here, an analysis of Normative Power Europe is conducted through two main aspects, its analytical and gnosiological dimensions.

It was essential to study the European ideational aspects present within NPE, not only through a cluster of ideas, but also through analysing language. Following the study of NPE's ideational factors in the Bologna 'mentality' in Chile and Mexico, a further analysis of NPE as a 'sign' is needed in order to examine the gnosiological dimension of NPE.

The final step of the analysis considered a study of the Bologna Language. This examination was conducted through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of European texts and Latin American public and institutional/university documents.

In the next section, discourse analysis (DA) is outlined in order to explain the dynamics of investigation of the empirical data, specifically the analysis of documents. As pointed out previously, interviews were examined through coding processes from Grounded Theory. However, written evidence required in-depth studies taking into account the following reasons:

(i) Even though the analysis of interviews produced significant results, these were still insufficient to determine a very strong presence of European influences in Chilean and Mexican HE. Therefore, the study of Bologna language indicated a profound need to work with a paradigm capable of scrutinising fundamental discourse structures.

(ii) Written texts deserve deeper analysis, because they offer a significant symbolic resource for entering in the incommensurable dimensions of knowledge and information, constant domains of social dominance (van Dijk, 1996).

(iii) Additionally, genres of written texts were different: technical documents and journals, they required thus an in-depth discourse analysis.

Considering these essential aspects, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was chosen as the adequate methodological framework for the analysis of European Chilean and Mexican documents. I decided to work the second analytical part of the research with Teun van Dijk's approach. His studies present sufficient empirical experience within Latin American context and discourse analysis. His theory is complementary with other middle-range theories used for this investigation (GT and NPE). His Sociocognitive approach is fundamental for analysing long-term effects of discursive structures that reproduced social dominance. These impacts are understood as part of more complex processes that consider cognitive and discursive dimensions of ideational aspects (van Dijk, 2000: viii).

The first section discusses briefly CDA from its origins till today. The second part addresses the key aspects of van Dijk's approach such as text, context and discourse structures.

### **3.3. The significance of discourse analysis (DA).**

The qualitative research is framed by the premise that the forces creating and supporting power structures, including those of class, gender and culture, may be revealed by pointing to contradictions within texts (Bennet, 1996:162).

As Bennet suggests in the quote above, qualitative investigation persuades the researcher to work the empirical analysis, considering discourse at some intersection of the research. This part of the chapter exposes the significance of working with analysis of discourse as an appropriate method of studying language and its profound implications in terms of power, ideology and hegemony. Here, relevance of language and discourse will be discussed in order to understand the impact of European (ideational) linguistic/semantic and normative aspects on designing and implementing domestic policies in Chile and Mexico.

From the nineties, a wide range of activities and meanings has come to be used under an umbrella called 'discourse analysis' (DA). The DA 'umbrella' has allowed the connection of a significant number of disciplines such as sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, philosophical and computational linguistic (Brown & Yule, 2008:viii).

Certainly scholars interested in discourse analysis have been working on different aspects of discourse and language. Even though language has been studied through diverse disciplines, real roots of the discourse of analysis, especially Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) can be found in Rhetoric, Text Linguistics, Anthropology, Philosophy, Socio-Psychology, Cognitive Science, Literary Studies, Sociolinguistics, Applied Linguistics and Pragmatics (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 1). However, in all studies the discourse analysis implies the analysis of language in use (Brown & Yule, 2008: 1).

It is not an easy task to classify Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). There is not an agreement among the scholarship in order to establish CDA as a school, paradigm or just a framework. However, it is possible to observe some fundamental principles (ibid: 2-3):

(i) All perspectives respond to a patron of problem-oriented, interdisciplinary and eclectic. However their common ground is related to discourse (language), critique, power and ideology.

(ii) CDA approaches have common interests related to de-mystify and reveal “ideologies and power through the systematic and *retroductable* investigation of semiotic data (written, spoken or visual)” (ibid: 3).

(iii) CDA researchers expose, within their analysis, an explicit position, politically and ideologically. Their point of view is necessarily associated with the weakest position in social relationships as a result of abuse of power or forms of domination in order to contribute with the empowerment of weak people.

At this juncture, it is necessary to clarify the concept of discourse for CDA. Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 258), for example, argue that the notion of discourse embraces “language as social practice”. Considering this social practice, language comprises *actors* who communicate through it and a *context* which involves discursive events and situations. The discursive context implies, then, a dialectical relationship amongst actors, events institutions and social structures. The context is shaped for these relationships and it shapes these affairs. Therefore, discourse is a constituent instrument for establishing people relationships, situations, knowledge and social identities. In

addition, language represents a 'tool' conditioned socially by its use within a speaker community.

The main unit of discourse is text, which means the representation of discourse (Brown & Yule, 2008: 5). Indeed, there are some differences in the manner of production of written and spoken texts, even within the same kinds of text. Therefore, analysis of texts should consider variations between written language and speeches. For instance, Brown and Yule see text as a technical expression which implies a verbal record of a communicative act (Ibid: 6). However, both scholars name 'sentences' to written texts and 'utterances' to spoken texts (Ibid 19). This differentiation is significant because in the case of this research, sentences analysed came from technical documents as well as media reports (journals). Therefore analyses were different depending on the genre of sentences/utterances.

In texts, discursive differences are negotiated; they are governed by differences in power that is in part encoded in and determined by discourse and by genre. Therefore, texts are often sites of struggle in that they show traces of differing discourses and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 10).

Taking into account discourse as social practice, context or environment/circumstances (Brown & Yule, 2008: 25) constitutes another significant variable in DA. Actually, this aspect symbolises the fact of leaving back formal Structuralism which was widely criticised for being too rigid and with no historical considerations. Brown and Yule recognise that since the beginning of the 1970s, scholars have emphasised the significance of context in the processes of interpretation and analysis of discourse. The context-dependence of DA offers to the analyst the description of regularities of phenomenon. In addition, it gives clear references of spatio-temporal conditions within which discourse appears significant and powerful.

Finally, according to Brown and Yule, context is very useful to obtain valuable information about addressor/addressee, topics, settings, channels, codes, message-forms, events, key and purposes (Ibid: 38-39).

The task is to determine what we can know about the meaning and context of an utterance given only the knowledge that the utterance has occurred... I find that whenever I notice some sentence in context, I immediately find myself asking what the effect would have been if the context had been slightly different (Fillmore, 1997: 19; cf. Brown & Yule, 2008: 35).

Language plays a fundamental role within discourse analysis (DA). Therefore DA involves a profound analysis of language as a political tool for exerting power and hegemony taking into account the responsibility of discursive patrons for exerting ‘violence symbolique’ and ‘méconnaissance’ (Pierre Bourdieu, 2000; cf. van Dijk, 2008: 62). Gillian Brown and George Yule describe properties of language and the way how linguists face it. They argue that *formal linguists* are concerned with formal properties of language such as grammar, whereas *functional linguistics* such as discourse analysts are “committed to an investigation of what that language is used for” (2008: 7)

DA as a structural analysis is focused on the content of a text or system, ‘tearing’ indeed the structures of language. Formal linguists claim that form or structure is ‘what’ determines content. The underlying structure of a text or system, which presents and organises the content, determines the nature of that content as well as its message or communicated information. However, it is argued, here, that DA works language, thinking that form is used, representing an instrument, to reach or analyse profound implications of language. Therefore, it is through the form that one can observe the content beyond.

Considering the critical character of DA, Gillian Brown and George Yule have distinguished as two views for studying language: transactional and interactional. They argue that a *transactional* view of language recognises that the most important function of it is the communication of information:

In primarily transactional language we assume that what the speaker (or writer) has primarily in mind is the efficient transference of information. Language used in such a situation is primarily 'message oriented'. It is important that the recipient gets the informative detail correct (Brown & Yule, 2008: 2).

The *interactional view*, supported by sociologists and sociolinguists, describes the use of language in terms of establishing and maintaining social relationships:

Conversational analysts have been particularly concerned with the use of language to negotiate role-relationships, peer-solidarity, the exchange of turns in a conversation, the saving of face of both speaker and hearer (Ibid: 3)

This investigation is supported by *the interactional view of language*, because it has implied a conversational process with experts and type subjects through interviews in order to tell the story about European influences impacting upon Chilean and Mexican HE. Additionally, this research has also 'talked' with the documents in order to demonstrate hidden implications of language in use.

The next part aims to offer a better understanding of how analysis of discourse (or discourse analysis) emerged disciplinarily. After that, this insight gave knowledge of the right allocation of the significance of language within this research.



### 3.3.1. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

The start of the CDA network was marked by the launch of Van Dijk's journal *Discourse and Society* (1990), as well as by several books which were coincidentally (or because of a *Zeitgeist*) published simultaneously and led by similar research goals. The Amsterdam meeting determined an institutional start, an attempt both to constitute an exchange programme (ERASMUS for three years), as well as joint projects and collaborations between scholars of different countries, and a special issue of *Discourse and Society* (1993), which presented [diverse] approaches (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 4).

Formally, Critical Analysis of Discourse (CDA) as a network of scholars emerged as a result of a small symposium developed in Amsterdam in 1991. A group of scholars such as Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunter Kress, Theo van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak discussed different aspects of theories and methods of Discourse Analysis, specifically concerning CDA. The meeting was an excellent opportunity for interchanging ideas, approaches and methodologies

In addition, the journal *Discourse and Society* (1990) came to establish the group of scholars around CDA. After that new journals were created in order to offer multiple overviews of CDA which have allowed an instituted paradigm in linguistic. Among many other journals, we could mention: *The Journal of Language and Politics* (2002), *Critical Discourse Studies* (2004), *Discourse and Communication* (2007) and *The Public Journal of Semiotics* (2007). Besides, it is possible to find several e-journals and books dedicated to Critical Analysis Discourse (CAD) or Critical Discourse Studies (CDS).

CDA's main research agenda is focused in different aspect of language and discourse. However, it is possible to observe six clear areas of development (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 11):

(1) The analysis of the impact of the Knowledge-based Economy (KBE) in different areas of contemporary societies.

- (2) The integration of cognitive approaches within CDA. Considering Western societies, Eurocentric discourses are analysed here.
- (3) The examination of phenomenon of new Western political systems in order to understand concepts such as ‘depoliticisation’ and ‘participation’. These expressions have appeared as a result of the impact of new media and Globalisation in postmodern societies.
- (4) The study of new media related to new modes and genres of communication in order to develop new multimodal approaches to understand concepts of time and space.
- (5) The combination of historical processes, hegemonic strategies and CDA approaches for reconstructing identity politics.
- (6) The integration of quantitative and qualitative methods for providing a better understanding of phenomena triangle through different techniques.

This research is focused on the second approach of CDA, considering that the phenomenon was defined as long-term effects. According to van Dijk, people or groups that have the control over others through influential discourses, also have more opportunities for controlling minds and actions (2003: 355) and produce impact for longer times. Therefore CDA analyses the development of specific discourse structures and how these use in the reproduction of social dominance and influence.

...why text recall does not seem to be based on semantic representations of texts, but rather on the mental model construed or updated of the event the text is about (Bower & Morrow 1990).

In the following section, I explain Socio-Cognitive approach of Critical Discourse Analysis in order to achieve a better understanding how the analysis of written text was conducted. It is important to note here that Teun van Dijk does not

offer a proper model for studying critically text/utterances, because as Grounded Theory (GT), CDA is not a 'cook book' for examining language. However as he points out: the mental point of departure of all text and talk contributes to grasp "relevant information may be selected for the strategic construction of their global and local semantic structures" (van Dijk, 1997b: 189)

### 3.3.2. *Critical Discourse Studies (CDS). Teun van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive approach.*

Those who have more control over more — and more influential — discourse (and more discourse properties) are by that definition also more powerful. In other words, we here propose a discursive definition (as well as a practical diagnostic) of one of the crucial constituents of social power (van Dijk, 2003: 356).

Certainly discursive practices play a fundamental role in reproducing social power. Van Dijk defines discourse as those complex communicative facts (events), access and control that determine and are, in turn, determined by contexts and structures of text and talk. Furthermore, he sees context as a structure of mental representation that characterises social situations in terms of time, place, actions and roles. These mental maps also refer to mental representations such as ideational, cognitive and social learning aspects.

Therefore, Van Dijk's approach is contextual-dependent, because it determines social and personal (socio-cognitive) conditions where communicative actors interact. Thus CDA analyses influences exerted by context characteristics, which finally reproduce power practices of language users. In turn, powerful speakers control contexts through imposing upon what people are talking about, i.e. setting a common agenda of conversations: "virtually all levels and structures of context, text, and talk can

in principle be more or less controlled by powerful speakers, and such power may be abused at the expense of other participants” (Ibid: 357). With this dominance, powerful groups influence other people through construction of communicative situations that are seen as normal or even a part of social preferences of dominated groups.

In one way or another, there are unbalanced communicative practices where, as I expose in the theoretical chapter, the speaker has power for constituting content and intentions of a given message. Van Dijk argues that in some specific communicative situations, certain participants are obliged to play the role of recipients of discourse, because “recipients may not have the knowledge and beliefs needed to challenge the discourses or information they are exposed to” (Wodak 1987, cf. van Dijk, 2003: 357). So recipients participate in a more passive way within discursive practices. Speakers as active players regulate context and communicative conditions, because in certain communicative environments controlled by powerful ‘talkers’, significations and discursive exercises are more influential on people’s minds.

Degrees of passiveness present in receivers could be expounded using a high range of explanations. For example, van Dijk says that “recipients tend to accept beliefs, knowledge, and opinions (unless they are inconsistent with their personal beliefs and experiences) through discourse from what they see as authoritative, trustworthy, or credible sources” (ibid).

I firmly claim that there are unconscious processes involved that govern these unbalanced practices. First, people absorb information in a very uncritical way, they do not have time or enough knowledge for developing reflective practices of awareness. Second, they gain power and status belonging to powerful speaker groups. Third, they give degrees of superiority to convincing discourses that intend to impose particular

weltanschauung, as in see in European narratives of Normative Power Europe (NPE). However an influential actor represents a powerful speaker per se, because the dynamics of his/her 'oratory' flows convincingly. Though this simple fact he/she persuades and inflicts her/his own ontology.

Van Dijk's approach is useful for analysing powerful structures present in daily discursive practices. Some of them can be explicit, however implicit categories need deeper analysis to grasp discourse structures that influence mental representations. The analysis starts scrutinising issues or topics, which constitute significant semantic structures as such, because:

... they are usually controlled by powerful speakers, because they influence many other structures of a discourse (such as its global coherence) and because they have the most obvious effects on the (memory and consequent actions of) recipients and hence on the process of reproduction that underlies social power and dominance" (van Dijk, 2009: 68).

Here it is necessary to summarise the main *topics* extracted from the texts and their details at all levels, because they show how things are said, their lexis, syntaxes and semantic structures and strategies: implications, presuppositions and descriptions. They demonstrate rhetoric, pragmatic and interactional discursive practices: "At the *global level* of discourse, *topics* may influence what people see as the most important information of text or talk, and thus correspond to the top levels of their mental models" van Dijk, 2003: 358).

After that these topics are condensed in *microstructures* that correspond to other semantic constructions. Microstructure is used for organising the topics, according to certain linguistic criteria which enable the analysis of the discourses to develop. The microstructure represents a lexical unit or form-meaning composite (lexeme) which is seen as a 'whole' in a text (which at the same time, is the whole as well).

Finally the propositional content across several utterances/texts may be summarised and formulated as *micropropositions*. Therefore, micropropositions play the role of key propositions, which synthesise topics of discourse as ‘whole-part’ i.e. they are an entire lexical unit whereas the topics represent the lexical unit as the part. Micropropositions also establish a relationship of ‘whole-whole’ with semantic macrostructures. In simple words, a micro proposition supports the choice of a microstructure as a structure of power and its relationships with other aspects of texts namely with topics. It narrates why a microstructure involves necessarily a power relationship with utterances/texts. Micropropositions according to van Dijk, constitute concepts with high levels of abstraction. In the case of the Bologna Language, some micropropositions were:

**MP1:** The new architecture for European HE seeks to harmonise degrees and cycles in order to generate a common dialogue amongst actors, processes and institutions.

**MP4:** The European Common Space for HE seeks to achieve a worldwide degree of attraction equal to its cultural and scientific traditions.

**MP5:** European principles and values pursue the development and strengthening of stable, peaceful and democratic societies.

Following Teun van Dijk’s Sociocognitive Approach (SCA), the analysis of European documents focused on *semantic micro structures*, *topics* and *micropropositions*. The following table (table 3.5) summarises these aspects which were sampled and analysed in European and Latin American texts related to the Bologna

Process. It shows in detail all of the semantic aspects considered significant during the analysis of discourse.

### Example of Macrostructure

SEMANTIC MICROSTRUCTURES (MS)	TOPICS	MICROPROPOSITIONS (MP)
<b>SM1:</b> Architecture & Harmonisation of HE.	Curricular design for undergraduate and graduate studies.	The new architecture for European HE seeks to harmonise degrees and cycles in order to generate a common dialogue amongst actors, processes and institutions.

**Table 3.5**

### **3.4. Methodological considerations for analysing the empirical data.**

#### *3.4.1. Cases for study: Chile and Mexico.*

As the original idea of this research was born as a result of an experiential phenomenon by the researcher, Chile was the first case chosen. As part of my work in the Chilean Higher Education system, the researcher of this thesis began to be concerned about several rapid changes which were occurring in some traditional Chilean universities.

In order to work with a comparative analysis, a second case was carefully sought. After examining different countries such as Jordan, Israel and other Latin American countries, Mexico was chosen through an empirical criterion, mainly because it shares with Chile a ‘package of instruments’, such as the establishment of agreements and programmes<sup>33</sup>. Furthermore, the strong influence of the US upon Mexican HE system was an interesting variable for considering this case for study.

Therefore, in the beginning of this research pragmatic criteria prevailed in the choice of Chile and Mexico for case studies. After that, these cases were meticulously chosen, taking into account certain empirical similarities and differences in terms of their domestic contexts, and which could show various ways in which these influences have had an impact. Amidst similarities, I mention the fact that the two countries have developed a ‘unique’ way of establishing relationships with the EU, an aspect that I have called a ‘package of European tools’ such as agreements of last generations and aid programmes. Considering differences, Chile and Mexico have diverse HE systems

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<sup>33</sup> Throughout this investigation, I realised that to work with a case that showed a very strong influences from another superpower, the US was a very interesting research exercise, and in some aspect I could compare European and American influences, even though this single case deserves another piece of research.



in terms of size and constitution. Certainly Mexican HE system is bigger and more complex than the Chilean HE structure. However it was interesting to note that the neo-liberal character of Chilean HE and the state system present in Mexico, constituted significant variables when I observed changes and ways how both countries have implemented and used European norms with the purpose of strengthening their own systems.

Nevertheless studies like this cannot be an object of generalisation, because one should research domestic conditions of other countries in order to amplify the conclusions. Furthermore I could conclude that domestic conditions go beyond than a simple description of the HE system, and this point could encourage other investigations later on. For example we could consider which specific domestic circumstances would trigger the mediation of European norms. As my research is exploratory, I could not go further at this point.

#### *3.4.2. Characterisation of the empirical data.*

The empirical data of this research has been drawn from two main resources: (a) a series of *interviews* with civil servants, university authorities and experts, and (b) a study of *public and institutional/university documents*.

##### *3.4.1.1. Interviews.*

Interviews are particularly useful for getting the story behind a participant's experiences. The interviewer can pursue in-depth information around the topic. Interviews may be useful as follow-up to certain respondents to questionnaires, e.g., to further investigate their responses (McNamara, 1999: 1).

This research worked with *qualitative interviews* which have long been a popular way of gathering information in political and social research. They prove to be particularly efficient in an explorative phase of research projects, yet are too easily assumed to be an unproblematic method that uncovers psychological or social realities and simply extracts the information. In addition, they are a rich method of analysis in order to reconstruct latent meaning. The methods of working on empirical data were through two types of interviews: *expert interviews* which by definition use experts as a form of information source, and *elite interviews* which imply the presence of significant social others for this research.

The type of interviews employed was the *general interview guide approach* because it was intended to ensure that the same general areas of information were collected from each interviewee. This provided more focus than the other types of interviews, whilst still allowing a degree of freedom and adaptability in extracting the information from the interviewee. The types of topics in question were: *opinions/values*, i.e. what the interviewee thought about the topic, and *knowledge* with the purpose of building up facts on the object of the study.

The method of sampling used with the interviews was *purposive sampling*, because subjects were selected according to certain specific characteristics. The *theory-based* or *operational construct* was used in order to look for manifestations of a theoretical construct of interest so as to elaborate and examine the construct (Patton, 1990).

As said previously, GT was considered to be the most appropriate approach for examining, exploring and systematising the interviews, taking into account analytical approaches focusing on language, such as discursive approaches. Common steps in the

interview data analysis were outlined; from raw description, coding strategies, categorisation and conceptual ordering, establishing links and models for theorising.

In practical terms, 36 formal interviews<sup>34</sup> were conducted between 2006 and 2009 in Chile (15 interviews) and Mexico (21 interviews) respectively. The stages of the interview research were:

- Planning the design of the study. This stage took place during 2005 and part of 2006 whilst the researcher was defining the investigation.
- Thematisation, searching for the purpose of the research. This stage coincided with the previous activity (2005-2006). The researcher went to Chile three times and twice to Mexico for her field work. The objectives of the fieldwork were:

(a) To seek information from the Chilean and Mexican Governments and universities about domestic policies in Higher Education to complete the historical and general framework of the thesis.

(b) To seek information about how the Latin American Tuning Project was being implemented by the Chilean and Mexican Governments and to analyse the impact of European influences and Latin American perceptions of European ideational power.

(c) To seek information about how the Latin American Tuning Project is being implemented by the technological institutes and universities and to analyse the impact of European influences in Chilean and Mexican Higher Education.

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<sup>34</sup> For the purpose of this research, more than 50 interviews were conducted both in Chile and Mexico.

- Conducting the interviews based on a guide. As we can observe in table 3.6, the research activities were based on interviews and collected bibliographical data.

### Research activities in Chile and Mexico.

Research activities in Chile	Research activities in Mexico
Interviewing authorities of CRUCH and experts from NGOs such as CINDA, Euro-Latino and the Alfa Programme.	Interviewing specialists in ANUIES, the National Association of Universities and Institutes of Higher Education.
Working with people from the Centre of Tuning Latin America in Chile: conducting interviews and finding documents.	Working with people from the Centre of Tuning Latin America in Mexico: conducting interviews and finding documents.
Interviewing public servants from MINEDUC, Higher Education area, CONICYT and MECESUP.	Interviewing public servants from SEP, the Secretariat for State Education.
Working in main public and university libraries	Working on the library of ANUIES: searching documents and books
Interviewing experts from the following universities: PUC (Pontifical Catholic University) University of Chile University of Talca UCN (Catholic University of the North)	Interviewing and working with specialists from CUMEX, Consortium of Mexican Universities and the Autonomous University of the State of Hidalgo: conducting interviews and finding documents.

**Table 3.6**

- Transcription of interview data for analysis. Once the data was collected, the next methodological step was the analysis. The analysis of interviews considered a careful process of tabulation.
- Analysis of the purpose, the topic, the nature and the methods of analysis which were appropriate.
- Verification of the validity of the interview findings.
- Report and communication of findings of the study based on scientific criteria.

3.4.1.2. *European Documents.*

The documents were carefully chosen during the fieldwork taking into account ideas and opinions of interviewees and an in-depth analysis of several documents from public and university institutions.

This research has worked on empirical data with a critical discourse analysis (CDA), focusing on Teun A. van Dijk's perspective of CDA. This research sought to determine categories of analysis or microstructures (van Dijk, 1980) which were present within the 'Bologna Language Dimension'. In addition, the analytical procedure observed how these categories appeared in several documents of public and university/institutional policies in Chile and Mexico. For this research purpose, we took into account a number of 'matrix documents'. These included the two declarations: **Sorbonne** (1998) and **Bologna** (1999) and four communiqués: **Prague** (2001), **Berlin** (2003), **Bergen** (2005) and **London** (2007) and the First Report of Pavel Zgaga (2006) on the "**External Dimension of the Bologna Process**".

Therefore, the procedure pursued to determine a 'Bologna Vocabulary' through an discourse analysis of the European texts. After categories of analysis or microstructures in these European documents had been sampled, a *Bologna Language Macrostructure* was designed for this research to identify the 'Bologna Vocabulary'. The same procedure was applied to Chilean and Mexican texts, both public and university documents.

This has necessitated a careful comparison between Spanish and English language texts. The public and university/institutional documents in Chile and Mexico studied for the purpose of this thesis were in Spanish. It was necessary to grasp and then

translate the most important concepts inherent in these Latin American documents. It has been difficult to find any other satisfactory way of examining Bologna Language and its impact upon the non-European countries. The next methodological step in the analysis of discourse was to develop some fundamental arguments, in order to obtain a more profound understanding of Bologna Language.

#### *3.4.1.3. Chilean data resources and analysis.*

The first part of the Chilean story was 're-constructed' from the results of a series of interviews undertaken with civil servants<sup>35</sup>, university authorities<sup>36</sup> and experts<sup>37</sup> in Chile between 2006-2009. The main objective of this branch of research was to seek information about how the Latin American Tuning Project was being implemented by universities and to analyse the impact of European influences in Chilean Higher Education.

The public (governmental) documents analysed were: administrative and technical conditions of the MECESUP 1 and 2 projects presented to the World Bank (2004 - 2008); 'Chile - Human Resources for the Knowledge Economy' (World Bank, June 2002); 'Higher Education in Chile: Aiming for Quality' (Ministry of Education, Chile, March 2005); and a number of documents from the ALFA Tuning Latin America Project. These documents were analysed to offer a broader scope of documents that

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<sup>35</sup> The Higher Education Division, Ministry of Education (MINEDUC), MECESUP (Programme of the improvement of quality in HE), CONICYT (National Commission of scientific and technological Research), CINDA (Inter-university Centre of Development), National Centre of Tuning-Latin American Project in Chile,

<sup>36</sup> Council of Rectors of Chilean Universities (CRUCH), Pontifical Catholic University of Chile, University of Chile, University of Talca and Catholic University of the North.

<sup>37</sup> Dr. Andrés Bernasconi, Dr. José Joaquín Brunner, Dr. Enrique Fernández, Dr. María José Lamaitre and Dr. Juan Pablo Prieto.

might show the impact of European Bologna discourse on Chilean public policy 'grammar'.

The university documents analysed for this study were 90 MECESUP projects presented to Chilean governments, between 2004 and 2008. In the first, the MECESUP 1 project (2004), the 27 university projects approved by the Chilean government were analysed. The MECESUP 2 (2005) was studied on the basis of 63 university projects. The documentation of projects was described under the terms '**training of advanced human capital**' (25 projects), '**academic innovation**' (29 projects) and '**management**' (09 projects).

The starting point of these analyses focused on the macrostructures (texts), including administrative and technical conditions, of the annual MECESUP 1 and 2 projects (2004 - 2008). Here, four base documents were analysed focusing on specific topics. For the **administrative conditions**, general background, procedures of evaluation, and selection of projects and criteria of evaluation, were considered as a significant text base. For the **technical conditions**, text base considered general background, objectives, indicators of outputs, conditions of eligibility of projects and specific information contained in projects. The methodological procedure considered an analysis of discourse of each corpus of study or text by sampling key concepts or microstructures. The sampling of categories of analysis showed significant results, which will be described later in the study.

3.4.1.4. *Mexican data resources and analysis.*

This study was ‘re-constructed’ from the results of a series of interviews undertaken with civil servants<sup>38</sup>, university authorities<sup>39</sup> and experts<sup>40</sup> in Mexico between 2008-2009. The main objective of this branch of research was to seek information about how the Latin American Tuning Project was being implemented by the technological institutes and universities and to analyse the impact of European influences on Mexican Higher Education.

The analysis considered the public texts presented to international organisations describing state of the art of Mexican HE. Mexican texts analysed as public documents were: National Education Plan (PRONAE) 2001-2006, ‘Thematic Review of Tertiary Education. Mexico Country Note’ (OECD, November 2006), and documents from the ALFA Tuning Latin America Project.

The university documents analysed were: corporate development plans of the universities of Autonomous University of the State of Mexico (UAM), Autonomous University of the State of Hidalgo (UAEH) and University of Sonora (UNISON), journals of CUMEX called the ‘**Common Space**’ and additional documents from CUMEX and ANUIES.

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<sup>38</sup> Mexican public institutions visited for the research purpose were: **ANUIES** (the National Association of Universities and Institutes of Higher Education), **CENEVAL** (the National Centre of Evaluation for Higher Education), **Centre of Tuning Latin America**, **CIEES** (the Inter-institutional Committees for Evaluating Higher Education), **COEPES** (the State Commissions for Planning Higher Education), **CONACYT** (the National Committee of Science and Technology), **CONAEVA** (the National Commission for Evaluation of Higher Education), **CONPES** (the National Coordination for Higher Education Planning), **CORPES** (the Regional Councils for the Planning of Higher Education), **SESI** (the Under-Secretariat for Higher Education and Scientific Research, currently the Under-Secretariat of Higher Education) and **SEP** (the Secretariat for State Education).

<sup>39</sup> Mexican university institutions visited for the research purpose were CUMEX (Consortium of Mexican Universities), the Metropolitan Autonomous University (UAM), the University of Guadalajara, the Autonomous National University of Mexico (UNAM) and the Autonomous University of State of Hidalgo.

<sup>40</sup> Dr. María José Arroyo Paniagua, Dr. Jocelyne Gacel-Ávila, Dr. Manuel Gil Antón, Dr. Roberto Rodríguez, Dr. Ruth Vargas.



### 3.5 Conclusions.

This chapter called ‘Gnosiological Foundations of this Research’ attempted to describe the ‘universe’ of knowledge of this thesis. This ‘universe’ included epistemological and methodological aspects and it was composed of three dimensions or research pillars which sometimes overlap, making this research more flexible. These three dimensions, or research pillars were: *methodology* which was studied through Grounded Theory (GT), *theoretical dimension* where Normative Power Europe (NPE) was portrayed for analysing European ideational, and an *analytical scope* developed through Critical Discourse Analysis, specifically focused on the socio-cognitive approach of Teun van Dijk.

The main purpose of this section was to support a complex study based on a dominion of volatile and subjective aspects of human knowledge and social construction of reality, such as ideational effects of European discursive practices upon non-European countries. This part showed the epistemological coherence of this thesis analysing the ‘practical/methodological use’ of the three main theoretical frameworks. Also, the presence of Grounded Theory (GT) gave this study a methodological self-confidence for working qualitative research, focused on coding conceptual processes. This aspect is fundamental bearing in mind that this research was conducted in two languages, Spanish and English.

Considering volatile aspects of European influences upon non-European countries, the next section addresses the object of study, the Bologna Process (and to include the Tuning Project).

# Chapter 4: the object of study, the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project.

## 4.1. Introduction.

## 4.2. Historical links between Europe and Latin America in Higher Education (HE).

4.2.1. *The periodisation of European influence on Chilean and Mexican HE.*

4.2.1.1. *The first period.*

4.2.1.2. *The second period.*

4.2.1.3. *The third period.*

*Chile*

*Mexico.*

4.2.1.4. *The fourth period.*

*Chile*

*Mexico.*

## 4.3. The origins of the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project.

4.3.1. *The Bologna Process.*

4.3.1.1. *The External dimension of the Bologna Process.*

4.3.2. *The Tuning Project: the normative aspects of the Bologna Process.*

4.3.3. *The ALFA Tuning Latin American Project.*

## 4.4. European discursive influences: the 'Bologna Language'.

4.4.1. *The Bologna Language.*

4.4.2. *Inquiring into 'instituted traces' of the Bologna Language.*

4.4.3. *The 'European' Bologna Language Macrostructure.*

## 4.5. Conclusions.

### Summary.

This chapter is divided into two main parts. The first part offers a general background that characterises the historical European influences upon Chilean and Mexican Higher Education (HE). These are described with reference to the four major periods of change in Chilean and Mexican HE, briefly outlined in the introductory chapter: *the time of the shaping of the Higher Education system, the period of academic exchanges, the Americanisation of Higher Education and the institutionalisation of European ties*. The second part highlights the object of study, the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project. The research nature of this section is descriptive and analytical, focusing on studying Bologna through two dimensions: (i) the common surface of the process characterised by a structural base that define the field of Higher Education (HE) as a common space for harmonising curricular reforms and encouraging academic/student exchange; and (ii) an in-depth analysis of 'instituted traces' of the Bologna Language.

#### **4.1. Introduction.**

The analysis made in this section was drawn from a number of preliminary and formal interviews conducted between 2006-2008 with experts, academics and civil servants in Chile and Mexico. In addition, an in-depth analysis of existing literature contributed to the strengthening of this contextual chapter. The literature review constituted a rigorous process of analysis and translation of some parts of books and empirical data from Spanish into English. Nevertheless, this chapter represents a very original piece of research, especially considering the historical 'line' drawn by this researcher, because as mentioned in the introduction, it was difficult to find sufficient existing literature about EU influences in Latin American Higher Education (HE).

This first part of the research outlines one main argument: there is a historical relation of European influences impacting upon Latin American HE, which is characterised by the presence of four essential periods. This will be described in the following pages.

*Firstly*, one might consider at least three historical moments that determine the strengthening of European impact upon the cases for study.

(i) Latin American HE institutions have developed strong links with Europe, owing to the fact that most of the universities were created as a mirror image of European institutions, - i.e. the presence of historical links from the beginning of Latin American universities.

(ii) European ideas about the construction of a Common Space in Higher Education began to circulate in Latin America in the nineties through the first Triennial Plan for

the MERCOSUR Education Area, before the Bologna Process appeared in the Higher Education arena.

(iii) The establishment of Social and Cooperation Agreements (3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> generation) between the EU, Chile and Mexico, and bi-regional approaches consolidated these historical links through the so-called 'Horizontal Programmes', which involved the participation of the EU in economic and social programmes by which Europe has strengthened its influence over the domestic policies developing in a Latin American context.

*Secondly*, the process of change in the field of Higher Education in Chile and Mexico can be classified as occurring over four significant periods: the time of the shaping of the system, the period of academic exchanges, the Americanisation of Higher Education and the institutionalisation of international ties. This section emphasises the importance of the fourth period as demonstrating a process of formalisation of international ties between the European Union and Latin America, with the consequent strengthening of European influences on domestic policies in Chile and Mexico.

*Thirdly*, the current changes in Latin American higher education have been implanted through the use of two European tools, the Bologna process and the Tuning Project, which have sought to facilitate the sharing of knowledge, the transfer of technologies, and the mobility of students, academics, researchers, and administrators, focusing on training, employment and scientific knowledge.

At that juncture comes an analysis of the relationships established between the EU, Chile and Mexico in the field of Higher Education, focusing on their participation in the European Union, Latin America and the Caribbean (EU-LAC/ALCUE), in the

Bologna Process and the Tuning Project. Finally I examine the construction of a common space for higher education determined by the effects of adopting a European model on the formulation of domestic policies in these two Latin American countries.

The second main argument in this chapter is that one of the most considerable tools of this process of formalisation of the political dialogue between the EU, Chile and Mexico has been the Bologna Process with its Tuning Project.

The Bologna Process and the Tuning Project are considered the most significant intergovernmental agreements to reforming the European higher education system. According to Ruth Keeling both processes have contributed to stabilising and establishing “an emergent policy framework for the EU in higher education” (2006: 203). Though for the rest of the world, the restructuring of European HE means nothing without what Bologna experts call the external dimension of this phenomenon. The EU seen as a ‘global teacher’ (Adelman, 2009: 170) refers to a notion of the Union spreading and exporting its model beyond geographical boundaries of Europe.

Considering the existing literature, most of the previously published research about the Bologna Process and its Tuning Project in Latin America has been focused on three main themes: a) the Bologna Process as part of the presence of historical links and influences between Europe and Latin America, b) the direct impact of transplanting the European Common Space in Higher Education into Latin America (Lazarri Barlete, 2008); and c) the structural conditions in Latin America which make a rigid application of the European model unworkable (Brunner, 2008). This present piece of research proposes a fourth narrative: “European Influence on the development of domestic policies in Chile and Mexico, the case of Higher Education”. So the second part of this chapter is divided into two main aspects:

(i) A brief presentation of the Bologna Process and its executive tool, the Tuning Project and its adoption/implementation as a fundamental part of design and planning of Chilean and Mexican public/university (institutional) policies. The first section describes the object of study focusing on the argument that these European tools represent the most influential apparatus observed on the processes of change of Chilean and Mexican HE. This is complemented with some quotations from interviews.

(ii) An in-depth analysis of 'instituted traces' of the Bologna Language, conducted through a discourse analysis of European documents. The purpose of this was to inquire into European discourses of HE as part of the search of empirical evidence that demonstrates the presence of ideational influences upon non-European countries. Seeking the 'true' European narrative present in Bologna, this account contributed with further examinations of these ideatic (linguistic/semantic) structures manifested in Latin American (Chilean and Mexican) discourses.

## **4.2. Historical links between Europe and Latin America in Higher Education (HE).**

European relations with third-world countries have been focused on trade, aid, and technical assistance, as well as the network of relationships between the EU and some other countries. These nation-states have been defined as part of a ‘pyramid of privilege’ (Hill & Smith, 2005: 43) through which the EU has developed preferential relationships with some non-member states. These kinds of relationships with Europe have been extended to include some Latin American countries, even though before the 1970s, European Union foreign policy did not include formal relations with Latin America. In fact, as Hazel Smith suggests, formal agreements with Latin America were few and limited in scope, “being based on fairly narrowly defined economic objectives and none of the included political concerns. The EC economic policy toward Latin America was also weak and incoherent” (Smith, 2002: 212).

This political dialogue based on a ‘partnership status’ or ‘pyramid of privilege’ (Smith, 2002) has implied that the EU has been exerting its status as ‘big brother’ or ‘paterfamilias’ over other countries, as it has established a number of conditions for the development of its external actions (Manners, 2004). These relationships “had been reserved for those states that either for historical reasons (the ex-colonial states of Lomé) or for political reasons (the near abroad of East and Southern Europe) had been considered a foreign policy priority” (Smith, 2002: 213). In addition, we can observe certain ‘strategic reasons’, possibly involving economic and political interests, which could be considered as a kind of influential power issuing from the European Union.

The relationships between the European Union (EU), Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) have been determined by historical processes of social, political and economic influences. Most of these influences can be explained as arising from the

condition of ex-colonies of European countries and the strong ties established after the decolonisation processes, especially those between Spain and some of the Latin American countries.

These relations started systematically as a consequence of European intervention in Central America in the 1980s. After this process, the EU inaugurated new and institutionalised relationships with Latin America through sub-regional and regional groups, whose foreign policy can be defined as “the capacity to make and implement policies abroad that promote the domestic values, interests, and policies of the European” (Smith 2002: 8). In this sense, the EU decided to move its relations with Latin America toward some form of ‘associated status’, specifically with Mexico, Chile, and MERCOSUR. This “associated status” or “partnership condition” was achieved in 2000 and 2002, when Mexico and Chile each signed a “global agreement” with the EU.

These kinds of agreements were considered by experts to be part of a new generation of agreements, because they involved a ‘cooperation partnership condition’ that implied a ‘marriage’ of economic and political objectives. In fact, these agreements included the intensification of trade relations, the promotion of economic cooperation, and the assistance and consolidation of movements toward market economies. However, one of the most important elements has been political dialogue, which has led to the establishment of lasting cooperative exchanges at all social and political levels, especially in the academic area.

Therefore, the network of European historical influences within Latin American countries has been developing in different areas, but one of the most significant zones of influence has been Higher Education (HE).



The beginning of the formalisation of relationships between the European Union and Latin American countries in the area of Higher Education started with the EU and Latin America and the Caribbean (EULAC/ALCUE) bi-relations Process'. This, composed of the EU Member States and two Acceding Countries, together with 33 countries of LAC, established two main forums for political dialogue: a) a dialogue between the EU and the Rio Group at Foreign Minister Level and b) the Summit Meetings of the EU and LAC Heads of State and Government. At the 2002 Madrid Summit there appeared the first political declaration, which expressed the need and intention "to create more opportunities in our regions for education, culture and access to knowledge as keys to success in the twenty-first century" (Zgaga, 2006a: 26). In addition, in the last Summit, held in Vienna in May 2006, Heads of State and Government agreed to give "priority to the creation of the EU-LAC Common Area of Higher Education, geared towards mobility and cooperation" (ibid).

The Action Framework for the EULAC/ALCUE Higher Education Area<sup>41</sup> was created to strengthen the bilateral and multilateral relations between the European and Latin American states, including among its main areas: science and technology training, exchanges of successful experience in managing, assessing and administering higher education systems, the information society, competitive growth and the environment, sustainable development and urbanisation, cultural heritage and regional integration.

Certainly, one of the most visible effects of the 'political dialogue' between the EU and LAC is the stronger cooperation in HE, which has sought to facilitate the sharing of knowledge, the transfer of technologies and the mobility of students,

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<sup>41</sup> The EULAC/ALCUE higher education framework was created by the Ministerial Conference held in November in Paris.

academic, researchers and administrators, focusing on training, employment and scientific knowledge.

In this context, both empirical situations, ‘cooperation partnership condition’ and ‘horizontal programmes’ have offered the development of zones of European contact and influence in Chile and Mexico, even though a good number of them are not necessarily regulated by the agreements and programmes, and their materialisation does not appear formally within them. This is the case with HE; in this area, it is possible to observe that many changes are happening within the framework of the Bologna Process.

After analysing general aspects of the relationships between the EU and Latin America, I argue that this process of the encroachment of European influences could be classified as occurring during four significant periods (See Table 4.1). However, their effects on HE institutions on the one hand and on public policies on the other need to be considered separately. The four periods are as follows: the time of the shaping of the Higher Education system, the period of academic exchanges, the Americanisation of Higher Education and the institutionalisation of European ties.

#### *4.2.1. The periodisation of European influence on Chilean and Mexican HE.*

This chapter therefore takes into account the sequence of historical events which I have divided into these four periods. This ‘periodisation’ helped in organising the most important European influences into discrete named blocks. The chapter then analysed the process of evolution of European influences in Chile and Mexico demonstrating its path-dependence, because what has occurred in the past may influence current actions.

**Table of European influences on Chilean and Mexican Higher Education (HE).**

	1st Period: Shaping of the HE system (1500-1900)	2nd Period: Academic exchanges (1950s-1980s)	3rd Period: Americanisation of the HE System (1970s-1980s)	4th Period: Institutionalisation of ties (1990s-to present)
<b>Universities and HE institutions</b>	The Cloister System	The people system.	The Factory System.	The Neo-Liberal System
<b>Public Policies</b>	Benevolent State.	Chile: Educational State. Mexico: Laissez-Faire State.	Chile: Authoritarian State. Mexico: Expanding (Democratic) State.	Chile: Neo-Liberal State. Mexico: Planning State.
<b>Characteristics</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Adoption of Spanish models: Salamanca &amp; Alcalá.</li> <li>• Adoption of Models of European University Government: British &amp; Continental.</li> <li>• Adoption of European Model of university structure: cathedra.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Internationalisation of the HE system.</li> <li>• Presence of other foreign influences.</li> <li>• Academic exchanges and personal links.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strong presence of American models in the HE institutions and public policies.</li> <li>• Rupture of relationships between Europe and Chile.</li> <li>• Suggestions to improve system from OECD and others especially in Mexico.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establishment of formal links through agreements and programmes.</li> <li>• The irruption of the Bologna Process in Higher Education.</li> <li>• Strengthening of the role of State and HE institutions.</li> </ul>

**Table 4.1**

#### 4.2.1.1. The first period.

The *first period* considers the birth and shaping of the Higher Education (HE) system during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Here, it is possible to observe that HE institutions developed more links with Europe, owing to the fact that most of the universities were created as a mirror image of European institutions, and the design of public policies was firmly focused on the promulgation of decrees and laws for the creation of these universities. However, HE institutions have always been dependent on political and social-political powers such as the Catholic Church and the State and the intervention of these powers in their finances.

For universities and HE institutions, the '*cloister system*' (Tecla Jiménez, 1994: 151), represented those kinds of institution which remained separate from political and social conflicts and closed to the problems of society. However, they showed themselves to be extremely susceptible to European influences. In fact, historically, Latin American universities have all experienced the same processes in Higher Education. They have had foreign models imposed upon them, which have then been adapted to their own needs and realities. Therefore, the so-called 'Latin American University' has been a model combining the structures of different European universities. Simon Schwartzman (2006: 1) suggests that all Latin American institutions of the modern world are descended from a mere handful of models, most of which were conceived in Europe as medieval Catholic universities. Consequently, we can observe the initial presence of Spanish university influences on the beginning of Latin American institutions, following the models of Salamanca and Alcalá universities (Bernasconi, 2008: 27).

Another example of European influence in Chilean and Mexican Higher Education institutions is seen in what experts have called the organisation of learning through the *system of 'cátedra'* (professorship), a system in which a professor has the exclusive right within his/her university to teach a certain subject. According to Cristián Cox and Hernán Courard (1990: 69-70), the *system of 'cátedra'* developed from the earliest foundations of the universities, continued into the second half of the twentieth century in German universities, and was considered as a model to follow for some of the Latin American universities, especially in Chile and Mexico.

Public policies in this first period can be defined through the so-called the '*Benevolent State*' (Cox, 1990: 11), which ensured government funding for a range of

activities. This financial benevolence supported what was essentially a *laissez faire* system. Like the HE institutions, the ‘Benevolent State’ was permissive, readily accepting European influences in view of the fact that their promoters and the people who launched public policies in Higher Education had been educated in Spanish universities. In this period both HE institutions and governments followed what José Joaquín Brunner (1990: 48) has called two European models of university government, namely, the Continental and the British.

What the literature describes as the Latin American model is a cross between elements of what Burton Clark named the Continental model particularly in its post-revolutionary French incarnation, and the ideas of the Córdoba reform movement, which sought to modernize the universities organized according to the former pattern (Bernasconi, 2008: 30).

The *Continental* model is characterised by a combination of powers located in academia and servants of the Ministry of Education. There is no organism of ‘trustees’, and it is at the higher levels of the state apparatus that bureaucratic authority is to be found, depending on whether government is centralised or decentralised. “In this model a strong structure of authority does not develop within university systems and resources generally originated from the public budget, money sometimes being given directly to academics (as public servants) or departments of the university” (Brunner, 1990: 47).

The *British model*, which is in the process of change, has its traditional roots in the corporate power of colleges (originating with the style of the Oxbridge system). There is little administrative structure within Oxbridge-type universities as such, which are managed by Vice Chancellors. In addition, there is little participation of organisations such as boards of trustees. The universities are not managed by any central organ of national government, even though the government provides most of the

financing to various universities, through an intermediate body called the University Grants Committee, the UGC.

#### 4.2.1.2. *The second period.*

The *second period* started with the development of new foreign influences on Latin American higher education in the 1960s, through academic exchanges. At this time, through the so-called '*people system*' (Tecla Jiménez, 1994: 179), universities adapted to social demands by responding to the consensus of students and lecturers participating in decision-making processes through collegiate bodies. In terms of European influences, Latin American scholars returned home after studying in Europe, and brought with them European ideas about higher education. Since this time, the areas of science and technology in Latin America have been strongly influenced by French ideas, while the areas of forestry and veterinary sciences have been influenced by German ideas; influence in the liberal arts and social sciences however comes more from Spain, Netherlands and Britain. These influences have been far-reaching and continue to the present day in some universities, particularly in Chile and Mexico. The effects of these foreign influences can be understood in two ways:

- (1) They have instigated changes in the curriculum, especially where Latin American universities have decided to follow certain European structures when designing their plans and study programmes.
- (2) They have fostered the establishment of strong ties between European and Latin American universities, which has meant the formation of networks, the planning of workshops and seminars, and the advancement of research.

In terms of public policies, this period, called in Chile the '*Educational State*' (Bernasconi & Rojas, 2004: 27), involved the idea that education is the direct responsibility of the State, whereas private institutions work as collaborators of its purposes and educational functions. The participation of the Mexican State in Higher Education, called the '*Laissez Faire State*', was focused, until about 1940, on the promulgation of decrees and laws to create universities and establish their autonomous status. However, the main role that government played in relation to universities was as a benefactor with regard to financial resources. Even though public policies can be seen as weak in terms of 'absorbing' European influences, the 1970s was a significant decade, because it constituted the first attempt at institutionalising exchange ties between Europe, Chile and Mexico with governmental support and through cooperation processes. These processes included firm bi-lateral relationships between universities which were strengthened with the increase in joint ventures and in the number of exchanges of academics, students and researchers.

#### 4.2.1.3. *The third period.*

The *third period* is seen as an Americanisation process of the HE system and it would represent what Tecla Jiménez (1994: 61) calls the '*factory system*', owing to the fact that the university and HE institutions were considered as part of the processes of production, i.e. as part of the economic structure. It occurred during the third phase of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when authoritarian and dictatorial governments were established with McCarthyist policies and the hidden presence of the CIA, all in an effort to combat the expansion of Communism in Latin America (Ibid: 20). Consequently, the Mexican and Chilean States were persuaded by American Foreign Affairs police to act in such a way

that the state would assimilate any contrary forces in order to neutralise them, thus avoiding conflict and change (Ibid.: 15).

During this period, the US made a strong impact on Chilean and Mexican Higher Education, especially in the areas of medicine, education, psychology and technology. As a result, Chilean and Mexican academics would travel to the United States to develop research with a greater emphasis on quantitative work. Greater importance was therefore given to Accountancy and Statistics. However, in the same period, in contrast, Europe offered Chilean and Mexican universities the opportunity to work from qualitative frameworks with a greater emphasis on theory than in America, and all cultural formation was led by the European Economic Community. Public policies were focused on the strengthening of relationships with the US and supporting the work of those HE institutions that adopted American models.

#### *Chile.*

Specifically, in the third period of influence, a rupture in relations between Europe and Chile took place owing to the existence of a political variable, namely that power now resided in a Military Government.

During this period, public policies for Higher Education were determined by the Military Regime which intervened even violently in all Chilean universities and by the promulgation of decrees carrying the force of law. These were focused on strengthening relationships with the US and supporting the work of any HE institutions adopting American models, since the Military Government was imposing liberal and neo-liberal models imported from the United States. Here, the first phase of Neo-



Liberalism imposed by the Military government was supported by the so-called ‘Chicago boys’ led by Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago and various scholars from the Business School of the Catholic University (Austin & Araya, 2004: 253). During this period, Chile adopted the economic model of the United States ‘Chicago Boys’, adopting a liberal market stance determined by the supply and demand variables of changing markets and ignoring the high social cost for the lower economic classes.

Later came a phase of strong politicisation between 1970 and 1973 during the time of president Allende, followed by a huge rupture in 1973 with the intervention of the military in universities. There was a different sort of crisis in 1981 when the Chilean government dictated fresh legislation for HE, transforming the system and opening it up to an acceptance of competences and market forces. From 1990 until the present time, the HE scenario has been more stable, with policies emphasising equity, quality and regulations<sup>42</sup>.

Subsequently, Chile sought to reintegrate itself into the International Community in the nineties after years of isolation during the Military Regime of 1973-1989, as during the Pinochet Government European countries and the European Union had supported the Chilean democratic opposition and subsequently played an important role in the resumption of democracy.

In 1990 with the return to democracy, Chile could count on a degree of strong solidarity due to the contacts and relations that the Chilean leaders and their counterparts in the Member States and European institutions had established in Brussels and Strasbourg during the Pinochet era.

The political will existed to strengthen existing relations and to move towards a process of furthering relationships through successive approaches, considering the increasing bilateral and multilateral coincidences between the policies of political parties at an international level in areas such as trade, the international financial system and international political forums (Chilean Embassy, 2005).<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Interview with José Joaquín Brunner, Santiago de Chile, April 25<sup>th</sup>, 2008.

<sup>43</sup> <http://www.embachile.be/en/relations.php>.

Therefore, a strong and significant presence of the EU in the designing of Chilean public policies is observable in the democratic governments<sup>44</sup> since the 1990s, especially in the area of Higher Education. According to Andrés Bernasconi<sup>45</sup>, this situation can be explained as having a political origin: the *Concertacionist* regimes decided to diminish the effects of American intervention in the development of public policies imported by the Military Junta and Pinochet's government. Subsequently, they took the decision to re-start relations with Europe.

One of the most significant European effects on Chilean public policies in Higher Education observed in the 1990s is the political adoption of the idea of accountability for educational quality. Jose Joaquín Brunner<sup>46</sup> argues that this influence is shared with the US in terms of following an 'accurate model' to construct a system of educational accreditation. The idea came primarily from the EU and was adopted as an experimental process of quality control, starting with the accreditation of professional career qualifications and then including the accreditation of institutions. As a result of this influence, Ricardo Lagos' government promulgated a law in 2005, which officially created the National System of Accreditation (CNA).

Nowadays, political dialogue in Higher Education is based on what Europeans have called 'the construction of the Common Space in Higher Education'. The Bologna Process and the project through which it is to be realised, the Tuning Project, have offered this model to Chile (and other Latin America countries), in order to construct this European Education Space. The European model is being followed not only in

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<sup>44</sup> In all the four Concertacionist governments to date: Patricio Aylwin Azocar's transitional government (1990-1994), Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle's (1994-2000) and Ricardo Lagos Escobar's (2000-2006) administration as well as the former government of Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010),

<sup>45</sup> Interview with Andrés Bernasconi, Santiago-Chile, April 8<sup>th</sup>, 2008.

<sup>46</sup> Interview with José Joaquín Brunner, Santiago de Chile, April 25<sup>th</sup>, 2008.

terms of structure, but also in terms of the whole concept of what Higher Education means.

This process represents an important challenge, not only with regard to their objectives and aims, but also to their political and institutional methodologies and academic matters so as to carry out their higher education system reforms in a way that corresponds to those in North America and Europe (Fernández Lamarra, 2003: 253).

#### *Mexico.*

Since the 1990s, Mexican Higher Education has received external support through international organisations such as the International Consortium for Educational Development (ICED), the World Bank and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). In addition, as a member of UNESCO and the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLAC) Mexico accepted the recommendations – offered at regional and national levels – for repairing deficiencies in matters of Higher Education. Even though there were some similarities in policies or recommendations proposed by these international organisations to improve different national systems of Mexican Higher Education, each one offered a different model:

- (a) The World Bank in 1995 prompted a transformation of the Higher Education system based on free market strategies, and suggested the privatisation of universities.
- (b) ECLAC and UNESCO, at the conclusions of their regional and world conferences in 1992, 1995 and 1998 proposed the development and the implementation of educational policies which should incorporate requirements of economic growth and social equity, since they were focused on sustainable human development. They also proclaimed the obligation of the State to strengthen public education.

Alternatively, the report of the Inter-university Centre of Development, Higher Education in Latin America (CINDA in Spanish), shows different points of view of international agencies with respect to Higher Education. On the one hand, the World Bank insists on its economic view of education, emphasising issues recently clarified since the decade of the 80s: to stop the growth on the number of students enrolling, that beneficiaries assume the cost of educational services, to ensure that private institutions offer this system and that the State does not give subsidies at this level. On the other hand, UNESCO points out the social function of education as a starting point. It prompts the initiative of promoting sustainable human development:

which is conceived ‘not only as an improvement in the business sense of the expression, but also in a more complex sense, with education and training as essential elements’... The recommendation of this organisation is very clear: the State must consider investment in education as a social investment in the medium term and it is urgent that developing countries strengthen economic resources to allow the growth in the registration of students” (Cinda Report, 2007: 21).

By the same token, Roberto Rodríguez Gómez (1999) argues that the changes in priorities of the Mexican government in terms of public policies towards Higher Education were being set forth by international agencies such as UNESCO, IDB and the World Bank. These international organisations recommended that funds be channelled mainly towards technological education, since the highest rate of return has been obtained from this sector. Furthermore, Rodríguez Gómez<sup>47</sup> says that the contemporary Mexican university has been affected by European Influences from two important sources: Mexican participation as a member in the OECD and the establishment of the common space in EULAC/ALCUE Higher Education.

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<sup>47</sup> Interview with Roberto Rodríguez, Mexico City, February 2008.

Even though the OECD is an international organisation, Roberto Rodriguez declares that its policies on Higher Education have been taken from the European ambit, i.e. the OECD would be implanting its policies of Higher Education following the European parameters: “its groups of intelligence personnel and its intellectuals are European”<sup>48</sup>. A very good example of the latter phenomenon is that Mexico is following OECD’s advice in implementing the training of superior university technicians, a training period of 2 or 3 years in the technological universities. This aspect is very important, because Richardson and Kent (2002) have suggested that in response to these recommendations the Federal Government has focused on technical and vocational education.

#### 4.2.1.4. *The fourth period.*

The *fourth period* is the most significant time for noting European influences on Chilean and Mexican Higher Education, even though some experts have agreed that the educational system has combined certain aspects of American models, such as the concept of professionalisation, with some of the European models, found for instance in the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project. This period is seen as a process of institutionalisation of European ties through the establishment of agreements and programmes.

Within Higher Education, Chilean universities are changing their undergraduate and postgraduate programmes in order to ally themselves with the Bologna Process. Therefore, these influences have been affecting the upper levels of Chilean higher

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

education, such as the alignment of its academic and administrative structures, the systems of university government, and currently the ways of teaching and learning and the structuring of curricula.

The phenomenon is on-going and a shift is being seen from self-government by higher education institutions to control by the national government, which feels it needs to promote the new system for which European support has been provided. This power shift is, naturally, meeting some resistance from within the previous governing bodies, and the legal framework has been an *ad hoc* process negotiated between the Higher Education institutions and the government. It is hard to see the origins and development of the power shift, but it is definitely coming about. Chilean universities are working to construct a national credit system that will be able to show real academic student time spent on learning activities. As a next step, experts will work on building networks for curricular updating.

#### *Chile.*

Consequently, Chilean universities have needed to go along with these changes and implement models to sort out such adaptation processes successfully. In a public statement, the ex-Vice-Chancellor of the University of Chile, Luis Riveros, at the EUA Glasgow Convention in 2005, gave a positive report on EULAC cooperation and the likely impact of the Bologna Process on Chilean Higher Education:

The Bologna Process is considered a key conceptual background for the change that it is being implemented in several Latin American traditional universities. Observation of the Bologna Process has shown the importance of more flexible programmes to foster student mobility across both universities and disciplinary fields. This process is also important to make labour mobility easier

in order to adapt to changing market conditions. The occurrence of an ‘undergraduate reform’ in several Latin American institutions has originated from those issues, as a key instrument to attain more flexible and efficient formative programmes. Bologna has provided an intellectual input to it, as well as the Tuning initiative to create a more compatible system of credit assignment across the region (Riveros, 2005).

We must consider Chile’s reasons for deciding to follow European models to transform its higher education system. Some Chilean experts attributed this more to economic principles; however, they believe that “we did not renounce anything, because we did not have a national model before the Bologna Process”<sup>49</sup>. In support of this assertion, we could note the following:

—In Chile, there had never before been a system of evaluating the quality of education. Therefore, the Europeans offered a model, a template that recognises explicit systems of higher education that are transparent in terms of credits, time spent, and skills and qualifications acquired by undergraduates for their careers.

—Chilean universities would never have worked with strategic plans before their relationships with European partners. Therefore, Chile is absorbing a European model to achieve harmonisation with policies focused on relevance and the acquisition of credits for real work achieved, as well as student horizontal and vertical mobility, that is, within an institution and among institutions, including those of a different status.

—Chilean curricula are not accurately in tune with current global economic trends related to future markets. Besides, the World Bank requires universities to develop systems that include evaluating of the quality of the education given.

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<sup>49</sup> Interview with Carlos Mujica, former Academic Vice-Chancellor of the Catholic University of the North, Antofagasta, Chile, April 2006.

Complementing the previous analysis, Andrés Bernasconi points out some historical reasons why Chile is following the European model:

Here in Chile there are some historical elements that also make it easier to adopt the ideas of Bologna. For instance, there are several issues that have been under consideration since the sixties without ever being satisfactorily resolved. One of these issues is the question of providing sound general education rather than simply concentrating on skills-training for the workplace<sup>50</sup>.

*Mexico.*

The current relationships between Mexico and the European Union in Higher Education started with collaborative activities under the aegis at the Latin American Academic Training (ALFA) Programme. These activities have been increasing steadily since the 1990s, because the ALFA Programme has sanctioned the creation of collaborative networks between Latin American and European higher education institutions. These networks have covered different academic areas and disciplines identified as priorities for the development of both parties (Mexico and the EU), such as institutional management, graduate programmes and the mobility of academics and graduate students.

The programme has promoted academic collaboration between Latin American institutions by means of these networks, combining both horizontal and vertical cooperation. Almost all major universities in Latin America have participated in ALFA projects (Gacel-Ávila, 2005: 241).

In addition, Mexico is an active participant in the Higher Education Common Area of the European Union, Latin America and the Caribbean (EULAC/ALCUE), which seeks to establish networks and exchanges, the recognition of degrees, diplomas

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<sup>50</sup> Interview with Andrés Bernasconi, Santiago-Chile, April 8<sup>th</sup>, 2008.



and other qualifications to increase academic and student mobility. Besides, Mexico participates actively in the Latin American Tuning Project, based on the European project of the same name and which is the practical tool of the Bologna Process. “Its aim is to develop comparable grades and titles; programme convergence in specific subject areas and profiles of professional competencies based on generic skills specified by area” (Brunner et al., 2006:37)

Even though public universities played an important role in the signing of international cooperation agreements, many of these universities are still inactive in implementing them. International agreements have played a fundamental role in developing spaces for global collaboration and internationalisation. We can mention the most important agreements signed by Mexico and Europe, such as the Global Agreement signed with the EU in 1997 “as part of a larger initiative like the European Union’s ALFA programme; and with bilateral arrangements such as with the United Kingdom through the British Council, with Germany through the German Academic Exchange Service, and with France through the French *Institut de Recherche pour le Développement*” (ibid)

Contemporary European influences on the planning of Mexican institutional policies in Higher Education could be associated with what David Torres Mejía has called the step from a closed system to open Mexican institutions (Torres Mejía, 2001: 109). In this sense, some of the experts of ANUIES (National Association of Universities and HE institutions) agree that the Mexican Higher Education system is a ‘closed and conservative system’. They present arguments in support of this statement, such as that many institutions are working according to old-fashioned social contexts and obsolete technical processes. Therefore, the Mexican Higher Education System

should transform itself into an open system, “of good quality, highly innovative and dynamic, which can respond to new ways of organisation and work, as well as changes of scientific, technological, economic and social environment”. (Torres Mejía, 2001:108).

According to ANUIES, the transformation of the Mexican Higher Education system is a task of medium time duration which will have to be completed during the first two decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. “The most notable characteristic of this process will be the replacement of isolated strategies of institutional improvement by multi-institutional cooperation programmes working in alliance with strategic programmes” (Torres Mejía, 2001:108). As a result the concept of networks appears as a characteristic element of an open system. However, we can recognise that this concept had already appeared in the ‘Bologna discourses’ where the very principles of Bologna promoted the formation of networks, the planning of workshops, seminars, and the development of research projects and publication papers as the work of groups.

In short, an open system in Mexican Higher Education needs to be introduced in order to increase the emphasis on alignment, harmonisation of standards, and the search for compatibility with all systems.

The occurrence of an ‘undergraduate-level reform’ in several Latin American institutions has originated from these issues, as a key instrument to attain more flexible and efficient programmes of formation. Intellectual input has been provided by ‘Bologna’ as well as the Tuning initiative to create a more compatible system of credit assignment across the region (Riveros, 2005).

### **4.3. The origins of the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project.**

The ‘Bologna Process’ is the name of the most important reform in Higher Education in Europe over the last few decades. For most of the participants in this process, it began on June 19<sup>th</sup> 1999 with the adoption of the Declaration of Bologna by the ministers responsible for Higher Education in 29 European countries. The choice of the place was not by chance, because Bologna University is considered to be the oldest of the European universities. In addition, the Italian Educational minister of that time wished to reform the system of Higher Education in Italy and he thought it would be useful to launch the reform in a European context.

Nevertheless, where and when the Bologna Process actually began is a matter for controversy, because on May 25<sup>th</sup> 1998 a declaration made at the Sorbonne University was adopted when this French institution celebrated its 800th anniversary. However, at this meeting only four ministers participated, from Germany, France, Italy and the United Kingdom. The controversies started when the Europeans argued that the Sorbonne declaration had been made only by the four largest European countries without consultation with the remaining countries of the European Union (at that time). Therefore, the Bologna meeting was celebrated 13 months later with the participation of a larger number of European ministers of Education.

TUNING Educational Structures in Europe started in 2000 as a project to link the political objectives of the Bologna Process and at a later stage the Lisbon Strategy to the higher educational sector<sup>51</sup>.

By the same token, the Tuning Project constitutes the concrete materialisation of the ten lines of Bologna. However, this is centred on educational structures emphasising on the content of studies. The so-called ‘Methodology Tuning’ deepens in

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<sup>51</sup> <http://tuning.unideusto.org/tuningeu/>.

two main aspects of Bologna: the role of an accumulation system (ECTS) and the quality assurance of whole educational process. Additionally, this proposes other educational elements such as the development of “reference points for common curricula on the basis of agreed competences and learning outcomes as well as cycle level descriptors for many subject areas”<sup>52</sup> and the incorporation of new approaches for learning, teaching and assessment of these processes.

In short, Tuning institutes procedures of comparability of curricula in terms of structures, programmes and current processes of teaching and learning. The whole methodology seeks to enhance HE institutions in discussions about the recognition and European amalgamation of diplomas, considering the diversity of nation-states, cultures and languages: “European universities welcome ‘different perspectives’, different cultures, to come together and develop a new and more vibrant ‘academic culture’” (Adelman, 2009: 162).

After defining the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project in-depth, the next question that arises here is whether Bologna and Tuning can be considered as true European projects. Certain concepts present on ‘Bologna air’ such as *Europe of knowledge* and the *attractiveness of the European Higher Education* suggest us that HE is something that really matters for the EU. Furthermore, the battlefield of ideas finds a magnificent ‘breeding ground’ in HE arena.

Notwithstanding the writing evidence of the Europeanness of the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project is seen in some articles and Zgaga’s reports. For research purposes, the justification of the Bologna Process as a proper European object

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

of study is strongly supported by one article<sup>53</sup>, Zgaga reports<sup>54</sup>, one long essay<sup>55</sup> and different websites.

Firstly, it is argued that “The field of education is notable by its absence in the EU’s founding Treaties” (Keeling, 2006: 2004). Indeed it is not possible to see a direct connection between the Bologna Process and the central European institutions such as the European Commission, the Council of the EU and the European Parliament. This occurs because Bologna is only an intergovernmental agreement amongst Ministry of Education, Vice-chancellors and academic personnel. Nevertheless Keeling points out that:

Higher education is thus depicted as quintessentially European. The Commission stresses the ‘European dimension’ of the national Bologna Reforms, presenting mobility and the recognition of qualifications as key to accessing the benefits of European citizenship (Keeling, 2006: 211).

Furthermore she argues that the European Commission is one of the main actors in seconding the process. Formally, its intervention started in May 2005 during the Bergen ministerial conference of the Bologna Process when its participation was defined as follows: “the pivotal role of the Commission in supporting the reforms of degree structures, credit transfer, quality assurance and curricular development, which are transforming the ‘European Higher Education Area’” (Ibid).

From the beginning, the European Commission, as the only ‘non-state’ of the process, has had an active participation, especially as an influential member of the Bologna Follow-up Group. The Commission, as a fundamental ‘think-tank’ in HE, has

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<sup>53</sup> Keeling, Ruth (2006), “The Bologna Process and the Lisbon Research Agenda: the European Commission’s expanding role in higher education discourse”.

<sup>54</sup> Towards the “External Dimension” Strategy: Report from the Bologna Seminar on the External Dimension of the Bologna Process, and *Looking Out: the Bologna Process in a Global Setting*.

<sup>55</sup> Adelman, Clifford (2009), *The Bologna Process for the U.S. Eyes. Re-learning Higher Education in the Age of Convergence*.

launched several initiatives that nowadays are fundamental part within the framework of Bologna and Tuning. Besides, the Commission has provided financial support for higher education cooperation and reform projects considering Bologna objectives, as well as funding national Bologna agents of promotion and diffusion of information activities.

Taking into account the external dimension of Bologna, Adelman claims that *Magna Charta Universitatum* in 1998, the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 and the Lisbon Recognition nourished the soil for the creation of the Bologna Process. Keeling (2006: 204) adds the ERASMUS mobility programme launched in 1987: “For example, the EU’s credit transfer and accumulation system (known as ECTS), first piloted within Erasmus networks, has become the European standard” (Ibid: 208).

Keeling emphasises that discursively there exist many examples of how diverse European actors were fertilising the soil for the Bologna pathway. Two communications from the Commission, ‘The Role of the Universities in the Europe of Knowledge’ in 2003 and ‘Mobilising the Brainpower in Europe in 2005’ represent consistent effort for running a common language in HE. Berlin and Bergen Communiqués have encouraged ‘synergies’ between the European HE area and the EU’s Research Area.

#### 4.3.1. *The Bologna Process.*

The very beginning of the Bologna Process was characterised by the belief that changes in the structure of European higher education systems could be the main vehicle for raising attractiveness worldwide. Of course, this sentence could and should be read also in reverse way: efforts to increase worldwide attractiveness are an important lever to improve European higher education systems 'internally', as well as to establish European higher education as such (Zgaga, 2006b: 10).

The fact that Bologna Process is well-known in academic circles is no a mystery. However if someone would have to explain it using only one phrase, this task could be difficult, considering that Bologna, like the EU, represents a multifaceted entity. Numerous variables intertwine and converge to construct at least two dimensions of the process, the internal and the external. These dimensions, in turn, offer such a multiplicity of possibilities that it is sometimes impossible to see boundaries between both.

Within the internal dimension, it is possible to observe at least four core processes: (i) reforms for undergraduate and postgraduate studies, (ii) a transparent system for harmonising modules and courses (ECTS) in order to establish formal mobility amongst different actors of the system, (iii) methods of quality assurance and improvements of HE institutions and students, and (iv) pedagogic and structural strategies for implementing systems of lifelong education.

The external dimension is characterised by discourses that reinforce ideas of Europeanness and attractiveness of the European model. According to Zgaga in his quotation above, practices of improvement of internal structures of the EU higher education could imply that Europe is offering a global archetype for dealing with the profound transformations that HE is currently suffering. At the same time, these external aspects would facilitate the importation of foreign elements to develop its own

model in order “to modernise their [Europeans] higher education systems, and align themselves with current developments” (Zgaga, 2006b: 23).

In general terms, the Bologna Process looks for different ways of implementing general and cross-curricular competencies to manage access to information, familiarity with information technology and communication, and the mastering of foreign languages, according to the needs of 21<sup>st</sup> century professionals. In specific terms, these protocols are also working towards abandoning rigid curricula for study programmes in favour of a more open and flexible training, centred on students and giving due consideration to the perceived needs and wishes of users. This implies performing deep shifts in undergraduate teaching and learning processes to synchronise with the modernisation of postgraduate standards throughout the world. Finally, it is seeking to replace the current credit system based on attendance and to implement a transferable and cumulative credit system based on real work achieved by students.

José Joaquín Brunner<sup>56</sup> argues that Bologna has brought with it the need for the development of a ‘flexible method of coordination’ but without the rigid application of prescribed rules, instead merely fitting in with the norms and customs of the countries of the European Union. However, it implies a new legal ‘soft’ procedure, which assumes the implementation of policies as being a logical and rational process that will be undertaken in the course of pursuing the Bologna Process. It runs from the Community to states, institutions and citizens. It widens out from the Bologna Process to embrace these states, institutions and citizens.

Specifically, the Bologna Process involves ten lines of action:

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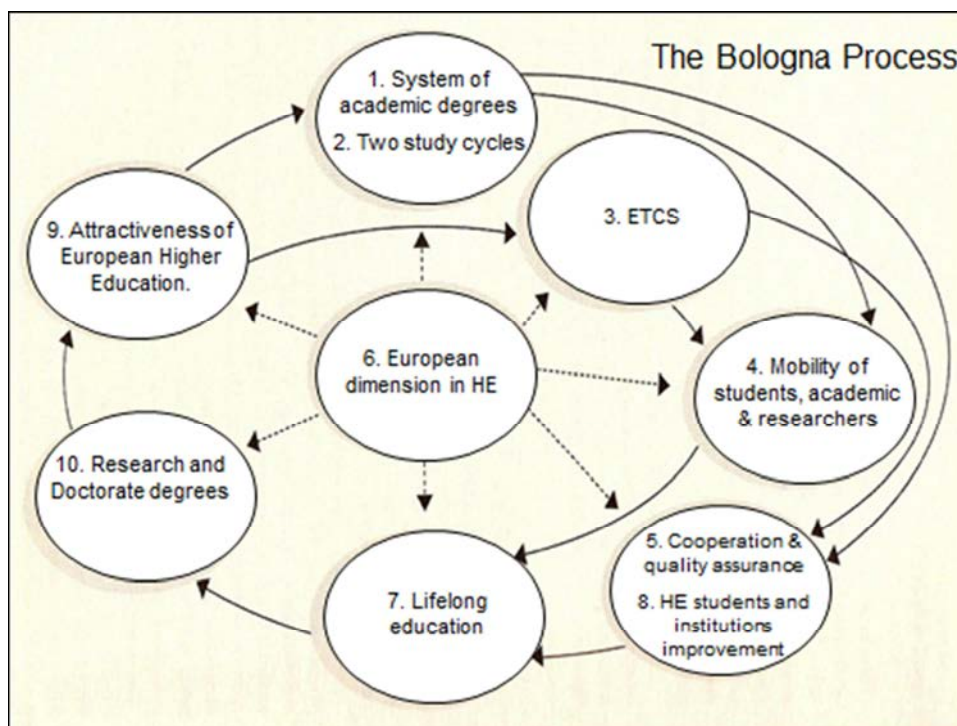
<sup>56</sup> Interview with José Joaquín Brunner, Santiago de Chile, April 25<sup>th</sup>, 2008.



- i.) A system of academic grades which are easy to read and compare, including the introduction of the diploma supplement (designed to improve international 'transparency' and facilitate academic and professional recognition of qualifications).
- ii.) A system essentially based on two study cycles: a first cycle geared to the employment market and lasting at least three years and a second cycle (Masters') conditional upon the completion of the first cycle and a further eighteen months to two years of study.
- iii.) A system of accumulation and transfer of credits (of the ECTS type already used successfully under the Socrates-Erasmus programmes of the EU).
- iv.) The mobility of students, teachers and researchers.
- v.) Cooperation with regard to quality assurance.
- vi.) Bringing about a European dimension in higher education.
- vii.) The guarantee of lifelong education.
- viii.) Developing and improving Institutions of Higher Education and the performance of their students.
- ix.) Further promoting the attractiveness of European Higher Education and its take-up.
- x.) Research and Doctorate degrees.

These ten lines can be observed graphically in the following diagram. They are summarised in eight main aspects that converge to a European dimension in HE.

**The Bologna Process' lines of action.**



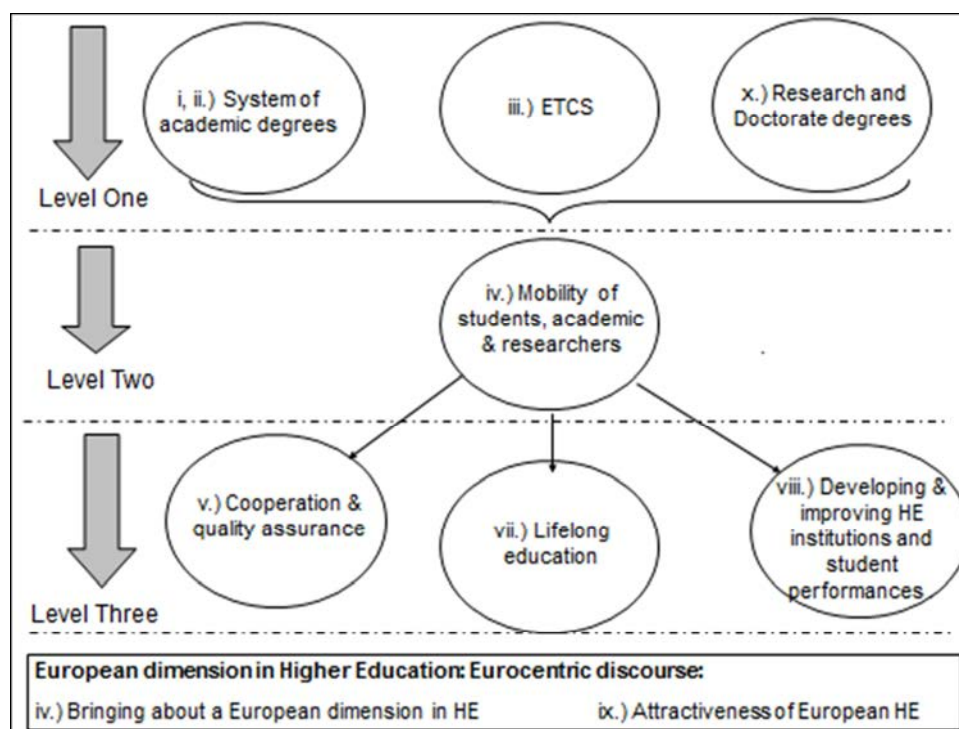
**Figure 4.1**

Furthermore, I schematise the Bologna Process in three levels (figure 4.2). The figure shown at *Level One* seems, when joined together, to assert the ‘normative aspects’ of the Bologna Process which experts of Bologna call ‘harmonisation’. In practical terms, the Bologna Process has achieved the harmonisation of the European Higher Education system by synchronising curricula, the system of credits and the professionalisation of skills<sup>57</sup>. At the same time, as Zgaga suggests, the tangible need to redesign and harmonise academic programmes and curricula will contribute “to better prepare students for emerging on regional and international labour markets” (2006a: 44). This harmonising dimension leads to *Level Two*, mobility, which is very attractive to Latin American governments and HE institutions that therefore have been accepting some things in Level One.

<sup>57</sup> However, this latter aspect reminds us of the American system.

The hoped-for consequences of the first two levels are the three non-material abstract items shown in *Level Three*. In this level, the Bologna Process shows us the exportation of a European Model, in terms of persuasion, learning and socialisation processes, beyond the European geographical area. The construction of the Common Space through the Bologna Process (and the Tuning Project) constitutes a European model, which has gathered momentum and has been exported as if unintentionally. It has been adopted by other countries abroad. Thus it represents what Zgaga has called the ‘external dimension’ of the Bologna Process (2006a). This external aspect of the Bologna Process is characterised by a social dimension focused on what European experts in Higher Education have called ‘the Bologna Language’.

**The Bologna Process levels.**



**Figure 4.2**

#### 4.3.1.1. *The External dimension of the Bologna Process.*

A significant aspect to understand European influences upon non-European countries is the external dimension of the Bologna Process. Adelman points out that there was no consensus of what this aspect means: “The framers of the Bologna Declaration were not explicit (and may not even have realized) all these ‘external’ dimensions, but in time they all emerged, though with different degrees of intensity” (2009: 168).

On the one hand, this ambit denotes a sort of exportation of the European model outside Europe with some geopolitical purposes. Therefore the most important signifiers/signified are *attractiveness* and *competitiveness*, because as Keeling says, the EU aspires to be “the most dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world” (2006: 205). However simultaneously, the European HE system has to be attractive and competitive for its internal market (Zgaga, 2006b). For Adelman, the external dimension represents a huge effort “about a lot more than attracting students from other world regions to the EHEA and thus competing with the U.S., Canada, and Australia” (2009: 168).

In virtually all world regions (except North America), networks and sub-networks of ministers and rectors have formed, and established formal links with counterparts and organizations in Europe (Ibid: 171).

As part of this external dimension, in Latin American countries, the Process of Bologna has given formal shape to what is being implemented through diverse channels, depending on the countries. One of the most interesting ways to implement

the Bologna Process in Latin American institutions has been the EULAC/ALCUE (the European Union – Latin America and the Caribbean)<sup>58</sup> bilateral relations Process’.

In the 2002 Madrid Summit there appeared the first political declaration, which expressed the need and intention “to create more opportunities in our regions for education, culture and access to knowledge as keys to success in the twenty-first century” (Zgaga, 2006a: 26). In addition, at a former Summit, held in Vienna in May 2006, Heads of State and Government agreed to give “priority to the creation of the EULAC/ALCUE Common Area of Higher Education, geared towards mobility and cooperation” (ibid).

In Paris, in the year 2000, the EULAC/ALCUE established in 2000 a plan of action for the period 2002-2004 (which was then extended until 2008). In this document, the parties (EULAC/ALCUE members) defined the EULAC/ALCUE common space for higher education, which was within the framework already described in the Bologna Process:

The construction of a common space for higher education in the European Union, Latin America and the Caribbean (EULAC/ALCUE) will allow the building of a framework open to a plurality of cultures, which will offer the chance to train and work in a plurilingual environment governed by an equal-opportunities based policy.

These countries in these regions, firm in the belief that higher education is a public asset that falls within the sphere of state responsibility, consider that the said framework can offer an alternative to globalisation, help to overcome North/South differences and develop further collaboration, from the point of view of equality and solidarity. This belief is based on a mutual acknowledgement of the differences and similarities in these regions, in the diversity of languages and the variety of university systems. Therefore, it implies the need to work within a system of collaboration, cooperation, exchanges of good practices and reciprocity.

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<sup>58</sup> This common area used to be referred to as EULAC or UELAC. In 2005, at the 8<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Follow-up Group, it was decided that ‘ALCUE’ would be adopted as the only reference to it. However, for the purposes of this thesis, we will continue using the expression EU-LAC.

Lastly, this framework stresses the right for all those who are integrated into the common ground of the EULAC higher education to have equal access to information regarding the opportunities that these regions offer them (programmes, regulations of each country, university studies, etc.) Moreover, the new technologies and distance learning constitute fundamental aspects that should be intrinsic to academic programmes. (ANECA, 2004: 55).

The same document suggested taking the Bologna Process into account to target the objectives of the EULAC/ALCUE Higher Education Area and construct a common space for Higher Education, because it would imply a political framework for the on-going concrete co-operation at institutional level. In this space, two joint Latin American and European academic associations have played an important role in the constitution of political dialogue at the higher education level: a) The Ibero-American University Council (CUIB)<sup>59</sup>, which represents an institutional group of networks of universities in the Ibero-American countries, focusing on the creation and consolidation of an Ibero-American Area of Higher Education and Research; and b) The European University Association (EUA)<sup>60</sup>, which was established in Colombia (Cartagena) in 2001 and is a non-governmental organisation that works as a network of smaller networks of Ibero-American Universities.

In the meeting of ministers of education from the countries of Latin America, the Caribbean, and the European Union, which met in Mexico in 2005, there was an agreement called *Vision 2015*, which is characterised by:

—an important development of mechanisms and networks of co-operation and exchange among institutions and academic bodies, tasked with furthering scientific,

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<sup>59</sup> The CUIB is composed of national organisations representing universities and other higher education institutions of the Ibero-American countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Spain, Guatemala, Honduras, México, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Dominican Republic, Uruguay and Venezuela.

<sup>60</sup> The European University Association (EUA) represents and supports higher education institutions in 46 European countries. Members of the Association are European universities involved in teaching and research, national associations of rectors and other organisations active in higher education and research.

technological, and cultural advances in higher education and management of knowledge;

—efficient mechanisms of comparability, which facilitate the recognition of studies, degrees, diplomas, and competences. They should be supported by national systems of evaluation and the accreditation of educational programmes with mutual recognition;

—programmes that promote wide-ranging mobility of students, researchers and academics, and technical personnel and management staff;

—centres for the study of the European Union in the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, and for the study of Latin America and the Caribbean in the countries of the European Union;

—clear sources of financing for developing programmes.

Currently the committee on monitoring is working on the creation of joint initiatives to recognise the systems of higher education in the EULAC/ALCUE countries. In addition, it is developing the systematisation of existing programmes of collaboration and academic exchanges in the development in all countries of the EULAC/ALCUE professorship of the subject area “Society of Knowledge” as designed by the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO).<sup>13</sup> The Committee is also designing a programme to foster student mobility across both universities and disciplinary fields, also identifying sources and mechanisms of finance to support these activities.

4.3.2. *The Tuning Project: the normative aspects of the Bologna Process.*

The Tuning project was an initiative launched by a group of European universities in the summer of 2000 to take up the Bologna Process as a challenge. This pilot project was called ‘Tuning educational structures in Europe’ and constitutes the practical materialisation of normative aspects of the Bologna Process. It addresses several of the Bologna action lines to adopt a system based on two cycles and the establishment of a system of credits.

The name *Tuning* has been chosen for the project to reflect the idea that universities do not look for harmonisation of their degree programmes or any sort of unified, prescriptive or definitive European curricula but simply for points of reference, convergence and common understanding. The protection of the rich diversity of European education has been paramount in the Tuning project from the very start and the project in no way seeks to restrict the independence of academic and subject specialists, or damage local and national academic authority.<sup>61</sup>

The experts have designed a methodology within the framework of the Tuning project, which allows the understanding of curricula on the basis of four factors: a) generic competences, b) subject-specific competences, c) the role of ECTS as an accumulation system and d) the role of learning, teaching, assessment and performance related to quality assurance and evaluation. “All together, the four lines of approach allow universities to *"tune"* their curricula, without losing their autonomy and their capacity to innovate”<sup>62</sup>

The Tuning Project provides a systematic framework for thinking and rethinking the academic (within academia) and professional (within other groups and professional communities’) horizon. Therefore, Tuning brings about a group effort to construct languages and mechanisms for the reciprocal understanding of systems of

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<sup>61</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/educ/tuning/tuning\\_en.html](http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/educ/tuning/tuning_en.html)

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.



higher education. They are facilitating the processes of recognition of trans-national and trans-regional university curricula. It has been conceived as “a space of reflection of actors who are involved with higher education. They are seeking consensus to advance in the development of qualifications which will be easily comparable and understandable both in Latin America and in Europe” (Beneitone et al, 2006: 13).

In normative terms, the Tuning Project implies a reflective and critical framework which is a product of ‘multi-referential’ pedagogy and the bringing together of a variety of disciplinary decisions to make the various lines of action compatible. It means that the Tuning Project is not only a change within the conceptual framework for the understanding of teaching and learning processes in Higher Education (pedagogy) but also it implies a challenge to understand new models from the world of work (professions). Therefore, the Tuning Project cannot be applied as a fixed entity; it is conceived as a methodology with a theoretical framework, whose purpose is to incorporate the different aspects of diversity of countries that are intervening or interacting within it.

Nowadays the Tuning Project is considered to be a methodology internationally recognised, “a tool constructed by universities for universities, an instrument which facilitates the thinking that brings the European Space for Higher Education closer in reality. Europe is following its path of integration and the Tuning is facilitating this process” (Beneitone et al, 2006: 12).

#### 4.3.3. *The ALFA Tuning Latin America Project.*

The project ALFA Tuning Latin America was introduced at the end of October 2003 as an initiative of the Tuning Europe project. During the fourth follow-up meeting of the EULAC/ALCUE (Latin America, Caribbean and the European Union) in Spain (2002), the Latin American representatives suggested the idea of launching the same project in Latin America after listening to the presentation of the results of the first stage of the Tuning Educational Structures in Europe. The Latin American project was prepared and presented to the European Commission in 2003. As its European partner project, the ALFA Tuning Latin America Project sought “to 'fine tune' the educational structures that exist in Latin America, initiating a debate whose aim is to identify and improve co-operation between higher education institutions,…”<sup>63</sup>

According to Pavel Zgaga (2006a), Tuning Latin America constitutes an independent project, which has been coordinated by European and Latin American (and Caribbean) universities in many different Latin American countries. The Tuning Latin America Project was defined by experts as “an inter-continental idea, a project that has been nurtured by both European and Latin American academic contributions. The search for consensus is inter-continental too, and unique and universal; the things that change are the people involved and the special situations that arise as a result of each new challenge”<sup>64</sup>.

In this project, there were 181 LAC universities involved and 18 national Tuning Centres. These universities and centres are working in twelve subject groups such as: Architecture, Business, Chemistry, Civil Engineering, Education, Geology, History,

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<sup>63</sup> <http://tuning.unideusto.org/tuningal/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=168&Itemid=196>

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

Law, Mathematics, Medicine, Nursing and Physics. The objectives of the Latin American Tuning Project are, among others:

—*professional profiles*: developing professional profiles in terms of general competences and specific skills for the following areas of knowledge described below;

—*transparency*: facilitating the transparency of educational structures;

—*comparability*: contributing to the development of titles and degrees to make them easily comparable;

—*quality*: creating systems to stimulate good quality in higher education.

On 14-16 June 2006 in Brussels, European and Latin American (and Caribbean) academic colleagues met to show their work and the results of the implementation of the Bologna Process and any current details of the modernisation of higher education study in different contexts. “This seems to be the best way to overcome the existing lack of information and to strengthen academic cooperation to mutual satisfaction” (Zgaga, 2006a: 31). At this meeting the members worked to compare the twenty-seven general competences defined<sup>65</sup> in the Latin American project with the results of the analysis of the European project. They found many evident similarities in both groups of these competences.

The project was focusing on the recognition of curricular changes, which were incorporated to achieve such competencies. Advances made in this sphere were analysed in the following meeting in February 2007 in Mexico. The consequent comparability according to curricular changes is contributing to student mobility and the

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<sup>65</sup> These competences were identified through surveys conducted among students, graduates, employers, and academics.

recognition of studies and credits. This process was seeking to achieve the objectives proposed in the framework for a common space of higher education in Latin America, the Caribbean, and the European Union.

Latin Americans were looking for elements to facilitate further reflection on this, with the purpose of achieving basic agreements in higher education while still holding back from mirroring the European model in every respect. To compensate for a non-existent political framework, Latin American universities have created another relevant actor, National Tuning Centres. This actor has been relevant to the performance and spread of the project in different Latin American countries.

There are, therefore, some significant differences between the European and the Latin American Tuning Project. First, the European project was born in 2000, a particular political moment, which had encouraged the idea of integration. In fact, European Ministers of Education made some compromises in order to achieve the dream of a Europe united in terms of Higher Education by 2010. Latin America does not have a specific time-scale to fully realise its own 'space of higher education'. The Latin American-Tuning Project as we see it 'on the ground' does not have any pretensions to create a proper space of higher education. Secondly, the Tuning Project in Europe appeared on the basis of features of the Bologna Declaration whose commitments agreed to give the European project a stronger political framework. Latin America did not have a clear political framework, only a number of declarations agreed by autonomous university vice-chancellors, even though some Latin American governments have sought a greater political influence. Nevertheless Latin Americans are seeking some particular elements to facilitate further reflection on this, with the purpose of achieving basic agreements in higher education.

The second part of this project was presented to the European Commission in 2008; but it did not obtain financial resources for implementation. Because of this, some Latin American experts have proclaimed the death of the Latin American Tuning project. However, the effects of European Influences on Latin American Higher Education are still to be felt though they are not plainly visible, because the process is on-going and effects or changes can take quite a long time to be observed.

#### **4.4. European discursive influences: the ‘Bologna Language’.**

In a preliminary analysis of diverse written documents, the Bologna language is composed by different signifiers/signified focused on four main aspects: (i) Europeanness, (ii) knowledge-based economy, (iii) quality, and (iv) common space in HE. From these concepts other terms complement the discursive dynamic of the process, an aspect that is analysed in depth during the second part of this chapter.

It is important to consider what this research argues here: practical or structural levels of discourse operate through other kinds of hidden logic. This logic is part of what post-structuralist scholars could call ‘arche-writing’ (archi-écriture). Therefore, these utterances/texts involve influential ways to exert power through use of persuasive language for connoting practical methods and procedures originating from complex powerful sources. In addition, these ways of supporting ‘arche-writings’ could be studied through several theoretical approaches of analysis as, for example, following the political economy of signs (Cultural Political Economy) or taking into account paradigms focusing on Eurocentric discourses.

Within the first approach, Jessop et al. (2008) analyse the impact of the Knowledge-based Economy (KBE) on Higher Education. In this sense, Susan Robertson, for example, uses the umbrella of Cultural Political Economy of Education (CPE/ E) to bring to the ‘table’ the discussion of the role that cultural and semiotic aspects play within this hegemonic dynamic for constructing “a new kind of global economy whose neo-liberal tenets are being constitutionalised in a complex architecture of policies, funding programmes, agreements, protocols, indexes and registers that operate at multiple scales” (Robertson, 2009: 7). Even though it is difficult to find scholars working in this area of European HE, one could argue that Eurocentric

approaches seek to show the EU as a more egalitarian and participatory model, centred on several microstructures including: ‘progressive competitiveness’, ‘productivity pacts’, ‘associative democracy’ and ‘social cohesion’. These microstructures could complement the background of what Ian Manners has named Normative Power Europe (NPE).

#### 4.4.1. *The Bologna Language.*

As we will see in the subsequent analysis, normative aspects of the Bologna Process are related to the implementation of public and university/institutional policies within Chilean and Mexican Higher Education. However, Bologna offers an additional component of influence, the *Bologna language*, which is colouring and informing official and institutional documents, as well as the speeches and opinions of experts and academic authorities.

European experts in the Bologna Process have suggested that this process, in the beginning, implied a *structural dimension* based on three cycles and a whole array of related issues such credit systems, learning outcomes, frameworks of qualifications and so on. However, after the Prague meeting (2006), the Bologna Process developed a *social dimension* focusing on the so-called ‘Bologna language’, which has also entered Latin American Higher Education vocabularies. In fact, the Bologna language is one of the most interesting aspects of the social dimension of the Bologna Process. It is considered by Zgaga (2006a) to be part of the ‘external dimension’ of the process and it came to complement what I have called ‘normative aspects’ of the Bologna Process, namely a curricular structure, a system of credits, professional profiles based on competences and so on.

This ‘external dimension’ promotes a worldwide degree of attraction focused on “the objective of increasing the international competitiveness of the European System of higher education” (Zgaga, 2006a: 5). In the opinion of some experts, it is accordingly impossible to reduce higher education to either abstract curricular ‘architectures’ or to a ‘private good’. The social dimension of the Bologna Process involves normative aspects associated with a discursive logic and with the creation of linguistic/semantic ways of exerting power, in which higher education in and influenced by Europe appears to others -such as those in higher education establishments in Chile and Mexico- to be ‘Europeanised’ rather than ‘internationalised’.

A very frequent term, although not born within the Bologna Process but within the much broader European integration processes, is also the ‘European dimension’ (e.g. within national education systems in general) and this is another serious issue (Zgaga, 2006a: 5)

In practical terms, the ‘European Bologna language’ has impacted on other realities and vocabularies around the world, as has been the case in African universities and Latin American countries, especially Chile and Mexico, through the construction of a very strong discourse focusing on the creation of Higher Education Space. This abstract ‘space’ of Higher Education symbolises the exportation of a European model through which others will come to understand, conceive, plan and organise the functional, structural and content dynamics of the universities abroad.

However, I argue that there is not a clear unambiguous meaning to much of the Bologna Language, i.e. it is difficult to determine exactly what the Bologna language implies, or at least we cannot exactly measure the parameters of a ‘Bologna vocabulary’. Nevertheless, it “suggests new conversations, proposes topics of analysis, shows possible solutions and teaches policies and procedures to achieve aims” (Brunner, 2008: 138).



The *Bologna language* is well known in Latin American academic circles as the echoes or the spirit of the Bologna Process, and it is responsible for launching and spreading conversations which could not have begun without this European influence.

On the one hand, Bologna is perceptible everywhere, specifically within academic circles. Actually, specialised American media such as World Education News and Reviews (WENR) have since 1999 been informing their readers frequently about the Bologna Process and its development. R. Sedgwick, the editor of WENR has written that the Bologna Declaration has meant “the need to enhance international competitiveness in the overseas student market through the creation of a more viable and unified European system of higher education” (Sedgwick, 2000). In fact, this editor emphasises that the challenges of the Bologna Process involve many efforts focusing on ‘material’ aspects such as recruiting more international students and expanding campuses and programmes to other parts of the world.

On the other hand, even though we can agree that there is much merit in Enrique Espinosa’s<sup>66</sup> suggestion that Bologna is a viral language, i.e. fast-spreading. The social dimension of the Bologna Process i.e., the Bologna Language, is like the other side of the same coin. Firstly, it involves a persuasion process by the Europeans, characterised by what Checkel has described in one of the three hypotheses he has studied from persuasion literature: “the persuader is an authoritative member of the in-group to which the persuadee belongs or wants to belong” (Checkel, 2001:54). Secondly, from the point of view of Latin American countries, especially Chile and Mexico, this phenomenon implies a social learning process in which they are engaged

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<sup>66</sup> Interview with Enrique Espinosa, General Coordinator of CUMEX, México D.F., January 30<sup>th</sup> 2009.

in constructing their own model, having learnt the European one and found it not 100% appropriate to a Latin American cast of mind.

Our starting point is that the ‘external dimension’ of this process, defined by Zgaga, describes the Eurocentric point of view of the Bologna Process from a ‘social dimension’ focused on ‘Bologna Language’. There are not as yet any other published works or piece of research investigation exploring the Bologna language and its dimensions. This piece of research, therefore, is seeking to determine categories of analysis present within the Bologna language, and how these categories are appearing in various documents of public and institutional policies in Chile and Mexico.

#### *4.4.2. Inquiring into ‘instituted traces’ of the Bologna Language.*

It has been argued in the introduction chapter of this thesis that, for example, a certain set of ideas and concepts had arrived in Chile and Mexico since 2000, even before the time when the Bologna Process was implemented officially in both countries. Therefore, we could argue that some civilisations do exist ‘beyond writing’ (Anozie, 1990: 105).

The main preliminary questions that arise in this analytical part are: what does the Bologna Language imply or involve? How far is the Bologna Language a European discourse? How could we make practical comparison between the European and Latin American (Chilean and Mexican) discourses in order to demonstrate the European influence? This research seeks to determine categories of analysis or microstructures (van Dijk, 1980) which are present within the Bologna Language. In addition, the analytical procedure observed how these categories appear in a number of documents of

public and institutional/university policies in Chile and Mexico. For this research purpose, we took into account several ‘matrix documents’. These included the two declarations: **Sorbonne** (1998) and **Bologna** (1999) and four communiqués: **Prague** (2001), **Berlin** (2003), **Bergen** (2005) and **London** (2007) and the First Report of Pavel Zgaga (2006) on the “**External Dimension of the Bologna Process**”.

Therefore, the procedure sought to determine a ‘Bologna Vocabulary’ through a discourse analysis of the European texts. After categories of analysis or microstructures in these European documents had been sampled, a *Bologna Language Macrostructure* (the whole structure) was designed for this research to identify the ‘Bologna Vocabulary’. It is composed of five levels which show two dimensions, a structural as well as an ideational, and a series of key concepts or microstructures. The same procedure was applied to Chilean and Mexican texts, both public and institutional/university documents.

This has necessitated a careful comparison between Spanish and English language texts. The public and institutional/university documents in Chile and Mexico studied for the purpose of this thesis were in Spanish. It was necessary to grasp and then translate the most important concepts inherent in these Latin American documents. It has been difficult to find another way in which to study the Bologna Language and its impact upon the ‘epistemic communities’ (Pace, 2008: 203).

This research has worked on empirical data with a critical analysis of discourse (CDA) focusing on Teun A. van Dijk’s perspective of CDA. This approach was chosen because van Dijk takes into account Western cultural contexts, especially how these contexts describe the transcendence of Eurocentric perspectives (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 11). Van Dijk’s theory comes from integrated approaches of cognitive sciences.

This apparently would cause an epistemological disruption in these kinds of research, because of “the apparent contradiction that CDA starts from a complex social problem or phenomenon; cognitive linguistic, however, starts from the individual mind, and corpus linguistics from the largely (but not fully!) decontextualized text” (ibid: 15). However, for compensating the epistemological problem, Wodak and Meyer suggest that the analysis of power and hegemony within discourses should consider aspects of corporate self-presentation. In this research, these aspects have been considered by focusing the analysis on Normative Power Europe, a good example of EU corporate self-presentation.

The starting point of the Bologna Language is the analysis of the declaration of **Sorbonne (1998)**, which in general terms is focused on three microstructures of discourse: *the removal of barriers, the development of a framework for teaching and learning processes* and *mobility and co-operation*. The structural aspects of the Bologna Language appear clearly defined in the declaration as ‘action lines’. These include the recognition of undergraduate and graduate cycles; the design of the curricula through credits and semesters; international recognition for the first cycle (undergraduate); a graduate cycle with the presence of a shorter Master’s degree and a longer Doctoral degree; and academic and student mobility. Therefore, one could infer that this declaration ‘fertilises the ground’ for determining a solid structure of the building of HE, based on two cycles of study (undergraduate and graduate), a system of credits and practical possibilities for students to stay “at least one semester in universities outside their own country” (Reinalda & Kuleska, 2006: 19). Taking into account the microstructures, the implicit discourse in the Sorbonne declaration is the openness of a common space of interaction, integration and knowledge for HE through mobility and co-operation.

The **Bologna Declaration (1999)** is more specific in describing the Bologna Process itself as part of a European discourse, which recognises that “Europe of knowledge is now widely recognised as an irreplaceable factor for social and human growth and as an indispensable component to consolidate and enrich the European citizenship” (Bologna Declaration, 1999:1). At the same time, the declaration, in the introduction, argues that European HE is experiencing similar processes of integration and enlargement to those of the EU itself. In addition, this text is supported by an extensive explanation written by the Confederation of European Union Rectors’ Conferences and the Association of European Universities, in which European authorities say that the Bologna Declaration reflects a crucial aspect of common European answers for common European concerns.

The process originates from the recognition that in spite of their valuable differences, European Higher Education systems are facing common internal and external challenges related to the growth and diversification of Higher Education, the employability of graduates, the shortages of skills in key areas, the expansion of private and transnational education, etc.<sup>67</sup>

The Declaration proposes three main goals: (i) international competitiveness, (ii) mobility and (iii) employability, together with six instrumental objectives:

(1) A system of academic grades which are easy to read and compare, including the introduction of the diploma supplement (designed to improve international ‘transparency’ and facilitate academic and professional recognition of qualifications).

(2) A system essentially based on two study cycles: a first cycle geared to the employment market and lasting at least three years and a second cycle (Masters’)

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<sup>67</sup> Confederation of European Union Rectors’ Conferences and the Association of European Universities, *The Bologna Declaration on the European space for higher education: an explanation*, 20 February 2000

conditional upon the completion of the first cycle and a further eighteen months to two years of study.

(3) A system of accumulation and transfer of credits (of the ECTS type already used successfully under the Socrates-Erasmus programmes of the EU).

(4) The mobility of students, teachers and researchers.

(5) Co-operation with regard to quality assurance.

(6) Introducing a European dimension into Higher Education.

The structural discourse of this declaration was oriented towards the design of credit accumulation and transfer systems, the planning of Bachelor-level degrees and the recognition of the need to ‘transnationalise’ higher education. The six lines contribute to co-ordinating the first two ‘floors’ of the new building for Higher Education, degrees and system of credits. It also promotes mobility for different actors within the system and offers two new components: co-operation and the development of a European dimension, which echo the EU processes themselves, i.e. ‘integration’ and ‘enlargement’.

In the **Prague Communiqué (2001)**, the objective of establishing the European Higher Education Area (mentioned in the Bologna Declaration) was ratified by actors of the Bologna process. This declaration elaborates the six instrumental objectives just noted and adds three new aspects fundamental for the consolidation of the European Common Space in Higher Education. These include: (7) lifelong learning, (8) involvement of students and (9) promotion of the attractiveness and competitiveness of the European Higher Education Area around the world. The Prague Communiqué

oriented specifically towards two fundamental themes: (i) degree structures with regard to qualifications and (ii) the social dimension of HE. Within the first aspect, one can observe in the text three significant microstructures including *recognition of studies* and *the use of credits*; *the development of joint degrees*; and *the design of degrees and qualification structures*. The social dimension of HE is also seen through three microstructures: *cooperation with concern on accreditation and quality assurance*; *mobility with special interest in handling the obstacles*, and *lifelong learning in Higher Education*.

The presence of European organisations as contributors to the Bologna Process, such as the Council of Europe, constituted an intervenient variable in the Prague Communiqué. Some experts have argued that this period was characterised by “a growing convergence with EU processes aimed at strengthening European co-operation in higher education” (Reinalda & Kulesza, 2006: 27). The tone of semantic expressions changed from a discourse focused on voluntary actions to more formal utterances/texts oriented to a set of commitments. Zgaga’s report<sup>68</sup> gathers up these linguistic changes, arguing that the decisions made in the European Council meetings and the EU Education Councils in 2000 and 2001, altered the original Bologna Declaration. These addressed concrete structural as well as social strategies to be applied in the new scenario for European HE.

The **Berlin Communiqué (2003)**, entitled “Realising the European Higher Education Area”, is mainly characterised by a language which emphasises the social dimension of the Bologna Process. In fact, its main objective is to improve the social conditions for the development of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA).

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<sup>68</sup> Bologna Process between Prague and Berlin. Report to the Ministers of Education of the signatory countries, by General Rapporteur Pavel Zgaga, Berlin, September 2003

Within this communiqué, one can notice the appearance of new microstructures including *strengthening social cohesion* and *reducing social and gender inequalities*, which are being considered both at national and at European level. The deepest aspect of the social dimension in this discourse is that it implies the recognition of HE as “a public good and a public responsibility” (Berlin Communiqué, 2003: 1) i.e. the role of State as an ‘Educational State’.

The stronger presence of European organisations such as the Council of Europe (in Lisbon, 2000 and Barcelona, 2002) and the European Commission turned the discourse in HE towards the purpose of “making the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world” (Reinalda & Kulesza, 2006: 28). The so-called ‘Europe of knowledge’, then, emerges as a powerful concept which proposes to transform Europe into a superpower in the international arena. This discursive feature is later reinforced by the idea that the European HE system as a whole must be linked with the research system, “assuming that the emerging *European Higher Education Area* (EHEA) will benefit from synergies with the *European Research Area* (ERA)” (ibid: 29). This strengthens the basis of the Europe of Knowledge, thus promoting closer links between the two areas and the importance of research as an integral part of Higher Education across Europe (ibid).

The structural aspects of this text are focused on three priorities: (i) quality assurance of HE, which considers the development of mutual shared criteria and methodologies for achieving this purpose; (ii) the two-cycle degree system, including the implementation of an overarching framework of qualifications for the EHEA, and (iii) the recognition of degrees and periods of studies, by which, taking into account the



Lisbon Recognition Convention, every graduating student should receive the Diploma Supplement.

The final significant variable in this communiqué was the recognition of contributions made by the non-governmental organisations (NGO's), amongst them, the Latin American-European actor, the EULAC/ALCUE (Latin America, Caribbean and the European Union), has played a considerable role in spreading the Bologna Process beyond Europe. The EULAC/ALCUE established a plan of action for the period 2002-2004 (extended until 2008) before the Berlin Communiqué. This defined the EULAC/ALCUE common space for higher education by suggesting taking into account the Bologna process in targeting the objectives of the EULAC/ALCUE Higher Education area. This has given rise to the construction of a common space for Higher Education, because this implies a political framework for on-going concrete co-operation at the institutional level.

In the **Bergen Communiqué (2005)**, named “The European Higher Education Area – Achieving the Goals”, three structural priorities were analysed in detail: (i) degree system; (ii) quality assurance and recognition of degrees; and (iii) study periods. These microstructures constitute the structural basis of the Bologna Language. In concrete terms, this communiqué underlines a further four microstructures: *a synergic co-ordination between Higher Education and research with special attention to doctoral studies; the development of lifelong learning; the achievement of quality assurance at a global level and institutional autonomy and governance*. Taking into account the last microstructure, one can argue that European principles start to emerge explicitly within discourses. In addition, the ‘Bergen Language’ views different actors of the European HE system such as institutions, staff and students as ‘partners’ of the

Bologna Process. Therefore, in this case, the Bologna Language proposes mechanisms of co-ordination amongst different actors of the HE process based “on co-operation and trust between the partners” (Reinalda & Kulesza, 2006: 36).

The social dimension of the ‘Bologna utterances/texts’ focuses on describing two crucial aspects: (a) to achieve equal accessible HE for all students and (b) to materialise mobility programmes through full recognition of study periods abroad. In addition, in this communiqué it is possible to observe that the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) is taking shape, and EHEA’s further ambition of being an exportable model for other parts of the world is emerging significantly within these discourses. However, within the social dimension of the Bergen Communiqué there are no visible discourses directly related to the idea of showing Europe as a superpower in terms of knowledge, education and research.

The final observation of the ‘Bergen language’ is that, on the one hand, its discourse is mainly oriented to inform practical aspects for implementing the new European architecture of HE. There is, then, a growing concern about whether Higher Education institutions have enough autonomy and funds to implement the agreed reforms. On the other hand, a significant approximation towards a labour market logic is observable in this utterance/text. Semantic expressions, including: *strengthening self-governance structures, institutional leadership, internal management and accountability* show the addressing of educational issues towards the market. It could be argued that the presence of three new consultative members: the European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA), the trade union Education International (EI) Pan-European Structure and the Union of Industrial and Employers’ Confederations of Europe (UNICE) have contributed to address these new thematic issues. However,

within the discourses, the presence of an Educational State is still observable. In this aspect, the European Commission argue that the EU requests a new kind of partnership between state and the university: “we need to balance autonomy, responsibility and self-governance on the one side with strategic guidance from governments; we need a stable and medium-term funding framework (which should incorporate a creative mix of public and private funding); and we need a real accountability towards society”<sup>69</sup>.

The following sentence of the **London Communiqué (2007)** summarises the discursive spirit of this text: “we are developing an EHEA based on institutional autonomy, academic freedom, equal opportunities and democratic principles that will facilitate mobility, increase employability and strengthen Europe’s attractiveness and competitiveness”(London: 2007: 1). As we can analyse, this communiqué gathers up most of the ‘maxims’ which appeared in the previous communiqués, including the structural concepts and those semantic expressions which belong to the social dimension of the Bologna Language.

Even though this communiqué describes, in detail, all those aspects which show the progress of the EHEA, the ‘London Language’ is characterised by overlapping these microstructures across the document. Therefore, the text is structured by the intermingling concepts. However, the document is well organised and divided into nine microstructures:

**SM1 Mobility:** personal growth, international co-operation and European dimension

**SM2 Degree Structure:** labour market and further study

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<sup>69</sup> [http://www.bologna-bergen2005.no/Bergen/Speeches/050519\\_Figel.pdf](http://www.bologna-bergen2005.no/Bergen/Speeches/050519_Figel.pdf), page 6.

**SM3 Recognition:** higher education qualification frameworks, periods of study, prior learning, non-formal and informal learning, comparable degrees, accessible information on educational systems, citizens' mobility, attractiveness and competitiveness.

**SM4 Qualifications Frameworks:** comparability and transparency, movements of learners, learning outcomes and credits, recognition of qualifications, prior learning, employability, promotion of European HE in a global context.

**SM5 Lifelong Learning:** flexible learning, recognition of prior learning, lifelong learning,

**SM6 Quality Assurance and a European Register of Quality Assurance Agencies:** external quality assurance, mutual recognition of accreditation, quality assurance decisions, international co-operation, good practices, general public open access to objective information

**SM7 Doctoral candidates:** research capacity, quality and competitiveness of European HE, transparent access arrangements, supervision and assessment procedures, transferable skills and employability.

**SM8 Social Dimension:** social cohesion, reduction of inequalities and increase level of knowledge, sustainable and democratic knowledge-based society, diversity.

**SM9 The European Higher Education Area in a global context:** co-operation based on partnership, policy dialogue, recognition.

As one can see, the social dimension of the Bologna Language colours the entire London document. However, there is no clear understanding of the social

dimension is apparent within the text. Because ideas and concepts intertwine, one could argue that this aspect is related to the following ideas:

(a) It is couched in terms of a very European discourse, focusing on a number of principles and values which include: *non-discrimination and equal opportunities, democratic principles, good practices, social cohesion and sustainable and democratic knowledge-based society*.

(b) There is a clear orientation of the discourse towards considering students as the most important element in of the process. The text emphasises that HE institutions should prepare students “for life as active citizens in a democratic society; preparing students for their future careers and enabling their personal development; creating and maintaining a broad, advanced knowledge base; and stimulating research and innovation” (London: 2007: 1).

(c) Mobility, one of the most significant microstructures within the previous communiqués, is presented here as a series of practical recommendations to dispose of the obstacles to mobility. For instance, issues related to immigration, delivery of visas and residence and work permits. In terms of academic themes, the London Communiqué proposes an increase in the number of joint programmes and the creation of more flexible curricula to encourage staff and student mobility.

(d) It is possible to observe a ‘social discourse’ mainly directed towards the labour market and Further Education. In this case, the concept of employability is constantly present within the text; this idea is directly related to other microstructures, including the mobility, attractiveness and competitiveness of EHEA.

(e) The European dimension is observable through the acknowledgement of the exportable capability (beyond Europe) of this European model. The text says: “We acknowledge that efforts have been made in some countries in other parts of the world to bring their higher education systems more closely into line with the Bologna framework” (London: 2007: 1). However, there is no an explicit or implicit discourse showing Europe as a superpower in the international arena.

#### 4.4.3. *The ‘European’ Bologna Language Macrostructure.*

Following Teun van Dijk’s Sociocognitive Approach (SCA), the analysis of European documents focused on *semantic microstructures*, *topics* and *micropropositions*.

The *semantic microstructures* described the Bologna Language in terms of semantic constructions which “derived from a text by interference –through a process of information reduction that is being practised especially in text summarization” (van Dijk, 2009: 68). The ‘texts base’ (Kintsch, 1974; van Dijk and Kintsch, 1983) were European documents described above which refer to the Bologna Process. The first two microstructures (**SM1** and **SM2**) refer to what experts name as the ‘linguistic surface’ of discourse i.e. those semantic expressions which express practical and operative levels of meanings and understanding. In this thesis, these expressions have been called ‘structural text base’, because they explain the structural basis of curricular procedures for the new design of European HE. One can recognise, then, **SM1** as Architecture & Harmonisation of Higher Education and **SM2** as Mobility.

The remaining *semantic microstructures* (**SM3**, **SM4** and **SM5**) were called ‘ideational text base’. They represent political, social and linguistic practices of discourse that are not consciously controlled. They involve ideas, principles, norms and values which symbolise those aspects of language that “impose themselves practically ‘behind the back of the subjects’, while the actors do not understand ‘the game’” (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 17). In Bourdieu’s words, these kinds of discursive practices could mean ‘*violence symbolique*’ because, in this way, language itself becomes a vehicle for hegemonic practices, as it imposes and determines ways of grasping or constructing the ‘reality’ or ‘realities’ of the world. In practical terms, our semantic microstructures are: **SM3** as Employability, **SM4** and **SM4a** as international recognition & attractiveness of European HE and Europe of Knowledge respectively, as well as **SM5** as Democracy, Co-operation & Respect for diversity.

As previously stated, the *topics*, in the analysis of discourse of SCA (Socio-Cognitive Analysis), are those significant issues whose presence is remarkable throughout the whole text. As an important aspect of semantic microstructures, topics constitute what the text is referring to, which are the main themes of discourse. In the case of the Bologna Language, there were five relevant topics, including: curricular design for undergraduate and graduate studies; mobility of students, academics and researchers; new professional skills for employability; European Common Space for HE; European principles and values. These topics were related to the semantic microstructure through levels of discourse (1-5) and they contributed to the reformulation of semantic microstructures in terms of ‘part-whole’.

Micropropositions according to van Dijk, constitute concepts with high levels of abstraction. In the case of the Bologna Language, macropropositions were:

- MP1:** The new architecture for European HE seeks to harmonise degrees and cycles in order to generate a common dialogue amongst actors, processes and institutions.
- MP2:** Mobility models allow students and academics to circulate freely and to disseminate knowledge rapidly throughout the continent.
- MP3:** The development of new professional skills seeks to promote European citizens' employability and the international competitiveness of the European Higher Education system.
- MP4:** The European Common Space for HE seeks to achieve a worldwide degree of attraction equal to its cultural and scientific traditions.
- MP4a:** Europe of Knowledge involves the strengthening and building upon the intellectual, cultural, social and technical dimensions of the continent.
- MP5:** European principles and values pursue the development and strengthening of stable, peaceful and democratic societies.

The following table (table 4.2) summarises all *semantic microstructures*, *topics* and *micropropositions* sampled and analysed in the European texts relating to the Bologna Process. It shows in detail all the semantic aspects considered significant during the analysis of discourse.



**European Bologna Language.**

<b>SEMANTIC MICROSTRUCTURES (SM)</b>	<b>TOPICS (TO)</b>	<b>MICROPROPOSITIONS (MP)</b>
<b>SM1:</b> Architecture & Harmonisation of HE.	Curricular design for undergraduate and graduate studies.	The new architecture for European HE seeks to harmonise degrees and cycles in order to generate a common dialogue amongst actors, processes and institutions.
<b>SM2:</b> Mobility.	Mobility of students, academics and researchers.	Mobility models allow students and academics to circulate freely and rapidly disseminate knowledge throughout the continent.
<b>SM3:</b> Employability.	New professional skills for employability.	The development of new professional skills seeks to promote European citizens' employability and the international competitiveness of the European Higher Education system.
<b>SM4:</b> European Common Space for HE  <b>SM4a:</b> Europe of Knowledge.	International recognition & attractiveness of European HE.	The European Common Space for HE seeks to achieve a worldwide degree of attraction equal to its cultural and scientific traditions.  Europe of Knowledge involves the strengthening and building upon the intellectual, cultural, social and technical dimensions of the continent.
<b>SM5:</b> Democracy, Co-operation & Respect for diversity	European principles and values.	European principles and values pursue the development and strengthening of stable, peaceful and democratic societies.

**Table 4.2**

The next methodological step in the analysis of discourse was to develop some fundamental arguments, in order to obtain a more profound understanding of the Bologna Language. The study took into account Normative Power Europe (EU) as a starting point of the theoretical analysis.

Taking into account these analyses of discourse, this thesis argues that the Bologna Language is composed of two main significant ‘base texts’: a *structural* as well as an *ideational* ‘conceptual representation’ (Tomlin et. al., 1997: 68). At the first level, the structural, one can see many semantic expressions which describe the new architecture for European Higher Education, including *system of credits*, *academic degrees* and *mobility schemes*. The ideological level is more complex to describe because it involves at least four conceptual categories:

(a) *A set of operational concepts which complement the structural level.* In this set, we can observe microstructures such as: *mobility and employability*, *compatibility and comparability* and *life-long learning*. Within this package of microstructures, one could observe the presence of the US in the structural dynamic of the Bologna Process and an international Higher Education orientated towards market demands, as a result of the Globalisation phenomenon currently in operation. Therefore, it shows some deeper implications of the current educational changes which now tend towards a capitalist logic. This is done through standardisation processes and contents, which introduce neo-liberal strategies, following the globalisation processes and replacing the *state welfare* policies by the concepts of *market*.

(b) *A set of concepts which ‘refract’ European processes.* The concepts, in this case, show implicitly the processes of European Integration and Enlargement. These normally appear in the introductions to the European documents, reflecting the similarities between the latter processes and European HE performances. Therefore, the Bologna Process implies not only the re-structuring of Higher Education space beyond Europe, according to EU wishes; the EU also presents a solely European model for

regional integration, for enlargement and for the exchanging of co-operative activities and strengthening of international relations.

(c) *A set of concepts which identify certain patterns of European identity in terms of values.* Amongst the values appearing in the macrostructures (texts), one can observe the following: *peace, democracy, co-operation and respect for diversity.* Here, Manners' idea of the EU playing a global role as a Post-Westphalian Actor, offers a clear definition of the EU as diffusing "universal values such as peace, democracy, the rule of law and human rights, by virtue of its international presence and value-rational conduct in foreign policy" (Merlingen, 2007: 437).

(d) *A set of concepts associated with the presence of Europe as a relevant actor in the international arena.* In this set, three significant concepts complement the Bologna Language: *Europe of Knowledge, European Area for Higher Education* (European Common Space for HE) and *International recognition and attractiveness.* These microstructures significantly develop the so-called 'social dimension' of the Bologna Process, which involves normative aspects associated with a discourse that creates linguistic ways of exerting power in Higher Education. However, Roger Dale argues that these kinds of concept are more related to the logic of the labour market, owing to the fact that "the 'Europe of Knowledge' (EoK) is—or has become—essentially a project about increasing Europe's economic competitiveness" (Dale, 2009:1).

It is arguable here that within sets (c) and (d) one can observe concepts identifying Europe as a power capable of exerting influence through ideas and opinions: in Manners' words, Normative Power Europe. This is a power that can shape

conceptions of views and discourses (*Weltanschauung*) considered as the ‘norm’ in social and consensual realities of human existence.

The Bologna Language constitutes an interesting language in itself, because as a European model, it possesses the operative capability of proposing mechanisms for the organisation of structural components for HE, such as systems of credits and degrees. This would fit with Agnew’s view that “EU influence works largely through existing institutions by creating and imposing common standards” (Agnew, 2000: 23). In abstract terms, it is contributing towards the construction of the ‘European Dream’ (Rifkin, 2004) of a common space for Higher Education. Forming the Common Space in Higher Education has meant deep shifts not only in the European universities but also in Higher Education institutions elsewhere that follow the European model. They do this by constituting framework documents, creating institutions and generating projects, which extend and intensify the contact for cooperative activities in areas of common interest based on the principle of reciprocity.

The whole structure of the Bologna Language can be divided into different levels taking into account its structural and ideological components. Within the Bologna structural Language section, one can observe two levels of ‘language’. The items shown at *Level One* appear, when joined together, to assert the ‘operative aspects’ of the Bologna Process, which Bologna experts call ‘harmonisation’. In practical terms, the Bologna Process has achieved the harmonisation of the European Higher Education system by synchronising curricula, systems of credits and professionalisation of skills<sup>70</sup>. As Zgaga suggests, the tangible need to redesign and harmonise academic programmes

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<sup>70</sup> However, this latter aspect also has echoes of the American system.

and curricula will contribute “to better prepare students for emerging on regional and international labour markets” (Zgaga, 2006a: 44).

This ‘harmonising dimension’ leads to *Level Two*, defined by experts through the concept of *mobility*. This level deserves a special mention within the structure of the Bologna Language, because it implies what Susan Robertson (2009) has pointed out as geo-strategic and intellectual challenges for HE. With regard to the geo-strategic one, it is necessary to pay attention to the profound transformations taking place in the directional flow of international students and the growth of new regional ‘education’ hubs, which Robertson has called new forms of global regionalism. In the intellectual research aims, says Robertson, Higher Education is typically studied as a single issue related to a single nation at a time (and within that, its single, separate institution), so it fails to register the complexities of what is happening in the sector or a multi-scalar view of changes.

The three remaining levels, (3, 4 and 5) involve two different ideational base texts, one of them concentrating explicitly on a labour market logic (*Level Three*) and the two others focusing on a very Eurocentric discourse, maybe a ‘post-colonialist’ strategy. It would be based on what Poststructuralist scholars like Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1999), have declared as the EU’s linguistic means of exerting power. It would be “...part of ‘Eurocentric strategies of narrativising history, so that Europe can congratulate itself for progress’ [a progress] which in contemporary terms invokes the <<culture of capitalism>>” (Manners, 2004: 2).

The expected consequences of the first two levels are several non-material abstract items shown in *Level Three*. This is composed of operational concepts which complement other structural levels including: *mobility and employability, compatibility*

*and comparability* and *life-long learning*, which related to a labour market logic. The Bologna Language, then, operates as a political structure which combines the processes of commodification and socialisation (Cafruny and Ryner, 2006). Thus Higher Education, previously seen as a mainly cultural process, is to be treated much more as a commodity, a consumer item.

In *Level Four*, the Bologna Process shows us a European Model, in terms of persuasion, learning and socialisation processes, beyond the European geographical area. The construction of the Common Space through the Bologna Process constitutes necessarily a European achievement, because it represents what Zgaga (2006a) has called the ‘external dimension’ of the Bologna Process. This external aspect of the Bologna Process is characterised by a social dimension focused on what European experts in Higher Education have called ‘the Bologna Language’ or Eurocentric discourse, in the words of post-colonial scholars. The microstructures which appeared in this level are: *Europe of Knowledge, International Recognition and Attractiveness of European HE* and *European Learning Area of HE*.

*Level Five* of the Bologna Language shows us a series of microstructures related to European values easily identifiable in NPE literature. They combine values and concepts including *peace, transparency, democracy, cooperation, multidisciplinary networking and respect for diversity*. Indeed, an NPE discourse is observable in the Bologna Language in an explicit and implicit way, referring to a European identity in terms of principles and values.

In short, the ‘European Bologna language’ has impacted on other realities and vocabularies around the world, as has been the case in Latin American countries, especially Chile and Mexico, through the construction of a very strong discourse

focused on the creation of Higher Education Space. This abstract ‘space’ of Higher Education symbolises the exportation of a European model through which others will come to understand, conceive, plan and organise the functional, structural and content dynamics of universities abroad.

In the following diagram (figure 4.3), it is possible to observe a graphic view of the Bologna Language as a Macrostructure with its levels and texts base. This analytical ‘tree’ shows clearly the points of confluence of microstructures or key concepts, levels of depth of conceptual representations and texts base associated with topics and micropropositions.

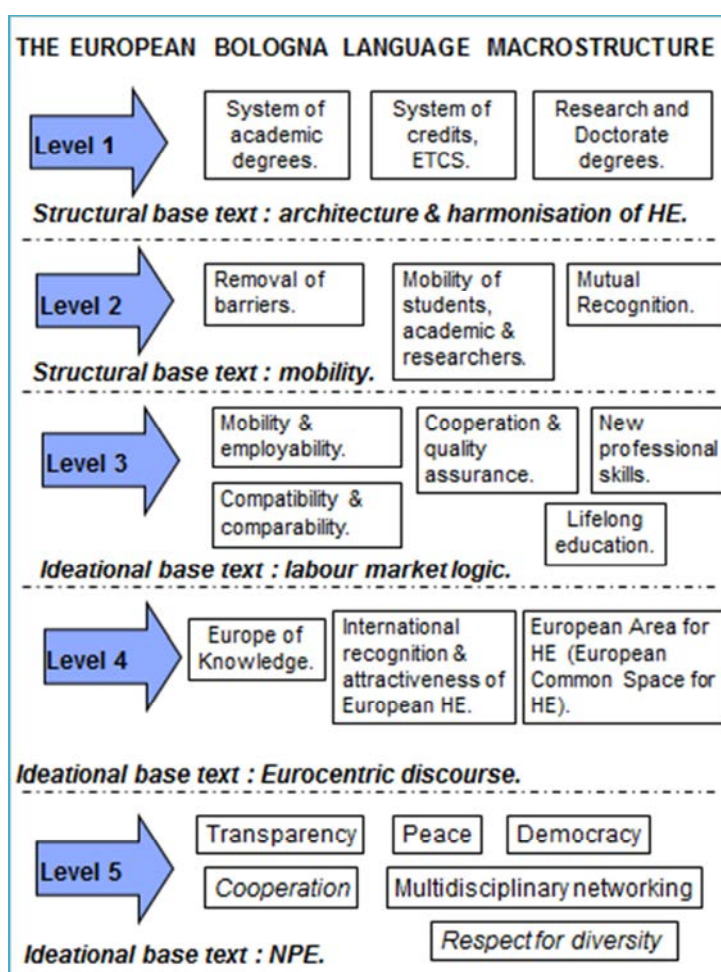


Figure 4.3

As a result of this analysis of discourse, this part of the chapter aims to show the analysis of semantic macrostructures, which take into account public and university policy discourses. These correspond to key documents of public and institutional/university policies, which were analysed comparing the Bologna Language (BL) and its impact on Chilean and Mexican HE 'grammar'.

#### **4.5. Conclusion.**

A retrospective view of this chapter gives a brief description of actors and their roles within the Higher Education system, with reference to Burton Clark (1983), who defined this system primarily as the result of the relationship between a cluster of formerly autonomous entities, such as different kinds of institutions (HEI), now working in co-operation with a governmental body representing the State.

In the first part of this section, we observed two significant phenomena: a) the presence of actors involved in the processes of establishing European Influences on universities and other HE institutions and governments; and b) the sequence of historical events which seem to have determined the introduction of European influences into Chilean and Mexican Higher Education. Therefore, this section took into account the sequence of historical events which I divided into four periods: the time of the shaping of the Higher Education system, the period of academic exchanges, the Americanisation of Higher Education and the institutionalisation of European ties. This part of the thesis sought to answer the following questions: Have there been any strong European influences on HE in Chile and Mexico during their dealings with the EU? If so, when and how could they be observed?



As we can observe in Table 4.3 (below), Chile and Mexico have followed parallel paths in establishing different ties with Europe. The 1990s were characterised by a political purpose, in the case of Chile, of strengthening the process of reintegrating itself into the International Community after years of isolation during the Military Regime. Mexico had a strategic reason, the wish to follow OECD recommendations, to concur with some European advice to improve its Higher Education<sup>71</sup>. At the beginning of this century, Chile and Mexico received an ‘associated status’ or ‘partnership condition’ when Mexico and Chile each signed a ‘global agreement’ with the EU. In addition, Chile and Mexico participate actively in horizontal programmes.

### The Progress of Establishing Ties with Europe.

CHILE	MEXICO
1990s: Democratic governments began relationships with the EU.	From the 1990s: Mexico accepted recommendations from the OECD and ECLAC.
2000: Establishment of Social Cooperation Agreement (2000/2002) and Horizontal Programmes (2004).	2000: Establishment of Social Cooperation Agreement (1997/2000) and Horizontal Programmes (2004). 2001-2002: strengthening of internationalisation activities (46% with Europe).
	2002: Programme of Mobility for University Technological Personnel incorporating the teaching of the French language. The Federal Government and The British Council launched diverse programmes for teaching English.
2002-2004: Intensifying of impact of European influences: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strong emergence of the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project.</li> <li>• Construction of Common Space in Higher Education.</li> <li>• Creation of the ALFA Tuning Latin America Project.</li> </ul>	
	2006: Declaration of the EU-LAC Common Area of Higher Education.
2007: Last Workshop of the ALFA Tuning Latin America Project (Mexico).	

**Table 4.3**

<sup>71</sup> Interview with Dr. Roberto Rodríguez Gioacutemez-Guerra, Mexico-D.F., January 2008.

Having dealt with the first three periods, the rest of this research focuses on the last period, the time of the formalisation of European influences, concentrating on the Bologna Process as the most influential tool Europe has been using to spread the norms and ideas of the countries of the European Community. This period of institutionalisation is characterised by the presence of European influences through a 'package of instruments' such as the establishment of agreements and programmes. Indeed, in the Social and Cooperation Agreements with the EU, Chile and Mexico agreed to a 'Cooperation Partnership Condition' which implies a 'marriage' of economic and political objectives (Smith, 2002). The main argument was that one of the most considerable tools of this process of formalisation of the political dialogue has been the Bologna Process with its Tuning Project. In contrast with other periods of European influence, the effects of the Bologna Process on Chilean and Mexican Higher Education can be observed in the processes of strengthening the role of state and HE institutions.

The current political dialogue between the EU, Chile and Mexico in Higher Education has been based on what Europeans have called 'the construction of the Common Space in Higher Education'. The Bologna Process and the project through which it is to be realised, the Tuning Project, have offered a model to Chile and Mexico (and other Latin America countries), which has been defined by experts as the construction of a European Education Space. This is being followed not only in terms of structure, but also in terms of the whole concept of what Higher Education means. The formal implementation of discussions about the Bologna process was launched in 2002 when the Council of Chancellors of Chilean and Mexican Universities met with their European partners in Louvain, Belgium, to discuss curricula and a common credits system in both European and Latin American universities.

In addition, for institutional/university and public policies, the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project have constituted a significant, ordered and systematic offensive of re-locating European power in Latin America and showing the European model as an attractive educational system, - the whole procedure to be completed by 2010<sup>72</sup>. In fact, this phenomenon has exerted a degree of influence on the university/institutional and public policies of Chile and Mexico, because it has involved an equation of the Political Dialogue plus the Common Space in Higher Education in Chile and Mexico. Consequently, Chilean and Mexican Higher Education have a perception of the EU as an adequate model of integration, because it is a very good example of the success of cooperative work.

The second part of this section aimed to analyse the common surface of the process characterised by a structural base that define the field of Higher Education (HE) as a common space for harmonising curricular reforms and encouraging mobility. It also sought to study the hidden traces of a European language based on 'Bologna Lexis' through an in-depth analysis of 'instituted traces' of the Bologna Language, with the purpose of inquiring into European discourses of HE as part of the search of empirical evidence that demonstrates the presence of ideational influences upon non-European countries. The next sections study the impact of European influences upon Chilean and Mexican HE.

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<sup>72</sup> Interview with María José Lemaitre, expert in Accreditation Processes in Chilean Higher Education, Santiago de Chile, April 7<sup>th</sup> 2008.

# Chapter 5: The impact of European ideas on Chilean Higher Education (HE).

## 5.1. The impact of European ideas on Chilean HE. Telling the story.

5.1.2. *The 'triumphal' arrival of European ideas and language in Chilean HE.*

5.1.1. *European ideas impacting upon fundamental Chilean actors.*

## 5.2. Normative Power Europe (NPE) impacting on Chilean domestic policies.

5.2.1. *The analytical dimension of NPE: Chilean HE absorbing European ideas.*

5.2.2. *The gnosiological side of NPE: validating Chilean HE system through European norms.*

## 5.3. European influences on Chilean HE discourses.

5.3.1. *Chilean Bologna Language Macrostructure.*

5.3.2. *Chilean Macrostructure in HE within public documents.*

5.3.3. *Chilean Macrostructure in HE within university documents.*

## 5.3. Conclusions.

### Summary.

The present chapter introduces an analysis of European influences upon the first case of study, Chilean Higher Education (HE). This chapter is divided into three parts: the *first section* describes a narrative of the arrival of European ideational factors at Chile. Subsequently Normative Power Europe (NPE), as a theoretical framework, enables this research to conceptualise and theorise about the impact of European ideas and language on Chilean Higher Education. Within this, in the *second part*, there is an analysis of the effect of NPE on events, ideas, principles norms and their impact on Chile, taking into account the period after the arrival and implementation of the Bologna Process in the country (2004). The *third subdivision* of chapter 7 is fundamental for understanding the impact of European ideas and language on Chilean Higher Education. Although the phenomenon of impact cannot be restricted to just the Bologna Language, this aspect is significant because it represents, according to experts, the most 'exportable European commodity'. This 'commodity', as a model for HE, is considered an essential part of Bologna social and external dimensions. This section thus includes an analysis of NPE within the Bologna European Language and its impact on the Latin American Bologna Language observed in Chilean HE discourse.

### **5.1. The impact of European ideas on Chilean HE. Telling the story.**

As was said previously, this case was chosen considering a personal experience. As a lecturer of a regional university, I was a witness of rapid changes happening in diverse Chilean universities at undergraduate level, as a result of an intervenient variable affecting the field of Higher Education, namely the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project. These transformations were preliminarily observable through two aspects: (i) a set of practical procedures that has impacted on curricular designs and professional profiles, and (ii) a shared and common 'language' and ideas that has coloured public and university policies and projects.

This chapter is divided into three main subdivisions: the impact of European ideas on Chilean HE, Normative Power Europe impacting on Chilean domestic policies, and European influences on Chilean HE discourses. These analyses offer empirical evidence to validate the two associative hypotheses: (1) European influences are observed on the development of domestic policies in Chile and Mexico in the field of Higher Education and (2) The impact of European influences upon received countries are mediated by domestic circumstances.

The first part outlines preliminary analyses of interviews. These tell the story, place and study the main actors involved in the phenomenon of European ideas impacting Chilean HE, considering the whole process starting in 2002 with a series of meeting between European and Chilean authorities. This section was conducted through the process called 'open coding', in Grounded Theory (GT). In terms of discourse analysis, this segment of research corresponds to the analysis of the context of this phenomenon (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 29).

With the purpose of outlining empirical evidence to support the statements of this research, seven interviews from 50 were translated from Spanish into English. These interviews considered *three experts*, Enrique Fernández Darras, Andrés Bernasconi Herrera and José Joaquín Brunner Ried; *three subject types*, Roxana Pey Tumanoff (a civil servant, with 2 interviews), Sara Chauriye Batarce (a university administrator) and Sebastián Donoso (a university authority).

The second segment analyses empirical data through Normative Power ‘lenses’. Two dimensions of this theoretical framework, analytical and gnosiological, are used in order to facilitate the study of European ideational factors. The analytical scope focuses on the examination of three procedures of NPE’s impact: *socialisation*, *ownership* and *positive conditionality*. This research adds a fourth way of measuring ‘impact’, which is called adverse/null effects. The gnosiological range centres on examining ideas, principles, norms and language. The final step of the analysis considered a study of the Bologna Language. This examination was conducted through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of public and university documents.

5.1.1. *The 'triumphal' arrival of European ideas in Chilean Higher Education.*

This first part of chapter 5 summarises the story of European ideas impacting on Chilean HE. This story was 're-constructed' through results of a series of interviews realised with civil servants<sup>73</sup>, university authorities<sup>74</sup> and experts<sup>75</sup> in Chile between 2006-2009. The main objective of this branch of research was to seek information about how the Latin American Tuning Project was being implemented by the traditional universities and to analyse the impact of European influences on Chilean Higher Education.

A great wave of curriculum reform characterises the stage of European higher education, which has been so influential in the design of our curriculum. Our universities recognise in the European tradition, its deepest roots and therefore the changes that are facing these institutions, guided by its commitment to build a large European area of education and knowledge, can serve as a mirror for our own process of curriculum redesign (Armanet, 2004:3).

The European ideas of the Bologna Process arrived officially in Chile in 2002, when the Council of Chilean Rectors (CRUCH) met European partners in Louvain, Belgium, to discuss curricula and a credits system for European and Chilean universities. As an outcome of the meeting, the incorporation of European ideas into Chilean university and public is seen in a number of events, declarations and projects.

Following the Louvain Meeting, the Chilean traditional universities signed the 'Valparaiso Declaration', in which they agreed to follow the Bologna Process. During the same year, they worked with European experts in a seminar in Santiago (Chile)

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<sup>73</sup> The Higher Education Division, Ministry of Education (MINEDUC), MECESUP (Programme of the improvement of quality in HE), CONICYT (National Commission of scientific and technological Research), CINDA (Inter-university Centre of Development), National Centre of Tuning-Latin American Project in Chile,

<sup>74</sup> Council of Rectors of Chilean Universities (CRUCH), Pontifical Catholic University of Chile, University of Chile, University of Talca and Catholic University of the North.

<sup>75</sup> Dr. Andrés Bernasconi, Dr. José Joaquín Brunner, Dr. Enrique Fernández, Dr. María José Lamaitre and Dr. Juan Pablo Prieto.

analysing changes and advances in the Bologna Protocol. The Declaration of Valparaíso constitutes one of the most significant events not only because it was the starting point of the incorporation of Bologna within Chilean traditional universities; but also because it represented the formalisation of a political dialogue between Chile and the EU. This political dialogue helped to construct the ‘European dream’ of a common space for HE among participating countries.

The next significant event after the Valparaíso Declaration, occurred in 2004, when the Chilean Government inserted the ALFA Latin America Tuning into the Programme to Improve Quality and Equity in Higher Education (MECESUP) projects<sup>76</sup>, to launch the Bologna Process officially in Chilean universities. The Chilean Government together with the World Bank prepared a second stage, MECESUP 2, which was implemented during the second half of 2005. The Project MECESUP 2, “Tertiary Education for the Knowledge Society” constitutes some part of the efforts to be deployed by the Government of Chile to celebrate its Bicentennial in the year 2010. It has a permanent character, thus, ensuring continuity: it is targeted towards academic and curricular renewal, and exploring the creation of a new resource allocation instrument based on performance agreements. It therefore ensures international recognition for the postgraduate doctorate being offered in Chile.

The ALFA Tuning Latin America project was placed in MECESUP 2. Chile is one of the national centres of this project in Latin America, and its main purpose is to strengthen the development of projects for the curricular innovation of Chilean HE, by supporting MECESUP projects. According to Brunner<sup>77</sup>, Ricardo Lagos’ government (2000-2006) decided to place the ALFA project in MECESUP 2 because first at all he

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<sup>76</sup> This programme of projects was created as an accreditation system in 1990.

<sup>77</sup> Interview with José Joaquín Brunner, Santiago de Chile, April 25<sup>th</sup>, 2008.



needed to strengthen MECESUP projects financially and, furthermore, to justify the presence of accountability strategies, through a parallel with what European universities were doing in terms of HE. However, Roxana Pey<sup>78</sup>, a civil servant and Coordinator of the National Tuning Centre in Chile, argues that democratic Chilean governments located this “centre” firmly within the MECESUP projects, because it would make the projects more operative and easier in terms of developing a methodology for implementing structural changes in university curricula. Therefore, European influences have ‘coloured’ and ‘informed’ criteria which evaluate university projects.

In addition, through one of the major mechanisms for allocating financial development resources, MECESUP 2, it is possible to observe the development of a new culture for planning and assessing HE projects. Bologna has been contributing to some planning models and ideas which would support the concept of privatism argued by Bernasconi (1999) and Brunner (2007). The final stage of privatism, according to them is of a kind which associates the awarding of state resources with a process characterised by continuous planning and seeking to improve the quality of educational standards. In this awards process, the State conducts itself as the manager of a private business, ensuring that HE institutions operate to achieve high degrees of efficiency, efficacy and solvency. In Chile, a planning and evaluation culture within HE appeared at the same time as these processes, establishing a mutually beneficial relationship between Chile and the European Union.

In the next declarations, Arica (July 2005) and Santiago (August 2006), the vice-chancellors of CRUCH (the Council of Rectors of Chilean universities) universities, decided to constitute a network of institutions of quality which promote

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<sup>78</sup> Interview with Dr. Roxana Pey, Santiago-Chile, January 23<sup>th</sup>, 2009.

territorial harmony, exchanges of students and wider collaboration in research and postgraduate studies. In addition, they made a formal decision to implement a discrete system of academic credits for the 25 traditional universities.

As a result of the analysis of interviews, this thesis argues that in terms of Chilean *public policies*, European ideas have had a significant impact on three main aspects: a) the mechanism of allocating public financial resources (MECESUP) b) a new culture of planning and assessing projects for HE and c) in an indirect way, the National Accreditation System which has come under European influence.

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**a.) The mechanism of allocating public financial resources (MECESUP).**

Actually, at that time, Ricardo Lagos was the minister of Education and Pilar Armanet, who is an expert in international policy, held this brief. They had some contacts with Europe, so a small group was formed to discuss and promote these ideas. Some universities took them up and found that this was a place to invest the few funds available from the MECESUP.

Thus they hit on the idea of putting some of their projects under the aegis of MECESUP so that basically the curriculum could be revised, because the public organisations of the Ministry for Education are very interested in making the curriculum lighter, shorter and more flexible<sup>79</sup>.

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**b.) A new culture of planning and assessing projects for HE.**

In recent years there has clearly been a noticeable interest in management by Chilean universities, something that did not happen before, - an interest in academic management. There is a greater concern now for working with indicators. I believe that this is very relevant and implies a more significant change than the creation of private universities, or the role of the CRUCH or the promulgation of a particular law; it is an important cultural change<sup>80</sup>.

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<sup>79</sup> Interview with José Joaquín Brunner, Santiago de Chile, April 25<sup>th</sup>, 2008.

<sup>80</sup> Interview with Dr. Roxana Pey, Santiago-Chile, April 11<sup>th</sup>, 2008.

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**c.) In an indirect way, the National Accreditation System which has come under European influence.**

There are some more specific programmes that have shown and still do show European influence, such as the COLUMBUS programme. This operates as a specific conveyor between particular Latin American and European universities. For example, all the discussions about quality assurance taking place in Latin American universities arose through COLUMBUS, which brought different aspects here and sent Latin Americans to be trained in the area of quality assurance<sup>81</sup>.

Taking into account *university policies*, European ideas have had a strong impact on the design of curricular architecture and the processes of curricular re-engineering in the 25 Chilean traditional universities. In addition, the impact is visible in the construction of a National Academic Credit System (STC – Chile) and processes of internationalisation of HE institutions.

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**a.) The design of curricular architecture and the processes of curricular re-engineering in the 25 Chilean traditional universities.**

Our project was funded by the MECESUP and in the end took 4 years to design. The objective was to design the curricula for the project, and from then onwards we worked on the implementation. During the design process there were 2 central themes we had to discuss: (1) which model we were going to adopt and (2) when we would address the question of competences. We also had to start identifying the demands coming from both the external and the internal environment, plus their sub-categorisations.

Finally we translated all this into course profiles, outline plans and curricular specifications. Obviously all this process meant going from the profiles to the structure of the competences and going on from competences to curricula, a highly complex exercise<sup>82</sup>.

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<sup>81</sup> Interview with José Joaquín Brunner, Santiago de Chile, April 25<sup>th</sup>, 2008.

<sup>82</sup> Interview with Dr. Sebastián Donoso, Antofagasta-Chile, April 17<sup>th</sup>, 2008 (by telephone).

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**b.) The construction of a National Academic Credit System (STC – Chile).**

A case in point is what happened in Chile; it was inspired by the Tuning project, because the idea originally came from there, though later it was through the Bologna Process; and this is the system of credits. However here we have worked what we have called STC Chile (System of Transferable Credits Chile). 25 universities of the Council of Rectors, CRUCH, got together to set up a project, and the academic vice-chancellors were asked to launch the initiative. They in turn nominated a smaller group of Vice-Chancellors to work on it and when it was completed they presented a model that was accepted by the CRUCH<sup>83</sup>.

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**c.) Processes of internationalisation of HE institutions.**

First we have to conquer this resistance locally before thinking of larger scale mobility throughout the continent.

Currently there is a programme in operation with special funding for Mexico and another for Chile to promote student mobility, at least for postgraduates. It is like a special Erasmus, but it is open to applicants at the present time.

The proposal is that in order to get this mobility underway it has to be presented as coming from a kind of general consortium of Chilean and European universities<sup>84</sup>.

Furthermore, the major European ideas having an impact on university policies are visible within two MECESUP projects for the 25 traditional universities:

- a.) “Training of Human Resources in the universities of the CRUCH for the innovation and curricular harmonisation: a collaborative response to demands of Higher Education (UCH 0610, 2006)”. This project is focused on developing a National System of Academic Credits, STC – Chile.
- b.) “The design of a framework of assessments, titles and degrees for the Chilean Higher Education System (UCN 0710, 2007)”. This project is oriented towards the construction of a national framework of student academic profiles to prepare students better to emerge on within the regional and international labour markets.

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<sup>83</sup> Interview with Dr. Roxana Pey, Santiago-Chile, January 23<sup>th</sup>, 2009.

<sup>84</sup> Interview with Dr. Roxana Pey, Santiago-Chile, January 23<sup>th</sup>, 2009.

The table below (5.2) summarises the main finding as a result of the preliminary analysis of interviews and a profound bibliographical study: *(1) the design of public policies, (2) the planning of university policies (and projects) and (3) the development of a specific 'lexis' (Bologna language)*. These sub-substantive areas contribute to outline zones of European influences in developing Chilean domestic policies in the field of Higher Education.

**Zones of European influences upon Chilean HE.**

<b>Sub-substantive areas</b>	<b>Substantives categories.</b>	<b>Analysis &amp; Conclusions.</b>
<b>1. PUBLIC POLICIES:</b> the design of public policies.	Institutional Adjustments.	- Indirectly, the National Accreditation System.
	Setting of standards.	- The development of a new culture of planning and assessing projects for HE.
	Development of specific policies.	- Impact on the mechanism of allocating public financial resources (MECESUP).
	Use of language: the development of a specific 'lexis' (Bologna Language).	To be studied in the Bologna Language through official documents and opinions of experts and civil servants.
<b>2. UNIVERSITY POLICIES:</b> the Planning of university policies (and projects): the design of curricula and the development of internal and external projects	University Adjustments.	- A strong impact on the design of curricular architecture and the processes of curricular re-engineering in the 25 Chilean traditional universities.
	Setting of standards.	- A visible effect on the construction of a National Academic Credit System (STC – Chile)
	Development of specific policies.	- The development of a university culture of planning.
	Use of European language the development of a specific 'lexis' (Bologna Language):.	To be studied in university documents, speeches university authorities, opinions of experts and academic authorities.

**Table 5.1**

5.1.2. *European ideas impacting upon the fundamental actors.*

In a brief summary of the preliminary analyses, one can note that at the national/sectorial level it is possible to observe two main institutions involved in the process: the National Accreditation Commission (CNA in Spanish) and the Ministry of Education, which work to consolidate policies, funding, programmes and regulatory frameworks to bring the ‘Bologna-isation’ processes to the ‘home’ front. Both actors have played the roles of manager and controller of the development of Chilean domestic policies following the European model.

The National Accreditation Commission, which was created to certify the quality of study programmes in Higher Education, is working with private, public, national and international accreditation agencies to implement and coordinate the regulations for educational institutions and ensure the quality of higher education. José Joaquín Brunner analyses European influences through accreditation processes:

International influence is noticeable in the way of establishing systems of quality assurance, accreditation and evaluation.

Here the influence is shared between Europe and the US and if you are looking for empirical evidence, people who have specialised in this have gone to observe the experience in the US as well as in Europe.

*You have here a clear adoption or transference of a policy with an attempt to adjust it to the local conditions of Latin American countries, and this emerges as stronger than Bologna<sup>85</sup>.*

In terms of public policies, the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) is playing the role of management and control to incorporate European influences through the Programme to Improve Quality and Equity in Higher Education (MECESUP). This

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<sup>85</sup> Interview with José Joaquín Brunner, Santiago de Chile, April 25<sup>th</sup>, 2008.

programme was created as an accreditation system in 1990. The MECESUP is the instrument that the Chilean government has been using over the past five years to address the challenges created by the reform of higher education. This programme, as a mechanism for allocating development resources incrementally, ended in 2005. However, the Chilean Government together with the World Bank, prepared a second stage, namely MECESUP Two, which was implemented during the second half of 2005. Two Chilean experts support the idea of the significance of the MECESUP programmes to address changes in HE following the model of the Bologna Process:

<p>Enrique Fernández Darras.</p>	<p>It is without doubt the State that has been influential here through the MECESUP programme, which allocated financial resources for implementing curricular reforms, - two MECESUP projects on curricular reform<sup>86</sup>.</p>
<p>Andrés Bernasconi.</p>	<p>So the matter was presented during Lagos' government and the government quickly allied itself with this objective. So nowadays you have the MECESUP programmes, which give funds to projects about infrastructure and management in general. They also have a special mandate to fund curricular changes, which in practice comes to mean funding competence-based training, and aspects such as shortening courses, developing modular structure, and so on<sup>87</sup>.</p>

In Chilean institutions, the Council of Rectors of Chilean universities, CRUCH, has played a significant role in diffusing information about the Bologna Process. In addition, CRUCH has been instrumental in developing networks amongst universities for the synchronisation of HE system, in order to achieve one of the most significant aims of Bologna, namely mobility. An expert and a university administrator analyse the role played by the CRUCH in the implementation of the European model:

<sup>86</sup> Interview with Dr. Enrique Fernández, Santiago-Chile, April 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2008.

<sup>87</sup> Interview with Andrés Bernasconi, Santiago-Chile, April 8<sup>th</sup>, 2008.



Enrique  
Fernández  
Darras.

Some independent actors are really convinced of this, such as academic vice-chancellors. It is a kind of evangelisation, with certain leading figures constantly preaching on the subject in all the universities throughout the country, and they do manage to convince people<sup>88</sup>.

Sara Chauriye  
Batarce.

The 25 universities of the CRUCH decided to work together with the purpose of facilitating a framework of student mobility. In Chile, this coincided with all the processes of Europe going further than Bologna in the matter. Without any doubt, to create mobility beyond a merely national framework we must create alliances in the international sphere and our partners are the Europeans.

The Bologna Process started with the declaration and after that the 25 universities of the CRUCH decided to use this as a reference in order to achieve their major objective, which is student mobility<sup>89</sup>.

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<sup>88</sup> Interview with Dr. Enrique Fernández, Santiago-Chile, April 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2008.

<sup>89</sup> Interview with Sara Chauriye, Santiago-Chile, April 9<sup>th</sup>, 2008.

## 5.2. Normative Power Europe (NPE) impacting on Chilean domestic policies.

As a result of my empirical experience, I decided to concentrate my investigation on observing and analysing the impact of European influences on Chilean HE. It was a difficult task to embrace and grasp European impact upon HE, considering at least three main problematic situations:

(i) The existing literature and research are focused on analyses of European policies through examination of European documents and conducting interviews with European experts and personnel. Therefore the application of theory (NPE) was a complex and in-depth process.

(ii) European influences could not be translated into something tangible (material aspects) such as number of student exchanges, projects or aid programmes. Rather a common language was 'heard' and observed within academic and governmental circles. Therefore ideational aspects of these influences were necessarily to be considered in order to understand the phenomenon.

(ii) Even though the period considered for this research, from 2000 till at the present, reflects what I have called previously the formalisation of European influences, effects of European ideational aspects constitutes a longstanding phenomenon. European impact is observable since the birth of Latin American universities, and nowadays this occurrence cannot be 'pigeonholed' only as part of the Bologna Process. There are many other variables involved in this process, such as European horizontal programmes, academic and student exchanges and agreements.

Additionally, two fundamental aspects need to be considered: the volatility of ideational outlook and the taxonomisation of influences. *On the one hand*, one can

conceive social worlds as universe of discursive practices (Clarke, 2009: 196); therefore when we refer to ideational aspects of the EU, what kind of elements are we talking about? Theoretical frameworks such as Normative Power Europe are able to ‘capture’ the essence or what Haukkala (2007: 2) calls the AND of the Union ‘mentality’, which is translated into a set of ideas, principles, norms and values. Therefore, ideational standpoints constitute those normative and valoric elements that characterise discursive practices of Europe in the development of its internal and external relationships. *On the other hand*, European influences can be classified in the range of long-term effects as said previously; so this is a longstanding process which depends more on what ideational factors ‘takers’ receive than what the European Union is transmitting.

European documents were not considered in this part of the analysis. This decision was made during the second phase of this investigation, specifically in 2007 when the Tuning Latin America project, 2<sup>nd</sup> stage was cancelled due to the lack of financial resources, and the death of the project was declared. However, I would have planned a fieldwork journey to Benelux in order to scrutiny European aspects of the Tuning Europe and Latin America projects. This section (5.2) was mainly produced through analysis of interviews and few documents extracted from a website<sup>90</sup>. The following part studies two core elements of Normative Power Europe (NPE), its analytical dimension that focuses on the processes of impact, and its gnosiological facet that emphasizes the axiology of NPE.

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<sup>90</sup> <http://www.sct-chile.cl/>

5.2.1. *The analytical dimension of NPE: Chilean HE absorbing European ideas.*

Amongst diverse aspects of the analytical dimension of NPE, this research focuses on the processes of the EU impact, namely *socialisation*, *ownership* and *positive conditionality*. Owing to the fact that it is not possible to observe immediate and direct effects, I add another process called *adverse* or *null effects*, which show unexpected and unwanted impacts. This aspect is one of the crucial elements in theories of effects. In this part, fragments of translated interviews are used in order to illustrate the processes.

This part focuses around its key goal – i.e. to identify the process of norm transmission from the perspective of the receiving country: Chile.

In order to avoid repetition in designing footnotes, I abbreviated the names (and surnames) of interviewers with their first initials. These initials are placed in the end of each quotation.

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**AB** = Interview with **Andrés Bernasconi**, Santiago-Chile, April 8<sup>th</sup>, 2008.

**RP** = Interview with Dr. **Roxana Pey**, Santiago-Chile, April 11<sup>th</sup>, 2008/ Santiago-Chile, January 23<sup>th</sup>, 2009.

**EF** = Interview with Dr. **Enrique Fernández**, Santiago-Chile, April 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2008.

**JJB** = Interview with **José Joaquín Brunner**, Santiago de Chile, April 25<sup>th</sup>, 2008.

**SD** = Interview with Dr. **Sebastián Donoso**, Antofagasta-Chile, April 17<sup>th</sup>, 2008 (by telephone).

**SCH** = Interview with **Sara Chauriye**, Santiago-Chile, April 9<sup>th</sup>, 2008.

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## SOCIALISATION.

- 1 Many people travelled through the ALBAN programme; this is a European programme for studying in Denmark or similar countries. So there was an effort in this direction during the latter half of the nineties and the first half of the 2000s. At that time, with the support of Bologna Europe attracted people, partly also as a result of the framework agreements for research and the European strategy for education and science, which remained competitive against 'Leviathan', i.e. it could dispute the hegemony of the US (**AB**).

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- 2 From the external dimension of Bologna, the idea of expanding the model appeared, but it is not Bologna, it is Tuning. A group of universities presented a project to the European Commission in order to apply for the ALFA funds. At that moment, the same people were managing the Tuning project Europe. They contacted some Chilean and Latin American universities: some of them responded to the call and amongst them, the University of Chile. Here the committee of management of the Tuning project was created by the same people who worked with the Latin American Tuning, in total 7 European universities and 7 Latin American (**RP**).

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- 3 The Bologna question arose in Chile partly through the interest shown by the ministry and particularly by the head of the Department for HE, which realised the advantage to be gained by promoting an agenda that was not exclusively centred around the US. That is how Bologna appeared. This proposal deals with the undergraduate sector, which is politically very attractive in a scenario where all policies are focused on and concerned with reforming everything except education. Besides, amongst all the proposals that were made for HE, this is the one with the least variability, the greatest resistance to change and it is the most traditionalist (**AB**).

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- 4 The EU is making a very powerful effort to export the model, i.e. Vice-chancellors come here, ministers come here, an association of European and Latin American ministers of culture and education has been formed and things are starting to function. Europe is certainly attempting to export the model (**EF**).

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- 5 They asked the Ministry of Education who could represent Chile in this centre and the ministry said that MECESUP assumes the role, because it is more operative and convenient. Therefore the committee of management was represented by the University of Chile and the National Tuning Centre placed in the MECESUP (**RP**).

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6 This has to do with academics, with a nucleus of academics who are interested in public policy-making, whatever their background, be it in: natural sciences, politics, economics or sociology. They have a global outlook and attend all the European seminars and take part in the discussions of various European organisations. They have also published a few articles and pieces of research explaining their ideas (**JJB**).

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7 Chile has done this university by university. There was no direct indication from the Ministry stating 'do it in this way', but also if you do decide to work with the model the Ministry gives money. It is as if they were sowing a seed, then each university would find its own way of developing it. Of course the CRUCH does coordinate a little, but its role is not to impose or give specific directions (**AB**).

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8 Here it has had more impact. It was a network of more than one hundred people. In each area there must have been 100 people working actively. There were workshops, we talked and communicated our results. After that several universities have adopted the whole group of general competences as their official decision (**RP**).

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9 Firstly, seven years ago we were wondering what we could do. Our situation is more similar to the European model, because a high proportion of the lecturers in our university have done their postgraduate studies in Europe rather than in the US.  
Secondly, it seemed to us that the European debate on modernising education was closer to our situation. So we had two different possible models to identify with. The question was which model were we going to choose: the American one? Yet we were closely identified with the European model (**SD**).

Subsequently, academic workshops are held to see how these formats of competence-based education or the description of the same profile, can be adjusted or workable in different faculties.

We ran a strong campaign. We follow standard formats and therefore there is no need for individual meetings between lecturers and students. We work with the Student Union (Federation of Students of the University of Chile, FECH) explaining to them why this model is useful (**SCH**).

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- 10** Another question regarding the regional universities; several of them have got involved, but possibly seeking some distinguishing competitive advantage... Therefore they are using the model as a strategy of differentiation; besides they really think that is the right way to deliver education and that all of them should do the same (**AB**).
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The *socialisation process* is described here as a sequence of historical events that tell us how different Chilean actors were adopting the European model. This process of adopting and implementing European influences started with another variable considered within the research, the ALBAN programme. In 2002 the EU implemented this plan of scholarship in order to encourage Latin American applicants to study a master, doctorate or advance specialisation. Additionally the development of the Tuning Latin America received significant support from this European programme. The Tuning Latin America began at the end of 2004 and then expanded throughout the continent until finally ending in Chilean public and university sectors. Certainly the presence of European guidance is seen through aid programmes offered to Chilean HE institutions, and through processes of ‘companionship’ in the implementation of Bologna within public and university policies.

Another important element of the socialisation process is the presence of different actors involved in the phenomenon. These actors are described in relation to their European partners attending meetings and working through networks. Furthermore, the manifestation of the EU in decision-making domestic processes is seen through the Tuning Project. Finally, two aspects are remarkable within the socialisation phenomenon: the degree of identification between the European model and the context of Chilean HE, and the constant reference to the dispute between American and European hegemony. The identification process appears as a result of academic exchanges and a kind of admiration for the European ‘paragon’. It is interesting to note

here that within the context of a discussion about HE, aspects of international politics emerge explicitly, especially focused on who will win the hegemony of Higher Education, the US or the EU.

## **OWNERSHIP.**

1 I believe that we have many ways to contribute to Tuning Europe. They are old universities, we have new material, such as a series of steps that we have taken. For them we are guinea-pigs and for us they are our significant reference, because we already want to implement it and we have to do specifically what the Tuning project is promoting, namely mobility. Finally Europeans are confronting the US; they contest where Latin American or Asian students go to study (**SCH**).

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2 There is an incredible amount of good will towards Bologna and many positive points in its favour. It makes people think and it helps the institutions themselves to engage in a self-reflective exercise. I do not think though that the good will drive for Bologna is as strong or as powerful here as it is in Europe (**EF**)

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3 I think that what some Chilean universities are doing is adapting to this process and trying to make it more flexible. I do not think they are contributing anything, nor do I consider it a new form of colonialism (**SD**).

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4 I believe that Chile has contributed to the Tuning project, participating extensively in the 12 areas that were set up, conducting the survey with large numbers of respondents. Chile has contributed to the debate through the system of credits, establishing agreements and showing that it is possible to implement a credit system like ours in other Latin American countries.

There have also been some corrections to the European Tuning as a result of what has happened here. In this second phase, the European Tuning has undergone some modifications taking into account what has happened in Latin America, and specifically in Chile. One of these modifications was to include students in the surveys, because the original project surveyed only

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lecturers, entrepreneurs, businessmen and graduates, but did not conduct the survey with students. We made the request and the idea of surveying students was adopted all over Latin America.

Another change that is going to come about through the European Tuning is to revise the generic competences, because in Europe there are 30, but in Latin America only 27. However, three of these are new and did not appear in Europe, such as concern for the environment and two others about social issues that were well received in Europe as a Latin American contribution **(RP)**.

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The *process of ownership* is defined here as those processes that facilitate to endorse or appropriate European influences. At least, four significant phenomena are observed: (i) *what the European paragon symbolises for model-takers*, (ii) *what actions the European model encourages in Chilean actors and institutions*, (iii) *what actions the Chileans are really doing*, and (iv) *how Chile is contributing to the process*.

Considering the first aspect, the Tuning Europe is seen as a reference which is necessary to follow whilst we see ourselves as a European experiment. Through a process of self-identification, Chilean discourses show an implicit European superiority determined by a depreciative view of us, and by the European need to compete with the US for the prevalence of hegemony in the field of HE. Taking into account a positive standpoint, the Europeans are helping Chile to develop certain self-reflective exercises in order to improve our HE institutions. Furthermore, Chilean institutions and actors are adapting their policies, projects and programmes in order to be competitive in the global arena. Finally, Chile is contributing to the Tuning project through its very committed participation and minor modifications done to the original model.

## POSITIVE CONDITIONALITY

- 1 Chile is closer to and more in sympathy with what is happening in Europe and its universities rather than with developments in the rest of Latin America (**RP**).

People felt that Bologna would be a good point of reference, a good model, because we would be dealing with the same problems, and I believe that the same thing has happened in a significant number of Chilean universities. In addition, the MECESUP programme has also been interested in seeing what is happening about Bologna, specifically through the Tuning project. This is seen not only as some far off indicator, but also as something specific offering possibilities of participation through the external dimension of Bologna, as for example in exchange scholarships. Tuning is also highly rated within Bologna itself and it has made a strong impact (**RP**).

Most people recognise Bologna as a sound process that is intelligent and gives results. It has set itself achievable aims, just in outline, that allow us a sense of dialogue and harmonisation. They are goals that converge without imposing uniformity. That is why Chile has no fears, and is not putting up any resistance, because each university can maintain its autonomy to keep its own particularities, retain its specific mission and, at the same time, be recognised as an entity that is moving with the times. It lets universities function themselves and converge with others. All this needs to be recognised here in Chile by both experts and university students (**RP**).

Bologna was a referent, a sign that accelerated the rhythm. There were many people who were in doubt, but this consolidated their position at the time when the Bologna declaration appeared. There was a parallel work going on that has been empowered as a synergy (**RP**).

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- 2 I believe that for everybody the Bologna process is inescapable. I have heard of people who are trying to downgrade the issue. Some say it is a failure or that it is not working, and this is not the case. I think they are rather ignorant and that they do not really know what is happening in Bologna (**RP**).

I think that people do not understand the external dimension of Bologna. I understand it as a common European space for HE, it has its interior and exterior dimensions where they can dialogue. So Europe is not enclosed and cut off: it has a different exterior dimension where bridges for this dialogue can be built (**RP**).

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- 3 People do not see subordination to Europe as a kind of passive response to European imperialism, because imperialism has always been linked with the US. I think people realise that Europe does not have any hegemonic purposes, such as they observed in the US, especially during the Bush period. People do not want to have anything to do with the US, even at an academic level, because of repulsion towards the American regime, and this has also had repercussions in HE where there is a turning towards Europe (**AB**).

I believe that the European reference and the Bologna Process have made great impact on Chile, even though we have had a long relationship of university exchanges with the US. The fact that Europe as a continent, as a joint group of countries and universities, has set itself a long-term goal and started a process right now, coinciding with the changes occurring in Chile, has meant that Bologna is much more in evidence and easier to follow. There is no process in the US, things are as they are and although we have some relations established, these have not served any useful purpose, at the present time, as a model for transformation but they have not been useful as a model of current transformation, because the Americans are not currently updating their HE.

Of course they are involved in improving their dealings with universities that are in tune with the times, but there is no evidence of real movement, of moving from one state to another, as can be seen amongst the nation-states of Europe and is important for Chilean universities, which feel deeply involved in this sort of process (**RP**).

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The *positive conditionality* is defined as those aspects that show degrees of sympathy and admiration for what the EU is doing through the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project. This element is seen through three main domains: meanings of the Bologna Process, its actions and its geopolitical spectrum.

The European model is constructed discursively as follows: *a reference, a good model, an intelligent process, a motor capable of accelerating of processes*, and as “*a constructor of bridges of dialogue, communication and harmonisation*”. These latter conceptualisations remind us of the characterisations of the EU as a ‘vanishing mediator’ and a ‘deliberator’ that exerts a communicative power in the international

sphere (Manners, 2007) Bologna's actions are determined by its ability to encourage dialogue through its exterior dimension.

It is interesting to note here that if we do the following exercise: to hide all these expressions that contain the word 'Bologna Process' or 'Tuning Project' and we ask "what these definitions are referring to", we could obtain similar descriptions of the Union, to those gained by European scholars analysing the EU policies through European documents or data.

As outlined previously, the geopolitical domain is described through a comparison between US imperialism and EU hegemony. However the EU is seen as a benevolent superpower which does not pursue hegemonic purposes. On the other hand, there is an interesting contrast between the American and the European model for Higher Education. The European paragon is seen as a stereotype for transformation and updating the field of HE.

**ADVERSE/NULL EFFECTS:**

**1** There is a geopolitical sense hidden in the Bologna Process (**EF**)

There is a geopolitical interest behind the process. It is like a free trade agreement and that is why they are trying to export the model to other places (**EF**).

However, it does have a certain cultural influence, not as a hegemony, but with a real interest in preserving European issues uppermost in the minds and hearts of subjects in developing countries (**AB**).

It is rather in the areas of research and postgraduate studies that there has been a more deliberate effort, because you can see the documents of the EU where they say, not with these exact words, but with sufficient clarity, that there is a strategic fear that the elites of all the developing countries will be educated in the US and not in the EU. That is why they are making such an effort (**AB**).

What will happen in the end, after all the discussion and attempts at political hegemony, - as we are talking about university systems in countries with such a strong tradition, - finally when the dust has settled, the European system with all the American dressing it had adopted, will end up being something very different, just like our own. Our universities, for all their wanting to look European, will continue to be something rather strange, a sort of hybrid. Now just how attractive such a hybrid will prove to be is difficult to predict, but I do not think it will lead to any lessening of variety and diversity (**AB**).

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**2** Thinking about what this means in the social context, I believe that they are wrong, not only from the point of view of the system, but also there is a social dimension that is not properly understood. There are people who are wondering about the meaning of homogenising all the individuals with social talent, which comes to be a form of reductionism that is even worse than Marxism (**EF**).

The European model is ‘Americanising’, but in reality it is like the emblem of the Marxist model of base and superstructure. Obviously we are just educating products for the market (**AB**).

I have the feeling that this is an American model touched up with some European democratic principles and a few modern ideas of the nation-state (**AB**).

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I believe the phenomenon is like this: the content is European, but the format is North American; this is what causes resistance in some countries. I have the impression that in continental Europe these phenomena are much stronger; it has to do with this wonderful chance of being an academic in a French, Belgian or Spanish university with privileges afforded nowhere else: for example, they can have PhD students for life, spending 8 or 10 years getting their doctorate. This is a terrifying prospect for some! **(SD)**.

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- 3** What we call ‘adopting Bologna’ means simply discussing a few minor curricular reforms within a rigid framework which stays fixed as the central core of professional criteria. This is just a tiny Chilean version of Bologna **(JJB)**.

Maybe the issue has penetrated deeper in theoretical debate than in practical application **(AB)**.

This is a policy that is being launched by the higher authorities. So I do not think we can say that our academics here are sold on the idea or have fully embraced it. I see that it is still just a small group of academics who think of this as an important process. As soon as they realise they have to start making changes, some of them say they will, but this is just lip service, and in the end they do nothing about it, or they say we had better wait a while **(SB)**.

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- 4** I believe that the support that the process received over a long time was crucial for its development. There was a huge outcry proclaiming that the national model was not working, that it would need to change, and this on a cultural level, not only at the level of incentives because culturally-speaking too this virtually uncritical ‘love affair’ with Bologna prevailed **(AB)**.

I believe that fundamentally we have to resign ourselves to it whether we like it or not, - this is the way we have to go, and having decided, some go along with it very happily and others just saying they had no alternative. Some say, there is the light let’s follow it, others say we have not got the energy, let’s follow them. They are not capable of adopting any stand, so before they are steamrollered into it, they decide to fall into line so as to suffer the minimum - the silent opposition, before this reaches us or it is our turn to retire, so like this we let the system collapse and then it is no longer our problem **(SD)**.

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This research adds another variant of European influences, namely adverse/null effects. This aspect was incorporated after analysing different opinions from the interviewees and in order to study unexpected and unwanted impacts, typically developed by theories of effects. Considering the case of Chile, I grouped these effects into four categories, which were called as follows: (i) geopolitical criticisms, (ii) analysis of the European model, (iii) process of implementation, (iv) uncritical 'love affair' with Bologna.

According to interviewees, the EU possesses a geopolitical interest on exporting the model. This concern is not seen as a kind of hegemony but as a cultural influence or maybe a political hegemony, "*with real interest in preserving European issues uppermost in the minds and hearts of subjects in developing countries*"<sup>91</sup>. The dispute between American and European hegemony is still part of the conversations about HE.

Following American and European antagonism and 'crumbling' the model, experts and type subjects coincide in saying that this is European in content, but American in format. Others associate it with the Marxist model of base and superstructure, which facilitates homogenisation and the education of 'products' for the labour markets.

Taking into account the process of implementation of the European model, the Chilean version is seen as a few minor curricular reforms which are part of a theoretical discussion rather than a practical application. This phenomenon is followed only by a small group of academics, the remaining actors offer just 'lip service' to the model.

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<sup>91</sup> Interview with Andrés Bernasconi, Santiago-Chile, April 8<sup>th</sup>, 2008.

Finally some interviewees believe that Chile is ‘in love’ with Bologna, because Chilean HE has not had developed its own model for HE. Therefore, there is an uncritical view of the model, and many academics merely ‘go with the flow’.

### *5.2.2. The gnosiological side of NPE: validating Chilean HE through European norms.*

This part of the study was one of the most difficult tasks of the research, because the process of grasping and examining European influences through the core content of NPE, namely ideas, principles and norms, met some significant barriers, such as obstacles with language and the analysis of Chilean, not European data. However despite these inconveniences, disadvantages were considered as advantages because this work is pioneer in analysing European long-term effects far away from Europe. Also, this is one of the few pieces of research conducted in two languages (Spanish and English).

Therefore this is a humble approximation to analyse what I call the ‘axiology (or deontology I Manners’ word, 2007) of NPE’. This analysis is divided into two dimensions: the Chilean and the European. Within the Chilean scope, we observe events (facts), main ideas extracted from the facts, and the EU principles and norms that could be associated with Chilean discourses. Consequently, this part seeks to answer the following questions:

- What European ideational aspects are really received by Chilean HE? (ideas & principles)
- How does Chilean HE use European ideational standpoints within their practices and discourses? (Norms)



The second spectrum studies European processes of transmission norms and the ways of exerting Normative Power Europe. This section responds questions as follows:

- What ideational aspects are diffused by the EU? (EU principles)
- How does the EU diffuse its ideational outlook? (Transmission of norms)
- How does the EU construct its ideational (normative) practices and discourses? (Ways of exerting NPE)

The table below shows an example of how these dimensions were summarised in order to achieve a better understanding of the processes of transmission European ideational outlook and the reception of these aspects by Chilean institutions and actors.

**NPE's spectrum of influences: Chile-EU.**

CHILEAN DIMENSION			EUROPEAN DIMENSION		
<i>EVENTS</i>	<i>IDEAS</i>	<i>NORMS</i>	<i>EU PRINCIPLES</i>	<i>TRANSMISSION OF NORMS</i>	<i>WAYS OF EXERTING NPE.</i>

**Table 5.2**

If we include fundamental notions from NPE thinking, the main ideas expressed in the Declaration of Valparaiso and its European equivalent were *homogeneity and diversity*. These terms have been used widely within academic circles, the search for an effective mechanism of standardisation for student and professional mobility. Considering the analysis of norms found implicitly within these ideas, one can say that they constituted *social norms*, as part of socialisation processes. The process of transmission and reception of these norms could be seen as a *culturation phenomenon* owing to the fact that this notion involved the construction of norms such as:

consolidation of democracy, rule of law, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. In this sense, the EU principle most closely associated with this process would be *sustainable development*, because this principle involves the fundamental rights of equality and solidarity (Manners, 2002: 243).

The way in which the EU norms had an impact on Chilean discourse has been through *contagion*. In this way, the EU spreads its norms through the partly unnoticed diffusion of ideas to other actors. This aspect is somewhat questionable, considering that the external dimension of the Bologna Process promotes a worldwide degree of attraction focused on “the objective of increasing the international competitiveness of the European System of higher education” (Zgaga, 2006a: 5). For this reason, we could also observe a *procedural diffusion*, which refers to an institutionalised relationship between the EU and a third party, “such as an inter-regional co-operation agreement, membership of an international organization or enlargement of the EU itself” (Manners, 2002: 244).

The next significant event after the Valparaíso Declaration occurred in 2004, when the Chilean Government inserted the ALFA Latin America Tuning into the Programme to Improve Quality and Equity in Higher Education (MECESUP) projects, through the official launch of the Bologna Process in Chilean universities. The norm in evidence here was *accountability*, or the presence of accountability strategies, through a parallel with what European universities are doing in terms of HE. The type of norms observed was *utility norm* because Chileans were following these normative principles with the purpose of achieving efficiency in the development of their own projects.

The effect or the way in which European norms have had an impact on this domestic policy could be associated with *cultural filter*, specifically processes of

*learning and adaptation*, owing to the fact that it “is based on the interplay between the construction of knowledge and the creation of social and political identity by the subjects of norm diffusion” (Manners, 2002: 244). The EU principle applicable would be *good governance* since this public policy would involve the recognition of the role of successful governance in social programmes (Manners, 2002: 243).

The ideas observed in the declarations of Arica (July 2005) and Santiago (August 2006) were *homogeneity and diversity*, and *harmonisation and collaboration*, in terms of synchronising curricula, systems of credits, professionalisation of skills and cooperation with regard to quality assurance. These ideas implied *narrative norms*, because these discourses involved notions of ‘construction of difference’. As with previous events, these declarations embodied EU norms by way of *culturation*. Also, by the way in which these norms had an impact, some significant agreements amongst the 25 traditional universities were subsequently applied through *contagion and procedural diffusion*; these were received from European partners and spread throughout the remaining institutions. The EU principles associated were *sustainable development* and *social solidarity* because there is a perception of the EU, within the Chilean authorities and government, as an adequate model of integration, and a very good example of the success of cooperative work between institutions.

The ideas implicit in the university projects were *harmonisation and collaboration*, and *homogeneity and diversity*. The norms observed were *utility norms* because they are defined by a utilitarian perspective, and seek to maximise gains in political encounters. In this case, the utility norm was related to efforts made towards finding efficient solutions to concrete problems, conflicts or dilemmas, which involve the synchronisation of curricula, a system of academic credits and professional skills, to

give a guarantee of good quality in Higher Education. As with previous events, *culturation* was the process of transmitting and receiving norms. The ways of transmission of norms was *cultural filter*, which affected the processes of *learning* and *adaptation*. The EU principles implied would be those in the declarations: *sustainable development* and *social solidarity*.

In the summary table below (5.3), we can observe the most significant events ideas and norms of the process of European Influences on Chilean Higher Education:

**Analysing NPE in Chilean domestic policies.**

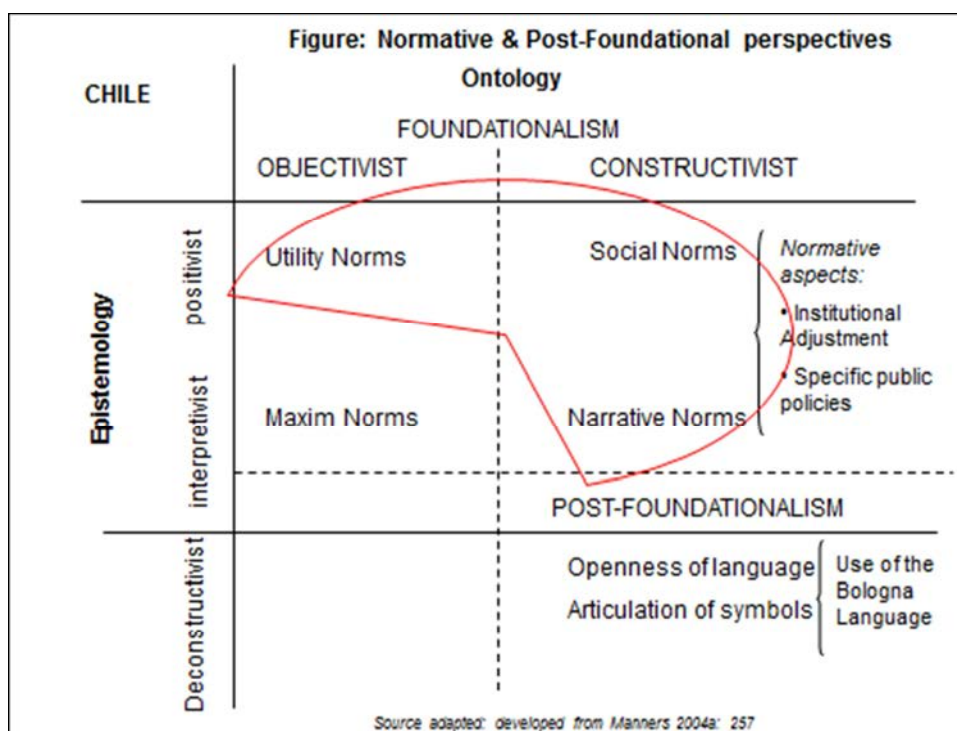
CHILEAN DIMENSION			EUROPEAN DIMENSION		
<i>EVENTS</i>	<i>IDEAS</i>	<i>NORMS</i>	<i>EU PRINCIPLES</i>	<i>TRANSMISSION OF NORMS</i>	<i>WAYS OF EXERTING NPE.</i>
<b>Declarations:</b> Valparaiso (2003) Arica (2005) Santiago (2006)	- Homogeneity & diversity. - Harmonisation & collaboration.	- Social norms. - Narrative norms.	- Sustainable development. - Social solidarity.	- Contagion. - Procedural diffusion.	Culturation.
<b>Public Policy: programme</b> MECESUP 2 – the ALFA Tuning Latin America Project	- Accountability	- Utility norms.	- Good governance	- Cultural filter (learning and adaptation)	Culturation.
<b>University policies: projects</b> System of Academic Credits (UCH 0610, 2006). Framework of Assessments (UCN 0701, 2007)	- Harmonisation & collaboration. - Homogeneity & diversity. - National & global perspective.	- Utility norms	- Social solidarity. - Sustainable development.	- Cultural Filter (learning and adaptation)	Culturation

**Table 5.3**

The gnosiological aspect of NPE is described using Manners' model of 'Normative and Post-foundational perspective' (Manners, 2004: 257). Certainly,

declarations, as sociolinguistic constructions, are noticeable in the constructivist space of social and narrative norms. They oscillate between a positivist and interpretivist epistemology. Post-foundationalist aspects are not visible in the normative sphere even though norms constitute *per se* semantic spaces of consensual and persuasive dialogues.

**Gnosiology of NPE applied to Chilean domestic policies.**



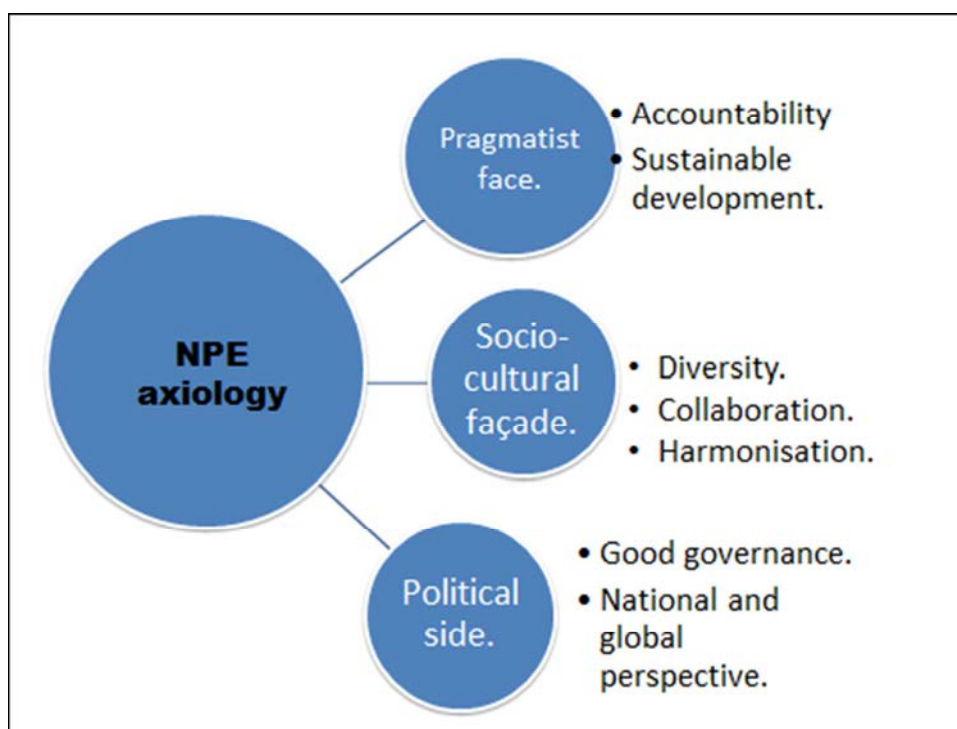
**FIGURE 5.1**

The presence of the ‘*axiology*’ of NPE is observable in the ‘range’ of norms. They converge in social, narratives and utilitarian standards. Furthermore declarations showed a tendency to use norms in social terms, whereas policies (public and university) were closer to utilitarian norms, because ‘NPE axiological core’ is used in a more practical way for implementing policies and projects.

Therefore ‘*axiology*’, or *value system of NPE*, is seen through ideas, norms and EU principles. Here, it is necessary to classify EU normative indicators in three main

groups: a *pragmatist facet* embodied by socio-economic categories such as sustainable development and accountability; a *socio-cultural aspect* determined by terms such as diversity, collaboration and harmonisation, and a *political side* supported by concepts including good governance. Indeed, all indicators show an explicit and implicit tendency to reinforce the idea of Europe as a ‘power for good’.

**The axiology of NPE applied to Chilean domestic policies.**



**Figure 5.2**

In a brief summary of the analysis of NPE, one can observe that those aspects linked with European impact processes shall be considered as part of the *gnosiological dimension* of NPE. Ian Manners encapsulates these elements within practical ways of observing the EU impact upon other practices, these courses allows us to know and acknowledge the EU as a normative power viewed through external eyes.

The axiological dimension is determined by the presence of a valoric content of NPE manifested in ideas, principles and values. It is necessary to recall that what is transmitted differs from what is received. Here ideas were associated with the European version, but used in a different context and fieldwork. Norms were analysed taking into account how Chilean HE was used of them. EU principles and processes of transmission of norms and ways of exerting NPE followed European patterns of analysis.

All dimensions were connected to language, in one way or another, in terms of articulation of symbols for constructing or disclosing a reality. However, it was not possible to observe any range of action which can introduce other hidden aspects of language, i.e., an *ontology of language of NPE*.

The analysis of events provides only a superficial study of NPE in terms of 'Europe praxis' for exerting power through norms, principles and ideas. Therefore, it is necessary to develop a more profound investigation about European ideational factors exerted through linguistic (semantic) tools. Therefore, the next section analyse the Bologna Language in order to find 'there', more ideational/semantic elements of European influences impacting on Chilean HE.



### 5.3. European influences on Chilean HE discourses.

I agree that there is much merit in Enrique Espinosa's<sup>92</sup> suggestion that Bologna is a viral language, i.e. fast-spreading, yet it is strange that there are not as yet any other published works or research papers on the Bologna language and its dimensions.

The *Bologna language* is well known in Latin American academic circles as the echoes or the spirit of the Bologna Process and it is responsible for launching and spreading conversations which could not have begun without this European influence. Amongst European ideas circulating in Latin America, one can observe different linguistic expressions which have constituted the 'structural core' of the Bologna Process or have implied the *structural dimension* of Bologna, based on three cycles and a whole array of related issues such as credit systems, learning outcomes, frameworks of qualification and so on (Zgaga, 2006a). These linguistic expressions have mainly implied the search for or development of mechanisms and networks of cooperation, mechanisms of comparability and evaluation, and the accreditation of educational programmes with mutual recognition and a guarantee of quality in Higher Education, based on comparable criteria and codes of good practice.

Besides, the 'structural language' of Bologna prevalent in Latin America has promoted processes of mobility for students, researchers and academics, and also experiences of collaboration and academic exchanges among Higher Education institutions, with the principal purpose of constructing of a common space in Higher Education. This is being followed not only in terms of structure, but also with regard to the whole concept of Higher Education and all that this implies.

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<sup>92</sup> Interview with Enrique Espinosa, General Coordinator of CUMEX, México D.F., January 30<sup>th</sup> 2009.

### 5.3.1. *Chilean Bologna Language Macrostructure.*

The analytical procedure considered the comparison of European microstructures (topics and micropropositions) with categories of analysis which appeared in Chilean public and university documents. After that, a *Latin American (Chilean) Bologna Language Macrostructure* was created for this thesis to make explicit the ‘instituted trace’ (Derrida, 1989: 17) of concepts there. This conceptual map carefully considered the original model and then the two maps were compared.

The *concepts* that Chilean governments and HE institutions have been using reflect Bologna ideas implicit in Bologna Language. This thesis uses the terms sampled with the purpose of applying them to van Dijk’s analysis of discourse.

As a result of the discourse analysis, this part of the chapter shows the analysis of semantic microstructures which take into account public and university policy discourses. These correspond to key documents of public policies, which were analysed comparing the Bologna Language (BL) and its impact on Chilean HE ‘lexis’.

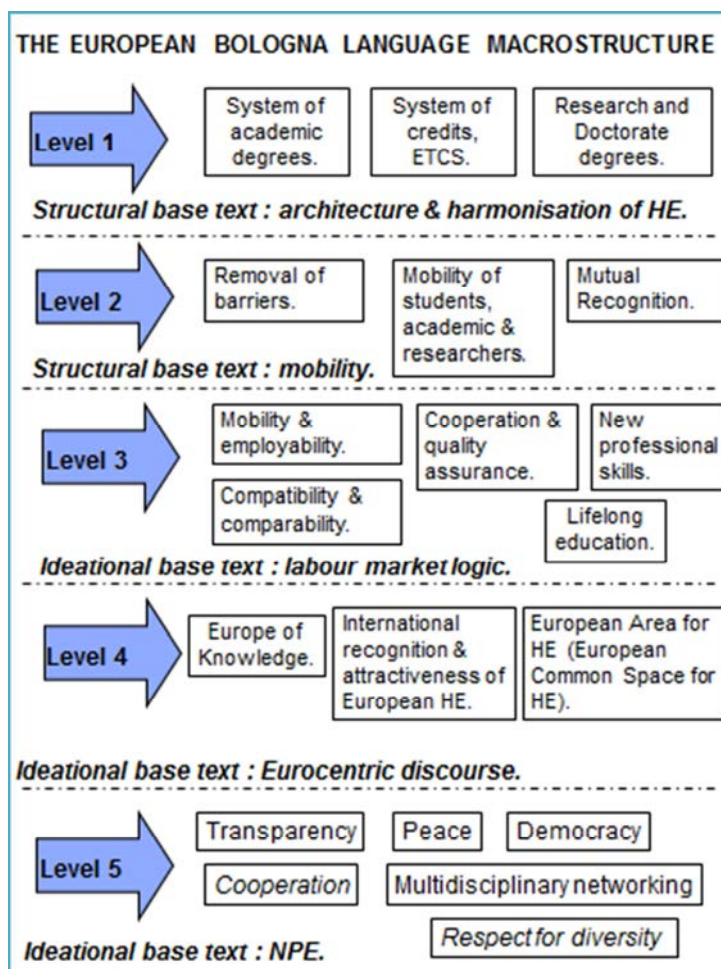
This examination considered the third step of van Dijk’s critical analysis of discourse, the analysis of ‘subtle’ formal structures where most of the linguistic indicators mentioned were analysed. After working with the qualitative analysis of public and university documents, this discourse of analysis was complemented by a quantitative analysis. The quantitative exploration focused on quantifying semantic microstructures (**SM**) appearing on university documents, specifically the projects presented (and awarded) to MECESUP programmes. The study was centred on ‘texts’ of titles and introductions of projects. It is important to note here that I decided to apply

only a quantitative analysis to university projects<sup>93</sup>, because the phenomenon of saturation emerged rapidly in them, and because it was difficult to manage the amount of data of 90 projects, considering that this researcher did another discourse of analysis with the previous documents (public and university) from 1999 until 2003.

Following van Dijk's Sociocognitive Approach (SCA), the analysis of 'global' (European) and local (Chilean) discourse forms or formats was carried out. The procedure embraced the action of identifying the levels of the European Bologna Language and, after that, placing semantic microstructure (**SM**) and topics (**TO**) within these levels. In order to ensure clarity in this research, figure 5.3 is repeated in this chapter in order to show the European Bologna language and its levels. The European analytical 'tree' illustrates clearly the points of confluence of microstructures or key concepts, levels of in-depth conceptual representations and texts base associated with topics and micropropositions. Finally, this research offers a comparative analysis of both 'trees', the European and the Chilean.

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<sup>93</sup> The public documents were only worked through qualitative analysis, not quantitative.



**Figure 5.3**

*5.3.2. Chilean Macrostructure in HE within public documents.*

This part of the chapter was carried out via discourse analysis of certain key documents, which are part of the corpus of study of this research. The documents analysed were: administrative and technical conditions of the MECESUP 1 and 2 projects presented to the World Bank (2004 - 2008); ‘Chile - Human Resources for the Knowledge Economy’ (World Bank, June 2002); ‘Higher Education in Chile: Aiming for Quality’ (Ministry of Education, Chile, March 2005); and several documents from the ALFA Tuning Latin America Project.

The starting point of these analyses was focused on the microstructures including administrative and technical conditions of the MECESUP 1 and 2 projects (2004 - 2008). Here, four substantive documents were analysed focusing on specific topics. For the **administrative conditions**, general background, procedures of evaluation and selection of projects and criteria of evaluation were considered as a significant text base. From the **technical conditions**, text base considered general background, objectives, indicators of outputs, conditions of eligibility of projects and specific information contained projects. The methodological procedure considered an analysis of discourse of each corpus of study or text through sampling key concepts or microstructures. The sampling of categories of analysis showed significant results, which will be described later.

From 1999 until 2003, MECESUP 1 public official conditions and university projects showed a series of microstructures relatively similar to those which appeared in the projects of MECESUP 2. These included the following concepts: *improvement of quality of teaching-learning processes; curricular innovation and modernisation; optimisation of resources and services supporting teaching; modernisation of teaching through computational technologies; equity and quality* as well as *strengthening, improvement, integration and projection of doctorate programmes*. These microstructures could perfectly constitute two levels of texts base such as: architecture and harmonisation of Higher Education, and modernisation of pedagogic processes.

However, amongst the projects, one cannot observe any clear construction in building up Chilean HE. Concepts appear that express nothing more than a structural logic for improving and strengthening HE. In this sense, Pilar Armanet, ex-Chief of Division of HE, argues that the Chilean Ministry of Education proposed to Chilean

universities through MECESUP 1 the improvement of academic quality, starting with their human and material infrastructure and continuing with their curricular processes, using an educational model based on outputs of redemption and a growing accountability of public accounts (Armanet, 2004: 3).

Since 2004, official conditions and projects started to show a patent tendency towards a more elaborative construction of the building of Chilean HE. There was a significant variable which had a fundamental impact on developing public policies in HE. During that year, the Chilean Government inserted the ALFA Tuning Latin America into the Programme to Improve Quality and Equity in Higher Education (MECESUP) projects, to launch the Bologna Process officially in Chilean universities. Therefore, this thesis argues that as a result of the arrival of European ideas and language in Chilean HE, their influence was observable both in spoken and written conversations. European influences ‘coloured’ and ‘informed’ the criteria that evaluate university projects. In addition, it is possible to observe the development of a new culture for planning and assessing HE projects.

In the discourse of the introduction to the MECESUP 1 projects reports, it is already possible to observe the presence of several microstructures, very typical of the Bologna Language, including *mobility* and the *establishment of academic networks*. Armanet points out that MECESUP 2004 aims to bring about:

a substantive change through networks established for interuniversity dialogue and exchange experiences, designs and practical application for reform at undergraduate level. We have a new opportunity for transforming undergraduate education as a tool for constituting a real system within which the mobility of students will be a symbol of integration and coherency as a result of this significant common effort (Armanet, 2004: 3).

The first MECESUP 2 project, entitled “Competitive Fund of Projects of Academic Innovation”, was launched in 2006. Taking into account the administrative conditions, its strategic axes are expressed in three key concepts: *advanced human capital*, *academic innovation* and *academic management*. Amongst its evaluation criteria, one can observe several microstructures closely related to the labour market, including *improvement and assurance of academic quality*, *pertinent employability*, *labour market insertion* and *accreditation of competences*. In terms of structural aspects of the HE architecture, this discourse is emphatic about the following issues: flexibility and diversification of programmes, curricular re-design, and the development of pertinent, innovative and coherent educational services. The social aspects of this text offer two significant views: *on the one hand*, there is an explicit interest for inserting the Chilean HE system into the international scenario; *on the other hand*, it is possible to observe a discourse focused on developing capabilities of co-ordination, integration and articulation as academic networks amongst national and international institutions. Furthermore, themes of this utterance/text are mainly oriented to:

- The development of national doctorate programmes.
- Academic innovation in the university undergraduate.
- The generation of high capabilities of academic management.
- The design of new programmes for the teaching of English.
- The design of experimental programmes for the levelling of basic competences for underprivileged students.

In the general background of the technical conditions, the main concepts can be observed in the following sentence:

The ‘MECESUP 2 programme Tertiary Education for the Knowledge-based Society’ forms part of the effort of the Chilean Government for supporting the transition of its current economy towards an economy based on knowledge, increase of equity, quality and effectiveness of its system of Tertiary Education<sup>94</sup>.

Most of these concepts are clearly visible in the Bologna Language or they come from the Bologna Macrostructure with the purpose of organising and developing more complex Chilean utterances/texts discourses in HE.

Within the administrative conditions, the technical element focuses attention on concepts concerning labour market logic, such as *international competitiveness, economic and social development, necessary competences for the market, employability of graduate students* and *advanced human capital*. Amongst objectives, one can observe the presence of microstructures which ‘speak’ about improving Doctorate programmes, prompting new curricular designs, levelling basic competences and achieving academic standards, efficiently in teaching-learning and management. Within the specific information given, conditions suggest semantically that projects might generate mechanisms for international links and improve relationships with the productive sectors. In addition, they recommend creating associations, allies and inter-institutional networks, which contribute to curricular innovation and renovation and student mobility. This latter concept should be achieved through the harmonisation of different educational levels.

One of the most significant ideas proposed here is the implementation of the observatory for Higher Education. This concrete initiative has apparently been present in various discourses in different social areas, such as science and technology, small and medium business and gender issues. In Mexico, this concept has been welcomed

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<sup>94</sup> <http://www.mece2.com/portal/index.php?lang=english>.



amongst civil society organisations. In this case, an observatory for HE implies the collection and use of university data, assurance of quality through monitoring the system and numbering graduates within the labour market.

### *5.3.3. Chilean Macrostructure in HE within university documents.*

The macrostructures analysed for this study were 90 MECESUP projects presented to the World Bank, from 2004 until 2008. In the first part, the MECESUP 1 project (2004), the 27 university projects approved by the Chilean government were analysed. The MECESUP 2 (2005) was studied through 63 university projects. The documentation of the projects of the MECESUP 2 was described under the terms **‘training of advanced human capital’** (25 projects), **‘academic Innovation’** (29 projects) and **‘management’** (09 projects). In addition, documents of the ALFA Tuning Latin America Project were analysed to offer a broader scope of documents that might show the impact of European Bologna discourse on Chilean public policy ‘lexis’.

In 2004, as a part of the programme MECESUP 1, the Chilean Government approved 27 university projects. Analysing the macrostructures of discourse, i.e. documents in Chilean projects, one may observe eight microstructures which I shall call: (1) curricular design by competences, (2) vertical and horizontal student mobility, (3) development of doctorate degrees, (4) design of a common professional profile, (5) establishment of academic networks, (6) internationalisation of degree programmes, (7) design of a common system of credits, (8) renovation, innovation and curricular harmonisation.

**11.1% of the projects** were focused on *curricular design based on competences* and **21.3% of the projects** had the purpose of introducing the microstructure *renovation, innovation and curricular harmonisation*. Both microstructures can be compared with **Level 1 in ‘European’ Bologna Language (EBL)**, which involves structural changes for re-engineering curricula and teaching-learning processes in Higher Education (HE) in order to produce ‘human resources’ for the market. Within the microstructure, *development of doctorate degrees*, one can see that **18.5% of projects** were aimed at **Level 1 in EBL**, i.e. a system of academic grades which are easy to read and compare, including the introduction of the diploma supplement, designed to improve international ‘transparency’ and facilitate academic and professional recognition of qualifications. The remaining percentage of the projects covered different aspects of **Levels 2, 3 and 5 of EBL**, which imply the creation of deep shifts in undergraduate teaching and learning processes, to synchronise with the modernisation of postgraduate standards throughout the world. It is remarkable that one of the highest percentages of the projects appears within the microstructure *establishment of academic networks* (20%) belonging to **Level 5**.

**MECESUP 1: Chilean Bologna Macrostructure.**

The 'Chilean' Bologna Language (ChBL): Semantic Microstructures (SM)	Chilean topics (ChTO)	Operational levels of the 'European' Bologna Language (EBL)
<b>SM1:</b> Architecture & Harmonisation of HE.	(1) Curricular design by competences (11.1%). (2) Development of Doctorate degrees (18.5%). (3) Common professional qualification profile (5.56%). (4) Common system of credits (1.23%).	LEVEL 1
<b>SM2:</b> Mobility of student, academics and researchers.	(1) Vertical and horizontal student mobility (5.22%).	LEVEL 2
<b>SM3:</b> Innovation in teaching-learning methodologies	(1) Innovation in teaching-learning methodologies (3.7%)	LEVEL 3
<b>SM4:</b> Training of advanced human capital.	(1) Internationalisation of degree programmes (8.33%). (2) Assurance of quality study programmes (4.93%)	LEVEL 4
<b>SM5:</b> Co-operation and transparency.	(1) Establishment of academic networks (20%).	LEVEL 5

**Table 5.4**

The Chilean government divided MECESUP 2, called the ‘Bicentenary Programme’, into three significant areas: training of advanced human capital, academic innovation and management.

## MECESUP 2: Chilean Bologna Macrostructure.

### A. Training of advanced human capital.

The ‘Chilean’ Bologna Language (ChBL) Semantic Microstructures (SM).	Chilean topics (ChTO).	Operational levels of the ‘European’ Bologna Language (EBL).
<b>SM1:</b> Architecture & Harmonisation of HE.	(2) Development of Doctorate degrees (49.3%). (1) Curricular design by competences (2%).	LEVEL 1.
<b>SM4:</b> Training of advanced human capital.	(3) Training of advanced human capital (19.3%). (1) Internationalisation of degree programmes (8.64%). (4) Others: sustainable development, flexibility and diversification of programmes (3.32%). (2) Assurance of quality study programmes (2%).	LEVEL 3.
<b>SM5:</b> Co-operation and transparency.	(5) Establishment of academic networks (12%).	LEVEL 5

**Table 5.5**

As one can see in the table above (table 5.5), within the first area, the highest percentage of the projects is seen in the *development of doctorate degrees* (49.3%) and the *establishment of academic networks* (12%). These microstructures can be located in

the operational **Levels of ‘European’ Bologna Language (EBL) 1 and 5**. This implies that the macrostructure MECESUP 2 focused mainly on promoting the development of research and doctorate degrees and co-operative work amongst universities. Three new microstructures appeared in this analysis: the *internationalisation of degree programmes* (8.64%), the *assurance of quality study programmes* (2%) and the *training of advanced human capital* (19.3%), occupying **Levels 3 and 4 of EBL**. Here, it is noticeable that microstructures in Chilean ‘lexis’ are associated with European concepts, such as co-operation, with regard to quality assurance. In addition, the external dimension of the Bologna Process stands out clearly, because it represents one of the foreign models for internationalising HE.

**MECESUP 2: Chilean Bologna Macrostructure.*****B. Academic Innovation.***

The 'Chilean' Bologna Language (CBL) Semantic Microstructures (SM).	Chilean topics (ChTO).	Operational levels of the European Bologna Language (EBL).
<b>SM1:</b> Architecture & Harmonisation of HE	(1) Curricular design by competences (21.8%). (5) Renovation, innovation and curricular harmonisation (18.4%). (3) Common professional qualification profile (1.72%).	LEVEL 1.
<b>SM2:</b> Mobility.	(1) Vertical and horizontal student mobility (1.72%).	LEVEL 2.
<b>SM3:</b> Innovation in teaching-learning methodologies.	(1) Innovation in teaching-learning methodologies (17%). (3) Others: academic innovation (6.9%).	LEVEL 3.
<b>SM4:</b> Training of advanced human capital.	(2) Assurance of quality study programmes (9.76%). (4) Sustainable development, flexibility and diversification of programmes (3.45%).	LEVEL 3.
<b>SM5:</b> Co-operation and transparency.	(5) Establishment of academic networks (10.3%).	LEVEL 5.

**Table 5.6**

In the second field, 'academic innovation' (table 5.6), the Chilean government approved 29 projects, most of which were focused on two significant microstructures: *renovation, innovation and curricular harmonisation* (18.4%) and *innovation in teaching-learning methodologies* (17%). Both microstructures can be located in **Level 1 of 'European' Bologna Language (EBL)**. Other significant percentages are located in

microstructures *curricular design by competences* (21.8%) and *assurance of quality study programmes* (9.76%), **Levels 1 and 3 of EBL** respectively. This implies structural changes for re-engineering curricula and teaching-learning processes in Higher Education (HE) in order to produce ‘human resources’ for the market.

## MECESUP 2: Chilean Bologna Macrostructure.

### C. Management

The ‘Chilean’ Bologna Language (CBL) Semantic Microstructures (SM).	Chilean topics (ChTO).	Operational levels of the European Bologna Language (EBL).
<b>SM1:</b> Architecture & Harmonisation of HE?	(1) Curricular design by competences (3.33%).	LEVEL 1.
<b>SM3:</b> Innovation in teaching-learning methodologies.	(2) Incorporation of information and communication technologies (1.32%).	LEVEL 1.
<b>SM4:</b> Training of advanced human capital.	(5) Development of strategic, administrative and academic management (16%). (5) Setting up systems of institutional analysis (9.32%). (2) Quality assurance of programmes (3.33%).	LEVEL 3.
<b>SM5:</b> Co-operation and transparency.	(1) Establishment of academic networks (4%).	LEVEL 5.

**Table 5.7**

In the field of management (table 5.7), the Chilean government approved 9 projects, mainly focused on *setting up systems of institutional analysis* (9.32%) and the *development of strategic, administrative and academic management* (16%). Both the microstructures located in **Level 3 of EBL**, would represent what Bernasconi (1999)

called the final stage of privatism, a kind of privatism which associates the awarding of state resources with a process characterised by an emphasis on continually planning and seeking to improve the quality of educational standards. In this awards process, the State behaves as a private business stakeholder, Higher Education institutions, to concentrate on achieving high degrees of efficiency, efficacy and solvency. The Neo-Liberal State offers its state resources in a way that simulate a hunter who places food for rabbits in a trap<sup>95</sup>. In addition, the incorporation of information and communication technologies appeared as a new microstructure complementing **Level 1** of what the Bologna Process seeks to achieve: different ways of implementing general and cross-curricular competencies to manage access to information, familiarity with information technology and communication, and the mastering of foreign languages, according to the needs of 21<sup>st</sup> century professionals.

In the following table, it is possible to see the design of the Chilean matrix of semantic microstructures, topics and micropropositions for analysing Bologna Language. This 'mould', like the European grid, studies the *key concepts* (semantic microstructures, **SM**), *indicators* (or topics) where **TOs** are observable and quantifiable and the *contextual definitions and explanations* (micropropositions, **MP**) which make it possible to connect both **SM** and **TO** within Bologna Language. In simple words, MP means the context for Critical Analysis of Discourse studies (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 25).

This general matrix was designed as a result of the analyses of public and university documents and the observation of the European matrix. It synthesises the

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<sup>95</sup> Interview with Carlos Mujica, former Academic Vice-Chancellor of the Catholic University of the North, Antofagasta, Chile, April 2006.



most significant semantic microstructures (SM), topics (TO) and micropropositions (MP).

**General Matrix of ‘Chilean Bologna Language’.**

<b>SEMANTIC MICROSTRUCTURES (SM)</b>	<b>TOPICS (TO).</b>	<b>MICROPROPOSITIONS (MP)</b>
<b>SM1:</b> Architecture & Harmonisation of Chilean HE.	(1) Curricular design by competences. (2) Development of doctorate degrees. (3) Design of a common professional qualification profile. (4) Design of a common system of credits. (5) Renovation, innovation and curricular harmonisation: (6) Flexibility and diversification of programmes.	The reforms in Chilean HE at undergraduate level are mainly concerned with structural aspects of curricular innovation, design of professional qualification profile and devising a common system of credits.
<b>SM2:</b> Mobility.	(1) Vertical and horizontal student mobility.	The Chilean HE aspires to implement vertical and horizontal student mobility amongst institutions as a symbol of integration and coherency for the system.
<b>SM4:</b> Training of advanced human capital.	(1) Internationalisation of degree programmes. (2) Assurance of quality study programmes. (3) Training of advanced human capital. (4) Sustainable development. (5) Planning management: development of strategic, administrative and academic management and setting up systems of institutional analysis	The training of advanced human capital implies the development of a new culture of planning and management to achieve assurance of quality in study programmes based on outputs and results, and a growing accountability of public accounts.
<b>SM3:</b> Innovation in teaching-learning methodologies	(1) Innovation in teaching-learning methodologies. (2) Incorporation of information and communication technologies. (3) Academic innovation.	The pedagogic process of the system seeks innovation in teaching-learning methodologies plus incorporation of communication technologies.
<b>SM5:</b> Co-operation & Transparency.	(1) Co-operation: establishment of academic networks. (2) Transparency.	The establishment of academic networks implies a substantive change that encourages universities to talk to each other and exchange experiences.

**Table 5.8**

It is evident that some of the Chilean microstructures and topics are not comparable with their original (European) Bologna Language macrostructure. For this reason, the present thesis has designed its own Chilean Macrostructure, which differs in certain aspects from the original model. The three first levels are similar to the original pattern. However, in Chilean documents, a different fourth level emerges, namely the 'pedagogic process'. It is mainly focused on innovating teaching-learning methodologies, especially based on incorporation of communication technologies. It is important to notice here that the 'Eurocentric discourse level' does not appear to be explicitly present in the Latin American Bologna Language. The final level embraces certain of the European values, such as transparency and co-operation. In the following diagram (figure 5.4), it is possible to observe a view of the *Latin American (Chilean) Bologna Macrostructure*.

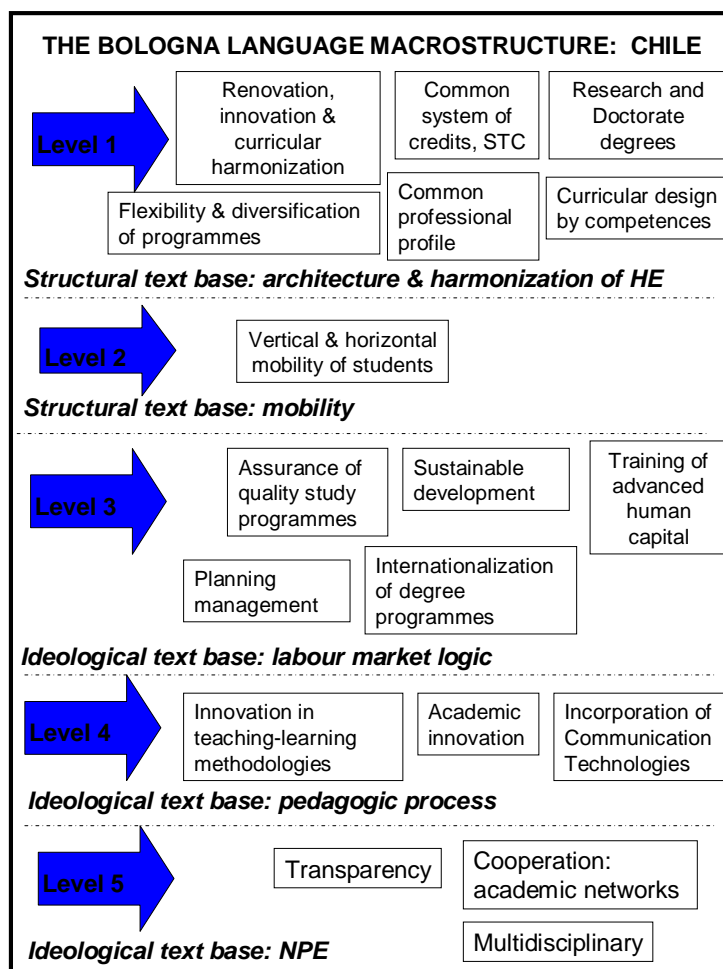


Figure 5.4

#### 5.4. Conclusions.

This thesis argued that as a result of the arrival of European ideas and language in Chilean HE, their influence was observable both in spoken and written conversations. European influences ‘coloured’ and ‘informed’ the criteria that evaluate university projects. In addition, it was possible to observe the development of a new culture for planning and assessing HE projects.

Considering Chilean *public policies*, European ideas have had a significant impact on three main aspects: a) the mechanism of allocating public financial resources (MECESUP) b) a new culture of planning and assessing projects for HE and c) in an indirect way, the National Accreditation System which has come under European

influence. Taking into account *university policies*, European ideas have had a strong impact on the design of curricular architecture and the processes of curricular re-engineering in the 25 Chilean traditional universities. In addition, the impact is visible in the construction of a National Academic Credit System (STC – Chile) and processes of internationalisation of HE institutions.

Therefore the manifestation of European ideas ‘colouring’ conversations and procedures at two levels, public and university policies in Chilean HE, required a rigorous analysis of European ideational aspects present not only through a cluster of ideas, norms, principles and values but also through analysing language.

The next section studies the second case of study, Mexican Higher Education. Even though I follow the same methodological procedure for analysing data and the theoretical framework, interviews and written documents were different and they deserved different ways of approaching empirical information.

# **Chapter 6: The impact of European ideas on Mexican Higher Education (HE).**

## **6.1. The impact of European ideas on Mexican HE and its development.**

*6.1.1. European ideas targeting the core of Mexican Higher Education.*

*6.1.2. European ideas impacting upon the fundamental Mexican actors.*

## **6.2. Analysing Normative Power Europe (NPE) in Mexican domestic policies.**

*6.2.1. The analytical dimension of NPE: Mexican HE absorbing European ideas.*

*6.2.2. The gnosiological side of NPE: validating Mexican HE system through European norms.*

## **6.3. European influences on Mexican HE discourses. Re-constructing language.**

*6.3.1. The Mexican Bologna Language Macrostructure.*

*6.3.2. Mexican Macrostructure in HE: public documents.*

*6.3.3. Mexican Macrostructure in HE: university documents.*

*6.3.3.1. 'Common Space' Journals.*

*6.3.3.2. University strategic plans.*

## **6.4. Conclusions.**

### **Summary.**

The present chapter offers an in-depth analysis of the other case of study, the impact of European ideational aspects on Mexican Higher Education (HE). The story starts to be told through placing facts and the main actors involved in the process from both sectors, public and institutional/university. After that, this study examines the presence of Normative Power Europe (NPE) in events, ideas, principles, norms and impact upon Mexico, considering the period after the arrival and implementation of the Bologna Process in 2005. The examination of NPE contributes to identify how NPE operates 'analytically' and 'gnosiologically' in the field of Mexican domestic policies. This part also comprises an analysis of NPE within the Bologna European Language and its effects on Mexican Bologna Language.

### **6.1. The impact of European ideas on Mexican HE and its development.**

The second case, Mexican HE was carefully chosen amongst a series of cases that were analysed in the early stages of this investigation. The main reason for considering this case was that Mexico shares with Chile the same patterns in the establishment of relationships with the EU: it settled up a social-cooperation agreement of last generation with the Union on its own, and not as part of a larger group (such as MERCOSUR or RIO), it actively participates in the horizontal programmes and other European aid plans. Additionally, Mexico has played a fundamental part in launching the Tuning Latin America throughout the continent. Besides, I would like to say here that the strong American influence upon Mexican policies and decision-making is a significant variable present in HE too. For this reason, Mexico constitutes a significant case of study for examining European influences considering the solid impact of the US upon Mexican HE.

As part of the fieldwork in Mexico, I observed profound changes in two kinds of HE institutions, the technological institutes and universities belonging to the Consortium of Mexican Universities (CUMEX). As in Chile, these transformations were noticeable through two aspects: (i) a set of practical procedures that impacted on curricular designs and professional profiles, and (ii) a shared and common ‘language’ and ideas that coloured public and university policies and projects.

This chapter is divided into three main subdivisions: the impact of European ideas on Mexican HE, an analysis of Normative Power Europe (NPE) in Mexican domestic policies, and European influences on Mexican HE discourses. *These analyses offer empirical evidence to validate the two associative hypotheses:* (1) European influences are observed on the development of domestic policies in Chile and Mexico in

the field of Higher Education and (2) The impact of European influences upon received countries are mediated by domestic circumstances.

The first part outlines preliminary analyses of interviews. These place and study main actors involved in the phenomenon of European ideas impacting Mexican HE and tell the story of the whole process starting in 2002-2003 with a series of meeting between European and Mexican authorities.

With the purpose of outlining empirical evidence to support the statements of this research, five interviews were translated from Spanish into English. These interviews considered *two experts*, Dr. Roberto Rodríguez Gioacutemez-Guerra and Dr. Manuel Gil Antón; *three type subjects*, Ms. Guillermo Morones Díaz (authority at the ONG, National Association of Universities and HE institutions - ANUIES.), Dr. Ruth Vargas Leyva (academic at a technological institute,) and Dr. Enrique Espinosa Aquino (a university authority).



*6.1.1. European ideas targeting the core of Mexican Higher Education.*

This first part of chapter 6 summarises the history of European ideas impacting on Mexican HE. This section was ‘re-constructed’ through the results of a series of interviews conducted with civil servants<sup>96</sup>, university authorities<sup>97</sup> and experts<sup>98</sup> in Mexico between 2008-2009. The main objective of this branch of research was to seek information about how the Latin American Tuning Project was being implemented in the technological institutes and universities as well as analysing the impact of European influences on Mexican Higher Education.

The background of European ideas impacting on Mexican Higher Education, officially commenced with the ALFA Tuning Latin America project. This project was introduced at the end of October 2003 as an initiative of the Tuning Europe project. As a result, Mexico preferred to concentrate on international policies, and has joined large agreements such as EULAC/ALCUE, using the Latin America Tuning Project as an ‘umbrella’ to make changes. In fact, Mexican technological institutes and some public and private universities, taking into account welcome suggestions from the OECD, have made sporadic efforts to follow the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project<sup>99</sup>. The

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<sup>96</sup> Mexican public institutions visited for research purposes were: **ANUIES** (the National Association of Universities and Institutions of Superior Education), **CENEVAL** (the National Centre for Evaluation of Higher Education), **Centre of Tuning Latin America**, **CIEES** (the Inter-institutional Committees for Evaluating Higher Education), **COEPES** (the State Commissions for Planning Higher Education), **CONACYT** (the National Committee for Science and Technology), **CONAEVA** (the National Commission for Evaluating Higher Education), **CONPES** (the National Coordination Commission for Higher Education Planning), **CORPES** (the Regional Councils for the Planning of Higher Education), **SESI** (the Under-Secretary for Higher Education and Scientific Research, currently the Under-Secretary of Higher Education) and **SEP** (the Secretary for Public Education)

<sup>97</sup> Mexican university institutions visited for the research purpose were CUMEX (Consortium of Mexican Universities), the Metropolitan Autonomous University (UAM), the University of Guadalajara, the Autonomous National University of Mexico (UNAM) and the Autonomous University of the State of Hidalgo.

<sup>98</sup> Dr. María José Arroyo Paniagua, Dra. Jocelyne Gacel-Ávila, Dr. Manuel Gil Antón, Dr. Roberto Rodríguez, Dra. Ruth Vargas.

<sup>99</sup> Interview with Ruth Vargas, expert in the Tuning Latin America Project, Antofagasta, Chile, April 20th 2008.

Tuning Latin America was simply the vehicle of diffusion of the Bologna Process, because, as some Mexican authorities argue, Mexican universities are implementing the Tuning Project with no local adjustments but simply '*à l' européenne*'<sup>100</sup>.

After that, in 2005 the Secretariat of Public Education selected a federal university, the Autonomous Metropolitan University, and five public state universities: the University of Guadalajara, the Autonomous University of the State of Hidalgo, the University of Sonora, the University of Guanajuato and the Autonomous University of Yucatán to develop the ALFA Project. Mexico participated in the four main areas: mathematics, history, education, and administration. The second stage involved the areas of architecture, civil engineering, law, nursing, geology, chemistry, physics, and medicine. So far fourteen Mexican universities have joined this process<sup>101</sup>.

Between 2005 and 2006, the six pioneer Mexican universities started to use the Tuning Methodology for surveying different target groups. They wanted to obtain a description of generic competences that could contribute to an adequate and suitable professional profile for the labour market. This included expertise, knowledge and content for the twelve subject areas mentioned above<sup>102</sup>. Its focus was the creation of a model curricular structure for each subject which would facilitate *easily, comparable* and *comprehensible qualifications* in a linked-up way, promoting recognition of these

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<sup>100</sup> Interview with Enrique Espinosa Aquino, Coordinator of Consortium of Mexican Universities (CUMEX), January 30<sup>th</sup> 2009.

<sup>101</sup> The Autonomous University of Aguascalientes, the Autonomous University of Baja California, the University of Colima, the University of Guanajuato, the University of Guadalajara, the Autonomous University of the State of Morelos, the Autonomous University of Nuevo León, the Autonomous Distinguished University of Puebla, the Autonomous University of Querétaro, the Autonomous University of San Luis Potosí, the University of Sonora, the Autonomous University of Yucatán, the National Polytechnic Institute and the Autonomous National University of Mexico.

<sup>102</sup> Administration, architecture, business, chemistry, civil engineering, education, geology, history, law, mathematics, medicine, nursing, and physics

qualifications that would facilitate student mobility, first nationally, and then throughout the whole of Latin America.

In 2007, the National Tuning Centre in Mexico was re-located into the Secretariat of Public Education, where it invited experts in Tuning to diffuse research experience within the Consortium of Mexican Universities (CUMEX). Following this, CUMEX firmly advised its universities to implement the Tuning Methodology. Most of them in fact have implemented Bologna in their educational models or in their corporate plan of educational development.

The Bologna Process has prompted the implementation of Tuning Methodology within HE institutions. In fact CUMEX firmly advised its universities to implement this methodology but '*à l' européenne*'. The three universities that have advanced the furthest in implementing the Bologna Process are the Autonomous University of State of Hidalgo, the Autonomous University of State of Mexico and the University of Sonora. Most of them have implemented Bologna either in their educational models or in their corporate plan of educational development, or in both.

Taking into account the design and implementation of *public policies*, the Mexican Government has recognised the European model as an appropriate model, because it considers that it would serve as the ideal pattern for the internationalisation of Mexican HE. Indeed, in Mexico, the Bologna Process and its Tuning Project are seen as part of a more complex phenomenon, which is the internationalisation of HE, specifically through 'collaboration with the European Union' (Gácel-Ávila, 2005: 269). As a result of this, the government is implementing proposals for the following: establishing networks, and consortia for collaboration and academic exchanges and

facilitating student mobility between different national institutions and Mexican and foreign institutions.

There has also been an increasing trend towards the opening up of education, improving access across the nation and abroad<sup>103</sup>.

Another *public policy* implemented as a result of the impact of European ideas, is the placing of the National Tuning Centre firmly within the Secretariat of State Education. This decision allowed the governments to be the vehicle of diffusion for the Bologna Process, to achieve an extensive diffusion throughout the whole of the Mexican HE System. In addition, this decision has launched the implementation of strategic decisions for improving, updating and extending the international frontiers of Mexican HE.

Another important participating actor is the Federal Government, which has implemented a variety of exchange programmes with different countries and in diverse fields of operation<sup>104</sup>.

Furthermore, it is possible to discern an indirect impact on the accreditation and evaluation process of HE through the National Centre for the Evaluation of Higher Education (CENEVAL). This centre has promoted the establishment of schemes for the effective planning and continuous improvement of quality within the majority of public institutions, as well as the implementation of a new institutional culture, focused on achieving good results. Additionally, the Federal Government has required close involvement of institutions within the external evaluation processes, the accreditation of educational programmes, as well as the certification of strategic processes of management, in accordance with international norms (ISO) and mechanisms of transparency as regards to accounts.

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<sup>103</sup> Interview with Ms. Guillermo Morón, Mexico-D.F., January 26<sup>th</sup>, 2009.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

Another factor that has been influential in this movement has been the accreditation process, the search for quality assurance, and even its consequences for the PIFI - Integral Programme for the Strengthening of Institutions. The PIFI has a number of evaluation criteria which include tutorials and competence-based programmes and these aspects are important in applying for funds.

Even some universities such as Sonora have been able to do all their reconversion or all their Tuning through funds coming from the PIFI. Therefore, the PIFI is considered as one of the best-known actors in this process<sup>105</sup>.

European ideas have had an impact on three significant *university policies*: the internationalisation process of Mexican HE institutions; the design of curricular architecture and the implementation of the Tuning Methodology. However, it is impossible to observe a single model for making institutional adjustments in Mexican HE institutions, and even for the implementation of the Bologna Process within Mexican universities and institutes.

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#### **a.) The internationalisation process of Mexican HE institutions**

There is an intergovernmental agreement between Europe and Latin America to construct the Common Space in Europe and I believe that the Tuning is an instrument that supports the construction of this common space, but there are still some tasks outstanding, which are sufficiently important to be able to speak of a common space for HE in Latin America and Europe<sup>106</sup>.

There is a movement afoot that is seeking to internationalise education. This is a movement arising from globalisation and it constitutes a response by HE for tuning according to globalisation requirements<sup>107</sup>.

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#### **b.) The design of curricular architecture.**

We are following all the Tuning methodology, including the whole credit system. We are even operating according to the European system of 60 credits a year, i.e. 30 credits per semester. We are adopting all these criteria, and we are now thinking of a 4 year degree course, including a one-year postgraduate course, combining different cycles<sup>108</sup>.

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<sup>105</sup> Interview with Dr. Ruth Vargas, Antofagasta-Chile, April 19<sup>th</sup>, 2008 (by telephone).

<sup>106</sup> Interview with Ms. Guillermo Morón, Mexico-D.F., January 26<sup>th</sup>, 2009.

<sup>107</sup> Interview with Dr. Ruth Vargas, Antofagasta-Chile, April 19<sup>th</sup>, 2008 (by telephone).

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

### c.) The implementation of the Tuning Methodology

Mexican universities have shown great interest in this version of Tuning Latin America because it means approaching the study programmes of the different courses through the angle of general and specific competences. This is a subject that is very interesting and demanding, focusing on whether or not it is necessary to adopt this model for defining course curricula from the angle of competences<sup>109</sup>.

We are the first ones in Mexico, in such a huge system, that since last year (2006) have been using all the Tuning methodologies, such as defining specific competences for 27 degrees, designing all the study programmes for these different degrees, conducting more or less 400 thousand surveys, - it is an unprecedented effort for our country<sup>110</sup>.

Mexican universities have participated actively in the project of Tuning Latin America to attempt to create strategic alliances in order to integrate Mexico into the hemispheric process of meeting worldwide challenges. These strategies have focused on the mobility of students and academics, on international networks or linkages, on partnerships, shared projects and on international programmes and research activities. In the short-term this internationalisation process has produced an impact on students, academic staff and the content and design of educational programmes. Long-term, the impact will be visible in the quality of education, the profile of graduates and in the national and international positioning of institutions. In fact, mobility between lecturers and students, and the research agendas of Mexico and Bologna universities, give clear evidence of international academic collaboration, bringing recognition and acceptance to the Mexican universities. They have established groups of interest and demonstrated a spirit of leadership in the organisation of academic networks.

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<sup>109</sup> Interview with Ms. Guillermo Morón, Mexico-D.F., January 26<sup>th</sup>, 2009.

<sup>110</sup> Interview with Dr. Ruth Vargas, Antofagasta-Chile, April 19<sup>th</sup>, 2008 (by telephone).

In addition, the Bologna Process has affected curricular re-engineering strategies in CUMEX universities and Mexican technological institutes. These institutions are working on updating their educational programmes and making them more flexible, by incorporating educational paradigms focused on the students' learning, and on schemes for individual and group evaluations. Therefore, institutions should have in place a set of efficient mechanisms for the mutual recognition of credits; they should likewise favour the implicit equality of status between courses.

In addition, as part of their implementation of the Tuning Project, Mexican HE institutions have been working actively on a project called “6x4 UEALC: A university dialogue”, through which experts are analysing six professional careers, these being Medicine, Electronic Engineering, Administration, Maths, History and Chemistry. These analyses were focused on four areas: strategies to describe and evaluate competency-based learning; a region-wide academic credit system; a common reference framework for integrating the evaluation of competencies into quality assurance and accreditation systems; and a list of key competencies for research and innovation and related training strategies. The overall goal was to improve the quality of HE in Latin America and to facilitate greater collaboration and mobility amongst the HE institutions within the region, and with the HE sector in Europe.

The figure below summarises the main finding as a result of the preliminary analysis of interviews and a profound bibliographical study: *(1) the design of public policies, (2) the planning of university policies (and projects) and (3) the development of a specific 'lexis' (Bologna language)*. These sub-substantive areas contribute to outline zones of European influences in developing Mexican domestic policies in the field of Higher Education.

**Zones of European influences upon Mexican HE.**

<b>Sub-substantive areas</b>	<b>Substantives categories.</b>	<b>Analysis &amp; Conclusions.</b>
<b>1. PUBLIC POLICIES:</b> the design of public policies.	Institutional Adjustments.	- Indirectly, the National Accreditation System.
	Setting of standards.	- The development of a new culture of planning and assessing projects for HE.
	Development of specific policies.	- The placing of the National Tuning Centre in the Secretariat of Public Education, being the vehicle of diffusion for the Bologna Process.
	Use of language: the development of a specific 'lexis' (Bologna Language).	To be studied in the Bologna Language through official documents and opinions of experts and civil servants.
<b>2. UNIVERSITY POLICIES:</b> the Planning of university policies (and projects): the design of curricula and the development of internal and external projects	University Adjustments.	- A strong impact on the design of curricular architecture and the processes of curricular re-engineering in the CUMEX's universities.
	Setting of standards.	- The implementation of the Tuning Methodology by technological institutes and CUMEX's universities.
	Development of specific policies.	- The development of a university culture of planning.
	Use of European language the development of a specific 'lexis' (Bologna Language):.	To be studied in university documents, speeches university authorities, opinions of experts and academic authorities.

**Table 6.1**



6.1.2. *European ideas impacting upon the fundamental Mexican actors.*

As a result of the analysis of interviews, this thesis argues that the arrival of European ideas arrived in Mexico affecting two significant Actors: the Secretariat of State Education (SEP) and the Consortium of Mexican Universities (CUMEX). The following quotations show the presence of the Mexican actors involved in the process.

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**SEP**

We received the request from Dr. Rodolfo Tuirán, Under-secretary for HE in 2007 and he asked the Director General of the Technological institutes to start moving towards the common space. After learning what was involved in the common space, we went on immediately to the question of mobility<sup>111</sup>.

We have adopted the European model because we were ordered to do so by the Secretary for Public Education<sup>112</sup>.

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**CUMEX**

... we work on a comparative analysis of our programmes and credits according to what is coming from Europe and Tuning. Therefore, these European processes facilitate us to work with our own process of comparability and making compatible one programme with another with the purpose of working with the next strategic programme, that is mobility<sup>113</sup>.

Considering the design of public policies, the main actor, the Secretariat of State Education has played the role of a simple diffuser of the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project. That is owing to the fact that Mexican HE is a very complex and autonomous system. The structure of Higher Education in Mexico is characterised by the significant magnitude, complexity, heterogeneity and diversity of all its components. These elements are determined by the size and particularities of its institutions and by the characteristics and profile of their academics. Certainly, European language

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<sup>111</sup> Interview with Dr. Ruth Vargas, Antofagasta-Chile, April 19<sup>th</sup>, 2008 (by telephone).

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Interview with Dr. Enrique Espinosa Aguayo, Mexico-D.F., January 30<sup>th</sup>, 2009.

impacting on Mexican text/utterances seems to be a diffused process when one analyses public and institutional/university documents.

In Mexico, the Federal government, through SEP, has the responsibility for the establishment of national plans and policies of education whereas governments of Mexican states are in charge of designing respective plans and policies in the field of the competences of each state. In addition, within the decision-making processes, other actors contribute to define national policies (Beneitone et. al., 2007: 386)

The instrument used by the Mexican government for diffusing European ideas was the Tuning Latin America project. Therefore, the Secretariat of Public Education has played an interesting role diffusing the Bologna Process for Mexican HE. Its instruments for circulating information have also been the EULAC/ALCUE and the Tuning Latin America Project. CUMEX's universities and technological institutions have been direct 'recipients' of the process.

Considering institutional/university actors, the National Association of Universities and Institutions of HE (ANUIES) deserves special mention, because it has played a role as a fundamental diffuser of Bologna. It has coordinated workshops and conferences, disseminating amongst Mexican institutions the 'state of the art' of the process and its activities of adapting and implementing it by different universities and technological institutes. On the other hand, the Consortium of Mexican Universities (CUMEX) has performed as the head of the process, leading not only campaigns of promotion of Bologna, but also suggesting 'loudly' its implementation amongst its HE institutions.

## **6.2. Analysing Normative Power Europe (NPE) in Mexican domestic policies.**

This part was mainly produced through analysis of interviews. European documents were not considered in this part of the analysis. This decision was made during the second phase of this investigation, specifically in 2007 when the Tuning Latin America project, 2<sup>nd</sup> stage was cancelled due to the lack of financial resources, and the death of the project was declared.

Owing to the fact that European influences were less noticeable in Mexican public and institutional/university policies than in Chile, the analysis of NPE was more complex when working with interviews conducted with Mexican experts and type subjects. However the study shows interesting results about some geopolitical aspects, which do not appear explicitly in Chilean discourses, such as the dispute between the EU and the US for the hegemony in the field of HE. I would like to recall here that the strong American influence upon Mexican policies and decision-making is a significant variable present in HE too. For this reason, Mexico constitutes a significant case of study for examining European influences considering the solid impact of the US upon Mexican HE.

The following part studies two core elements of Normative Power Europe (NPE), its analytical dimension that focuses on the processes of impact, and its gnosiological facet that emphasizes the axiology of NPE.

This part focuses around its key goal – i.e. to identify the process of norm transmission from the perspective of the receiving country: Chile.

In order to avoid repetition in designing footnotes, I abbreviated the names (and surnames) of interviewers with their first initials. These initials are placed in the end of each quotation.

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**RR** = Interview with Dr. **Roberto Rodríguez**, Mexico-D.F., January 2008.

**GM** = Interview with Ms **Guillermo Morón**, Mexico-D.F., January 26<sup>th</sup>, 2009.

**RV** = Interview with Dr. **Ruth Vargas**, Antofagasta-Chile, April 19<sup>th</sup>, 2008 (by telephone).

**EE** = Interview with Dr. **Enrique Espinosa**, Mexico-D.F., January 30<sup>th</sup>, 2009.

**MGA** = Interview with Dr. **Manuel Gil Antón**, Mexico-D.F., January 2008.

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### *6.2.1. The analytical dimension of NPE: Mexican HE absorbing European ideas.*

Amongst diverse aspects of the analytical dimension of NPE, this research focuses on the processes of the EU impact, socialisation, ownership and positive conditionality. Owing to the fact that it is not possible to observe immediate and direct effects, I add another process called adverse or null effects, which show unexpected and unwanted impacts. This aspect is one of the crucial elements in theories of effects. In this part, fragments of translated interviews are used in order to illustrate the process:

## SOCIALISATION.

- 1 Some EU influences, such as the initiative of the Tuning Process, come to us via Ibero-American summits, where peninsular countries such as Spain are present. The Tuning has been very well received by the private universities, but not by the public ones; some of them are participating, but not the largest or the most important institutions. Some private universities have participated by sending working groups to Europe to explore possibilities.

We are far from participating in the whole Bologna package. I think that this process is very important for the EU, but in Mexico or Latin America we do not have a process like the one the EU is following (RR).

---

- 2 Participation in the Tuning Project is underway. The federal government has attended various biennial meetings in Norwich, London, etc. (GM).

In the case of the Tuning Project, 200 Latin American universities have participated. In the case of Mexico, 17 universities have taken part. There is great interest for working on this project, but we have been working more with a 'branch' called Tuning Latin America. The most important aspect of this project is to be part of the group, because it allows the participants to get to know the curricular scenario of the professions in Latin America, the levels of convergence of similarity or dissimilarity, and the length and the aims of HE courses in Latin America. This has been a very interesting exercise for Latin American countries (GM).

There is an internal group participating in both the Tuning Latin America process and the ALFA Tuning project. Obviously these two are both rather abstract and do not get as far as formulating specific educational programmes in their own universities, but at least they are taking part and they have done the surveys (RV).

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- 3 In 2007 we received the request from Dr. Rodolfo Tuirán, Under-Secretary for HE and he asked the Director General of the Technological institutes to start moving towards the common space. After learning what was involved in the common space, we went on immediately to the question of mobility (RV).

We have adopted the European model because we were ordered to do so by the Secretary for Public Education (RV).

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- 4 We are the first ones in Mexico, in such a huge system, that since last year
-

(2006) have been using all the Tuning methodologies, such as defining specific competences for 27 degrees, designing all the study programmes for the different grades, conducting more or less 400 thousand surveys, - it is an unprecedented effort for our country. We are following all the Tuning methodology, including the whole credit system. We are even operating according to the European system of 60 credits a year, i.e., 30 credits per semester. We are adopting all these criteria, and we are now thinking of a 4 year degree course, including one-year postgraduate course, combining different cycles (RV).

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- 5 For this reason, we are working on a comparative analysis of our programmes and credits according to what is coming out of Europe and from Tuning. Therefore, these European processes help us to work with our own process of comparability, making one programme compatible with another, in order to work on the next strategic programme, namely mobility (EE).
- 

- 6 The main course to have adopted this procedure is Medicine, and the universities that have worked the hardest at it are the University of the Guadalajara and the University of Veracruz, the Educational Centre of Sonora and the Sonora Technological Institute (ITSON) – though the latter is also following a different model better suited to skills for the workplace. I would say that there are about 4 or 5 universities that have made serious efforts and are adapting the approach of their faculties accordingly. One example is the Autonomous University of Yucatán, but there are others that are proceeding more cautiously, such as the University of Guanajuato, where the only faculty to have adapted is the School of Nursing (RV).
- 

The *socialisation process* is described here as the sequence of historical events that tell us how different Mexican actors adopted the European model. This process of adopting and implementing European influences started with the Tuning Latin America, at the end of 2004. It then expanded throughout the continent until placing in Mexican public and institutional/university sectors. In the public area, the Federal government met its European partners in different meeting throughout Europe. Considering institutional/university spheres, participation in Tuning Latin America was crucial.

The presence of European guidance is seen as a quite distant process. However there is a significant involvement of Mexican private universities and technological institutes within the process. The progression of adopting the European model in the private sector is observed only through the Tuning Latin America Project. The technological institutes followed the ‘European paragon’, because they received an order from the Secretary for Public Education.

At least five Mexican HE institutions are working further in the espousal of the model, and courses of Medicine and Nursing are working harder in the implementation of the Tuning methodology.

## **OWNERSHIP**

**1** These processes of university trans-nationalisation, especially in the cases of Chile and Mexico, have been creeping in gradually, for instance where universities adopt or buy in partial changes rather than complete models, e.g. emphasising the teaching of English as a second language or offering a dual qualification (RR).

The most significant change in HE has been in competence-based education, but it has not been exactly according to the Tuning methodology. We have created an approach by competences in order to change our syllabuses and convert them into study programmes that are based on competences (RV).

From the beginning, we started to work with the US; later we adopted the European notion of work skills, which subsequently evolved into professional competences. Now our ‘original sin’ is that these arise from labour competences; it is a pedagogical style that has sprung from the labour market and is now making its way into the universities. So there is some resistance as to why we should have to do this. It is aimed at the labour market. Universities are for other things! Our function is quite different (RV).

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**2** The problem has been that in many cases this initiative has so far remained

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only at discourse level. It has not yet managed to penetrate the lecture halls. Also the latest educational policy planning – part of the overall plan for National Development – has included the competence-based approach, which it acknowledges as a real need.

There have been a number of sessions and meetings dealing with the need to organise competence-based education and to create a common space, which already figures in revised state education policy (RV).

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- 3** We must look at Europe, because what is relevant is being done there, but we also need to have comparability at national level (RV).
- 

The *process of ownership* is defined here as those processes that facilitate to endorse or appropriate European influences. At least, one significant phenomenon is observed: *what actions the Mexicans are really taking*, considering three fronts: HE institutions, public sector and national level.

At the institutional/university sectors, changes occurred gradually owing to the fact that HE institutions adopted only partial aspects of the European model. In the public sector, Bologna has coloured the Plan for National Development, even though European presence is barely perceptible. At higher level, actors compared what was happening in Europe but, in turn, they coordinated proper actions for implementing the changes.



## POSITIVE CONDITIONALITY

- 1 The EU offers one of the main hopes for humankind to move from regional states to larger regions with a predominance of democracy and solidarity, with their differences and particular interests of course, because the French and the Germans are not going to forget their centuries of wars (MGA).

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  - 2 As Habermas argues, HE should be directed towards economic production, and I believe that the Europeans have understood that HE does have to follow market logic, but it also has to educate in citizenship, develop critical faculties and form public opinion.  
The Asian effort is also powerful, but is based on authoritarianism, which I cannot accept, while the European one tries to work with a democratic model that I really value (MGA).  
  
I think that to understand the Bologna Process as such, we need to understand the routes that Europe follows within the EU, imagining a European future (RR).

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  - 3 But in intellectual circles we would be really enthusiastic about considering Bologna and Tuning. For example, our HE model is basically French, with a few exceptions for the American and German departmental system (MGA).
- 

The *positive conditionality* is defined as those aspects that show degrees of sympathy and admiration for what the EU is doing through the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project. Degrees of positive conditionality can be observed in two outlooks: whether or not Mexicans have followed the model, and their own opinion about the European paragon.

Here it is interesting to note that other elements beyond the subject of HE appear explicitly: the presence of normative aspects such as norms and values overestimated by Mexican interviewers. They rescue the value of normative principles of democracy, solidarity and citizenship. Therefore the axiological content of NPE is perceptible through discourses that contribute to shape a positive opinion of Europe.

This aspect reinforces Manners' idea that the Union is a global actor which exerts power over opinion, *idée force*, (Manners, 2001: 7).

## ADVERSE/NULL EFFECTS

1 I believe that European influence in Mexican HE is barely perceptible (MGA).

All elements of the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project are acknowledged and taken into account in Mexico, though without predominating (MGA).

I believe that it is important that this kind of debate is taking place in Mexican universities, but I do not feel that the Bologna Process is generating an atmosphere of reaction and discussion, which would be very interesting to have (GM).

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2 From there to becoming a sort of mirror of Europe, is an exercise where there still remains a lot of ground to be covered, because in Latin America we still have to work out the nature of our courses and this will take quite some time (GM).

There is an intergovernmental agreement between Europe and Latin America to construct the Common Space in Europe and I believe that the Tuning is an instrument that supports the construction of this common space, but there are still some tasks outstanding, which are sufficiently important to be able to speak of a common space for HE in Latin America and Europe (GM).

Some new ideas such as Tuning, do reach here; they are understood as solutions created by the Europeans and are worth considering; maybe we can use them as a 'tool box' to dip into rather than as a process originating in HE institutions and heading towards the supra-national utopia of the EU. These stages have not been constructed yet; only the foundations have been laid. Then all of a sudden governments are signing things. They do that first and then they have to put a few elements in place such as from the EU-LAC/ALCUE partnerships. There is no ordered development, just a few processes, some opportunities and incentives to latch onto and bits of knowledge to adapt to the current reality (RR).

The Mexican university claims that it has a competence-based model linked to Tuning, but all they have done is to alter their syllabuses, and in reality they have not adhered to the Tuning methodology. This is a fairly generalised phenomenon, and even though some efforts have been made in

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these common spaces, they have been scattered. We have no clear methodology or satisfactory model (RV).

Fundamentally, the European Tuning seeks the construction of a common space in HE, but I do not know whether or not the same aspiration exists in Latin America (GM).

However, if you compare with European universities, which have greater autonomy, firstly the vision of what the Tuning means is different. The documents are very clear in their declaration; they give the reasons for moving to a European perspective to transform Europe into one of the most competitive regions around the world; so there is an economic approach there, an aspect that I do not detect in the Latin American documents, because the first aspect is about being comparable and compatible with the project, but they do not clearly say anything about transforming Latin America into a competitive region. Something is implied, but is not explicit, and for this reason the project has not been adopted in the same way by Latin American governments (RV).

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- 3** In the case of HE, I would not say that the culture of evaluation comes from European influence, seeing that there already exists an American process with reference to the accreditation of quality, as part of a culture of quality assurance and accountability, i.e. that any publicly founded institution is accountable for what it returns to society (GM).

What I am saying is that we would welcome any influence coming from the European zone, for all its faults, deficiencies and problems, but we are so close to the Americans and their influence is impressive (MGA).

Then it should be appropriate to diversify in terms of HE models, but as long as we have the leading educational classes mythologizing the US and considering the European model as a bit distant and insubstantial compared with the American one, - it would be madness to contemplate such a step (MGA).

- 
- 4** The base line is that we should be allied with the Bologna Process. First it was with Europe, then with Latin America and now we have a national Tuning. So I would not like to say that this is some kind of colonialism, but there is some resistance to the model, and some people would even prefer to turn towards the US, just because it is nearer (RV).
-

This is a process that goes very deep and that has encountered enormous resistance. It has been constructed from top-down, sometimes at the behest of a vice-chancellor who had only 8 months left in office to complete everything. So they are not participatory or democratic processes moving ahead in stages and cascading accordingly, as we really wanted to do in the technological institutions, but rather springing from the will of an individual. Some perceptions, as in Guadalajara, Veracruz or Potosí, have allowed for a more reflective process (RV).

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As said previously, this research adds another element of European influences, namely adverse/null effects. This aspect was incorporated after analysing different opinions from the interviewees, and to study unexpected and unwanted impacts, typically developed by theories of effects. Considering the case of Mexico, I clustered effects into four statements, which were called as follows: (i) an *unobservable model*, (ii) a *poor and slow implementation and adopting of the European paragon*, (iii) *strong American influences*, and a (iv) *phenomenon of resistance*.

There is not a clear perception of the Bologna Process in Mexico. On the one hand, the Tuning Project is acknowledged by Mexican actors, but they cannot see it as a predominant model incepted on their HE. On the other hand, the model did not offer critical discussions and many academics merely ‘went with the flow’.

The problem with the adoption and implementation of the European model arises as part of only sporadic efforts for following it. In addition, this was espoused as a ‘tool box’, but the central bases were not established, such as the creation of the common space for HE.

The dispute between American and European hegemony is still part of the conversations about HE. However, they recognise that the omnipotent presence of the

US is a determinant variable that does not allow them to completely adopt the model: “Poor Mexico, so far from God and so close to the US”<sup>114</sup>.

Mexican interviewees do not see European influences as a kind of neo-colonialism, but they recognise that there is a significant resistance amongst different academic and governmental circles. Some criticise the process of implementation and consider it as an antidemocratic process, because it was implemented as part of the stubborn will of a group of academics, and it has not allowed the development of a more reflective process.

#### *6.2.2. The gnosiological dimension of NPE: validating Mexican HE system through European norms.*

This part of the research was more difficult than the Chilean section. The process of grasping and examining European influences through the core content of NPE, namely ideas, principles and norms, met some significant barriers, such as obstacles with language, the analysis of Mexican, not European data and the more recent adoption and implementation of the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project within Mexican spheres. However despite these inconveniences, disadvantages were considered as advantages because this work is pioneer in measuring European long-term effects far away from Europe. On the other hand, this is one of the few pieces of researcher conducted in two languages (Spanish and English).

Therefore this is a humble approximation to analyse what I call the axiology of NPE. This analysis is divided into two dimensions: the Mexican and the European.

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<sup>114</sup> Interview with Dr. Manuel Gil, Mexico-D.F., January 2008.

Within the Mexican scope, we observe events (facts), main ideas extracted from the facts, and EU norms that could be associated with Mexican discourses. Consequently, this part answers the following questions:

- What European ideational aspects are really received by Mexican HE? (ideas & principles).
- How does Mexican HE use European ideational standpoints within their practices and discourses? (Norms).

The second spectrum studies European processes of transmission norms and the ways of exerting Normative Power Europe. This section responds to the following questions:

- What ideational aspects are diffused by the EU? (EU principles)
- How does the EU diffuse its ideational outlooks? (transmission of norms)
- How does the EU construct its ideational (normative) practices and discourses? (Ways of exerting NPE)

The table below shows an example of how these dimensions were summarised in order to achieve a better understanding of the processes of transmission European ideational outlooks and the reception of these aspects by Mexican institutions and actors.

**NPE's spectrum of influences: Mexico-EU.**

MEXICAN DIMENSION			EUROPEAN DIMENSION			
<b>EVENTS</b>	<b>IDEAS</b>	<b>NORMS</b>	<b>EU PRINCIPLES</b>	<b>TRANSMISSION OF NORMS</b>	<b>OF</b>	<b>WAYS OF EXERTING NPE.</b>

**Table 6.2**

As in Chile, European ideas frequently impacting on Mexican university policies were *harmonisation and collaboration, homogeneity and diversity, and accountability*. In terms of norms, it was possible to observe that events related to governmental actions were mostly associated with *utility* and *social norms*. In contrast, initiatives launched by HE institutions had an impact in terms of *narrative norms*. As with Chilean events, *culturation* was the process of transmitting and receiving norms in Mexico. The ways of exerting NPE were *cultural filter*, affecting the processes of *learning and adaptation*, and *contagion and procedural diffusion*, as a result of being received from European partners and being disseminated through other institutions. The EU principles implied, *sustainable development, good governance and social solidarity*, would be those expressed in Mexican policies.

The European ideas implicit in these institutional policies were *national and global perspective* i.e. better training of students for emerging onto regional and international labour markets; *harmonisation and collaboration* and *flexible training* or the abandonment of rigid curricula for study programmes in favour of more open and flexible training. The norms observed were *utility norms* because they were defined from a utilitarian perspective, and sought to maximise gains in political encounters. In this case, the utility norm was related to efforts at finding efficient solutions to concrete problems, conflicts or dilemmas. These would include the synchronisation of curricula,

with a system of academic credits, and professional skills, to give a guarantee of good quality in Higher Education. As with previous events, *culturation* was the process of transmitting and receiving norms. As seen above, the ways of exerting NPE were *cultural filter*, *contagion* and *procedural diffusion*. The EU principles implied, *sustainable development*, *good governance* and *social solidarity*, would be those expressed in Mexican policies.

We can observe in the summary table below the most significant events, ideas and norms of the process of European Influences on Mexican Higher Education:



**Questioning NPE in the EU and non-European countries: Mexico.**

MEXICAN DIMENSION			EUROPEAN DIMENSION		
<i>EVENTS</i>	<i>IDEAS</i>	<i>NORMS</i>	<i>EU PRINCIPLES</i>	<i>TRANSMISSION OF NORMS</i>	<i>WAYS OF EXERTING NPE</i>
The involvement of the Mexican government and HE institutions in ALFA Tuning Latin America Project.	- Homogeneity & diversity. - Harmonisation & collaboration.	- Social Norms. - Utility Norms. - Narrative Norms.	- Sustainable development. - Good governance. - Social solidarity.	- Contagion. - Procedural diffusion. - Cultural filter (learning and adaptation)	Culturation
<b>Public Policies:</b> - Internationalisation of HE. - Placing of the National Tuning Centre on the Secretary of Public Education. - Indirect impact on accreditation and evaluation process of HE.	- Accountability. - National & global perspective. - Harmonisation & collaboration.	- Utility Norms. - Social Norms.	- Good governance. - Sustainable development.	- Cultural filter (learning and adaptation). - Contagion. - Procedural diffusion.	Culturation
<b>University Policies:</b> - The internationalisation process of Mexican HE institutions. - The design of curricular architecture. - The implementation of the Tuning Methodology	- National & global perspective. - Flexible training. - Harmonisation & collaboration.	- Social Norms. - Utility Norms.	- Sustainable development. - Good governance. - Social solidarity.	- Cultural Filter (learning and adaptation) - Contagion. - Procedural Diffusion.	Culturation

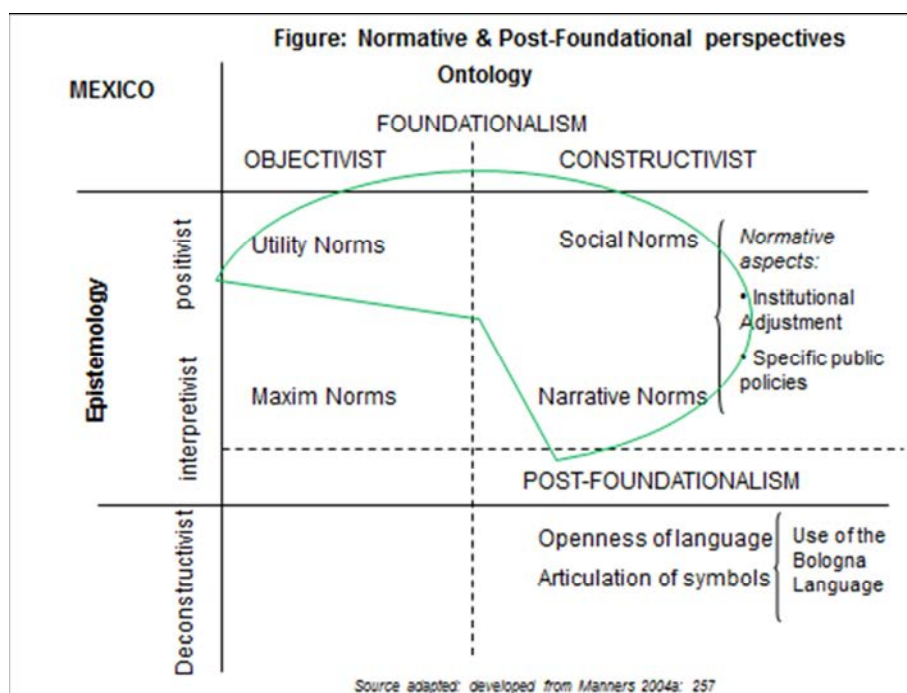
**Table 6.3**

The gnosiological aspect of NPE is described using Manners' model of 'Normative and Post-foundational perspective' (Manners, 2004: 257). Certainly, active

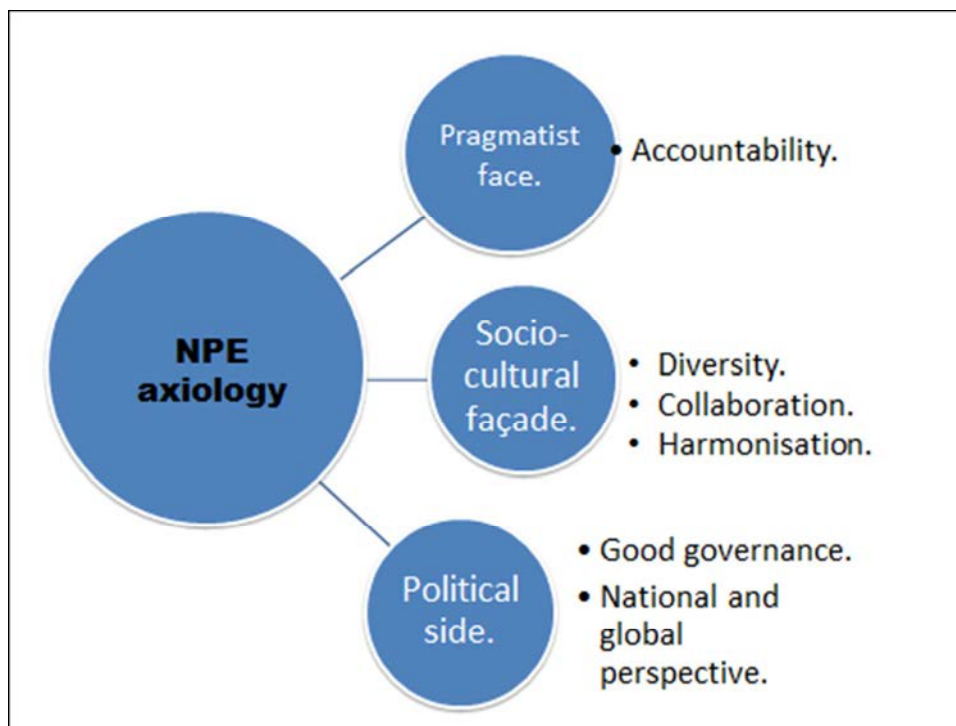
Mexican participation in the Tuning Latin America, as sociolinguistic constructions of permanent dialogue, was noticeable in the constructivist space of social and narrative norms. They oscillate between a positivist and interpretivist epistemology, and objectivist and constructivist ontology. Post-foundationalist aspects were not visible in the normative sphere even though norms constitute *per se* semantic spaces of consensual and persuasive dialogues.

Certainly, the presence of the '*axiology*' of NPE is observable in the 'range' of norms. They congregate in social, narratives and utilitarian standards. The involvement of the Mexican government and HE institutions in the ALFA Tuning Latin America Project showed a use of social, utility and narrative norms. This could be explained by the phenomenon of combined processes of diffusion and dialogue and, in turn, by procedures of implementation of specific policies such as adapting the Tuning Methodology by technological institutes. Public and institutional/university policies were closer to social and utility norms, because the 'NPE axiological core' is used in a more practical way for implementing policies and projects.

## Gnosiology of NPE applied to Mexican domestic policies.

**FIGURE 6.1**

Therefore ‘*axiology*’, or the *value system of NPE*, is seen through ideas, norms and EU principles. Here, it is necessary to classify EU normative principles in three main groups: a *pragmatist facet* embodied by a socio-economic category, ‘accountability’; a *socio-cultural aspect* determined by terms such as ‘diversity’, ‘collaboration’ and ‘harmonisation’, and a *political side* supported by concepts including ‘good governance’ and ‘social solidarity’. Indeed, all indicators showed an explicit and implicit tendency to reinforce the idea of Europe as a ‘power for good’.

**The axiology of NPE applied to Mexican domestic policies.****Figure 6.2**

In a brief summary of the analysis of NPE, one can observe that those aspects linked with European impact processes shall be considered as part of the *gnosiological dimension* of NPE. Ian Manners encapsulates these elements within practical ways of observing the EU impact upon other practices. These courses allow us to know and acknowledge the EU as a normative power, viewed through external eyes.

The axiological dimension is determined by the presence of a valoric content of NPE manifested in ideas, norms and principles. It is necessary to recall that what is transmitted differs from what is received. Here ideas were associated with the European version, but used in a different context and fieldwork. Norms were analysed taking into account how Mexican HE made use of them. EU principles and processes of

transmission of norms and ways of exerting NPE followed European patterns of analysis.

All dimensions were connected to language, in one way or another, in terms of articulation of symbols for constructing or disclosing a reality. However, it was not possible to observe any range of action which can introduce other hidden aspects of language, i.e., an *ontology of language of NPE*.

The study of events provides only a superficial analysis of NPE in terms of 'Europe praxis' for exerting power through ideas, norms and principles. Therefore, it is necessary to develop a more profound investigation about European ideational factors exerted through linguistic (semantic) tools. Therefore, the next section analyse the Bologna Language in order 'to find there', more ideational/semantic elements of European influences impacting on Mexican HE.

### **6.3. European influences on Mexican HE discourses. Re-constructing language.**

The Bologna Process represents one of the foreign models for internationalising HE. In fact, its external dimension promotes a worldwide degree of attraction focused on “the objective of increasing the international competitiveness of the European System of higher education” (Zgaga, 2006a:5).

*On the one hand*, this phenomenon implies, as first steps, structural changes for re-engineering curricula and teaching-learning processes in HE in order to produce ‘human resources’ for the market. This implies performing deep shifts in undergraduate teaching and learning processes to synchronise with the modernisation of postgraduate standards throughout the world.

*On the other hand*, it also involves political decision-making at state levels, which seek to adapt foreign models within different realities or cultures. These foreign models normally represent influential powers which pursue practical goals such as the expansion of HE markets (Brunner, 2007). Furthermore, the EU through its model has implemented powerful strategies for exerting symbolic domination through language, such as practices of persuasion and consensus. In this way, the Union maintains its power through their capacity to dominate others, persuading subordinates to accept, adopt and internalise their own values and norms.

### 6.3.1. *The Mexican Bologna Language Macrostructure.*

Semantically speaking, a discourse is like the tip of an iceberg: only some of the propositions remain implicit, and must be inferred from the explicit propositions (given a body of world knowledge, to which we shall come back below) (van Dijk, 2009:77).

This part of the chapter will study the impact of the Bologna Language on Mexican HE. As the Mexican HE system is bigger and more complex than the Chilean system, the presence of European discourse in Mexican public and university texts is not clear as empirical evidence of European influence.

From a practical point of view, as Mexican governments have simply informed the universities of the Bologna Process without further implementation on their part, it was not possible to work with any official documents such as decrees or technical conditions laid down for HE institution projects. The Mexican governments were certainly not deeply involved in this process. The analysis therefore considered instead public texts presented to international organisations describing state of the art of Mexican HE. Mexican texts analysed as public documents were: National Education Plan (PRONAE) 2001-2006, 'Thematic Review of Tertiary Education. Mexico Country Note' (OECD, November 2006), and documents from the ALFA Tuning Latin America Project.

In terms of university texts, this analysis could not take into account university projects, because they were not related specifically to the Bologna Process as shown in the case of Chile. In this sense, one could argue that despite the Mexican HE being more of a state system, its universities are more independent of the Mexican government. The university documents analysed were: corporate development plans of universities: the Autonomous University of the State of Mexico (UAM), the

Autonomous University of the State of Hidalgo (UAEH) and the University of Sonora (UNISON), journals of CUMEX called the '**Common Space**' and additional documents from CUMEX and ANUIES.

#### 6.3.1.1. Mexican Macrostructure in HE: public documents.

It is important to note here that public documents do not refer to Bologna Process as such. However one can infer that some concepts and expressions used by these written texts share the same significations as those present in European discourses such as one of the strategic objectives of the National Plan: *the strengthening of institutions of HE*.

One of the most important documents describing the higher education system, reforms and procedures is the National Education Plan (PRONAE) that was conceived for the period 2001-06 and was produced by the Mexican Department of Public Education. This plan is based on three basic principles:

... the equitable expansion of access to education, the promotion of high-quality education for all, and the drive to federalize the educational system, transform management, and involve the community in education (Gacel-Ávila, 2005: 241).

The core of the National Education Plan is the improvement of the quality of higher education and this important aim is linked with significant strategies developed to achieve the main objective of *quality* in this area as following.

(i) Teacher training.



- (ii) Development and consolidation of academic bodies, flexible approaches to education based on student-centred learning.
- (iii) Enhanced use of information and communication technology.
- (iv) International cooperation.
- (v) Strengthening of graduate programmes nationwide.
- (vi) Strengthening of social service in higher education, both as a subject and as assistance to all students.
- (vii) Development of a national system of evaluation and accreditation.
- (viii) Improvement of salary schemes and academic stimulus.
- (ix) Strengthening of institutions of higher education

A comparative analysis between these strategic objectives and European Bologna lines (appeared in Chapter 5, figure 5.4) shows that European discourse is tacitly present, at least, in five objectives. These appear connected with operative levels one and three. Therefore, analytical aspects of Bologna could have been considered to design the National Plan. The table below displays graphically the analysis.

**Analysing the National Plan through Bologna levels.**

<b>European Bologna lines.</b>	<b>Mexican strategic objectives</b>	<b>Original levels</b>
v.) Cooperation with regard to quality assurance. vi.) Bringing about a European dimension in higher education.	(iv) International cooperation. (v) Strengthening of graduate programmes nationwide.	Level three.
viii.) Developing and improving Institutions of Higher Education and the performance of their students.	(vi) Strengthening of social service in higher education, both as a subject and as assistance to all students.	Level three.
iii.) A system of accumulation and transfer of credits (of the ECTS type already used successfully under the Socrates-Erasmus programmes of the EU).	(vii) Development of a national system of evaluation and accreditation.	Level one.
viii.) Developing and improving Institutions of Higher Education and the performance of their students.	(ix) Strengthening of institutions of higher education.	Level three.

**Table 6.4**

Furthermore, the PRONAE says, concerning the ‘Mexican Vision of Higher Education in 2005’ that: “... the higher education institutions will have a high capability of providing proper solutions to the academic needs and demands of their students, who have different profiles according to their social and ethnic nature. In addition, they will develop networks of cooperation and academic exchanges, national and international, which will support programmes of mobility for students and academics” (Rubio Occa, 2006, pp.264). Therefore, the current Federal Government, to achieve these purposes, has prompted the internationalisation of higher education institutions through a combination of policies and action lines.

These strategies are seeking to promote the strengthening of Mexican academic capacity and competitiveness, along with the securing of the realisation of inter-institutional agreements which allow the mobility of students throughout world-wide educational programmes. In this case, institutions should have efficient mechanisms for the mutual recognition of credits and they should favour built-in equality of status between courses. In addition, the Federal Government is supporting projects and actions which benefit cooperation, academic exchange and the conformation of networks of academic bodies in national and international institutions. The Government provides access to international funds to develop cooperation and academic exchanges between Mexican higher education and other international institutions.

In this plan, the range of European discourse used to define and design public policies is extended by the presence of concepts of *mobility*, *competitiveness*, *networks of cooperation* and *academic/student exchanges* and *internationalisation* of HE. These expressions still stay at operative levels 2 and 3.

From the written document ‘Thematic Review of Tertiary Education. Mexico Country Note’ (OECD, November 2006), three fragments of text deserve special consideration, because they illustrate the ‘Bologna’s spirit’. Several categories of analysis were highlighted in order to exemplify the presence of some main concepts of Bologna.

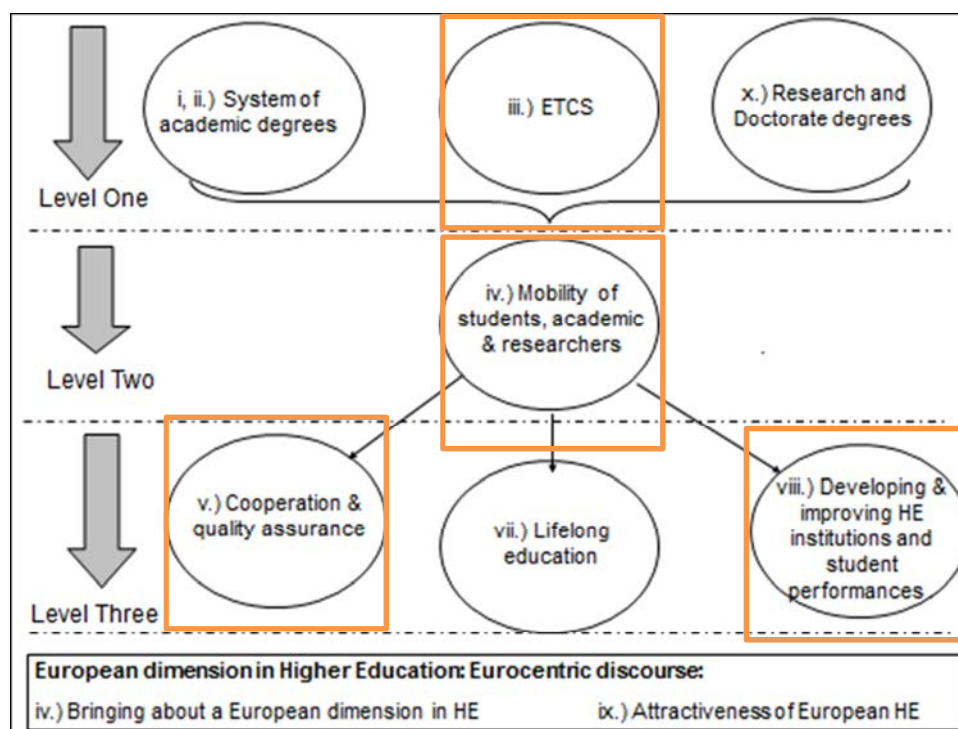
With PRONAES’ *Vision 2025* as ultimate goal, the current federal administration has promoted the globalization of higher education institutions by means of a set of policies and guidelines fostering the strength of their capacity and **competitiveness**. It has also established inter-institutional agreements allowing support for student **mobility** across study programmes from institutions with efficient mechanisms for **mutual credits acknowledgement**, thus promoting

the study programme equivalences; endorsing projects and actions favouring co-operation, academic exchange and academic network integration both from domestic and foreign institutions; and, access to international co-operation and academic exchange funds between Mexican and foreign higher education institutions (OECD, 2006: 24).

In order to contribute to build a common area, Mexico participates in the Tuning Latin America Project, which takes into account a similar experience developed by the *Tuning Educational Structures in Europe project*. Currently, 18 countries from Latin America and the Caribbean contribute to build the ALCUE [EULAC] space through their respective education ministries or similar instances with participation from 182 higher education institutions. Curriculum changes are expected to generate a higher degree of comparativeness, which will contribute to student mobility and acknowledgment of credits and study programmes followed, thus achieving the goals set forth in the context of ALCUE's common space (OECD, 2006: 25).

The process of globalisation of Mexican higher education is currently on a promising path in terms of achieving challenging goals. In order to succeed, academic capabilities and competitiveness from the institutions that make the higher education system should continue to be strengthened, incorporating them into the international dimension in their programmes and activities, in the context of an implicit institutional policy aimed at globalisation; advance in the potential for flexibility and comparison across programme and credit acknowledgement, expand student and professor mobility programme coverage, create additional co-operation and academic exchange networks across institutions and their academic bodies and strengthen the international dimension in national, state and institutional policies, among other aspects (OECD, 2006: 25).

Even though these terms expand the spectrum of 'Bologna Language', these still belong to the three operative levels. It is not observable the occurrence of European dimension for HE, except in the second text when the Tuning Latin America and Europe projects are mentioned indistinctly. The following diagram clarifies the range of Bologna language original levels, which were summarised from the ten lines of actions of the Bologna process. As we can observe, red squares link European and Mexican discourses.

**The Bologna language levels: Mexico.****FIGURE 6.3**

Furthermore, the ONG ANUIES documents suggest that it is necessary to introduce some curricular and pedagogic innovations in order to achieve three particular aims. These goals also appear explicitly in levels two and three of Bologna's lines:

(i) Mobility and academic/student exchanges. This process is conceived as an open system promoting mobility among students and national and international institutions to extend and strengthen Higher Education. This aspect is also described in the Bologna Process as the tangible need to redesign and harmonise academic programmes and curricula in order that they will contribute "to better prepare students for emerging into regional and international labour markets" (Zgaga, 2006a: 44).

(ii) The guarantee of lifelong education. In this area, teaching and learning are seen as a permanent process with multiple inputs and outputs from the labour market to universities and vice versa. In addition, continuing education represents a general characteristic and it does not imply a particular method of study.

(iii) The establishment of national networks of evaluation, which will become part of the accreditation processes. Through them, universities will be able to grant certification to the management processes of HE institutions. In this sense, the Europeans have offered a model in a template recognising explicit systems of higher education which are transparent in terms of credits, time spent and skills and qualifications acquired by undergraduates for their careers.

In the next part of this chapter, this researcher examines university/institutional documents to find ‘institutional traces’ of Bologna Language in these written texts. It is important to note here that certain texts do not offer explicit mentions to Bologna. Its signs were stronger perceptible in journals than university strategic plans. The resources of this section were four annual journals of CUMEX and two strategic plans from the Autonomous University of the State of Hidalgo and the Autonomous University of the State of Mexico.

6.3.3. *Mexican Macrostructure in HE: university documents.*

The university documents analysed were: corporate development plans of the universities of UAM/UAEH/UNISON, journals of CUMEX called the ‘**Common Space**’ and additional documents from CUMEX and ANUIES. Even though most of these documents are technical texts, CUMEX journals present the format of mass media, an aspect that constitutes a significant variable which was considered as part of the discourse analysis. Four issues of ‘**Common Space**’ journals were analysed. These journals are written in two different media genres, articles of opinion and informative articles.

A genre is a socially ratified way of using language in connection with a particular type of social activity (e.g. interview, narrative, exposition). We can use the terms voice, style, and mode to refer to the particular facets of a genre, and the term ‘activity type’ to refer specifically to the schematic structuring of a genre in terms of stages (Fairclough, 1995:14).

Therefore, considering certain directives for the analysis of media texts, articles of opinion offer to readers a more profound and subjective knowledge of specific issues, and they constitute a rich source of material for analysing further structure of power within texts. In addition, language is an important aspect here for inclusion in analysis because it constitutes itself a kind of structure of power.

To speak of *the* language, without further specification, as linguists do, is tacitly to accept the official definition of the official language of a political unit. This language is the one which, within the territorial limits of that unit, imposes itself on the whole population as the only legitimate language... The official language is bound up with the state, both in its genesis and its social uses... this state language becomes the theoretical norm against which all linguistic practices are objectively measured (Bourdieu 1991:45).

In the case of the Mexican journals, numbers 1 and 2 are in Spanish whereas Common Space 3 and 4 are in English and French. One could argue, then, that the use

of two different European languages could indicate the search by Mexican universities to internationalise Mexican HE issues through the improvement of links with Europe.

The methodological procedure considered an in-depth reading of all articles from each volume. After that, categories of analysis were sampled using as a referential framework the ‘European Bologna Language’. The investigation followed van Dijk’s analysis of *semantic microstructures*, *topics* and *micropropositions*. Finally, a *Mexican Bologna Language Macrostructure* was created for this thesis to make the ‘instituted trace’ (Derrida, 1989: 17) of concepts there more explicit. This conceptual map carefully followed the original model and then later the two maps were compared.

#### 6.3.3.1. ‘Common Space’ Journals.

As a starting point, one might observe that the name of the Mexican journal, the ‘**Common Space**’ is a very European concept belonging to the Bologna vocabulary. As part of this research, some Mexican authorities, related to the journal, were questioned about the origin of the name of the journal and their answers agreed that Europe was an ‘inspirational source’. However, it was not possible to find any written evidence within the Mexican journals.

The inaugural volume of Common Space starts with an article, “*Our vision of common space*”, narrating the historical links between Europe and Mexico:

Ten centuries ago, three powers dominated the world: kingdoms, the church and the first universities: Bologna, Paris and Salamanca ... In our institutions we preserve the old Napoleonic model launched by the University of France (Aguayo López, 2005).



This article emphasises the presence of European links with Mexico. In fact, one should remember that according to the Mexican Senate, Higher Education in Mexico was established in 1551. A decree issued by King Charles I of Spain created the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico, in the image of the University of Salamanca, “where the sons of natives and Spaniards would study all the sciences. This university offered higher courses of theology, philosophy, law and medicine” (Senado de la República de México, 2004).

Additionally in several of its articles, this journal incepts the Tuning Project in Latin America. A good example of the story of the Tuning Project is seen through the article by Carlos Salazar Silva, who narrates the idea of how this initiative was adopted in Latin American HE institutions.

Starting in 1987, academic communities from the European Union have created various associations and bodies whose purpose was to find points of coincidence between educational programmes of HE institutions in Europe. It was in Bologna, in 1999 where, for the first time, experts proposed the initiative of forming international academic networks such as the Tuning Project, consolidated in 2001 as a space for thinking about HE.

In 2002, during the fourth follow-up meeting of the ALCUE (Latin America, the Caribbean and the European Union) convened in Cordoba, Spain, Latin American representatives suggested the idea of launching a similar project in Latin America. With a variety of academic contributions this project would seek to achieve consensus and universal coincidences between Actors of the two continents. This effort was barely reflected in March 2005 during the First General Meeting of ‘Tuning Project’ in Buenos Aires, Argentina... Sixty six institutions from eighteen countries participated in this project amongst them seven belonging to Mexico (Salazar Silva, 2005: 14).

In general terms, the ‘**Common Space**’ volume 1 offers a welcome to all members of the CUMEX, introducing relevant issues for Mexican HE, focused mainly on the following semantic microstructures: *Common Space*, *mobility and comparability* and *quality in HE*.

The semantic microstructure *Common Space* is analysed in, at least, three articles. In a practical way, this microstructure is defined as a space for exchanging mutual university experiences in terms of “student and academic mobility, comparability of study programmes, establishment of a common system of transferable credits, conformation of networks of collaboration and exchanges amongst academic bodies and organisation of national chairs” (Gil Borja, 2005: 13). A more abstract definition of *Common Space* shows it as a place for constructing “strategic alliances in order to share resources, views, human capital, networks and academic bodies; all that can be generated through an expression of commitment, effort and combined good will” (Aguayo López, 2005: 3). Mexican institutions, through this microstructure, aim to create a Mexican Common Space in order to transform HE in a visible place towards the rest of the world, recognised internationally by its quality, aptness, and innovation.

Even though the microstructure *mobility and comparability* is dealt with almost all articles, it is explained in detail in only three<sup>115</sup>. It is conceived, on the one hand, as a process which allows for development in improving, updating and extending the international frontiers of Mexican HE. On the other hand, it seeks to facilitate greater collaboration by creating networks, consortia of collaboration and academic exchanges and student mobility between national institutions and Mexican and foreign institutions.

One strategy for empowering the resources of institutions belonging to CUMEX is the *mobility programme*. This will enable students and academics to enrich their personal and professional development by experiencing different visions of education and society, in environments that will be similar in some aspects and different in others. This programme will additionally serve as a testing ground for mobility systems already in place. By the same token it will originate proposals requiring implementation in order to achieve what is already the established norm in in other countries (Urzúa Macías, 2005: 5).

<sup>115</sup> “La visión de una universidad fronteriza”, “Definen agenda estratégica para el ‘Programa de comparabilidad’”, “Fortalecer a estudiantes y cuerpos académicos, objetivo del ‘Programa de movilidad’”.

The concept of *quality in HE* is seen as an own process “the initiative of mobility is an aspect relatively new for the culture of work of Mexican HE institutions” (Fornelli, Lafón, 2005: 10).

Starting in the nineties, Mexican society has shown vision in the way it has constructed a system of evaluation and accreditation of educational quality in HE. One could even argue that this system now implies a significant advantage with regard to other educational systems such as the European model (Mungaray Lagarda, 2005: 7).

In résumé, the first number of ‘Common Space’ offers a general framework of Mexican HE institutions with regard to three structural aspects of HE: *architecture and harmonisation, mobility and comparability* and *guarantee of quality*. The significant element of ‘Common Space’ in Mexican HE is seen as a place for developing mechanisms of collaboration in order to establish “a national HE system that would be open, diversified, flexible, innovative, dynamic and showing constant interaction with Mexican society and the productive sectors” (Urzúa Macías, 2005: 5). The Bologna Language is perceived within almost all eleven articles narrating accounts of historical links between Mexico and the EU, especially focused on the Tuning Project, as well as through the presence of pertinent microstructures relating to the ‘European language’.

In addition, the articles also reveal the presence of a Eurocentric discourse in terms of values and principles. The ‘ideas force’ within the discourses are seen as following microstructures: *democracy, social responsibility, citizenship* and *respect for diversity*. From a Eurocentric point of view, it could be argued that the presence of NPE is clear within Mexican discourses.

It is interesting to note that this kind of discourse is not observed in Chilean documents. This confirms the idea that the Bologna Language is used in Chile for

supporting and organising a neo-liberal system. In contrast, in Mexico, the Bologna Vocabulary is a significant support for validating a state system or what has been called an 'Educational State' (Bernasconi & Rojas, 2004:27). As examples, the following quotations show the evidence of a state system in Mexican HE.

Latapí's systemic vision of good education implies the avoidance of overvaluing economic aspects ('having' rather than 'being'), because this destroys the awareness of self-giving to the needy neighbour; it counters over-competitiveness seen as the *raison d'être* of the person and the secret of success, because this inhibits the sense of solidarity with the disadvantaged; and it decries the cult of excellence which generates self-complacency and stifles the process of growth (Mungaray Lagarda, 2005: 8).

The problems of congruence between discourse and university practice arise from the fact that social service does not fulfil the reciprocal expectations created since the establishment of the agreement between State and Society as the basis for public Higher Education (Ibid).

At the roof of the social quest for educating to turn young people into responsible adults, lies the desire to use social service and a formative area within the curricula with material backing and tutorial support (Ibid).

... the difficult recognition of the formative value of social responsibility, within the university environment, affects the desire of the university to contribute to the formation of citizens rather than merely of professionals (Ibid).

Within the remaining numbers of *Common Space*, the Bologna Language appears 'diluted' within the articles, especially in the latest editions (3 and 4), because they are more focused on analysing processes of change in some Mexican universities belonging to CUMEX. However, '*Common Space*' 2 tackles issues related to the Latin America Tuning Project and the contemporary links between Mexican and European HE.

Volume 2 of '*Common Space*' offers nine articles of opinion and eight informative articles. For the purposes of this research, three articles deserve special attention: "Enhancing academic bodies", "Preliminary results of the comparability

programme” and the “Toulouse-CUMex economic programme”. The editorial opens the discussion by narrating the European experience in HE:

Within the emergence of the European Union, in 1999, as part of the Bologna process, the policies for the creation of a higher education forum without borders were established. In Bergen, Norway, the commitments to introducing structural changes at educational institutions and the goals therefore were evaluated. Such changes would involve the participation of social actors and would make it possible to have highly qualified alumni with degrees, carry out evaluations by organs engaged in certifying quality and, finally, provide alumni with employment (Salazar Silva, 2006a: 3).

Carlos Salazar Silva, through the editorial, emphasises that as a result of Mexican participation in Tuning, Mexican HE is now concentrating on observing the influence of the commitment of each institution in terms of quality and external evaluation. The Latin America Tuning Project has supported one of the most important pillars of CUMEX, the *comparability programme*, “which, by following the methodology of the Tuning Project, born within Europe and later implemented in Latin America, has now borne its first fruit for the benefit of the members of the Consortium” (Ibid). Finally, Salazar Silva argues that European declarations have affected Mexican HE, but in terms of offering models to re-enforce pre-existent ideas, values, norms and opinions. Therefore, one can observe the implicit presence of Normative Power Europe.

The affinities of educational programmes, quality assurance, recognition given to multinational degrees, faculty and student exchange, the association between research and the education process are some of the priorities set out in the Bergen Declaration that coincide perfectly with the work that the Consortium of Mexican Universities has carried out since it was created. This has consolidated since 1991, with the establishment of the national evaluation and accreditation system of the Interagency Committees for Higher Education Evaluation and the Council for the Accreditation and Evaluation of Higher Education (Salazar Silva, 2006a: 3)

It is possible to observe within the second volume of ‘**Common Space**’ the five following semantic microstructures: *assurance of quality*, *comparability*, *institutional management*, *planning and evaluation* and *development of doctorates*. These microstructures represent the core of the Bologna Vocabulary and some of them are strongly supported by the inception of the Tuning Project in Latin America.

As shown previously, the concept of *quality* is related to accreditation and evaluation processes in HE. However, one can recognise that these processes would exist before the ‘irruption’ of the Bologna Process on the Mexican HE scene.

The microstructure *comparability* is very well described in these articles through the special programme called ‘the comparability programme’, which was created by CUMEX as one of its fundamental pillars to address Mexican HE.

In the article “Preliminary results of the comparability programme”, Carlos Hernández Suárez and Ofelia Vadillo García explain the whole procedure used for the implementation of the Tuning methodology in the second stage in Mexican HE. The survey, applied during October and November 2006, involved the sampling of 25 generic competences<sup>116</sup> for the graduates of ten universities belonging to CUMEX, taking into account different social sectors such as: academics, students, graduate students, potential employees and civil society. According to Carlos Salazar Silva, the

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<sup>116</sup> Ability to make abstractions, analyse and synthesise; ability to apply knowledge in practice; knowledge in area of study and profession; mastering communication in his/her native language, both written and orally; ability to communicate in a second language; ability to use information and communication technologies; research abilities; ability to learn to self-evaluate and update continuously; ability to process and analyse information from several sources, critical thinking; ability to act in unforeseen scenarios and emergency situations; creativity; ability to identify, pose and solve problems; ability to take decisions; ability to work in teams; intra and inter personal abilities; ability to motivate and lead to common goals; commitment to the environment; knowledge; identity and commitment within his/her social and cultural environment; values and respect for diversity and multicultural issues; ability to work in local, regional and international environments; ability to work independently, entrepreneur abilities; ability to formulate, manage and to administer projects; ethical commitment; and commitment to quality.

purpose of implementing of the ‘Tuning methodology’ was to invigorate Mexican educational structures in order to achieve quality, efficiency and transparency in the system.

Within this purpose, the Consortium encourages the analysis of affinities among educational programmes with the assistance of experts, and with the use of the European model embodied by the Tuning Project, which has recently broadened to include Latin America’s ALFA Tuning Project...the aim being the search for affinities among areas of mutual interest and processes of awarding degrees that are easily comparable, understood and transparent, in accordance with the Bergen Declaration, resulting from the European Union’s meeting on education, held last May” (Salazar Silva, 2006a: 14).

The semantic microstructures *institutional management* and *planning and evaluation* do not have a direct relation to the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project even though they would seem to be related to the Bologna Language. Through the Office of the Under Secretariat of Higher Education, Fox Quesada administration (2000-2006) launched two programmes for improving aspects of strategic, administrative and academic management, the **PROMEP** Faculty Development Programme and the **PIFI** Comprehensive Programme for Institutional Enhancement. “Based on these programmes, higher education institutions have significantly improved their planning processes. Consequently, their quality indicators have shown constant improvement in the past few years” (Ortega Romero, 2006: 5).

In short, these concepts appear in Mexican HE under the aegis of government responsibilities, where the focus is on developing specific modernisation programmes for administrative and academic management of teaching and research activities. It is therefore argued here that the final stage of privatism is not yet perceptible in Mexican HE, as is the case in Chile. As previously shown, this kind of neo-liberal privatism associates the awarding of state resources with a process of continuous planning aimed

at improving the quality of educational standards. In this awards process, the State behaves like the manager of a private business, seeking to ensure that HE institutions achieve high degrees of efficiency, efficacy and solvency.

In contrast, Mexican HE exhibits a very different tendency towards the notion of privatism. Even though the system is deeply concerned with planning and quality issues, the Mexican government and its institutions still subscribe the idea of the 'Educational State' (Bernasconi & Rojas, 2004: 27). Education is accordingly seen as a State responsibility, and private institutions simply collaborate with the aims and educational functions of the State. This argument is also supported by those Mexican discourses that consider the European model as the ideal stereotype for consolidating an HE based on the personal development of the human being.

We believe that higher education is intended for the common good and is the government's responsibility, which favours and is a necessary condition for advancement in knowledge, development, and, as a result, a condition for well-being, tolerance and understanding among people. It is also a condition for the proper social integration of individuals<sup>117</sup>

The development of *doctorates* in Mexican HE is another significant issue analysed in the above-mentioned articles. CUMEX, SEP's Faculty Development Programme plus nine Spanish universities launched a project in March called "Doctorate in Accounting and Audit: Methodologies and research projects into Accounting and Audit" 2006. This project, led by the University of Cantabria, is an exchange programme for graduate students enabling them to study first in Mexico and then continue their studies in Spain.

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<sup>117</sup> Declaration of education ministers of Latin America, the Caribbean and the European Union, whose meeting, bringing together 58 ministers was held in Mexico City, in April 2005.



This is an ambitious international project that will be assisted by Spanish experts in the fields of financial economics, accounting and audit. In collaboration with Mexican academics, the objective is to train human resources, in three and a half years, capable of enhancing these fields, urgently needed in our country's academic and professional arena (Salazar Silva, 2006b: 16).

Even though the concept of *mobility* is not a frequently recurring macrostructure within the articles, it is considered through the dual process of both national and international schemes. National mobility is focused on the development of national chairs “that exalt the name of remarkable educators and professionals that have left us...” (Salazar Silva, 2006b: 15). The international scheme is supported by various networks of collaboration and exchanges, such as the alliance between CUMEX and Casa Universitaria Franco Mexicana, through which Mexican and French institutions work together for the sharing of research and academic programmes. The concrete result of this alliance is the Toulouse-Latin Economic Programme (PETAL), which aims to train students in economics and administration, or economics and information processing, in order to confer on them the French degree of ‘licence’ and at the end of the eight semester, to give the degree of Bachelor of Arts, awarded by some well-known Mexican university.

As previously stated, no clear presence of the Bologna Language is perceptible within numbers 3 and 4 of ‘Common Space’. It is necessary to understand the context of Mexican HE from 2007 until today, especially taking into account the ‘death’ of the Tuning Latin America Project. The second part of this project was presented to the European Commission in 2008; however, it did not obtain financial resources for implementation.

Volume 3 mentions only two significant events related to particular projects carried out with European institutions: namely, an academic mission in Europe led by CUMEX visiting Spain and France, and the academic programme jointly with the University of Cantabria, denominated “Doctorate in Accounting and Audit: Methodologies and research projects into Accounting and Audit”. The first event is significant for this research because the Mexican delegation signed a collaboration agreement with the National Quality Evaluation and Accreditation Agency of Spain (ANECA). “The objective of this agreement is to make sure that the education and business sectors work towards achieving quality in the business sector” (Common Space, 2007: 44). As seen previously, the Bologna Process had an indirect impact on the accreditation and evaluation process of HE through the National Centre for the Evaluation of Higher Education (CENEVAL). It has promoted the establishment of schemes for the effective planning and continuous improvement of quality within the majority of public institutions, as well as for the implementation of a new institutional culture, focused on achieving good results.

Within ‘Common Space’ 4, the ‘presence’ of the Bologna Process is almost ‘absent’, and the main microstructures are related to *quality* and *comparability*. In the editorial, reading the following quotations one can see that the concept of *mobility* emerges as implicit discourse within the text. At this juncture, Mexican HE discourse is discernible in the structural base of the Bologna Language i.e. architecture and harmonisation of HE.

The most important course of action will doubtless involve transforming CUMex's higher education institutions to meet quality standards and create a quality forum that enables students to travel freely among the institutions, knowing that the quality of the institutions' graduate and undergraduate programmes is similar (Common Space, 2008: 3).

In order to create this forum, it will be necessary to focus attention on the comparability project, with the understanding that this is a process aimed at obtaining an academic degree with professional careers based on competencies, the establishment of credit equivalence systems and the criteria for exchange, all of which constitute a means to an end (Ibid.)

#### 6.3.3.2. *University strategic plans.*

The strategic plan of the Autonomous University of the State of Hidalgo (UAEH) defines its educational model through six dimensions namely philosophical, pedagogic, sociological, legal, political and operative. For the purposes of this research, this researcher only considered pedagogic and sociological dimensions of this plan, because they exemplify the presence of Bologna Language in certain ways.

In the introduction, the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Luis Gil Borja points out that the university model should facilitate to restructure curricula considering an approach that focuses on student *processes of teaching-learning* and in the development of *certifiable competences*. These aspects of assessing professional skill are fundamental seen in the Tuning Methodology.

In the general definition of the educational model, the strategic plan emphasises the role played for international organisations through recommendations and agreements, which accentuate the need of formulating educational model with great social content, i.e. *social responsibility*. Additionally, these bodies stress the creation of philosophical and pedagogic frameworks “profoundly humanist and scientific and

technological pioneers”<sup>118</sup> to support *free* and *universal university models*. The valoric content of these expressions reminds us the axiological dimension of European discourses, namely normative power.

Within the pedagogic dimension, the Plan underlines the need of incorporating professional profiles that organise student work through more *flexible curricula*, an aspect also recommended by international organisations. Furthermore it proposes learning-based education as well as methods for developing general and specific competences. The sociological dimension lays emphasis on *generating synergies* that contribute with *horizontal co-operation* amongst HE institutions and abroad. It promotes *training of human capital*, seeking the optimisation of resources, *assurance of quality, productivity, competitiveness*, but with a more social approach centred on *responsibility* and *contextual awareness*. All these aspects are highly immersed in the Tuning Project and in the third level of Bologna’s lines.

The strategic plan of the Autonomous University of the State of Mexico (UAM) 2005-2009, is divided into policies, strategies, institutional projects and goals. The presence of Bologna is barely perceptible within the extensive document; however it is possible to observe certain expressions typically present in discussion of academic circles as part of the viral effect of Bologna, such as *significant learning styles, critical awareness, knowledge-based economy, social solidarity*. In addition level 2 and 3 are observed through goals that aspire to develop co-operation and quality assurance, academic and student mobility and the improvement of the university and its students.

The axiological framework of the plan highlights certain values, such as *justice, plurality, freedom, transparency, sustainability, responsibility* and *democracy*

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<sup>118</sup> <http://www.uaeh.edu.mx/universidad/modelo.htm>

could be associated with normative principles supported by NPE. However these values are seen more as universal morals than as part of a European ethics.

Within the Plan of Institutional Development 2005-2006 from University of Sonora (UNISON) European influence is even more diffuse. However as the strategic plans of other Mexican universities, some concepts remind us the present of Bologna language such as *assurance of quality*, *productivity*, *competitiveness*. Additional worldwide phenomena such as globalisation and regionalisation, analysed in the global context of the plan, are seen as part of intervenient variables impacting Mexican own processes of HE. The plan is organised through three fundamental axes: the improvement of quality, external entailment and reforms to management and administration. However bologna effect is not clearly perceptible in any of them.

Nevertheless in the definition of its educational model, the plan emphasises the need of improve *teaching-learning processes* focusing on the fundamental competences of *social sensitivity*, control and the development *self-learning strategies* and *thinking innovative* and *proactive*. Significant Bologna microstructures such as *mobility* only appear as part of a discourse that privileges regional and internal student and academic exchanges. Further links with Europe are merely observed when the plan describes the processes of entailment and exchange: England, France and Germany are seen as the most popular destinies for research stays.

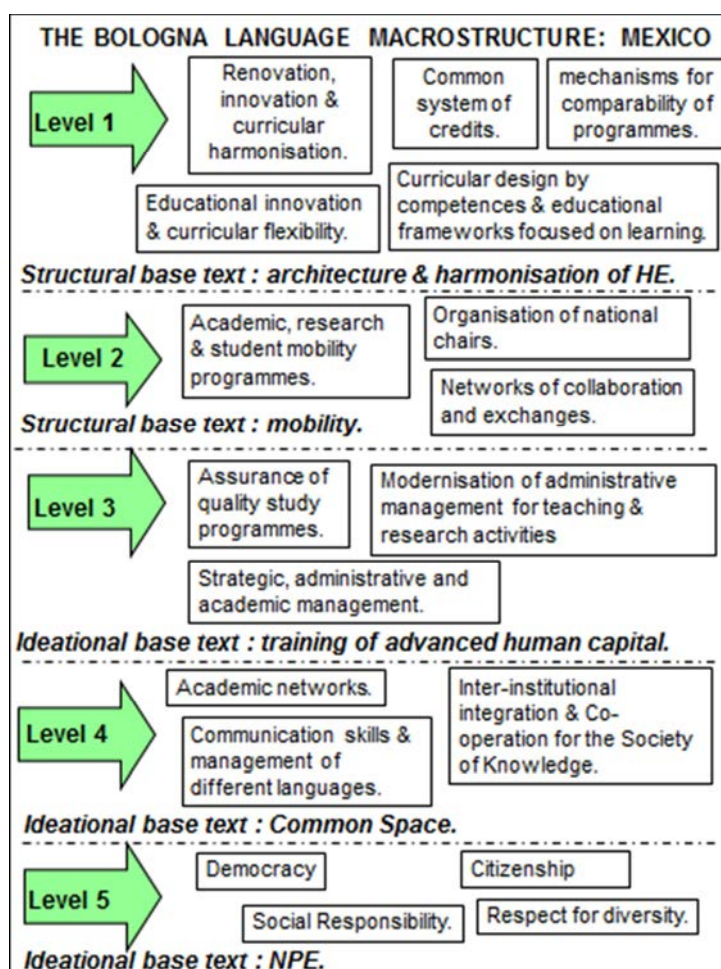
As a summary of the main microstructure appeared in public and institutional/university documents, the following table recapitulates all *semantic microstructures (SM)*, *topics (TO)* and *micropropositions (MP)* sampled and analysed in the Mexican texts related to the Bologna Process. It shows in detail all of the semantic aspects considered significant during the analysis of discourse.

**General Matrix of ‘Mexican Bologna Language’**

<b>SEMANTIC MICROSTRUCTURES (SM)</b>	<b>TOPICS (TO).</b>	<b>MICROPROPOSITIONS (MP)</b>
<b>SM1:</b> Architecture & Harmonisation of HE.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Establishment of mechanisms for the comparability of programmes.</li> <li>- Construction of common system of credits.</li> <li>- Development of educational innovation and curricular flexibility.</li> <li>- Training through education by competences and educational frameworks focused on learning.</li> </ul>	The architecture and harmonisation of Mexican HE is mainly oriented towards structural aspects of curricular innovation, comparability programmes, devising a common system of credits and training by competences.
<b>SM2:</b> Academic mobility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Development of academic, research and student mobility programmes.</li> <li>- Conformation of networks of collaboration and exchanges.</li> <li>- Organisation of national chairs.</li> </ul>	Mexican HE aspires to implement academic mobility amongst national and international institutions through networks of collaboration and the implementation of national chairs.
<b>SM3:</b> Training of advanced human capital.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Evaluation and assurance of quality study programmes.</li> <li>- Development of strategic, administrative and academic management.</li> <li>- Modernisation of administrative management for teaching and researching activities.</li> </ul>	The training of advanced human capital implies the development of a new culture of planning and management to achieve assurance of quality in study programmes based on outputs of results and a growing accountability in public accounts.
<b>SM4:</b> Common Space: Creation of Mexican Common Space for HE.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Establishment of academic networks.</li> <li>- Co-operation for the Society of Knowledge.</li> <li>- Inter-institutional integration through mechanisms of collaboration.</li> <li>- Training in the management of different languages.</li> <li>- Diversification of communication skills through learning of different languages.</li> </ul>	The Common Space means networks, consortia of collaboration and academic exchanges and student mobility between national and international institutions.
<b>SM5:</b> Democracy, Citizenship, Social Service & Respect for diversity.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Development of social service as a formative space of curricula.</li> <li>- Training of students as citizens.</li> <li>- Openness to accept and co-exist with different cultures.</li> <li>- Labour and academic interaction within different contexts and cultures.</li> </ul>	Social principles and values pursue the development and strengthening of democratic societies and education of respectful citizens.

**Table 6.5**

The following diagram (**figure 6.4**) provides graphic view of the Mexican Bologna Language as a Macrostructure with its levels and texts base. This analytical ‘tree’ shows clearly the points of confluence of microstructures or key concepts, and levels of depth of conceptual representations and texts base associated with topics and macropropositions.



**Figure 6.4**

As one may realise, some of the Mexican microstructures are not comparable with the original Bologna Language microstructure. Accordingly, this thesis has designed its own Mexican Macrostructure, which differs from the original one in certain aspects. The first three levels are similar to the original one. However, in Mexican documents a different fourth level emerges, namely the ‘Common Space’. It is mainly

focused on facilitating greater collaboration, creating networks, consortia of collaboration, and academic exchanges and student mobility between national institutions and Mexican and foreign universities. The main goal for Mexican institutions is to transform HE into an entity that is easily acknowledged by the rest of the world, and is internationally recognised for its quality, aptness, and innovation.

It is important to notice here that the 'Eurocentric discourse level' does not appear to be explicitly present in the Latin American Bologna Language. The final level characterises by the consolidation of certain European values, such as democracy, citizenship, social responsibility and respect for diversity. Therefore, the presence of Normative Power Europe is clearly perceptible in the Mexican Bologna Language.



#### 6.4. Conclusions.

This part concludes that taking into account the design and implementation of *public policies*, effects of European ‘guidance’ were notable in the development of a new culture of planning and assessing projects for HE and the implementation of Bologna through placing of the National Tuning Centre within the Secretariat of State Education. Furthermore, it was possible to discern an indirect impact on the accreditation and evaluation process of HE through the National Centre for the Evaluation of Higher Education (CENEVAL). European ideas have had an impact on three significant *university policies*: the internationalisation process of Mexican HE institutions; the design of curricular architecture and the implementation of the Tuning Methodology.

The final chapter examines the main conclusions which confirm the idea that the Bologna Language was used in Chile for supporting and organising a neo-liberal system. In contrast, in Mexico, the Bologna Vocabulary is a significant support for validating a state system or what has been called an ‘Educational State’ (Bernasconi & Rojas, 2004:27).

## **Chapter 7: Results, findings and conclusions.**

- 7.1. Historical roots of European Influences upon Latin American HE.
- 7.2. Validating hypotheses and objectives of this research.
- 7.3. Research Contributions.
- 7.4. Contributions to the Literature.
- 7.5. Avenues of Future Research.
- 7.6. Implications of thesis for future.
- 7.7. Final Reflections.

### **7.1. Historical roots of European Influences upon Latin American HE.**

European influence on the development of domestic policies in Latin American Higher Education (HE) constitutes a narrative that presents historical roots mainly determined by the condition of countries that were former European colonies. These influences have been observed since the very creation of HE institutions. Latin Americans imitated Spanish and Portuguese models for building their universities. Furthermore, a European presence in Latin American ‘classrooms’ has been noticeable through concrete aspects such as internal structuration of university government, the design of curricula and the organisation of teaching-learning processes.

This phenomenon has been studied as part of sporadic variables that share degrees of guidance with another significant influence, namely the strong manifestation of the US within the Latin American continent. This present piece of research proposed a different narrative: “European Influence on the development of domestic policies in Chile and Mexico, the case of Higher Education”.

This different account was based on what I called the period of formalisation of European influences upon Chilean and Mexican HE, from 2000 up to the present day. This cycle was officially initiated with a series of prior events such as the signing of last generation social co-operation agreements and the active participation of both countries in horizontal aid programmes offered by the EU. These facts have resulted in the strengthening of links between Europe and Latin America, and the consolidation of a political dialogue in the area of Higher Education.

According to Page (2006), path dependence helps towards achieving a better understanding as to why history matters. In the case of this research, history ‘counted’ because it released a historical process characterised by a postcolonial condition that has determined the establishment of unbalanced relationships between Europe and Latin America. Europe has been considered as a ‘model-maker’ or ‘model-offerer’ impacting on Latin American HE from the ‘birth’ of universities and study centres there, whilst Latin America has been seen as a traditional ‘model-taker’.

Bearing in mind that ‘path dependence’ “can refer to either outcomes at a single moment in time or to long-running equilibria of a process” (Page, 2006), this narrative focused on the fourth period when two European ‘procedures’ for harmonising HE, the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project, emerged as an element in conversations within the public and institutional/university agenda in Chile and Mexico. Therefore, since the sudden emergence of the Bologna Process and its executive instrument, the Tuning Project, an ordered and systematic effort to re-establish

European power in Latin America and to show the European model as an attractive educational system to be completely in place by 2010<sup>119</sup> has been undertaken.

Most of the previously published research about the Bologna Process and its Tuning Project has been focused on three important themes: a) the Bologna Process as part of the presence of historical links and influences between Europe and Latin America, b) the direct impact of transplanting the European Common Space in Higher Education into Latin America (Lazarri Barlete, 2008); and c) the structural conditions in Latin America which make a rigid application of the European model unworkable (Brunner, 2008).

By contrast, this thesis examined the growth of European ideas circulating throughout the field of Latin American Higher Education (HE), as part of the Bologna Process, which has manifested itself in a set of procedures, methods and tools that have contributed to the transformation of Chilean and Mexican HE. European influences were observed in the cases for study (Chile and Mexico) as part of the abstract space of language. Decision-making at public and university (institutional) levels was clearly influenced by European ideas, and a common and shared language has dominated public and academic conversations.

Therefore the manifestation of European ideas ‘colouring’ conversations and procedures at two levels, public and university/institutional policies in Chilean and Mexican HE, required a rigorous analysis of European ideational aspects present not only through a cluster of ideas, norms, principles and values but also through analysing language.

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<sup>119</sup> Interview with María José Lemaitre, expert in Accreditation Processes in Chilean Higher Education, Santiago de Chile, April 7<sup>th</sup> 2008.

## 7.2. Validating hypotheses and objectives of this research.

Even though the introduction to this thesis outlined principal objectives and some general arguments and questions, I prefer to address the conclusions by analysing the two associative hypotheses posed in the gnosiological chapter (3<sup>rd</sup>) and proposed as part of the processes of examination of empirical data and the study of the respective theoretical framework. However, I connect objectives and questions with hypotheses in order then to organise conclusions which structure the main arguments of this thesis. Subsequently, I analyse further considerations, taking into account my original contributions and future avenues and possibilities for research such as in this investigation.

The general objective of this thesis “*to determine the presence of European influences in developing domestic policies in the field of Higher Education (HE) in Chile and Mexico*” was achieved through the study of historical ‘traces’ of European influences in Chilean and Mexican HE, specifically focusing on a series of changes observed as a result of the adoption of the Bologna process.

I proposed the first associative hypothesis in order to address certain questions related to empirical observations of the phenomenon, such as: Have there been strong European influences on HE in Chile and Mexico during their dealings with the EU? If so, when and how were they seen? Which changes have been observed as a result of the sudden emergence of the Bologna Process in Chilean and Mexican Higher Education?; Who has been involved in the process? What has been their role? and What were the main events and factors (facts) in this process?

***(1) European influences were observed in the development of domestic policies in Chile and Mexico in the field of Higher Education (HE).***

Concretely this phenomenon was characterised by the presence of significant changes specifically in three fields of HE: a) the execution of institutional adjustments within the planning of institutional policies, b) the development of specific public policies and c) the use of ‘Bologna Language’ in institutional and official documents, in speeches and in expressing opinions of experts and academic authorities.

In terms of the need for adjustments to be made at both levels of HE, public and institutional/university, in Chile the main actors were the Ministry of Education, the National Accreditation Commission (CNA) and the Council of Rectors of Chilean Universities (CRUCH). These actors have played the roles of manager and controller of the development of Chilean domestic policies, following the European model, working hard to consolidate policies, and funding programmes and regulatory frameworks to bring the ‘Bologna-isation’ processes to the ‘home’ front.

The traditional universities (25 universities belonged to CRUCH) have allied solely with the model offered by Europe and they have implemented strategies to sort out these adaptation processes successfully. These Chilean universities have changed their undergraduate and postgraduate programmes in order to align themselves with the Bologna Process. Through this change, these influences have affected the upper levels of Chilean higher education, such as the alignment of its academic and administrative structures, the systems of university government, and currently the ways of teaching and learning and the structuring of curricula.

In terms of Chilean *public policies*, European ideas have had a significant impact on three main aspects: a) the mechanism of allocating public financial resources (MECESUP) b) a new culture of planning and assessing projects for HE and c) in an indirect way, the National Accreditation System which has come under European influence. Taking into account *university policies*, European ideas have had a strong impact on the design of curricular architecture and the processes of curricular re-engineering in the 25 traditional Chilean universities. In addition, this impact is visible in the construction of a National Academic Credit System (STC – Chile) and the processes of internationalisation of HE institutions.

In the case of Mexico, the main actors were the Secretariat of State Education (SEP), the Consortium of Mexican Universities (CUMEX), and the National Association of Universities and Institutions of Higher Education (ANUIES). Considering the design of public policies, the main actor, the Secretariat of State for Education has played the role of a simple diffuser of the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project. Its instruments for circulating information have also been the EULAC/ALCUE and the Tuning Latin America Project. CUMEX's universities and technological institutions have been direct 'recipients' of the process. In parallel, the ANUIES has coordinated workshops and conferences, disseminating amongst Mexican institutions the 'state of the art' of process and its activities of adapting and implementing it by different universities and technological institutes. The Consortium of Mexican Universities (CUMEX) has performed as the leader of the process, not only organising campaigns for the promotion of Bologna, but also very vocally proposing its implementation amongst HE institutions in Mexico.

With regards to the design and implementation of *public policies*, one of the effects of European ‘guidance’ was noticeable in the development of a new culture of planning and assessing projects for HE. Another *public policy* implemented as a result of the impact for European ideas, was the placing of the National Tuning Centre firmly within the Secretariat of State Education. Furthermore, it was possible to discern an indirect impact on the accreditation and evaluation process of HE through the National Centre for the Evaluation of Higher Education (CENEVAL). European ideas have had an impact on three significant *university policies*: the internationalisation process of Mexican HE institutions; the design of curricular architecture and the implementation of the Tuning Methodology.

Actors in both countries have played the roles of diffusers and coordinators of the Bologna Process within each country involved. However, Bologna has impacted on Chile more strongly on both fronts, public as well as university policies. In contrast, Mexico was affected only in the planning of institutional/university policies. Chile has followed domestic policies determined by the Ministry of Education and the Council of Rectors (CRUCH) to implement its changes in higher education, while Mexico has preferred to concentrate on international policies and has joined large-scale agreements such as EULAC/ALCUE, using the Latin America Tuning Project as an umbrella to make changes. Mexican technological institutes and some public and private universities, following welcome suggestions from the OECD, have made some sporadic efforts to follow the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project<sup>120</sup>.

At this point, we have to recognise that in both Chile and Mexico, the Tuning Latin America Project was simply the vehicle of diffusion, the diffuser of the Bologna

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<sup>120</sup> Interview with Ruth Vargas, expert in the Tuning Latin America Project, Antofagasta, Chile, April 20th 2008.



Process, because, as some Mexican authorities argue, Mexican universities are implementing the Tuning Project but ‘à l’Européenne’. In the case of Chile, the universities began the process of ‘negotiating’ with their European partners before Tuning Latin America was fully articulated. Actually, if, like some Mexican academics, one assumes the death of Tuning Latin America, no major effects of European influences could possibly be observed. However, the main argument of this thesis was that one of the weightiest tools of the process of formally instituting a political dialogue has been the Bologna Process with its intrinsic Tuning Project.

The second associative hypothesis was proposed in order to achieve the general objective: “*To analyse how non-European countries, especially in Chile and Mexico, receive and use European ideational influences*”, and the specific objective: “*To demonstrate how domestic circumstances of non-European countries mediate upon the exercise of Normative Power Europe in Chilean and Mexican HE. European effects upon Chilean and Mexican HE were seen as part of an influential process characterised by the presence of non-concrete and ‘volatile’ aspects of discursive practices. Therefore this premise sought to understand it as an ideational phenomenon encapsulated in a series of European notions about harmonising HE.*

***(2) The impact of European influences upon received countries is mediated by domestic circumstances.***

Here, I demonstrated the manifestation of a mediation process when actors (Chile and Mexico) absorb European norms (ideas) and meet them with their own needs. First, I examine the process of influence, and then I analyse how domestic policies of non-European countries play a fundamental role in mediating European ideational influences.

As seen throughout this investigation, when one claims that a certain phenomenon is influential, the concept of influence signifies the impact or effects of someone or something over someone or something. Therefore, there are *actors* involved in the phenomenon and a *timing process (time frame)*, during which the effects are seen. In this research three general actors could be examined, namely, the EU, Chile and Mexico. The role of the EU was seen as impacting on domestic policies (university/institutional and public policies), i.e. it should be seen as the ‘persuader’ or influential power. The role of Chile and Mexico might be to implement the Bologna Process in their own internal policies; in this case both were actors who represent the other side of the coin, the ‘persuaded’ or influenced actor.

However, the phenomenon of exerting influence was not a ‘magic bullet’ that produced the intended impact. The Chilean and Mexican governments and national institutions have not managed to express their own culture through the rigid European model. In addition, some institutional policies have led to discontent. This ideational power shift, naturally, met with some resistance from within the previous HE governing bodies, and the legal framework intended to consolidate it has been an *ad hoc* process negotiated with public management. It is difficult to see the origins and development of this resistance, but it is quite palpable.

Taking into account the *timing process* of effects on both fronts, institutional/university and governmental, different changes have occurred quite independently. For example, whilst universities have worked on the ways of teaching and learning and the structuring of curricula, the design of public policies has focused on diffusing and implementing the Bologna Process through the ALFA Tuning Latin America Project.

The analysis of NPE is focused on two main aspects, its analytical and gnosiological dimension. This part of the study was one of the most difficult tasks of the investigation, because the process of grasping and examining European influences through the core content of NPE, namely ideas, principles and norms, encountered significant barriers, such as obstacles with language and the examination of Chilean and Mexican, as opposed to European data.

*Firstly*, amongst diverse aspects of the analytical dimension of NPE, this research focused on the processes of the EU impact, namely *socialisation*, *ownership* and *positive conditionality*. Owing to the fact that it was not possible to observe immediate and direct effects, I added another process called *adverse* or *null effects*, which showed unexpected and unwanted impacts. In the following table (table 7.1), I compared the main aspects examined as part of the analytical dimension of NPE.

The process of *socialisation* was observed in Chilean discourses through two significant narratives: (i) procedures of European companionship in the implementation of Bologna in public and institutional/university policies, and (ii) discussions about the EU versus the US hegemony in the field of HE. In the case of Mexico, European guidance for adopting the European model was observed as a somewhat distant phenomenon.

An interesting exercise in self-identification and projection of European superiority was perceived when analysing the process of *ownership* as part of the phenomenon studied. Chilean interviewees identified themselves as a European experiment whilst they emphasised the dominance of the EU that is competing with another superpower, the US, for reaching a greater degree of hegemony in Higher Education.

The process of *positive conditionality* showed more fascinating results in the presence of NPE within Chilean and Mexican discourses and practices. In the case of Chile, there was a clear consideration of the Union as a ‘force for good’ and a communicative power. Mexican interviewees highlighted normative aspects such as values and norms. Therefore the axiological dimension of NPE is very perceptible.

Finally, through studying adverse and null effects, one could infer that European ideational power was seen as a cultural influence that constantly disputes its dominance with the US in the area of HE. This aspect alone is worthy of further investigative research based on a wider spectrum of empirical cases.

**Analytical dimension of NPE: processes of impact.**

<b>EU impact</b>	<b>CHILE</b>	<b>MEXICO</b>
<b>Socialisation</b>	<p>- The presence of European guidance was seen through aid programmes offered to Chilean HE institutions, and through processes of 'companionship' in the implementation of Bologna within public and university policies.</p> <p>- The identification process appeared as a result of academic exchanges and a kind of admiration for the European 'paragon'. Aspects of international politics emerged explicitly, especially focused on who will win the hegemony of Higher Education, the US or the EU.</p>	<p>- The presence of European guidance was seen as a somewhat distant process. However there is a significant involvement of Mexican private universities and technological institutes within the process, which took on the European paragon, because they received an order to do so from the Secretary for Public Education.</p>
<b>Ownership</b>	<p>- Through a process of self-identification, Chilean discourses show an implicit European superiority determined by a depreciative view of us, and by the European need to compete with the US for the prevalence of hegemony in the field of HE.</p>	<p>- At the institutional/university sectors, changes occurred gradually owing to the fact that HE institutions adopted only partial aspects of the European model. In the public sector, Bologna has coloured the Plan for National Development, even though European presence is barely perceptible.</p> <p>- At higher level, actors compared what was happening in Europe but, in turn, they coordinated proper actions for implementing the changes.</p>
<b>Positive conditionality</b>	<p>The European model was constructed discursively as follows: <i>a reference, a good model, an intelligent process, a motor capable of accelerating processes, and as "a constructor of bridges of dialogue, communication and harmonisation"</i>.</p>	<p>Here it is interesting to note that other elements beyond the subject of HE appear explicitly: the presence of normative aspects such as norms and values overestimated by Mexican interviewers. They rescue the value of normative principles of democracy, solidarity and citizenship. Therefore the axiological content of NPE is perceptible through discourses that contribute to shape a positive opinion of Europe.</p>
<b>Adverse/null effects.</b>	<p>- The EU possessed a geopolitical interest in exporting the model. This concern was not seen as a kind of hegemony but as a cultural influence or maybe a political hegemony, "with real interest in preserving European issues uppermost in the minds and hearts of subjects in developing countries"<sup>121</sup>.</p> <p>- The dispute between American and European hegemony is still part of the conversation about HE.</p>	<p>- The dispute between American and European hegemony is still part of the conversation about HE. However, they recognise that the omnipotent presence of the US is a determinant variable that does not allow them to adopt the model completely.</p> <p>- There is a significant resistance amongst different academic and governmental circles.</p>

**Figure 7.1**

<sup>121</sup> Interview with Andrés Bernasconi, Santiago-Chile, April 8<sup>th</sup>, 2008.

*Secondly*, through a simple analysis of interviews as ‘texts’, the main ideas were extracted and summarised in order to identify parameters of comparison with key notions of the ‘Bologna European mentality’. European ideational factors, observed in a series of discursive practices, materialised through significant events, namely declarations, meetings, policies and the use of a European ‘language’. Within the analyses, European ideas belonging to the Bologna Process were observed as part of the core of Chilean and Mexican events. Norms were analysed taking into account how Chilean HE made use of them. EU principles and processes of transmission of norms and ways of exerting NPE followed European patterns of analysis.

This part set out to achieve more abstract levels of analysis. The gnosiological dimension of NPE facilitated the understanding of the impact of the normative core of European ideational influences. Therefore this was a modest approximation to analysing what I called the axiology of NPE.

**Questioning NPE in the EU and in Chile and Mexico.**

<b>The European Union.</b>	<b>The EU</b>	<b>Non-European countries.</b>	<b>Chile and Mexico</b>
<b>What ideational aspects are diffused by the EU?</b>	- Axiological core of NPE: ideas, kinds of norms and principles.	What European ideational aspects are really received by non-European countries?	- Pragmatist, socio-cultural and political aspects of NPE, specifically focused on ideas and kinds of norms.
<b>How does the EU diffuse its ideational outlooks?</b>	- Analytical procedures of NPE.	How do non-European countries (others) receive European ideational outlooks?	- Analytical procedures of NPE.
<b>How does the EU construct its ideational (normative) practices and discourses?</b>	- Axiological core of NPE.  - Analytical procedures of NPE.	How do non-European countries use European ideational standpoints within their practices and discourses?	Reinforcing their existing practices.

**Figure 7.2**

In the table above (7.2), I have summarised some questions about NPE in the EU and in Chile and Mexico. I have organised this part of the conclusions answering the question previously proposed.

(i) *What ideational aspects were diffused by the EU? (EU's principles).* The Union through the Bologna Process (and the Tuning Project) diffused an 'axiological (deontological) core' based on ideas, types of norms and principles. *Which European ideational aspects were in fact received by Chilean and Mexican HE?* Chile and Mexico have received and adopted an 'axiological package' using it in different ways such as favouring mainly pragmatist, socio-cultural and political aspects of European normative discourse for their own benefit.

(ii) *How did the EU diffuse its ideational standpoints?* The transmission of norms was observed as analytical procedures for exerting NPE. *How did Chile and Mexico receive this European ideational outlook?* These aspects were received in almost the same way

by the ‘norm-takers’, but through a process of active receptiveness. This is characterised by the presence of recipients who can mediate European influences moulding them according to their own needs and interests.

(iii) *How did the EU construct its ideational (normative) practices and discourses?* The Union formalised its discursive normative practices through an axiological core and analytical procedures of exerting ideational power. *How did Chilean and Mexican HE use European ideational standpoints within their practices and discourses?* I firmly maintained that the Bologna process represented nothing more than a medium for reinforcing existing practices. For example in the case of Chile, the use of practical procedures, coming from the Tuning Methodology, and the presence of utility norms validates even more the existence of a neo-liberal system of Higher Education. In contrast, Mexico presents more of a state-system in HE and therefore its approach towards European ideational influences was perceived as the recovery of normative principles such as democracy, solidarity and citizenship, supporting the notion of education as a fundamental concern of state welfare.

‘European Bologna language’ has impacted upon other realities and vocabularies around the world, as has been the case in Latin American countries, especially Chile and Mexico, through the construction of a very powerful discourse focused on the creation of a common space for HE. The final step of the analysis concentrated on a study of the Bologna Language. This examination was conducted through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of public and institutional/university documents.

The results showed interesting evidence of European discourse present in Latin American ‘written language’. Bologna language was observed at almost all levels of



Chilean and Mexican macrostructures. These macrostructures validated the structural core of the 'Bologna European Lexis' based on three main microstructures, *architecture and harmonisation of HE, mobility and training of advanced human capital*. With particular reference to European language, this was observable in Chile from the fifth level, combining practical concepts with European principles. However, the level 4<sup>th</sup>, a Eurocentric discourse, was not very noticeable. By contrast, 'European vocabulary' did clearly appear in Mexican texts from the fourth level. This also shared some practical procedures with other concepts such as the society of knowledge, which belongs to macro-phenomena of globalisation in HE. The fifth level of Mexican macrostructure inclined noticeably towards the axiological dimension of NPE, showing different normative principles such as democracy, social responsibility and respect for diversity.

Concluding, the receiver countries use the axiological (deontological) 'package' in a utilitarian way. In the case of Chile, it is observable as a predominant pragmatist side, whereas in Mexico it is seen a political aspect of European values. If we overlap this with the analysis of the Bologna Language, we can reach one of my conclusions: that Chile uses European norms for supporting its neo-liberal system whereas Mexico employs European Ideational influences for assisting its state system.

### **7.3. Research Contributions.**

My original contribution to knowledge was that the focus on the thesis was on the receivers/recipients of norms (Chile and Mexico) as a proper study of impact or receptiveness to European ideational influences. First, I situated myself against the literature of NPE, i.e. 'dissenting academia' by highlighting how the empirical work

demonstrates a key area of weakness in NPE approach, showing the EU to be an ideational power exerting Normative Power, yet achieving differing effects outside of Europe. Secondly, I focused the analysis of NPE on a more critical approach, considering that NPE performs in a different way outside the EU as the receiver of norms in order to underline the role of developing countries (Chile and Mexico) using NPE in a utilitarian way.

Furthermore, this research is pioneering diverse aspects such as: (i) the empirical area chosen, the study of European influences on Higher Education (HE), is not considered as forming part of traditional European studies; (ii) the linguistic/semantic variable has not been studied before amongst scholars who consider the EU as an ideational power/actor; (iii) finally, the use of a specific scientific method such as Grounded Theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990: 27) to conduct a complex qualitative research of this nature is rarely observable within the investigation into European influences and its true processes of receptiveness by non-European countries.

This research presented three concrete contributions: empirical, theoretical and methodological.

*Empirically* this researcher offered a contribution to both existing understanding of the European Union's influence over Latin America and Latin American HE.

*Theoretically* I analysed how NPE is unable to examine the role and impact of receivers of European ideas, in order to demonstrate the need for a more nuanced analysis than is currently offered by NPE literature. So I also sought to advance upon existing debates around the notion of Normative Power Europe in particular, by

illustrating how the NPE literature would benefit from a deeper consideration of the use of language.

*Methodologically* I introduced a systematic or comprehensive analysis of volatile aspects of European ideational influences through conducting this qualitative research using the scientific methodology of Grounded Theory (GT).

#### **7.4. Contributions to the Literature.**

*Firstly*, my contribution to the existing literature can be observed in the background chapter (4<sup>th</sup>) when I trace a historical line of European influence upon Latin America, specifically Chile and Mexico. This periodisation contributes towards organising the information in a situational map that contextualises facts and decision-making of governments and HE institutions, starting from the creation of universities. Additionally, this thesis offered empirical evidence to propose a third narrative, different from the two positions observed previously: that of scholars who support the idea that Latin America has experienced a powerful influence from Europe, and that of researchers who deny this idea, arguing that this phenomenon of influences comes from global trends.

*Secondly*, this research expands literature about the EU as an ideational actor exerting normative power Europe, adding a new component, an analysis of mediation process between European influences and domestic circumstances of receiver countries. This could open up the scope of proper studies of impact or receptiveness by others. They would represent the first step for organising a post-colonialist academia focused on listening to “the silence of developing countries” (Kapoor, 2008). Furthermore these

kinds of investigation allow us to see the receivers of European influence as active recipients and creators of sense and reality (Ravault, 1996).

Furthermore, this thesis incorporates a new object of study and empirical cases, since these do not belong to traditional areas for researching the European impact upon non-European countries such as the EU assistance and aid policies, foreign policy, enlargement, pillars and agreements. However, this investigation does not ‘rest’ only upon analysis of cases as part of concrete data, but it also makes a theoretical contribution, opening up the debate on the EU as an ideational power rather than as a material force. This aspect is easily explained because the area of research chosen, namely Higher Education (HE), deserves analysis within the ‘battlefield’ of ideas.

This thesis, therefore, makes a contribution to both existing understanding of the European Union’s influence over Latin America and Latin American HE, and also seeks to advance upon existing debates around the notion of Normative Power Europe in particular, by illustrating that NPE literature is insufficiently focuses on receiver countries, thereby making the case for my present study, which sought in part to rectify this lacuna.

On a very minor scale, this thesis extends the literature on Grounded Theory (GT), adding a new case for study, namely European influences upon Chilean and Mexican HE. Besides, I validate epistemological contributions of GT’s second generation through this study, particularly when I argued that GT offers a way of thinking not only about data but also about properly conducting a qualitative research as a whole. This aspect needs to be studied in depth for future investigations.

### **7.5. Avenues of Future Research.**

In order to expand the theoretical scope, this researcher proposes to work further on analysing the presence of limited effects rather than direct effects when one studies European influences upon non-European countries. Furthermore, considering mediated or limited effects, one could study which domestic factors or circumstances determine the significance of others as active recipients.

Establishing the epistemological foundation of NPE, I should consider three main aspects: (i) to move from substantial to formal theory, (ii) to consider additional contributions of generations, especially the presence of studies of receptiveness and (iii) to design a map of empirical evidence that also shows other cases far away from Europe.

From my experience conducting this fieldwork, I suggest that a significant avenue for future research could be to expand the scope of empirical objects of study, including the field of study of Higher Education and other substantive areas not previously considered in the analysis of European ideational influences upon non-European countries. It would also be interesting to continue seeking further empirical cases in order to establish foundations for this field of study.

Working methodologically with Grounded Theory (GT), I recommend that subsequent pieces of investigation should propose not only to expand existing theory, but also to launch into moving from substantive to formal theory through a gnosiological procedure underlying epistemological and methodological stages. This procedure might consider the following aspects: (a) Identification of substantive areas of applicability of the theory to a phenomenon. Theories such as NPE are probably not

applicable to all substantive areas in European studies; (b) Systematisation of concepts; (c) Following scientific procedure.

This suggestion could also be applicable in assessing an existing theory such as Normative Power Europe (NPE) with regard to its logical consistency, clarity, parsimony, density, scope and integration.

### **7.6. Implications of this thesis for the future.**

This thesis establishes foundations for further studies. I am really interested in embarking on a post doctorate, examining the presence of other superpowers in the structuration of domestic policies in developing countries and how these third countries receive, implement and use European influences. Higher Education represents a significant parameter for analysing other ideational powers. For example, China is exporting its model for HE based on a Confucian normative power, which would be competing with Western Normative Power Europe (NPE).

Any influential actor in the area of HE could constitute a hegemonic power or superpower on two fronts: material and ideational sources. In terms of material factors, currently the field of HE embodies the most important aspect of training human resources, the power of human capital (Ridderstrale & Nordström, 2000). Therefore, a superpower could exert supremacy within the core of productive processes and determine the course of future 'economic waves'. Considering ideational aspects, a Global actor could exert an intellectual hegemony (Robertson, 2009) based on a pedagogic force which offers models of teaching and learning (as seen in the Bologna Process) within the area of HE.

### 7.7. Final Reflections.

I summarise my research as a significant effort towards demonstrating European influences upon non-European countries. The field of this research, Higher Education (HE), constitutes one of the contemporary interests for the EU and other superpowers to exert an intellectual hegemony (Robertson, 2009).

The Bologna Process could be seen as a ‘Trojan Horse’ that purports to bring in a vaguely European influence yet, *in fact*, makes a more fundamental change than perhaps intended. This European model can be seen, then, as the most influential tool that Europe has been using to spread the norms, ideas and language. Here language is used to reproduce discursive practices of domination. These practices are grounded in ontologies that reveal only the experiences of superpowers, which historically have played the role of master.

Certainly as some European scholars argue it is difficult, through empirical cases, to verify the hypothesis that the Union exerts an ideational power characterised by discursive practices that validate its own identity and ways of behaving in the global sphere. Europe presents an exemplar ‘personality’ eliciting some considerable degree of admiration and compliance.

This thesis offered a hermeneutic prospective which criticises, firstly, those discursive constructions offered by the language of NPE itself. Secondly, it uses further constructions which reveal influential processes exerted by the EU exporting its models abroad, as in the case of the Bologna Process. Thirdly, this research undertakes a more critical analysis and perspective in which to study post-colonial strategies which indicates an orientation and impact on the discourses and ‘vocabularies’ of others.

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