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ARTICLES

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The Tuning Project and the harmonisation and internationalisation of higher education in Chile

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Abstract: This article studies the influences of the Bologna Process, the Tuning Project, and its lines of action upon Chilean domestic policies in Higher Education (HE). The effects of these policies are oriented towards creating a common space for HE. This impact is observable, in the first period (2005-2013), within the organisation and structure of Chilean Higher Education (HE), specifically the constitution of the procedures, as part of what some scholars call 'academic implementation and innovation', i.e., the harmonisation of HE. The second stage (2015–2021) shows a substantial contribution within internationalisation processes of the Chilean HE. Chilean universities use European influences to expand their worldwide attractiveness as seen within the Bologna Declaration and global competitiveness of European higher education. Theoretically, I discuss the Tuning Project as a 'global actor' which plays an influential role or a 'constructive force', impacting policies and strategies of internationalisation, even globalisation of HE in Chile.

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Conflict of interests: None.

Keywords: Tuning Project, Bologna Process, global actor, internationalisation, globalisation, Higher Education, Chile.

I. Introduction

This article studies the influences of the Bologna Process, the Tuning Project, and its lines of action upon Chilean domestic policies in Higher Education (HE). For the first time, European effects (2005 - 2013) were observed within the constitution of the procedures, the organisation and structure of Chilean Higher Education (HE), as part of what some scholars (Beneitone and Yarosh 2015; Serbati 2015; Pálvölgyi 2017 name 'academic implementation and innovation', i.e., the harmonisation of HE.

The second stage (2015 – 2021) substantially impacts on the internationalisation processes of Chilean universities and HE. I propose that the Bologna Process and the Tuning Process provide a 'language, systems and processes' of competence-based Higher Education that enables dialogue and mutual understanding between countries. Chilean universities use the Bologna Process and the Tuning Process to enhance their global appeal, as reflected in the Bologna Declaration and the global competitiveness of European higher education.[2] After more than 15 years of studying European influences upon Latin America, I argue that the Bologna Process, when implemented or accompanied by the Tuning Project for Higher Education, offers a European-based model from which other regions of the world can reform their Higher Education programmes, taking account of the local context.

Both mechanisms constitute the most noteworthy interstate pact for restructuring the European higher education system, or as Pálvölgyi claims, a fundamental innovation platform nowadays (Pálvölgyi 2017). Furthermore, Adelman says that the EU model means "the most far-reaching and ambitious reform of higher education ever undertaken" (Adelman 2008), or still, the leading and most influential higher education enterprise in the region (Teelken and Wihlborg 2010; Vogtle and Martens 2014; Kushnir, 2015). At least, the Bologna Process constituted "the most significant set of guidelines in higher education in the European context" (Kolokitha 2016). Pálvölgyi claims that for more than 18 years, the Bologna Process has been the 'driving force' behindhand the essential European HE reforms because … "The aims and developments of the Bologna Process fundamentally affect the operation of higher education institutions in Europe, especially their learning and teaching practices" (Pálvölgyi 2017).

[2] "European Commission."

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In contrast, Ruth Keeling argues that Bologna and Tuning only subsidised the establishment of "an emergent policy framework for the EU in higher education" (Keeling 2006). Furthermore, Lažetić (2010) describes Bologna as a transnational, uncluttered, and non-EU policy platform. Supporting this view, Pálvölgyi (2017) reaffirms that Bologna and Tuning occurred independently of the European Union (EU). However, the significance of HE for the Union is already seen in the Lisbon Strategy for jobs and growth (2000). Klemenčič argues that the European Commission's involvement is highly significant because it has advised and financed diverse activities, especially those concerning the planning, editing, and publication of the Bologna Process operation reports (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice 2018) (Klemenčič 2019). From the beginning and over time, the Union has monitored its progress with profound interest. Its birth is seen at the domestic level, permeating other strata of the EU afterwards.

For a long time, the area of HE has not belonged to traditional capacities for searching European impact upon non-EU countries even though the importance of higher education has been analysed within academic discourses and considering the degree of involvement of some executive actors such as the European Commission or Parliament. HE still needs to be a subject of literary discussion about European influences beyond its borders, as seen in other studies about the EU capabilities: assistance and aid policies, foreign policy, enlargement, pillars, and agreements. However, HE is currently considered a foreign policy tool (Hannah Moscovitz and Hila Zahavi 2019), embracing a political dialogue beyond its frontiers. The political exchange of ideas in higher education is based on what Europeans called the building of a 'single space' (Faber and Westerheijden 2011) or the 'common space' (Zgaga 2006a; Zgaga 2006b; Grek 2008; Espinoza Figueroa 2013) in Higher Education, the European Higher Education Area (EHEA).

As part of a political dialogue, a global strategy for the EHEA was adopted in London (2007). The global condition of the EHEA, acknowledged by the successive declarations and communiques as part of the Bologna Policy Forum[3], contributes to the discussion about defining the Bologna Process as a unique 'international higher education regime' (Zahavi and Friedman, 2019). According to Hunter and De Wit (2016), the EHEA has developed an external distinctiveness for HE institutions in the EU and disseminated academic implementation and innovation structures, i.e., the harmonisation of HE towards other regions beyond Europe.

[3] Leuven Louvain-la-Neuve, 2009; Budapest – Vienna, 2010; Bucharest, 2012; Yerevan, 2015; Paris, 2018.

Nevertheless, Klemenčič (2019) emphasises that although the Bologna Forum plays actorness for a global policy agenda pushing cooperation amongst the EHEA, other regions and international organisations, it is dubitable that the model could launch joint efforts. Furthermore, Zgaga critics the 'export quality' indicator of the 'Bologna Model' worldwide, arguing that there is a contradiction between means and ends, i.e., good intentions versus real effects as well as the market and cultural objectives of European higher education institutions Zgaga 2006b).

I focus the theoretical discussion on the Tuning Project as a 'global actor' playing soft power, or an influential role (Corbett 2011; Halász 2017) and, even more, a different 'constructive force' (Faber and Westerheijden 2011), impacting upon policies and strategies of internationalisation, even globalisation of HE. As a first objective, this article introduces the idea that the European Bologna Process and its outlines (the Tuning Project and the EHEA) have influenced Chilean domestic policies, causing significant effects on the constitution of the public and university (institutional) policies in Chile. After that, I argue that, nowadays, the 'European model' is impacting upon internationalisation processes of Chilean HE, and it is being used for Chilean universities to expand their worldwide degree.

II. Literature review

II.1. The internationalisation of HE, the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project

I argue that the Bologna Process, the Tuning Project and the EHEA are affecting the internationalisation processes of Chilean HE due to its capability for engaging other nation-states, even though Keeling (2006) suggests that the field of higher education is still not measured as part of a European capability. However, Adelman says that the Union has enough know-how for exerting a 'pedagogic expertise' (Adelman 2008) or their capabilities for teaching globally about curricular reforms and other issues[4].

The internationalisation processes embrace new concepts, approaches and mechanisms focused on a global knowledge economy, precisely the effect of globalisation on the knowledge economy Lepori et al. 2022. That is characterised by establishing a broader range of cross borders affairs and non-stop global flows of people, technologies, products, financial capital,

[4] "EHEA."

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information and knowledge, i.e., the era of 'academic capitalism' (van der Wende 2017). As Benitez suggests, internationalisation of HE involves four specific mechanisms: ranking, cooperation, academic mobility (students, researchers, etc.) and curricular reform (Benítez 2019). These apparatuses mean different ways of understanding the historical evolution of the role of Higher Education within the international arena, especially in the European Union. Here, other European expressions of internationalisation contribute broadly to the two mechanisms Benitez describes, cooperation and academic mobility.

According to Kerikmäe (ND), in 2007, the EU officially acknowledged internationalisation prioritising as part of the higher education strategy.[5] In this way, several members of the EU decided to adopt a distinct strategic manuscript about internationalisation, which organised the normative structure for quality assessment, recognition of qualifications, shared programmes and different affairs related to immigration control.

Unlike other previous strategic programmes developed by European Commission, such as SOCRATES (I and II) ERASMUS, 'Bologna – Tuning' has had the capability of creating a proper external dimension (Zgaga 2006a; Zgaga 2006b), which Huisman et al. call 'the spin-off' of the Bologna Process. Nevertheless, the authors question whether the spin-off of this process has triggered similar reforms in other regions (Huisman et al. 2012). But its influence has surpassed the frames of the EHEA, so much so that Moscovitz, Zahavi (2019) and Dang (2015) consider that the Bologna Process is part of the EU's external policies.

Considering the 'global dimension' of the 'European model', Teichler suggests that the Europeanisation processes of HE abroad mean "the regional version of internationalisation or globalisation" (Teichler 2004). Zgaga et al. (2013) argue that the concept of 'Europeanisation' can be understood in a double sense: a.) the EU seen as a 'global region', what scholars denominated the perception of 'looking out' of Europe, and b.) the Union appreciated as European regions, a perspective 'looking within'. Furthermore, Dang describes Bologna as a 'pan-European' project that has meant a very "significant regional reform of higher education which exerts its influence beyond the borders of Europe" (Dang 2015).

Thus, the character of the 'internationaliser' of Bologna – Tuning places the EU within the condition of a 'global teacher' (Adelman 2008). However, Chou and Ravinet claim that regional cooperation in HE is part of the EU and an answer to a more significant phenomenon: globalisation (Chou and

[5] "OECD."

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Ravinet 2017). Cabanda et al. argue that the labour market pushes to increase the competition for talents globally, addressing other political and economic developments in different regions (Cabanda et al. 2019).

Bologna – Tuning – EHEA tools show an 'internationaliser' profile when the EU can impact academic innovation and reforms beyond its borders. Nevertheless, no empirical evidence and few literature reviews justify the discernment of the European model constitutes a 'globaliser' instrument at that level. The discussion can be, here, both mechanisms exert a 'globaliser' force, or at least they are contributing to universities to align with globalisation processes. In that respect, there is enough literature tackling the idea that Bologna and Tuning have been cooperative and exportable enterprises around the world, especially in practical experiences, for instance, the Tuning Project (Beneitone and Yarosh 2015; Serbati 2015; Pálvölgyi 2017; Adelman 2008).

Within the theoretical discussion, I propose the literature on the EU plays a global role in determining whether the Union is leading significant discussions about HE (Mcinerney 2017). These considerations are through different mechanisms, and the Tuning Project is one of the most potent instruments for exerting international actorness. So, I argue that the global role of Tuning can be seen as the exercise of a 'soft power' (Nye 2004) through the EHEA (Wai Lo 2011; Desai Trilokekar 2010; Yang 2010).

II.2. The Tuning Project exerts soft power

In conceptual terms, an influential actor could exert 'soft power'. The idea of 'soft power' refers to the ability of an international actor to transform what others do or form in others and what he/she wants through the cooperation of people rather than coercion (Nye 2004). This notion is already observed in Edward Carr's power over opinion (Carr 1962) and Steven Lukes' third dimension of power (Lukes 1964). The latter is defined as part of the effects of culture, education, and diplomacy, promoting political, economic, and cultural interests (Fraser 1965; Desai Trilokekar 2010). In both perspectives, there is a capacity to persuade other nation-states to adopt the same goals voluntarily. It is not coercion but attraction to a nation's culture, ideas, and policies. From an epistemological basis and including especially the third dimension of Luke's power (1964), Nye associates the whole range of the exercise of power concerning its sources and the range of behaviours that go from the mandate that represents hard power until the integration as the base of soft power (Nye 2004) (see Figure 1 below).

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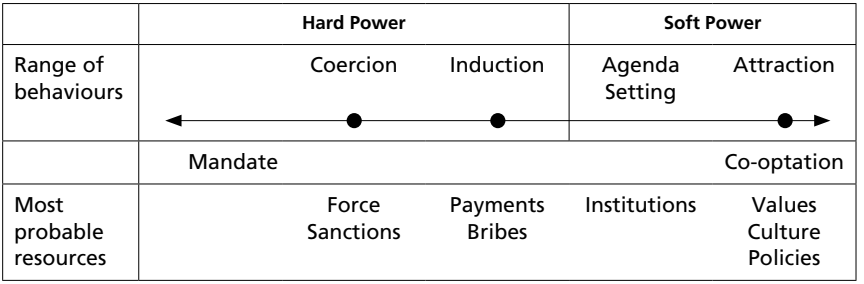


Figure 1

The Analysis of Power Source (Nye 2004; Wai Lo 2011)

Another insight into the exercise of 'soft power' is provided by William Yat Wai Lo, who addresses how global hegemonies are manifested in regional/local agendas (ibidem). Finally, a thought-provoking approach to the development of soft power is given by Ian Manners, creator of Normative Power Europe Theory, NPE (Manners 2001). His theoretical construct represents an amalgam of different meanings, visions, theories, and areas of development that allow the analysis of ideational or ideological aspects of the European Union.

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

From an empirical point of view (considering my cases of study: Chilean and Mexican HE), I defined the NPE as part of the EU as an influential and ideational actor (Espinoza Figueroa 2013). The normative nature is characterised by fundamental conceptual (definitions), analytical (cases of studies), and epistemological (theoretical involvement) bases of the NPE. In a similar perspective, Hila Zahavi applies NPE to study EU-Israeli relations and Israeli perceptions of the EU and Europe as a whole (Zahavi 2019). She concludes that the HE area constitutes another 'soft policy' for studying European foreign policy and international relations. The conceptual dimension of the term NPE takes over soft power. It is more focused on validating the existence of an intrinsic ethic that adheres to rules and duties and is described explicitly as norms and principles (Manners 2008b; Espinoza Figueroa 2013). Considering the analytical spectrum, one refers to a series of

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procedures that researchers apply to analyse the dissemination of ideas about empirical data and case studies.

In this article, I decided to move forward from NPE to soft power (SF) due to the normal wear of the theory. Certainly, SF is a descriptive rather than normative concept (Winder 2020). However, according to Jiajie He, "… soft power, in most cases, still relies on capacity (or power resources) extended from hard power, where normative power is rooted completely in ideational rather than material resources" (He, 2016). Even more, NPE is seen as more vigorous in its moral objectives, socialising others and influencing perceptions, self-identifications, behaviours, etc., through norms (ibidem). However, Winder argues that the morality of SF is placed in its interdependent character because it can produce different conditions and opportunities where mutual interest can prosper (Winder 2020).

One can recognise that in contrast with NPE, soft power is a theoretical construct that is difficult to use for analysing ideas or volatile content through qualitative instruments. As Wider says, SF constitutes a process that incomes to an end instead of the end itself (ibidem). Furthermore, soft/normative power can be seen as a logic combining discursive processes (like identity processes) with normative procedures (agreements). Nevertheless, in this article, I study SF through its most probable resources, the implementation of policies (in Chilean Higher Education). The European practical expert knowledge provides national implementing agencies with a vital strategic resource for influencing policymaking, even though national agencies are studied primarily as part of a top-down process. Nevertheless, its role in shaping policies needs to be exposed in EU studies.

Thus, first, it is vital to understand how these actors organise feedback from experience in the EU policy process. Within multi-level EU politics, it is a recurring question at what levels and channels different actors mobilise their resources to access the policymaking process, possibly influencing EU policymaking. That constitutes models of learning practices because the European Union has "… the capacity to make and implement policies abroad that promote the domestic values, interests, and policies of the European" (Smith 20202). Raúl Allard Neumann argues that the European Union has a high level of institutionalisation (Allard Neumann 2003). So, countries have consented to transfer determined degrees of 'supra nationality' authorities of the community.

The EU playing a global role is seen when Dang describes the Bologna Process concerning 'cooperation'. She argues that regional cooperation with outsiders of the EU has pushed the European Commission to develop a supranational body in terms of HE, and the countries which were part of the

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Bologna and Tuning became very energetic promoters and diffusers of the 'Bologna thinking' (Dang 2015). That was done through the openness of academic activities, such as colloquia and symposiums, towards agents of other regions around the world[6] and, at the same time, the Union saw the demand of detecting new partner regions, strengthening the interchange of notions and 'know-how' with those new partners[7]. On the same side, Mcinerney talks about Tuning's degrees of proficiency in the HE area, which could imply, in a way, the exercise of a pedagogic force (Mcinerney 2017). Nevertheless, Zgaga (2006a; 2006b) emphasises that there was an unintended will to transform the Bologna Process into a model for regional reforms in HE.

Reflecting on a decade of global implementation González Ferreras and Wagenaar (2023) argue that Tuning shifted the paradigm away from mere structural harmonisation toward outcome-based, student-centred learning and transparent competence profiles. Besides, Tuning was never designed to impose a uniform or prescriptive European curriculum (Wagenaar 2019). Instead, it relies on shared "points of reference" and consensus-driven subject-area profiles that respect institutional and national autonomy. This nuance is vital for the analysis of the EU's "normative and soft power"; rather than exercising a top-down regulatory mandate, Tuning acts through a voluntary, participatory methodology that other global regions choose to adopt or "tune" to their own contexts.

Summarily, I point out that the global role of the European Union is frequently manifested through regulatory and normative diffusion in higher education (HE). While authors like Dang (2015) and Zgaga (2006a; 2006b) highlight how the macro-level Bologna Process catalysed inter-regional cooperation and inspired regional reforms worldwide, scholars of the Tuning Project emphasise a more granular, operational dimension of this soft power. Mcinerney (Mcinerney 2017) argues that Tuning introduced specific degrees of proficiency and competence-based frameworks that functioned as a form of pedagogic force.

However, it is essential to distinguish the broad political ambitions of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) from Tuning's specific methodological apparatus. As González Ferreras and Wagenaar (2023) note, Tuning achieved global significance precisely because it avoided prescriptive homogenisation. Instead, it provided flexible instruments—such as generic and subject-specific competences, learning outcomes, and reference frameworks—that allowed higher education institutions across

[6] "Berlin Communiqué".

[7] "Bergen Communiqué".

multiple continents to voluntarily reform their curricula (Wagenaar 2019). This distinction explains why the empirical results (see Section IV) demonstrate a genuine, demand-driven global reach rather than a mere imposition of European standards.

III. Methodology

The methodological design was mixed with a predominance of qualitative research. The process of formal data collection and analysis was conducted through a triangulation process. Although the methodological work of this article combines four periods of study, the most relevant information was collected between the second and fourth stages.

Table 1

Data collection

Periods	Projects	Data
1°	**2005 – 2012:** PhD thesis: "European Influence on the development of domestic Policies in Chile and Mexico: the case of Higher Education."	In-depth interviews (15) Documents of analysis (+100).
2°	**2015 – 2018:** Fondecyt Project N° 11150378, "Higher Education (HE) in Chile as an international cooperation strategy: analysis of the American, European and Asian models"	In-depth interviews (50) and Documents of analysis (+100).
3°	**2019:** Short Research stay (DITA), University of Bilbao (Spain).	In-depth interviews (15)
4°	**2020-2021:** CNA (National Commission of Accreditation) Project "Models of internationalisation, a comparative view of our national accreditation systems" (Francis Espinoza F. y Marcelo Lufín V.)	In-depth interviews (65) and Documents of analysis (+288).

Source: own elaboration based on data collection.

The universe/corpus of study of the interviews comprised expert subjects and types of Chilean ES institutions and public employees. The typical subjects included specialists from public service and different universities. In addition, I carried out a diverse search of analysis of documents in English and Spanish. Still, finally, I applied the critical discourse analysis to the

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documents of the 54 universities that the National Commission of Accreditation (CNA) registers, and other resources of study.

Table 2

Grid of Key European Documents for Discourse Analysis

Declarations	Communiqués	Report
Sorbonne (1998).	Prague (2001).	First Report "External Dimension of the Bologna Process" (Pavel Zgaga, 2006).
Bologna (1999).	Berlin (2003).	Looking out: The Bologna Process in a Global Setting On the "External Dimension" of the Bologna Process (Pavel Zgaga, 2007)
Budapest-Vienna (2010).	Bergen (2005).	
	London (2007).	
	Leuven Louvain-la-Neuve (2009).	
	Bucharest (2012).	
	Yerevan (2015).	
	Paris (2018).	
	Rome (2020).	

Source: own elaboration based on data collection.[8]

I analysed interviews and documents from second-order hermeneutics (or reading/translation). For the tabulation and analysis of interviews and documents, I used three matrices plus the initial one (identifying the field and the substantive area research, theoretical codes and units of study). First, a Grounded Theory (GT) coding matrix was applied for a more objective and neutral categorisation survey to survey the various encodings: open, theoretical, and axial (with connections) codes. Then the extracted codes were worked with a critical discourse analysis (CDA) methodology from

[8] Project 'Fondecyt de Iniciación 2015 – 2018'. N° 11150378.

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Teun van Dijk's (1980) socio-cognitive perspective in his macro-structures work to account for the code hierarchies.

Table 3

Grid of Key Chilean Documents for Discourse Analysis

Public Policies	Institutional/University Policies
Chile-Human Resources for the Knowledge Economy	Corporate Development Plan of universities
Higher Education in Chile: Aiming for Quality	Educative Projects/models.
The Higher Education Quality Improvement Program (MECESUP), belonging to the Division of Higher Education at the Ministry of Education in Chile projects presented to the World Bank	Plans of strategic development.
Documentation of Division of Higher Education at the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC).	Additional documents from universities involved and CRUCH
Documentation of National Commission of Accreditation (CNA).	
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MINREL) Chilean Agency for International Development Cooperation (AGCID).	
Documentation of National Commission for Scientific and Technological Research.	
Documentation of Tuning Latin America Project	

Source: own elaboration based on data collection.[9, 10]

IV. Empirical work and results

I outline two significant phases of the impact of the Bologna Process and the Tuning project:

1. First phase of research (2005 – 2013)[11]

The academic implementation and innovation of Tuning/Bologna. During this period, effects were observed within the organisation and

[9] Ibidem.

[10] Project CNA. "Models of internationalisation, a comparative view of our national accreditation systems 2019 – 2020".

[11] This part is described *in extenso* in Francis Espinoza Figueroa. 2013.

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structure of the Chilean Higher Education (HE) system, i.e., the harmonisation of HE. Furthermore, I worked on the theoretical analysis with Normative Power Europe (NPE)[12] to portray European ideational elements.

From the 2000s until the present day, the growth of precise, fast deviations was observable in many Latin American Higher Education (HE) institutions due to an intervenient variable within the phenomenon, a kind of outside effect. This phenomenon is defined as the appearance of new ideas circulating throughout Latin American Higher Education (HE), especially in Chile. At the outset, these ideas transmuted into a set of procedures, methods and tools applicable to altering Chilean HE. Such statements 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 the Tuning Project. They impacted Chilean universities' curriculum and study programmes, finally causing structural changes in Chilean HE. Therefore, structural changes occurred due to the implementation of the Bologna process (and the Tuning Project) in Chilean HE.

At that time, I observed the progress of European notions circulating throughout Latin American Higher Education (HE), as part of the Bologna Process and the Tuning project. These influences manifested as a set of procedures, methods and tools proposed as a model, contributing to the transformation of Chilean HE. Chilean universities showed significant changes in their undergraduate and postgraduate programmes since they allied their systems with the Bologna Process. That was being followed in terms of structure and the whole concept of what Higher Education means, following the construction of a European (Latin American) Education Space.

The effects of the Bologna Process on Chilean HE were detected in the processes of consolidation of the role of the Chilean state and its HE institutions. That was observed in the design of public policies and the planning of institutional policies through formal mechanisms. 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' within institutional and official documents, in speeches and in expressing the opinions of experts and academic authorities (Espinoza Figueroa 2013).

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[12] The notion of Normative Power Europe (NPE), created by Ian Manners (2001) means that the EU plays an international role as an 'ideational' actor characterised by common principles and acting to diffuse norms within the global arena. The theoretical approach combines discursive processes (like identity processes) with normative processes (agreements), constituting models of learning practices.

Regarding Chilean public policies, European ideas had a substantial impact on three main facets: a) the mechanism of allocating public financial resources (MECESUP[13]), b) a new culture of planning and assessing projects for HE, and c) indirectly, the National Accreditation System which started to work under European influence (Espinoza Figueroa 2013). At the university level, European ideas substantially impacted curricular architecture design and curricular re-engineering processes in traditional Chilean universities (see figure below).

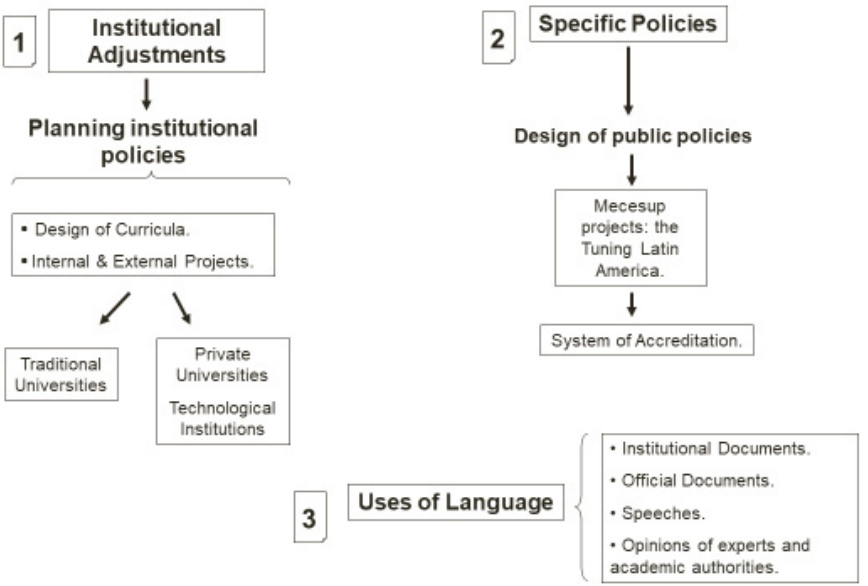


Figure 2

The Strengthening of the Role of State and HE Institutions: 2004 – 2013 (Espinoza Figueroa 2013).

Different changes occurred independently, bearing in mind the timing of effects on both fronts (institutional/university and governmental). For example, while universities worked on teaching, learning, and structuring curricula, the design of public policies focused on diffusing and implementing

[13] Mejoramiento de la Calidad y Equidad de la Educación Superior, in English: the Higher Education Quality Improvement Programme.

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the Bologna Process through ALFA Tuning Latin America Project. Besides this, new actors within Higher Education institutions and governments, such as the Council of Rectors (Vice-Chancellors) of Chilean traditional universities (CRUCH), played a significant role in diffusing and managing European influences or using Latin America Tuning Project as an umbrella to make changes.

Even though these changes represent pragmatic effects, they were oriented to transform HE by continually renovating knowledge. Moreover, these transformations implied constructing a more complex and concentrated conceptual building than hitherto. Therefore, the Bologna process constituted a standard setting. So, Chile followed the European model to design their higher education (see figure below).

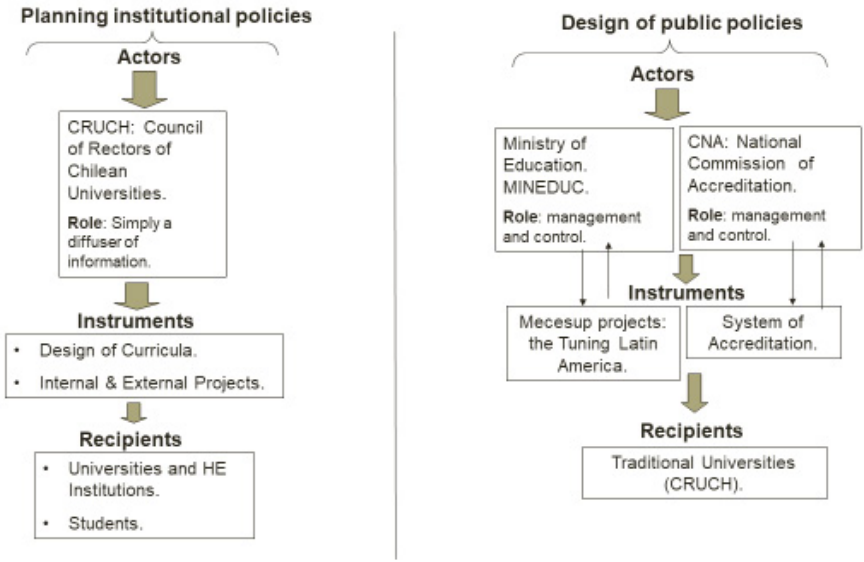


Figure 3

Contextual Map of European Influences on Chilean HE: 2004 – 2010 (Espinoza Figueroa 2013).

Considering empirical approaches, Dang (2015) offers an analysis from a diffusion theory. However, even though she studies five mechanisms, I only include three in this article: (1) socialisation, (2) persuasion, and (3) emulation.

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Taking into account the mechanism called 'socialisation' (ibidem), "the EU often diffuses its policies in complex processes in which several mechanisms are at work simultaneously" (Dang 2015). Here, Q. A. Dang claims that the EU shares its capabilities and 'know-how' on the Bologna Process as part of the development of a common space in HE (EHEA), offering economic incentive[14] and professional socialisation to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

The apparatus denominated 'persuasion'[15] is part of a strategy that allows "… the EU diffuses its ideas via socialization and persuasion in institutionalized patterns of political dialogues with third countries and other regions. The Bologna Policy Forum, Tuning (China, Japan, Russia, Latin America, USA, Africa) and the ASEM education forum are examples of such influential political dialogues" (Dang 2015). The author observes that non-state organisations, such as the European University Association (EUA) and the European Network of Quality Assurance in higher education (ENQA), contribute with the Union in exercising a global actorness. These European actors are proactive promotors of the Bologna process in and outdoors Europe.

The final mechanism analysed is 'emulation'[16]. Börzel and Risse (2009; 2012) argue that regional actors worldwide have copied European models in different areas where the Union has been exerting a global actorness. Dang emphasises that "… In particular, the ASEAN has imitated parts of the EU institution (e.g., the committee of permanent representatives, the human rights commission were added to the ASEAN's institutional structure)" (Dang 2015). In that respect, Jetschke et al. (2012) and Wong (2012) assert that those mimetic processes obey the need to grow its international presence in terms of acknowledgement and reputation. In other words, as Börzel and Risse (2009) explain, regional organisations seek to reinforce their efficacy and legitimacy, i.e., their exercise of power through emulating good models of management, an idea that European scholars have named 'the force for good' (Aggestam 2008; Barbé and Johansson-Nogués 2008; Pace 2008).

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[14] "For example, since 2011, the EU has allocated a total budget of Euro 9 million to support the "Intra-ACP Academic Mobility Scheme", which sets up university consortia and facilitates student and staff mobility within Africa and in the Caribbean and Pacific regions. Similarly, in early 2014 the EU also launched a project called "the European Union Support to Higher Education in ASEAN Region (EU SHARE)" with a budget of Euro 9.6 million." (Dang 2015, 770)

[15] That mechanism diffuses ideas as legitimate or true by logical arguments founded on reason.

[16] This process is not doing through an effective advertising of ideas; however, it trusts on the norms of competition and comparison.

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As one grasps above, Adelman (2008) sees the Union as a 'global teacher'. That denotes a notion of the Union spreading and disseminating its model outside the geographical borders of Europe. That shows a potent portrayal of the Union as a worldwide actor, endorsed by exceptional know-how, i.e., a power that establishes a pedagogic potential in its relationships worldwide. Therefore, its authority is not 'deposited' in its material abilities for exercising physical power, but rather it is to be found within its ability to structure/organise (to shape) knowledge.

Pondering the theoretical analysis, I observed that the socialisation process was part of Tuning Latin America without regard to a financial budget. From more qualitative research, I saw socialisation as a European strategy of comradeship, comparable with a mix of admiration and hegemony, as the empirical data shows. According to Dang, these examples can be studied as "… cases of coerced transfer executed in the context of asymmetrical power relations combining socialization and incentives in the form of 'capacity building' for direct export of the European Bologna model" (Dang 2015).

Even though I could not find a proper persuasion mechanism, two dimensions of the presence of the European influence were found: 'positive conditionality' and 'adverse effects'. In the positive conditionality, Tuning Latin America was seen as a space for dialogue and communication. On the other hand, considering the 'adverse effects', the idea of hegemony in a soft way was always implicit.

Regarding the research, I needed help observing the emulation process properly. Nevertheless, I could see a phenomenon of ownership[17] focused on self-identification, a kind of lesson drawing, with normative rationality concentrated on best practices. As Dang says, the EU incites competition among countries and regions which are intending to establish formal relationships with the Union because "competition does not only diffuse ideas as normative standards for political or economic behavior, but also spreads causal beliefs, for example, by learning from the best practice, actors borrow ideas (emulation) to improve their performance in comparison to others" (Dang 2015).

Que Anh Dang (2015) exposes that the main limitation of the diffusion approach is that the agency appears as a passive actor. However, I could

[17] According to the Normative Power Europe theory, the EU plays an international role as an 'ideational' actor characterised by common principles and acting to diffuse norms within the global arena. The theoretical approach combines discursive processes (like identity processes) with normative processes (agreements), constituting models of learning practices.

examine that the construction of a common space for higher education was determined by the effects of adopting the European model on the formulation of domestic policies in Chile. Besides, working with critical analysis of discourse, I could observe the strength of some 'political resistance' along the diffusion way, ideas that I called 'null', or 'adverse effects' and 'mediation process', and they show a critical view of a kind of 'European post-imperialism'. Even though the empirical evidence did not demonstrate a strong opposition, it showed some criticisms of the impact of the European model on Chilean HE.

Table 4

Mechanisms of diffusion

Mechanisms	Rationality of action	Modalities and tools
Direct Influence		
1. Coercion	1. Legal and physical imposition.	1. Coercive authority.
2. Manipulation of utility calculations.	2. Instrumental rationality.	2. Incentives, sanctions.
3. Socialization	3. Normative rationality.	3. Normative pressure, authoritative model.
4. Persuasion	4. Communicative rationality.	4. Reason-giving.
Indirect influence		
5. Emulation		
(a) Functional emulation. (b) Lesson-drawing. (c)Mimicry	(a) Instrumental rationality. (b) Normative rationality. (c) Mimetic/normative rationality.	1. Comparison and competition. 2. Best practice. 3. Demand-driven.

Source: Que Anh Dang (2015) (adapted from Börzel and Risse, 2009, 2012).

The first stage concludes with the contribution of Tuning in the development of the concept of competence (Argüelles 2009; CINDA 2010; CRUCH 2012; Alarcón 2013). Finally, the empirical case of Chilean HE is presented in detail to comprehend the most significant impacts on public and university policies.

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2. Second research phase (2015 – 2021)

The impact on internationalisation policies. The second stage substantially contributes to Chilean universities' internationalisation processes (public and institutional policies). Here, I argue that nowadays, the European model is impacting the internationalisation processes of Chilean HE. Universities are using it to expand their worldwide degree of attractiveness. Therefore, the theoretical approach is soft power, but considering the EU as a global actor, playing an influential role and impacting upon policies and strategies of internationalisation, even the globalisation of HE in Chile.[18]

I call this stage the 'internationalising dimension' of Bologna/Tuning, which is different from what Zgaga (2006a; 2006b) argues, the external facet of Bologna. It coincides with some changes observed within public and institutional (university) policies in Chilean Higher Education after 2011 in terms of internationalising universities beyond student mobility, as seen at the end of the first part of the previous research.

Even though the concept of internationalisation is implicit within the Tuning Project, due to the external dimension of Bologna (ibidem) or the character of worldwide spreadable of the Tuning Project (Beneitone and Yarosh 2015; Serbati 2015; Pálvölgyi 2017), no substantial literature is showing how the 'European model' is impacting upon internationalisation processes within universities and HE institutions globally. For this reason, it is necessary to describe the route of the international arena in Higher Education (HE).

After European Tuning, in 2004, Latin American Tuning was launched, focusing on developing generic competences and four subject areas: Business Administration, Education/Education Sciences, History and Mathematics. Also, experts worked in a Latin American Reference Credit (CLAR) system.

Between 2011 and 2013, Russian Tuning was developed to follow the orientations of the Tempus Programme[19] as part of different projects supported[20]. Parallel to European Tuning within the EU's immediate neighbouring countries, African Tuning was launched in 2010 until now. Its primary focus has been on studying academic load (2013 – 2015) and analysing the undergraduate and graduate programmes. González y Wagenaar

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[18] Project 'Fondecyt de Iniciación 2015 – 2018'. N° 11150378.

[19] That plan started in 1989 and involved countries of Eastern Europe, Central Asia, the Western Balkans and the Mediterranean region, seeking the modernisation of higher education in the EU's immediate neighbouring countries.

[20] Tuning projects were launched and implemented on Lithuania (2009-2012), Australia (2010-2011), Russia (2010-2013), Canada (2011-2012), Africa (2011-2013), Latin America (Tuning America Latina III) (2011-2013), Thailand (2011-2013), the USA (2011-2012), the last one supported by the Obama government and Central Asia (2012-2016).

(2023) incorporate new initiatives such as regional projects Tuning Asia-South East, TA-SE (2016 – 2019) and Tuning India (2016 – 2018).

Even though the 'Bologna – Tuning' processes have developed a dimension beyond the borders of the European Union, the question is how that has had a significant impact further than the harmonisation of higher education. Some scholars (Beneitone and Yarosh 2015; Serbati 2015; Pálvölgyi 2017) call 'academic implementation and innovation' to the application of the Tuning Project in different world regions. On the one hand, Beneitone and Yarosh (2015) focus on the occurrence or non-appearance of the use of a competence-based student-centred methodology, considering a large-scale study and in-depth analysis. In that study, Serbati (2015) adds the component of student-centred learning through the cases of studies from Tuning Europe, Russia, Africa and Latin America. However, she analyses specific influences on teaching and pedagogical ways. On the other hand, Pálvölgyi (2017) studies the process of the Tuning Project as a multilevel policy application toolset with a global significance.

Besides the initiative of creating the European Higher Education Area (EHEA), Serbati (2015) and Pálvölgyi (2017) have proposed the idea that Tuning constitutes the most effective platform for innovation and implementation environment. They understand innovation when considering Tuning projects as a podium for implementing advanced approaches, mechanisms, structures and (multi) levels policies to construct the 'knowledge building' of contemporary HE.

Nevertheless, one can observe a considerable amount of literature about the strategy (Bologna Process) – and the operation (Tuning project) as a substantial model for reforming higher education. However, few works analyse the actual impact upon public and institutional (university) policies beyond Europe and away from implementation changes and reform in HE. Therefore, I argue here that, nowadays, the European model impacts internationalisation processes within Chilean universities and public policies. This phenomenon is characterised by a more institutionalised flow of academic and student mobility and the internationalisation of research clusters. The effects are seen as part of guiding principles, normative processes and curricular management.

As we can observe, the traceability of the impact of European ideas upon MECESUP/PFI programmes is observable through different mechanisms, which are present in the Bologna/Tuning discourses almost at the same time there (the EU) and here (Chile): accreditation processes (1st Phase, 1999 – 2005), academic innovation (2nd Phase, 2006 – 2011), support of PhD programmes (3rd Phase, 2012 – 2016), academic and student mobility, and internationalisation of research cluster(4th Phase, 2017 at present).

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Table 5

The Higher Education Quality Improvement Program (MECESUP)

PHASES	Processes influenced by European soft power
1st Phase (1999 – 2005): MECESUP 1.	Accreditation processes.
2nd Phase (2006 – 2011): MECESUP 2.	Academic Innovation.
3rd Phase (2012 - 2016): MECESUP 3.	Support of Ph.D. programmes.
4th Phase (2016 – at present): Institutional projects.	— Academic and student mobility. — Internationalisation of research cluster.

Source: own elaboration based on data collection.[21, 22]

Indeed, the impact is visible in constructing a National Academic Credit System (STC – Chile) and processes of academic innovation, support of PhD programmes and internationalisation of HE institutions. According to Argüelles, the strategies proposed by the Chilean governments aim to internationalise the higher education system, for which it has been implementing transformations of an academic, administrative and management nature for some years. In a certain sense, The Bologna process has favoured and accelerated this process because, within its work strategies, there is a lot of similarity with governments and universities' aspirations regarding higher education. Therefore, the European model has encouraged universities to implement programmes that allow mobility and flexibility in a global world and that guarantee the quality of studies. Besides, this process involved adopting new approaches and teaching forms focused on long-life learning. Therefore, analysing the outcomes of the Bologna Process/Tuning Project on Chilean public and institutional policies starts with studying of the actors. The actors involved in the diffusion of ideas in terms of public policies are: (i) the Higher Education Quality Improvement Programme (MECESUP), currently named Programme of Institutional Strengthening (PFI) belonging to the Division of Higher Education at the Ministry of Education in Chile, and (ii) the National Accreditation Commission (CNA).

[21] Project 'Fondecyt de Iniciación 2015 – 2018'. N° 11150378.

[22] Project CNA. "Models of internationalisation, a comparative view of our national accreditation systems 2019 – 2020".

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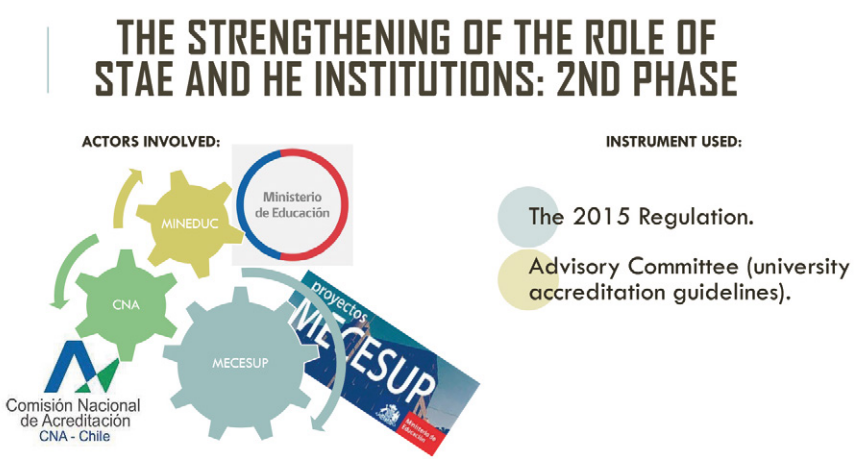


Figure 4

The strengthening of the role of state and the institutions[23]

The effects of the European model upon some Chilean universities are visible as follows, considering the different phases of the development of public policies:

Table 6

Institutional/university policies implemented

Universities	Areas of European Effects	Phases Public Policies
PUC (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile).	1. Development of competences and skills. 2. Long-life learning. **3. International competences training.**	2nd Phase (2006 – 2011): Academic Innovation. 4th Phase (2016 – at present): - Academic and student mobility, Internationalisation of research cluster.
UChile (Universidad de Chile).	1. Guiding principles: equity and educational quality. 2. Normative process: inclusive, reflexive and collaborative teaching.	2nd Phase (2006 – 2011): Academic Innovation.

[23] Project 'Fondecyt de Iniciación 2015 – 2018'. N° 11150378.

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Universities	Areas of European Effects	Phases Public Policies
	3. Curricular management: harmonisation degrees: undergraduate and graduate. 4. Structural aspects of the curriculum: competences (general and specific)	
Universidad de Concepción.	1. Long-life learning. 2. Knowledge management. **3. International mobility.**	4th Phase (2016 – at present): - Academic and student mobility, Internationalisation of research cluster.
UTalca (Universidad de Talca).	1. Professional academic training curriculum: basic and fundamental training. 2. Training curriculum: competencies approach. 3. ECTS (European Credit Transferable).	2nd Phase (2006 – 2011): Academic Innovation.
UA (Universidad de Antofagasta).	1. Transfer of Knowledge. 2. Sustainable development. 3. Training curriculum: competencies approach (generic competences). 4. Quality assurance. 5. Knowledge management.	2nd Phase (2006 – 2011): Academic Innovation.
UCN (Universidad Católica del Norte).	1. Training curriculum: competencies approach. 2. Long life learning. **3. Training for the Globalisation.** 4. Quality assurance.	2nd Phase (2006 – 2011): Academic Innovation. 4th Phase (2016 – at present): - Academic and student mobility, Internationalisation of research cluster.

Source: own elaboration based on data collection.[24]

Chilean universities are still implementing their policies as part of the 'academic implementation and innovation' to the application of the Tuning Project in different world regions, i.e. Nevertheless, it is noticeable that other aspects are present within academic discourses such as quality assurance, knowledge management and sustainable development. These facets belong

[24] Project 'Fondecyt de Iniciación 2015 – 2018'. N° 11150378.

to the 'Globalisation era'. Therefore, it is possible to affirm that the Tuning Project (the Bologna Process) plays a role as a 'globaliser actor' within Higher Education beyond the EU borders.

In Figure 5, it is possible to observe a practical description of the Model European, which is impacting through three actors: a.) Tuning that is described, sometimes explicitly and at other times implicitly, in the educational projects of Chilean universities, about all through the Transferable Credit System; b.) the programme Horizon 2020 that works with government agencies such as Conicyt, today ANID; and c.) the Erasmus (+) programme that is directly related to higher education institutions and mobility student.

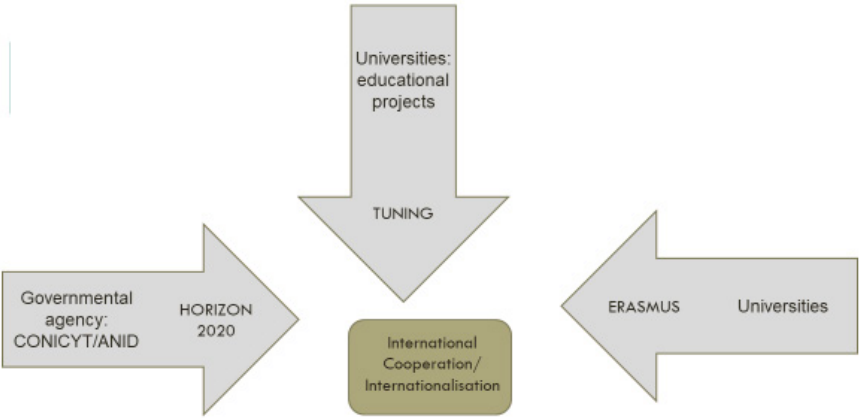


Figure 5

Implementation of the European projects within Chilean HE[25]

Furthermore, European influences contemplate structural variables and various activities associated with quality assurance processes. The Bologna process and other concurrent developments have accelerated the introduction and elaboration of institutionalised quality assurance and management mechanisms. In concrete terms, the European assurance model of quality is mixed through the establishment of mechanisms of formalised external quality control (for example, accreditation of external programmes) and internal quality control mechanisms (Bollaert 2014). These mechanisms are based on specific quality standards, most notably the Standards and Guidelines

[25] Project CNA. "Models of internationalisation, a comparative view of our national accreditation systems 2019 – 2020".

for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area.[26] In this sense, the impacts are observable in the international accreditation mechanisms used by European agencies to define and implement quality assurance processes. For example, the University of Chile is working with the German model to raise internal self-assessment processes and emphasise internal processes since the Germans accredit processes, not their programmes. Other impacts are observable in the international accreditation mechanisms used by European agencies to define and implement quality assurance processes.

Table 7

European accreditation of Chilean universities

Universities	European Agencies of Accreditation
Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez School of Business: MBA and graduate and postgraduate programmes	European Quality Improvement System (EQUIS). The Association of MBAs (AMBA).
Universidad Chileno-Británica de Cultura.	The British Accreditation Council (BAC), agency belonging to the European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA).
Universidad de La Frontera-UFRO, doctorate programmes	Agency for Quality Assurance-AQAS from Germany.
Universidad San Sebastián	Agency for Quality Assurance-AQAS from Germany.
Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile-PUC, School of Administration.	European Quality Improvement System (EQUIS) The Association of MBAs (AMBA).
Universidad de Chile, School of Economics and Business	The Association of MBAs (AMBA).

Source: own elaboration based on data collection.[27]

However, according to this research, the mechanisms of impact were seen in three types of effects:

[26] "ENQA."

[27] Project CNA. "Models of internationalisation, a comparative view of our national accreditation systems 2019 – 2020".

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1. The presence of international accreditations affects the internal quality assurance processes regarding regulations, actors, institutions and processes.
2. The search for international standards, for example, the OECD, in postgraduates' review, self-regulation and self-assessment processes, especially for doctorates.
3. The use of international models, specifically those of ANECA, for the international certification of internal quality systems.

Finally, from the 29 universities declared by the CRUCH with internationalisation, five (17%) show a tendency to follow the European model. As mentioned above, this is observed in their educational models associated with the Bologna Process, establishing international agreements and projects such as Erasmus and Alban and European postgraduate accreditations. Table 8 shows universities with a tendency towards the European model:

Table 8

Models of Internationalisation of Chilean Universities

Universities	Models of internationalisation
Universidad de Atacama	European/global.
Universidad del Bío-Bío	European/Latin American.
Universidad Católica de la Santísima Concepción.	European/Internationalist.
Universidad de Concepción	European/Internationalist.
Universidad de La Serena	European.

Source: own elaboration based on data collection.[28]

Although in the documentation on the internationalisation of Chilean universities, the European model quickly appears at the hands of European and Latin American Tuning projects, there is no mention of some impact on the quality assurance and accreditation systems.

[28] Project CNA. "Models of internationalisation, a comparative view of our national accreditation systems 2019 – 2020".

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V. Conclusions

This research piece highlighted the study object, the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project. The research nature of this section was descriptive and analytical, focusing on studying Bologna through the threefold dimension:

(i) The common surface of the process characterised by a structural base that defines the field of Higher Education (HE) as a common space for harmonising curricular reforms and encouraging academic/student exchange.

(ii) An in-depth analysis of 'instituted traces' of the 'Bologna language' to inquire into European discourses of HE as part of the search for empirical evidence that demonstrates the presence of European influences upon non-EU countries.

(iii) A study of the impact of the 'European model' (the Bologna Process and the Tuning Project) upon internationalisation processes of Chilean HE to expand their worldwide degree of attractiveness as seen within the Bologna Declaration and global competitiveness of European higher education.[29] Here, I discussed the Tuning Project as a 'global actor' which plays an influential role (Corbett 2011; Halász 2017), or a 'constructive force' (Faber and Westerheijden 2011), impacting upon policies and strategies of internationalisation, even the globalisation of HE in Chile.

On the one hand, Higher Education (HE) is one of the most fashionable interests in studying global public and institutional policies and international relations. But on the other hand, Latin American universities have experienced similar progressions in Higher Education: they have received overseas prototypes, which were then adapted to their own needs and realities.

As a first objective, this article introduced the idea that the European Bologna Process, the Tuning Project and the EHEA influenced Chilean domestic policies and the effects of these policies in Chilean HE. Considering a second aim, I argued that nowadays, the 'European model' (the Bologna Process, the Tuning Project and the EHEA) is impacting the internationalisation processes of Chilean HE. Chilean universities are using it to expand their worldwide attractiveness, as seen within the Bologna Declaration and the

[29] "European Commission."

global competitiveness of European higher education.[30] Here, I outlined two significant phases of the impact of the Bologna Process and the Tuning project:

During the first phase (2005 – 2013), effects are observed within the organisation and structure of the Chilean Higher Education (HE) system, i.e., the harmonisation of HE. Some scholars (Beneitone and Yarosh 2015; Serbati 2015; Pálvölgyi 2017) use the expression 'academic implementation and innovation' to define the application of the Tuning Project in different world regions where it had taken place.

The main conclusion in this part is that Chilean HE 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 the opinions of experts and academic authorities.

The appearance of European ideas 'colouring' dialogues and processes at two levels, public and university/institutional policies in Chilean HE, required a rigorous analysis of soft European capabilities present through a cluster of ideas, norms, principles and values, as within language and discourses. The study of language was fundamental to understanding that European discourses performed semantically as strategies because they have been transmitted as a common language determined by a specific vocabulary. Through that, they have exerted power.

In the second stage (2015 – 2021), I analyse and compare other variables, such as European effects on internationalisation and accreditation processes. The findings substantially contribute to Chilean universities' internationalisation processes (public and institutional policies).

The most significant conclusion is that there is no substantial literature and research gap about how the 'European model' impacts internationalisation processes within universities and HE institutions globally. A topic still not present within the Bologna/Tuning is the impact of the 'European model' upon university rankings, thinking that this attribute could push the European model toward the next step: the globalisation epoch. Therefore, there is no

[30] Ibid.

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empirical evidence currently, and few literature reviews that justify the discernment of the 'European model' means a 'globaliser' instrument at that level. The discussion can be, here, whether Bologna Process and the Tuning Project exert a 'globaliser' force, or at least they are contributing to universities to align with globalisation processes.

For that reason, I discuss Tuning as a 'global actor' playing an influential role (Corbett 2011; Halász 2017), or a 'constructive force' (Faber and Westerheijden 2011) impacting upon policies and strategies of internationalisation, even globalisation. According to Adelman (2008), the concept of the EU as a 'global teacher' denotes a notion of the European Union scattering and shipping its model beyond the geographical frontiers of Europe. Consequently, Europe can be considered a 'model-maker' or 'model-offerer' impacting Latin American HE (from the 'birth' of universities there). At the same time, Latin America has been seen as a traditional 'model-taker'.

Comparing both periods, during the 1st phase, the impact of the Tuning Project is very observable as much as public (domestic) and institutional (university) policies. Nevertheless, one can observe a lack of effects on public policies during the 2nd phase concerning the involvement of actors and the instrument used for incorporating the ideas diffused from Europe. The Tuning project exerted power through institutional adjustment, specific policies and use of language, considering the 1st phase of research. During the 2nd phase, the Tuning Project also exercises power ('global power/role' as 'soft power') through internationalisation processes such as guiding principles, normative processes and curricular management. The highest degrees of impact during the 1st phase were observable throughout universities belonging to the Council of Rectors (Vice-Chancellors) of Chilean Universities (CRUCH). In the 2nd phase, the most significant effects on Chilean HE are more noticeable in public universities than in private HE institutions. Therefore, the state's role is essential in being a channel for the diffusion of European ideas.

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