

**ACTION OF MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR GLOBAL GOVERNANCE:
DISSEMINATION AND TRANSFER OF EDUCATIONAL POLICIES**

**ATUAÇÃO DOS ORGANISMOS MULTILATERAIS PARA A GOVERNANÇA GLOBAL:
DIFUSÃO E TRANSFERÊNCIA DE POLÍTICAS EDUCACIONAIS**

**ACCIÓN DE LOS ORGANISMOS MULTILATERALES PARA LA GOBERNANZA
GLOBAL: DIFUSIÓN Y TRANSFERENCIA DE POLÍTICAS EDUCATIVAS**



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ABSTRACT: The objective is to analyze how Multilateral Organizations (OM) act in the context of global educational governance. The methodological basis is based on a qualitative approach based on bibliographical and documental research. The data presented make it possible to identify a modus operandi of OM, such as UNESCO, UNICEF and the World Bank, improved to corroborate the interdependence produced in Global Governance, established by international policy agreements, involving international and domestic networks. In this scenario, the OM have been acting as diffusers and mediators in the policy transfer process, which allows the integration of hybrid governance networks. Incidentally, the transfer occurs through the recontextualization and adaptation of policies, in a non-linear way, for the legitimation and forwarding of global agendas, under the ostentation of the illusory idea that there were exchanges, sharing and negotiations, but that, for the most part, corroborated for the transnationalization of education.

KEYWORDS: Global governance. Multilateral Organizations. Transfer of policies. Transnationalization of education.

RESUMO: *Objetiva-se analisar formas de atuação dos Organismos Multilaterais (OM) no contexto governança educacional global. A base metodológica se sustenta pela abordagem qualitativa a partir da pesquisa bibliográfica e documental. Os dados apresentados permitem identificar um modus operandi de OM, como UNESCO, UNICEF e Banco Mundial, aperfeiçoado de forma a corroborar com a interdependência produzida na Governança Global, estabelecida pelos acordos da política internacional, envolvendo redes internacionais e domésticas. Nesse cenário, os OM vêm atuando como difusores e mediadores no processo de transferência de políticas, o que permite integrar redes híbridas de governança. Incidentalmente, a transferência ocorre mediante a recontextualização e adaptação de políticas, de forma não linear, para a legitimação e o encaminhamento de agendas globais, sob a ostentação da ideia ilusória de que houve trocas, partilhas e negociações, mas que, em sua maior parte, corroborou para a transnacionalização da educação.*

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Governança global. Organismos Multilaterais. Transferência de políticas. Transnacionalização da educação.

RESUMEN: *El objetivo es analizar las formas en que los Organismos Multilaterales (OM) actúan en el contexto de la gobernanza educativa global. La base metodológica se basa en un enfoque cualitativo basado en la investigación bibliográfica y documental. Los datos presentados permiten identificar un modus operandi de OM, como la UNESCO, UNICEF y el Banco Mundial, mejorado para corroborar la interdependencia producida en la Gobernanza Global, establecida por acuerdos de política internacional, involucrando redes internacionales y nacionales. En este escenario, los MO vienen actuando como difusores y mediadores en el proceso de transferencia de políticas, lo que permite la integración de redes híbridas de gobernanza. Dicho sea de paso, la transferencia se da a través de la recontextualización y adaptación de políticas, de forma no lineal, para la legitimación y propulsión de agendas globales, bajo la ostentación de la idea ilusoria de que hubo intercambios, compartir y negociaciones, pero que, por el en su mayor parte, corroborado por la transnacionalización de la educación.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: Gobernanza global. Organismos Multilaterales. Transferencia de políticas. Transnacionalización de la educación.

Introduction

The debate on the quality of education occupies the epicenter of the agendas around of the world and diverse actors have been spreading standardized ways of thinking about problems and solutions. A movement of ideas, policies and practices of education from one location to another, normally, across national borders, has been disseminated and sometimes such phenomenon stems from multilateral cooperation programs established between governments, producing traveling reforms⁴ which, according to Shiroma (2020), according to their interests, sponsor and accelerate its dissemination.

The growing participation of multilateral organizations (OM)⁵ in the formulation of policies demonstrates that its role in inducing reforms is not restricted only to policy influencer in national domestic contexts. This means that, in the global governance context, in addition to providing financial support, they cover advisory services, and help in the concertation of common agendas and move the international policy that impacts on countries' national policies. It is a permanent game of interactions and in a constant process of adjustment and/or imposition of the global to the local, in which there is no political issue that is discussed internally that is not addressed, simultaneously, in some international organization or in some relationship established for international cooperation.

The presence of OM in national political changes alters the configuration of the State, while the participation of Civil Society organizations in the processes of definition and execution of public policies have an impact on the construction of hegemony necessary to govern, uses international, regional and social networks and national (SHIROMA; EVANGELISTA, 2015).

In this sense, this article seeks to analyze how Multilateral Organizations (OM) acted in the context of educational global governance between 1990-2020. The interest in the subject comes from considering that studies on transference, dissemination and circulation of policies, which are forms of action by international subjects, as a fertile area for innovation in the field of public policy analysis (OLIVEIRA; PAL, 2018), whose educational social policies constitute substantial and fruitful land for that.

⁴ Itinerant reforms or global education policies emerge in different parts of the world. Such global education reforms or policies emerge, with lags, in different national educational systems and today are often driven by various international organizations or development agencies; sometimes with financial support in the form of donations or loans (STEINER-KHAMSI, 2023).

⁵ In Portuguese, *Organizações Multilaterais*.

Thus, bibliographical and documental research was used in an analytical-descriptive perspective, with a qualitative focus, articulating the field of Political Science and Education. The article is divided into two parts: firstly, the discussion of the concept of Global Governance and Education; then an analysis of the Diffusion and Transfer of Policies is carried out Educational as mechanisms for the materialization of global governance.

The contemporary concept of Global Governance and its influences on education

The bases for the constitution of the contemporary concept of governance refer to a moment strongly marked by the crisis of legitimacy in relation to the welfare state policies (ANSELL; TORFING, 2016), in the last decades of the twentieth century. That period was fruitful in structural reforms in the most diverse countries of the world to overcoming the crisis, whose concertation of a shared agenda via global agreements, leveraged by the process of intensified economic integration, constituted a mechanism for consolidating interdependence in international society, intensification of capital and knowledge and information movements (BORTOT, 2022).

The post globalization period has developed transnational politics with authority dispersed beyond the nation-state and legitimized political knowledge and interests not necessarily located within the nation-state or community local. The crises of capitalism derive so much from the regime of accumulation – which entails the constituent phases of capitalism –, as well as the mode of state regulation, or that is, the political and legal mechanisms that instrumentalize accumulation. The state regulation is, in this step, a drawn form from the social structuring itself and becomes present even in the liberal state: “Neoliberalism is not a withdrawal of the State from economy, but a specific mode of State presence in the economy” (MASCARO, 2013, p. 118, our translation).

Dardot and Laval (2016) consider that neoliberalism developed the ideology of how to make the market, both as a principle of government of men, and of the government itself, via an intellectual refoundation and the new rationality, which combines rehabilitation of public intervention with a market concept centered on competition. The period establishes the phase of flexible work and economic and social relations, triggering a policy of consensus (MÉSZÁROS, 2005). In Latin America, the first great neoliberal experience, after his theorizations, occurred with Augusto Pinochet in Chile, who headed the government between 1973 and 1990 and provided bases to be disseminated in other countries. Neoliberalism was

embraced as a response to the external debt crisis felt in different Latin American countries in the context of the 1982 Mexican moratorium.

Thus, a scenario of greater interdependence and globalization of international relations begins, with partial displacement of the authority of national States for international and transnational organizations, as well as market agents and of civil society. The concept of the State is broadened to incorporate these new agents, which brings challenges to the traditional mechanisms of government and the legitimacy of political authority.

Equally accentuated in this period was the cross-border expansion of firms and the growth of international organizations, for which the concepts of internationalization⁶ and globalization were imposed. These processes provoke an overcoming of national borders and a transnationalization of public policies⁷. The consequence is that structures of dependence of the State in relation to social actors are now superimposed by international structures of interdependence, in which the Sovereignty of national states is also challenged at the international level (SCHNEIDER, 2005).

The isolated national state can, each time fewer, lead and control by itself both within its territory and also in the global system of states. And, in that direction, is compelled to negotiate, exchange, coordinate and cooperate with the Global Governance agents, coming from international structures of interdependence via the transnationalization of policies. Therefore, new arrangements are created of power and diversification (guided and agreed) of relationship agendas international. And the imperative of exchanging and sharing ideas, resources and skills for the production of desirable results, by the way, to the capitalist order.

In this context, Global Governance can be defined as a system of values, policies and institutions that enable societies to organize themselves to make collective decisions and exercise political, economic, sociocultural actions and environmental through interaction

⁶ Internationalization can be identified in rationales and discourses on three strategic fronts, in the interconnected context of globalization: resulting from demands directly presented by multilateral organizations which come to control, albeit indirectly, education within the framework of a global agenda; related to official programs to which the State attaches expectations of results based on international standards and requirements; related to the provision of educational solutions for the management of school results, usually presented by private companies that place rankings and international standards as a reference in their speeches (THIESEN, 2019).

⁷ Closely linked to the concept of internationalization, the transnationalization of public policies involves a fluid dynamic between the international and the national, with a process of constant definition and redefinition, but which involves the interdependence of political, economic and social powers between the local, national and the global. It involves three fundamental movements for its implementation, according to Barroso (2003): contamination effect – transfer and importation of concepts, measures and models of policies put into practice in countries, on a world scale, with functions of justification and legitimation of national policies; hybridity effect – overlapping or miscegenation of different logics, discourses and practices, which reforms the ambiguous and plural nature of policies; mosaic effect – a panoply of separate measures that target specific audiences and that rarely reach the generality of the political system.

between the State, civil society and the private sector. Such process can be carried out in different ways: unilateral state actions in the territory; unilateral actions outside the States; regional and multilateral cooperation through the creation of international regimes; and transnational cooperation and transgovernmental, recognizing that the connection between the State and society matters (RHODES, 2012).

The transformations in the relations between State and civil society are, for Harvey (2005), a manifestation of converging trends on a global scale in the process of neoliberalism, which can be understood through changes in the government of welfare state for neoliberal modes of governance, also known as the transition “from government to governance” (RHODES, 2012). the passage of government (state power *per se*) to governance (a broader configuration which contains states and key elements of civil society) means for Harvey (2008), “a broad convergence of the practices of the neoliberal State and the developmentalist” (p. 87, our translation), which contemplates the construction of alliances and networks, tactics, strategies and consensus between different actors and interests, such as multilateralism.

Finkelstein (1995) notes that governance corresponds to the breadth of the international community contemporary agenda in an age of interdependence and dissolution progressive blurring of the boundaries between domestic and international politics. In the case of global governance, this activity comprises: creation and dissemination of knowledge; formulating and enacting principles and promoting consensus on international or regional order, in addition to specific issues on the international agenda; efforts to influence the internal conduct of states; settlement or mediation conflicts; formation and application of regimes; regulation; resource allocation; provision humanitarian assistance and development aid programs; maintenance of international peace and security. This interdependence, established by international political agreements, is the result of a complex process, involving international and domestic networks.

This frame of dependency arising from the transnationalization of policies in “hybrid forms of governance”, composed of both the State and non-State actors. Thus, hybrid forms of governance are constituted and influenced by a flow of ideas that circulate in political and social networks (international circulation of ideas; the policy lending process; the sale of solutions, carried out by groups or individuals) or, still, by the sponsorship of these policies or the imposition of their measures by international agencies (BALL, 2016).

In education, OM influence reforms through the elaboration of hegemony discourse of consensus and agendas, among them, the educational ones. These organizations are conceptualized as key transmitters of particular views of education and educational reform that,

basically, are instrumented and oriented to the market in national contexts (VERGER, 2019), due to its more explicit role and determined in terms of lobbying and international advocacy. Therefore, the events transnational institutions have become an important space for transfer agents to expand their activities aspiring to achieve global impact (OLIVEIRA; PAL, 2017).

A recent study by Shiroma (2020) demonstrated that this transnational education governance promotes the regulation of programs and policies, mediated to serve networks, with broad public-private permeability. These regulatory experiences, where they seek to disseminate actions, are guided by successful programs, with visions of efficiency and effectiveness such as, for example, the teacher who wants to train in full coherence with the curriculum that emphasizes practical work.

In this sense, Global Governance is perceived as a multilateral mechanism, coordinating the relations of interdependence among all actors in the International System and relations between the State, International Organizations, Civil Society and Education. These relationships provoked by Global Governance and linked to the project of new associations are what result in the assimilation of the Globally Structured Agenda for Education. In the meantime, multilateral organizations do not operate only as inducers or financiers, but also as diffusers, through assistance for implementation, measurement, advice, data and information statistics, as well as policy transferers, acting in the mediation of the movement ideas, policies and practices of education from one place to another, usually between national borders.

Mechanisms for the incorporation of Global Governance: OM in the Diffusion and in the Transfer of Educational Policies

In Global Governance, there are many forms of action by multiple organizations. In this context, OMs become important policy makers to articulate specialists in education, intellectuals and non-governmental organizations in the accommodation of ideas and practices. They act, therefore, as a strong articulator of “networks of public policies and new forms of governance” (SHIROMA; EVANGELISTA, 2015, p. 3, our translation) with a “mesh of agents involved in the construction and diffusion of a worldview” (PRONKO, 2015, p. 11, our translation), articulating domestic coalitions, private sectors actors, transnational arenas, dynamics of resistance and policy translation public.

Important forms of action of the OM for global governance are the dissemination and policy transfer. Theory on policy diffusion demonstrates that propagation of ideas, principles and policies is a consequence of the growing interdependence between states. In the globalized

world, where state borders are permeable and public policy travels transnationally, policy diffusion naturally connects domestic politics to international, or elsewhere, becoming established and transferred policies.

The process of transfer and diffusion is not always linear and may involve different elements, agents and at different times, as well as, in different contexts, such as national, regional or global (OLIVEIRA, 2013). In addition, in regional processes, networks are created to encourage the transfer of the best policies, but also with the aim of “[...] challenging the power structures of the networks pre-existing ones” (DOLOWITZ; MARSH, 2016, p. 346, our translation). Broadcast and transfer, in general terms, refer to:

[...] both the importation of ideas developed elsewhere by national policy-making elites, and the imposition and negotiation of policies by multilateral bodies, and processes of structural convergence. By disseminating discourses, guidelines and agreements between the global and local contexts, via international treaties and pacts, the State ratifies the global discourse by importing the policies and programs suggested by international organizations, subjecting them, however, to other networks of relationships existing in the region, in which political and economic forces operate both between countries and mediated by multilateral organizations. The role of policy makers stands out in the dissemination and transfer agenda, specialists in education, intellectuals, international agencies and non-governmental organizations, among others, in accommodating ideas and practices suggested by the network (BORTOT, 2022, p. 23, our translation).

Barnett and Finnemore (2004) categorize the types of OM actions in three policies and techniques in organizing the global agenda, namely: first, classify the world, for example, stratifying countries according to their level of performance in international assessments, and thus, puts pressure on governments to introduce educational reforms; secondly, to correct meanings in the social world, for example, defining educational quality through indicators and benchmarks; and, articulate and disseminate new norms, principles and beliefs, for example, spreading what they consider “good” or “best” practices in development educational. In general, the power of OMs involves their ability to define the main priorities and goals of educational change, as well as what the main problems that education systems must try to address.

In addition, Shiroma (2020) demonstrated that practices are widespread in agreements of cooperation and in spaces of “[...] circulation of knowledge potentiated by the internet, media and social networks, political and scientific events, ideas have carriers of different calibers that, according to their interests, sponsor and accelerate its diffusion” (SHIROMA, 2020, p. 2, our translation). Through these agreements and events, there is a growing participation of OM in the formulation of national policies that changes its role in inducing reforms, placing them as a

operationalization instance of the policy with the countries, through financial contribution services, advisory services for implementation, measurement, data and statistical information, and comparison services, through which these agencies try to show their expertise, becoming important actors in Global Governance in the transfer and learning of policies, in which “transfers of ideas or programs are supported by earlier and deeper learning processes” (STONE, 2000, p. 9, our translation).

Bortot and Scaff (2020, p. 40, our translation) point out that “[...] the transfer must be understood within the concept of recontextualization, since, in each country, conformation mechanisms with contextual differences”. So, the policy is incorporated from a successful model, which can shape both the content, regarding the form of shared knowledge, but does not modify the essence or the purpose of the transferred policy. According to these authors, for this to occur there is a movement to define priorities for reforms and actions based on a global educational agenda in which it focuses on mobilizing and disseminating data from the expertise and also to: produce advocacy through good practices or practices of success, spread ideas and possible frameworks and, therefore, transfer the policy and recontextualize them, framing them to the produced objectives.

Regarding the agendas, we can mention three great educational priority organizing events as fundamental examples: World Education Conference for All, Jomtien (1990), and World Education Forum, Dakar (2000) and Forum World Education, Incheon (2015), which are references in the movement of transnational transfer and mobility of educational policies, led by international agencies such as the World Bank, UNESCO and UNICEF, as well as other international and multilateral organizations. These events and their documents inaugurated the discursive and epistemic connectivity of policy networks that favors the flow of ideas, people and values. In this confluence of ideas and actions, the performance of a network of mediations is evident, in which agents, processes and power relations are involved. OMs are not just agents (via legitimate authority) in these processes, but also in arenas (horizontal politics and dissemination) where different agents meet and legitimize what they transfer as good practices.

Empirically, we can cite successful programs by UNICEF, World Bank and IDB that are recommended to be replicated in other countries: home-based non-formal education programs, Educa a tu Hijo (Cuba), Chile Crece Contigo (Chile), Uruguay Crece Contigo (Uruguay) and Cunas Más (Perú); and programs income transfer, which affect the development of education, the Progresa/ Oportunidade (Mexico) and the Bolsa Família Program (Brazil). Those programs have the same fine line of economic development political agenda through the social sphere,

that is, the fight against poverty and inequality as a prerequisite for the economic and social development of countries. Therefore, they have broader gear, embodied in the strategy to combat poverty by education, and to produce economic growth and social development, becoming models of success to be followed and converging with the education agenda outlined in the 21st century (UNESCO, 2000; 2010; 2015).

To this end, in the combination of good public management practices, together with hybrid networks of global educational governance, the transfer can take place, according to Bortot (2022) by: transfer of idea or practice or educational institution that moves from one place to another, beyond legal international boundaries; translation/ recontextualization of the doubly osmotic problem of including ideas, educational principles and practices in one place and inserting/adjusting them in another social context; transformation of the educational phenomenon, as it grows socially, osmotically in this new social context.

The transfer of the Educa a Tu Hijo program is an important example of the movement to recontextualize agency-mediated educational programs, research centers, consultants and States in the Latin American region. The socio-educational service program Educa a tu hijo, an educational model in Cuba for the care of children aged 0-6 years, universalized the care of Early Childhood Education in the country (UNESCO, 2015), involving the axes of health, education and nutrition in an integrative perspective of the “family, the community and the intersectoral approach” (GÓMEZ, 2011, p. 18).

UNICEF and UNESCO, together with the Latin American Reference Center for Pre-School Education (Celep)⁸, publicized and recontextualized the program, taking it as a reference and starting point for the implementation of intersectoral programs with a community-based approach to Early Childhood Education in Latin America. Such a process began with the presentation of the Cuban program in national and international forums, by the document of the Cuban office of UNICEF “The Cuban experience in the integral attention to child development in early ages” (2002), as well as the case study: “National study on the national coordination of policies and programs for early childhood” (2004), developed by the UNESCO Office from Paris. In this way, the program attracted the attention of specialists from countries in Latin America, who sought information about the program from CELEP (GOMÉZ, 2011).

⁸ Created in 1997, with headquarters in Cuba, it develops as a social commission for scientific research, in order to coordinate the technical and scientific aspects of pedagogical sciences at preschool ages, to carry out postgraduate teaching programs, as well as to carry out scientific exchanges. with professionals from Latin American and Caribbean countries linked to the education of boys and girls in Early Childhood Education.

The agents of the recontextualized transfer of the Cuban program were Latin American Reference Center for Preschool Education (CELEP) and the UNESCO, through technical assistance, and with support from UNICEF. had the service methodology “replicated in Ecuador, Brazil, Mexico, Colombia and Guatemala” (TINAJERO, 2010, p. 12, our translation) in programs to integrate health, education and nutrition, taken as an important strategy to combat poverty and to integrate economic growth through social growth. Although the Cuban program is part of the early childhood education in the country, it was recontextualized as a practice focused in meeting the global agenda for early childhood education and care (ECPI) (UNESCO, 2015) as evidenced in the data presented in Table 1, in addition to involving public and private partners in developing countries.

Table 1 – Programs transferred by UNESCO and UNICEF a from *Educa a tu hijo*

PAÍS	ESTADO OU MUNICÍPIO	NOME DO PROGRAMA	INÍCIO	ESTADO ATUAL
Equador	Iniciado em Quito, Cuenca, Manabi, Chimborazo e Loja	Creciendo con nuestros hijos	2006	Ampliado para todo país
Guatemala	Quetzaltenango, Chimaltenango	De la mano, edúcame	2002	A mudança de governo em 2004 interrompeu sua implementação – deixou de operar em 2006
Brasil	Rio Grande do Sul	Programa Primeira Infância Melhor	2003	Ampliação em municípios do estado
	Ação do governo Federal em parceria com o UNICEF	Programa da Família Brasileira Fortalecida	2004	Encerrado em 2011
Colômbia	Inicialmente em Antioquia, Boyaca, La Guajira e município de Medellin	Adotou os nomes dos programas de governo ou do município que se insere, adentrando a política de Atención Educativa a la Primera Infancia en el Entorno Familiar	2007	Em processo de ampliação
México	San Luis Potosi	Educa a tu hijo	1999	Ao mudar o governo, interrompeu sua implementação
	Oxaca	Niños y niñas em comunidade (NYNCEC)	2003	Em processo de ampliação
	Michocan	De la mano con tu hijo	2003	Em regiões fundamentalmente rurais, até a mudança de governo em 2008
	Tabasco	La educación no espera, edúcame	2003	A mudança de governo em 2009 finalizou a sua implementação
	Nuevo León	Aprendiendo juntos	2002	Orienta as famílias nos centros de desenvolvimento infantil (CENDIS), sem processo de visitas domiciliares.

Source: Bortot (2022, p. 275)

In all programs, OMs acted as transfer agents and mediators. UNICEF's systematic collaboration in editing materials, ensuring personnel training and supporting research. Ecuador, Guatemala and Brazil had the edition of the bibliography linked to their Programs, with the financial support of the UNICEF Offices located there, as well as Cuban advice, through CELEP, financed by UNICEF. In addition, furthermore, in the case of Brazil and Colombia, alliances with the private sector are oriented as central axes in its implementation, demarcating the adaptation of care through decentralization based on public-private partnerships.

The transfer of policies occurred, therefore, through the network articulation of the global governance, ensured by facilitated and negotiated governance, since the States establish the exchange of information and knowledge on policies learned and flexible, but which seek to meet a globally structured agenda.

It is also registered, in the analyzed cases, the flexibility of the policy, by which the objective is maintained, as well as the main axes. However, it is evident that the action strategies have changed. In Colombia, the Program, as well as the entire policy for early childhood, are oriented toward alliances with the private sector. In Ecuador, the model was implemented by a State-funded private agency, the Nacional del Niño y la Familia Institute (INNFA), already extinct and transformed into public law entity nowadays. Currently, in these countries, co-participation and co-responsibility of the State and civil society rest on the policies of child care in different sectors and civil associations (TINAJERO, 2010).

In the briefly illustrated case, in the diffusion and transfer of policies, the OM acted, in all the countries, in the technical cooperation, in the planning, in the organization of material, training, advice and evaluation. In this way, their actions involve an expanded governance structure. In addition, they collaborated through various educational arrangements, such as NGOs, Third Sector and community institutions with a philanthropic character within the recontextualized programs.

Bortot (2022) asserts that, in these cases, mediation takes place of a new type, at least which politics goes from the local to the global and, subsequently, from the global, by the agents of mediation, to other places, becoming transferred domestic practices. Therefore, the OM are facilitators of transfers of “good practices” - considered examples for achieve the transnational objectives that involve global governance and that can be reproduced in any time and space - between States, mobilizing a network of subjects and, at the same time, they are producers of recontextualized politics.

The process of policy diffusion and transfer crosses the interactive arenas (PROCOPIUCK; FREY, 2009) and causes the alignment of international agendas with the local ones (SHIROMA, 2020) under the auspices of the shared economic base since the 1980s. Therefore, the OM acted in Global Governance distributing functions and allowing greater integration between ideas, norms and procedures, organizing, in the first moment, the global agenda and, sequentially, its legitimization of recontextualized policies, thus acting as an important mediator and interlocutor of hybrid governance networks and hegemonic forms of education for global governance.

Final remarks

The performance of OM through the dissemination and transfer of successful policies integrates the transnational network governance agenda, whose influence of these organizations with the countries is a contingent variable not only to the policy financing conditions, but also to the conditions of expertise, advocacy and adapted transfer. Therefore, they act through regional and multilateral cooperation based on the creation of international regimes; and direct transnational and transgovernmental cooperation in successful policies and programs with meditative actions (GONNET, 2012), in which they have experts to offer this type of advice at national and international level or mediating other epistemic communities to participate in policy transfers.

The selection of successful experiences by the experts seems to be quite enlightening of the meaning of governance on different fronts for Education, as it refers to the unusual combination of different representations of public and private entities, which have a clear political outcome: the legitimization and forwarding of pre-established agendas and defined demands, under the ostentation of the illusory idea that there were exchanges, sharing and negotiations, but which, for the most part, contributed to the transnationalization of education to globally hegemonic economic rules.

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