Beyond Material Gains: South-South Cooperation and the Construction of Regional Identity in the Pacific Alliance

Jeremiah Martin Ebedyah Nayoan*., Aswin Ariyanto Azis

Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Brawijaya University, Indonesia

DOI: https://doi.org/10.47772/IJRISS.2026.101000685

Received: 06 November 2026; Accepted: 11 November 2026; Published: 16 November 2026

ABSTRACT

The Pacific Alliance is a regional initiative founded by Mexico, Colombia, Peru, and Chile on 28 April 2011 as a trade bloc for greater integration between the Member States in the global neoliberal economic order. The organization aims for free movement of goods, services, capital, and strategy between the Member States. Therefore, this article aims to explain how the Pacific Alliance forms a South-South Cooperation (SSC) through its intraregional collective action, interregional collective action, technical groups, knowledge transfer, and triangular cooperation. SSC in the Pacific Alliance has culminated in the creation of several Joint Declarations with the likes of Japan, OECD, and the European Union and creation of monumental documents like the ASEAN-Pacific Alliance Framework for Cooperation. Its deepened connection with the ASEAN countries has also managed to secure a Free Trade Agreement with Singapore. Moreover, as this article presents, the economic reality for the Member States doesn't necessarily coincide with the principles of this organization. Through a social constructivist lens, this article aims to show how the Pacific Alliance is the basis for Member States to obtain reputation gains and construct a regional identity even when the material gains in this initiative are still minimal. This article stresses why the Pacific Alliance as a form of SSC still persists and institutionally expands despite weak intraregional trade volume and economic integration by emphasizing that SSC also has functions of producing an identity and formulating reputation. It constructs the Pacific Alliance as a competitive, outward-looking Southern regional actor, meaning that its value cannot be assessed only through trade volume.

Keywords: Economic integration, South-south cooperation, reputational gains, social constructivism, collective identity

INTRODUCTION

The Pacific Alliance (PA) is a regional initiative founded by four Latin American states namely Mexico, Colombia, Peru, and Chile on 28 April 2011 with the intention of creating a deeper integration between member countries in the global neoliberal economic oder. The agreement of the Pacific Alliance aims at enhancing the free movement of goods, services, capital, and people as its strategy for economic growth and nurturing competitiveness (Organization of American States, 2015). As of now, the only members of the Pacific Alliance are the founding states but over time, there has been an exponential growth of observer states of this alliance. Observer states in PA have to align their principles and objectives as stated in the Pacific Alliance Framework Agreement. An observer state may participate and speak in meetings in which they are invited by the member states. To apply to be a member state, an observer state must have free trade agreements with at least two of the member states. As of now, there are 64 observer states and two of which, Costa Rica and Panama, are currently candidates to be part of the Pacific Alliance (Alianza del Pacífico, 2024b)

In the complex and ever-changing geopolitical landscape of Latin America, the Pacific Alliance is just one another regional organization amongst many. The Pacific Alliance itself isn't the only regional Latin American initiative for trade and economic partnership. There's already the Southern Common Market (or more commonly known as Mercosur) in which all founding members except Mexico are already a part of. There's also another trade agreement bloc, namely the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) in which Mexico and Chile are already a part of (Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, 2018). So, the fact that there are other trade bloc agreements really brings up the question of why the Pacific Alliance exists in the first place. It is important, however, to clarify first that

the multiplicity of regional initiatives in Latin America is not something unheard of. Malamud in Nolte (2025) describes that regionalism in Latin America has always had these three distinctive features: (1) it has always been segmented, which means that the multiplicity of regional organizations is to be expected; (2) these multiple organizations often overlap in their membership and mandate; and lastly, (3) its institutionalization is flexible, which means that a lot of decisions in these organizations happen rather through informal negotiations and even then non-incorporation and non-implementation are common.

Through this understanding, it is therefore not surprising to see the Pacific Alliance as another trade initiative made in the region. However, what this article aims is to specify and magnify the existence of this trade bloc and what makes it different compared to other similar trade blocs in the region. This article proposes to see this agreement as a form of South-South Cooperation in the Latin America region and more critically, this article assesses through a constructivist lens that even if the initiative may not necessarily bring forth its economic growth and liberalization promises, there are normative values that are important for this regional initiative to showcase.

LITERATURE REVIEW

South-South Cooperation

South-South cooperation can be understood from multiple perspectives and it has evolved ever since its inception in the 1950s. The concept of south-south cooperation can't be separated from the understanding of the word 'South' itself. South is more than just a geographical term, it also refers to the political, economic, and historical realities that countries in the South share. As explained by Alden et al. (2010), the inequalities and colonial legacy of the majority of countries in the South become their strategy for "managing relations with the more powerful industrialised countries of the North." Cooperation therefore is seen as an endeavour in which South countries take to criticize the contemporary international system and push forward their own agenda. The United Nations Office for South-South Cooperation (n.d.) defines South-South Cooperation as "a process whereby two or more developing countries pursue their individual and/or shared national capacity development objectives through exchanges of knowledge, skills, resources and technical know-how and through regional and interregional collective actions." Examples of interregional collective actions that are taken to empower South countries are historically the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in 1961, UN Trade & Development in 1964, and the G77 (1964). Regional initiatives such as ASEAN is a prime example of South-South Cooperation for countries in the same region.

As time passes by, the Global South has become an even more important aspect in global politics. As Gray and Gills (2016) noted that there's a resurgence of South-South Cooperation in which economies from the South are in a favorable timing to transform the global order. For countries such as China and India are being 'emerging powers' from the South while the West is in a decline in terms of influence. South-South cooperation in the form of BRICS is just one example of how SSC is being revitalized especially since the creation of the New Development Bank (NDB) to put forth investments in telecommunications, infrastructure, and energy which are areas that traditional donors have left behind in South economies. However, it doesn't mean that North countries are completely out of the picture. The evolution of South-South cooperation has also brought the concept of Triangular Cooperation which is a form of cooperation between two or more developing countries with the involvement of one or several developed countries. This type of cooperation also makes sense as South countries may benefit from the technical and capital support from their Northern counterparts. However, it is also important to stress that Triangular Cooperation needs to be led by Southern countries in order to achieve its objective of empowering and developing the Global South.

The increased importance of South-South cooperation can also be seen through the writings of Emma Wadsley (2019) in which she argues that SSC has evolved to achieve three variations of South-South cooperation. South-South cooperation 1.0 ranges around the 1950s until late 1990s or early 2000s in which SSC was a relatively weak geopolitical and was not of importance for international development. South-South cooperation 2.0 is said to be around the late 1990s until around 2015 in which SSC has increased in terms of in resource, visibility, and ideational legitimacy. While South-south cooperation 3.0 refers to the success of SSC 2.0 in shifting narratives and suggest that future SSC will be (1) more 'muscular', pragmatic, outcome-oriented narrative framing of

economic diplomacy, (2) find more difficulty in maintaining claims to non-interference, and (3) will show less ideational and operational distinction from'established' donors. Wadsley argued that incoming SSC will make the distinction of the 'North' and the 'South' to be eroding as Southern countries are increasingly capable to match the capacities of their Northern countries as donors.

Constructivism

"Anarchy is what states make of it" as explained by Alexander Wendt (1992) is probably one of the most popular sayings to explain constructivism in a nutshell. Constructivism is one of the major IR theories that gives an alternative answer to describe global politics outside of neorealism and neoliberalism. Constructivism believes that global political order can't simply be explained through one point of view. Neorealism posits that the international order is anarchic by default while neoliberalism suggests that cooperative arrangements can be achieved through institutionalization of state relations. Constructivism therefore gives an explanation that bridges both sides that puts emphasis on identities and interests as the variables that guide the nature of relations between states. Wendt argues that "identities are the basis of interests" and therefore, what states identify as their identities are what they consider as their interest and therefore propel them to take certain actions that are aimed to achieve their perceived interest. This conception, as described by Wendt, has roots in "sociological social psychology" which focuses on human motivation as the driving force for humans to take certain actions. Therefore, in stating "Anarchy is what states make of it", Wendt suggests that how states view their identities and interests, define what anarchy really means. At the end of the day, "anarchy" as understood by Wendt has its roots in cultural and ideational basis rather than material.

Furthermore, as explained by Barnett in Baylis et al. (2017), constructivism (or also known as social constructivism) has a focal focus in the social construction of reality. This entails that actors (in this case, they are states) are produced and nurtured by their social environment and therefore states are not born a certain way by nature but rather by nurture. This is how identities and interests are born: what is considered as a national interest of one state is cultivated through the environment it resides. Another important aspect of the social construction of reality also has implications in the production of knowledge, rules, symbols, and concepts. Constructivism underlines that historical and cultural background mold what is understood as knowledge, shape what rules are put in place, and give meaning to symbols that are created. This is what is explained as 'social facts' because their existence is accepted because actors agree upon its claims. This then also leads to how constructivism views norms and rules. Constructivism has a focus on 'practices' which is defined as "an attempt to capture how things are done…in the social context". In relation to norms and rules, constructivism views that rules are attempts to regulate state practices. However, these norms and rules are not static; norms and rules are continuously revised through different practices and arguments brought forth by actors with their socially constructed knowledge. For example, norms and rules in international trade coordinated by WTO such as trade without discrimination (in concepts such as national treatment, Most Favored Nation), free trade, and predictability (World Trade Organization, 2025) are norms socially constructed and agreed upon by states after a series of negotiations.

Method

This research uses a qualitative research method with document analysis as the data collection method. According to Lamont (2015) a qualitative research method conducts analysis and collection of non-numeric data. In qualitative research, the logic used is inductive reasoning which means that a qualitative research projects a theoretical insight after analyzing or observing a certain phenomenon. In International Relations studies, the main objective of qualitative research is to give insight regarding the social world. For the purpose of this article, the non-numeric data that is used is statements and facts found in selected documents regarding the Pacific Alliance, the frameworks they have in their organization, and cooperation agreements they may have within each Member State and with other states or international organizations. The main objective of using this research method is to facilitate gaining insights as to why the Pacific Alliance works from a social point of view using the social constructivism perspective.

There are several ways to obtain qualitative data such as interviews, focus groups, internet-based research, but as previously mentioned, this research uses document analysis as the data collection method. Document analysis

ISSN No. 2454-6186 | DOI: 10.47772/IJRISS | Volume X Issue X October 2026

is the chosen data collection method as it is the most relevant method to collect data, argument, and regulations relevant to prove South-South Cooperation in the Pacific Alliance. Kutsyuruba in Okoko et al. (2023) explains that document analysis as "a systematic procedure for reviewing and evaluating documents that entails finding, selecting, appraising (making sense of), and synthesizing data contained within them". Therefore, this data collection method denotes analyzing the content of the documents to draw up a conclusion that may show the social, historical, cultural, and political values in which the documents are produced. Several benefits of using document analysis is its wide availability, cost-effectiveness, and efficiency amongst other advantages. This data collection is suitable with the available official Pacific Alliance documents to be analyzed.

RESULTS

Framework of South-South Cooperation in the Pacific Alliance

As one of the many regional organizations in Latin America, the Pacific Alliance has pushed multiple forms of cooperation since its inception. Moreover, the way the organization works can be seen as a form of South-South cooperation by the nature of the relations, issues, and frameworks they implement.

First of all, cooperation is a visible trait of South-South Cooperation in the Pacific Alliance. One of the types of cooperation they do is intraregional collective action. There are several working areas that the Pacific Alliance are using as a means to create partnerships and develop technologies between the member states. One of which is working groups. Working groups in the PA delve into several subjects such as innovation, education, culture, tourism, environment, and many more. For example, in culture, the Pacific Alliance signed the Paracas Declaration to create the Pacific Alliance Culture Technical Group (Alianza del Pacífico, 2020a). This technical group aims to cultivate cultural and creative industries in member states to "...promote the development of entrepreneurship of the cultural and creative industries…" and more importantly "build and project internationally the identity and diversity of the Pacific Alliance." In the education sector, they created the Technical Group Strengthening the Professional Technical Education and Technological that aims to integrate quality education between the member states (Alianza del Pacífico, 2018). The technical group has topics such as cooperation to strengthen the English language in all 4 member states, promote human mobility through internships, and even promoting good practices in the education sector with Observer states. These two working groups show how SSC is created with the Member States and even Observer States through creation of technical groups and how these technical groups enhance cooperation through joint partnerships. This shows SSC is done through regional collective action.

However, the Pacific Alliance also nurtures South-South Cooperation through interregional collective action. As of now, the Pacific Alliance has strengthened cultural ties with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) by creating a virtual exhibition. The virtual exhibition presented 30 photographs from the cultural heritage and living traditions from each participating country (Alianza del Pacífico, 2026). The relation between both regional south organizations has been cultivated since 2014 in which they made their first Ministerial Meeting. Until now, there's been 8 Ministerial Meetings between the Pacific Alliance and ASEAN. Such meetings have resulted in monumental documents such as the ASEAN-Pacific Alliance Framework for Cooperation during their 3rd Ministerial Meeting (ASEAN Secretariat, 2026). The close cooperation between the two organizations have even given the Pacific Alliance to enhance closer trade relations by establishing the Pacific Alliance–Singapore Free Trade Agreement (Enterprise Singapore, 2025).

Second, a distinct trait of SSC that is shown through the Pacific Alliance is transfer of knowledge. For example, through another technical group they have, namely the Technical Group Innovation, they underline that there are 5 pillars the Member States have to develop, one of which is "Generation and Transfer of Knowledge" (Alianza del Pacífico, 2020b). One tangible example of transfer of knowledge is the creation of a manual for rural and indigenous entrepreneurs to enter the global market (Alianza del Pacífico, 2018a). There are 4 different types of this manual that are specified for all 4 Member States in the Pacific Alliance. Each manual has specificities of each country's profile and their rural entrepreneurs' advantages. For example, in Peru's manual, there's details regarding Peru's strong indigenous export commodities such as cacao and artisan chocolate while Mexico's manual has their own strong indigenous export commodities such as local textiles and honey detailed. Another example of knowledge transfer comes from an interregional collective action the Pacific Alliance took

with Indonesia by creating the "Indonesia-Pacific Alliance Workshop on Disaster-Resilient Tourism Destinations" (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2026). The joint workshop involved twelve participants from the Pacific Alliance to take part in a week-long training and site visit in Bali. This joint workshop resulted in the Pacific Alliance gaining knowledge Indonesia's good practices which are (1) using local wisdom from local communities to create disaster resilience, (2) pentahelix collaboration that includes the government, indigenous communities, the media, the business sector, and international partners, and (3) community-based tourism and community-based disaster risk reduction that put communities as the key actors and not just the be the beneficiaries of the program.

Third, an aspect the Pacific Alliance has fostered is Triangular Cooperation. This type of cooperation is done by engaging with developing countries in cooperation between South countries. On 21 June 2019, the Pacific Alliance signed a Joint Declaration with Japan to "to deepen the cooperation in areas of common interest" in sectors such as Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), disaster risk reduction, gender, and others. Another prominent example of Triangular Cooperation is with regional organizations. The Pacific Alliance's Joint Declaration with the OECD in July of 2019 is one example. (Alianza del Pacífico, 2024a). This Joint Declaration may not be legally binding, but it is a step forward to strengthen the Pacific Alliance's economic growth and human development by expanding their relations with the OECD in aspects like education, innovation, environment, and small and medium enterprises (SMEs), international regulatory cooperation, and global value chains among others. Another example is the Pacific Alliance's Joint Declaration with the European Union in September of 2019. This Joint Declaration has similar aspects in education and student mobility, innovation and technology, (SMEs), climate and environment, while also expanding in sectors like financial integration and digital strategies.

According to Wadsley's categorization of the types of SSC, the Pacific Alliance falls under SSC 2.0. While the organization has made important strides in promoting SSC through its technical groups, agreements, Joint Declarations, and Triangular Cooperation, the characteristics of SSC in the Pacific Alliance has yet to replace the division between the Global North and the Global South. The distinction still exists especially considering that a lot of projects from Member States still receive funding from traditionally donor countries like the United States. Another distinct character of SSC 2.0 that the Pacific Alliance has is its ideational legitimacy in which the Member States focus more on promoting the region as open towards the free market regardless of the actual state of the trade volume between the countries.

Forming a Regional Pacific Identity in the Economic Global Order

In the economic realm, The Pacific Alliance aims to formally declare itself as a pro market and pro economic growth cooperative organization. Formally, it posits itself as a strategic platform because it: (1) is an ongoing process that is open and inclusive constituted by members who have a vision of development and as promoters of free trade, (2) is a dynamic initiative with high potential and projection for commerce, (3), (4) is oriented towards modernism, pragmatism, and political willingness to face challenges in the global economic environment, and (5) offers competitive advantages in international business with a clear orientation towards the Asia-Pacific region (Alianza del Pacífico, n.d.). The Alliance also promotes itself as an organization open to free trade by presenting itself, as an aggregate, as the 7th largest global economy and the 4th largest exporter in the global order. Through a constructivist lens, it is clear that the Pacific Alliance aims at creating an image that is pro towards open and liberal trade. Its identity is therefore one of a regional organization that supports economic development in the global neoliberal economic order.

After identifying its identity, its interests can be concluded as those that are aligned to improve trade volume and foreign investment. Taken from the official website, its interests do align with its aspirations for a deeper neoliberal economic integration for its interests are: (1) attracting new investments in the region, (2) maintaining a network of trade agreements between member countries and other developed economies in the world, and (3) pushing its competitive edge in sectors such as "mining, forest resources, energy, agriculture, automotive, fishing and manufacturing." Applying for membership in this initiative is also shaped by the spirit of liberalization & market integration. For example, for observer countries that want to pursue a membership as a member state, they have to have trade agreements with at least two of the member states (Congressional Research Service, 2016). From a constructivist lens, the Pacific Alliance also enforces its identity and pushes its interests through

the norms and institutions it made. These requirements and regulations that the Pacific Alliance put in place are described perfectly by Nolte (2016) at how the regional organization actually acts as a forum for nation branding instead of actual trade growth. It is not to say that the initiative is a facade, but rather that creating an identity as a region and group of nations that are aspiring economies for higher trade and market integration is an objective aimed by these states regardless of whether their trade volumes match the identity they're aspiring to create.

Construction of Individual Identities and Interests for Member States and Observer States in the Pacific Alliance

Individually, each member state in the Pacific Alliance has their own interests and goals they want to pursue. Delgado (2024) explains how for Mexico, giving more focus towards the Asia-Pacific region is a strategic move. He explained how Mexico has historically clinged unto its North American partners such as the United States and Canada. Through a constructivist lens, Mexico is restructuring its foreign policy focus into the Asia-Pacific region to diversify its economic sectors and strengthen its position in the global order and therefore joining a regional organization like the Pacific Alliance is considered an important strategy for the construction of Mexico's foreign policy. The same can be said for Chile in which Serrano (2018) argued that the term 'Pacific' is a constructed idea for Chile's foreign policy to fight against protectionist policies and to justify the idea that free trade empowers regional economic growth. Therefore, the Pacific Alliance serves as a platform for Chile to align its policies with economic liberalization and market diversification. While there is yet to be any scholarly articles to discern Peru and Colombia's individual identities in the Pacific Alliance, there are already researches that suggest that there's a common identity being formulated for the Member States. Chilean president, Sebastián Piñera, mentioned how the Member States share a common vision of economic development that is based on "a social market economy, of entrepreneurship, innovation, private initiative and integration into the world" (Nolte & Wehner, 2026). This shows that for all four countries, the construction of a Pacific Alliance identity is congruent with the individual values each country may have in their own economic models.

The same importance can be said for Observer States in the Pacific Alliance. As explained before, Observer States that would like to join the organization must align its policies with the principles of free trade which from a constructivist lens discerns that the organization influences Observer States to have the same norms and values with the organization. Several Observer States are strengthening their economic ties with the Member States to enhance their status from an Observer State to become an Associated State. For example, the Pacific Alliance asked countries like Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Singapore to become Associated States in June of 2017 (Global Affairs Canada, 2020). To gain such status, those countries have to negotiate an FTA with the Member States. Canada is one example that has FTAs with all member states. There's also Indonesia who has Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreements (CEPAs) with countries like Chile and Peru and is currently negotiating one with Mexico. It is noted by Indonesia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs that further cooperation with the Member States is done in hope of gaining the Associated State status. Thus, the Pacific Alliance pushes these Observer States to align their economic interests with the Member States to gain accession in the organization is a key critical point from a constructivist lens. The organization pushes practices that Observer States have to follow through to gain more.

The Importance of Forming an Identity Regardless of Actual Economic Gains

As stated above, the Pacific Alliance has made regional and individual identities supporting economic development, regional integration, and exchange of human capital. However, the reality at hand may not actually align with the norms, values, and institutions they have created in the organization. Roque et al. (2025) noted how the impact of intra-regional economic flows and actual implementation of common regional policies remain limited. They also stressed the asymmetrical structural differences between the member states also limit the ability of creating an effective regional market. Furthermore, they argued that the absence of a supranational structure in the governance of Pacific Alliance creates a fragmented intergovernmental model in which there's no guarantee for effective policy implementation that depends on the political will of each country's government for any implementation. All of this resulted in low trade volumes between the countries. Another research suggests that intra-regional trade volume in the Pacific Alliance remains low because they are not natural trade partners (Cortes-Sanchez, 2022). He argued that Chile, Colombia and Peru share similar commodities and

therefore there's no trade complementarity while Mexico is still better economically integrated in the North American supply and being geographically farther from other Member States.

Nonetheless, although material gains may be limited for the Member States, it still doesn't stop them from creating more than 30 technical groups, 180 export promotion activities, and signing the Protocol of the Framework Agreement of the Pacific Alliance (New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, n.d.) that managed to eliminate 92% of tariffs between the four countries. This phenomenon can be explained swiftly by constructivism that posits that the social construction of the Pacific Alliance identity is a driver for their actions and cooperative frameworks they create. As also explained before by Nolte (2016), nation branding is the objective of the creation of this regional initiative. Therefore, it can be concluded that immaterial gain in the form of reputational gain is what the Member States are trying to achieve by the construction of this regional initiative. One question that may arise is, "why does SSC persist and institutionally expand within the Pacific Alliance despite weak intraregional material gains?", to which the answer is because SSC also has functions of producing an identity and formulating reputation. It constructs the Pacific Alliance as a competitive, outward-looking Southern regional actor, meaning that its value cannot be assessed only through trade volume.

CONCLUSION

The Pacific Alliance is a regional initiative led by Mexico, Peru, Colombia, and Chile for economic growth and deeper market integration that can be viewed as a form of South-South Cooperation (SSC). Technical groups that exist in the organization act as a form of intraregional collective action while SSC is also shown through interregional collective action such as the creation of the Pacific Alliance-Singapore Free Trade Agreement. Transfer of knowledge is also another characteristic of SSC in this organization in which both between Member States and with other South countries, the Pacific Alliance shares and obtains knowledge. The third form of SSC identified in the Pacific Alliance is Triangular Cooperation in which the Alliance signed declarations with organizations such as the EU and OECD and developed countries like Japan to further their agenda. The character of Pacific Alliance's SSC also resembles more of SSC 2.0 as categorized by Wedsley.

Moreover, it can be concluded that although the Pacific Alliance lacks actual material gains in terms of trade liberalisation and regional integration due to structural and domestic challenges, the creation of the Pacific Alliance is not in vain. Rather, this research suggests that the Pacific Alliance is still an important form of South-South Cooperation for Southern countries like Mexico, Peru, Chile, and Colombia to strengthen their positions in the global economic order. By dissecting the regional initiative through a constructivist lens, it is visible that establishing identities, norms, and institutions that align with the image that the Member States want to portray both internally and internationally is important even when the trade volumes do not necessarily reflect the reality. It shows that constructing a certain identity that is cooperative, competitive in the global market and open towards economic liberalisation is a crucial reputational gain for member states of the Pacific Alliance.

REFERENCES

1. Alden, C., Morphet, S., & Vieira, M. (2010). The south in world politics. Palgrave Macmillan.
2. Alianza del Pacífico. (n.d.). ¿Qué es la Alianza del Pacífico? – Alianza del Pacífico. Alianzapacifico.Net. Retrieved October 20, 2026, from https://alianzapacifico.net/que-es-la-alianza/
3. Alianza del Pacífico. (2018a). Documentos – publicaciones – alianza del pacífico. Alianzapacifico.Net. https://alianzapacifico.net/documentos-publicaciones/
4. Alianza del Pacífico. (2018b). Technical Group strengthening the professional technical education and technological – archivo de noticias – alianza del pacífico. Alianzapacifico.Net. https://noticias.alianzapacifico.net/en/technical-group-strengthening-the-professional-technical-education-and-technological/
5. Alianza del Pacífico. (2020a). Technical group culture – archivo de noticias – alianza del pacífico. Alianzapacifico.Net. https://noticias.alianzapacifico.net/en/technical-group-culture/
6. Alianza del Pacífico. (2020b). Technical group innovation – alianza del pacífico. Alianzapacifico.Net. https://alianzapacifico.net/en/technical-group-innovation/
7. Alianza del Pacífico. (2024a). Instrumentos – declaraciones conjuntas – alianza del pacífico. Alianzapacifico.Net. https://alianzapacifico.net/instrumentos-declaraciones-conjuntas/

8. Alianza del Pacífico. (2024b). Observant countries – alianza del pacífico. Alianzapacifico.Net. https://alianzapacifico.net/en/observant-countries/
9. Alianza del Pacífico. (2026). ASEAN and the pacific alliance strengthen cultural bridge between Asia and Latin America – alianza del pacífico. Alianzapacifico.Net. https://alianzapacifico.net/en/asean-and-the-pacific-alliance-strengthen-cultural-bridge-between-asia-and-latin-america/
10. ASEAN Secretariat. (2026). ASEAN secretariat information paper: Overview of ASEAN-Pacific alliance relations (pp. Pages 1–3). https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/08/Overview-of-ASEAN-Pacific-Alliance-relations-as-of-12-August-2026.pdf
11. Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada. (2018). Australia | CPTPP portal. Apfccptppportal.Ca. https://apfccptppportal.ca/members/35
12. Baylis, J., Owens, P., & Smith, S. (2023). The globalization of world politics: An introduction to international relations (9th ed.). Oxford University Press.
13. Congressional Research Service. (2016). The pacific alliance: A Trade Integration Initiative in Latin America. https://www.congress.gov/crs_external_products/R/PDF/R43748/R43748.6.pdf Congressional Research Service. (2016). The pacific alliance: A Trade Integration Initiative in Latin America. https://www.congress.gov/crs_external_products/R/PDF/R43748/R43748.6.pdf
14. Cortes-Sanchez, S. (2022, March). Asian trade centre. Asian Trade Centre. https://asiantradecentre.org/talkingtrade/more-than-a-decade-of-the-pacific-alliance-implications-for-singapore-and-the-region
15. Delgado, I. F. (2025). Más allá de la geografía: Un análisis constructivista de las relaciones de méxico con Asia-pacífico. Anuario Mexicano de Asuntos Globales, 3(3), 89–114. https://doi.org/10.59673/amag.v3i3.107
16. Enterprise Singapore. (2025). Pacific alliance-Singapore Free Trade agreement (PASFTA). Enterprisesg.Gov.Sg. https://www.enterprisesg.gov.sg/grow-your-business/go-global/international-agreements/free-trade-agreements/find-an-fta/pacific-alliance-singapore-free-trade-agreement
17. Global Affairs Canada. (2020). Canada – pacific alliance Free Trade agreement. GAC. https://www.international.gc.ca/trade-commerce/trade-agreements-accords-commerciaux/agr-acc/pacific-alliance-pacifique/index.aspx?lang=eng
18. Gray, K., & Gills, B. K. (2016). South–South cooperation and the rise of the Global South. Third World Quarterly, 37(4), 557–574. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1128817
19. Lamont, C. (2015). Research methods in international relations. SAGE.
20. Mawdsley, E. (2019). South–south cooperation 3.0? Managing the consequences of success in the decade ahead. Oxford Development Studies, 47(3), 259–274. https://doi.org/10.1080/13600818.2019.1585792
21. New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (n.d.). Additional protocol to the framework agreement of the Pacific Alliance. Retrieved October 20, 2026, from https://www.mfat.govt.nz/assets/Trade-agreements/Pacific-Alliance-NZ-FTA/Consolidated-Pacific-Alliance-Additional-Protocol.pdf
22. Nolte, D. (2016a). The Pacific Alliance: nation-branding through regional organisations. https://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/bitstream/handle/document/47994/ssoar-2016-nolte-The_Pacific_Alliance_nation-branding_through.pdf?sequence=1
23. Nolte, D. (2016b). The Pacific Alliance: nation-branding through regional organisations. https://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/bitstream/handle/document/47994/ssoar-2016-nolte-The_Pacific_Alliance_nation-branding_through.pdf?sequence=1
24. Nolte, D. (2025). Latin America: Liquid Regionalism and contested Regional Authority. Frontiers in Political Science, 7. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2025.1682061
25. Nolte, D., & Wehner, L. (2026). The Pacific Alliance casts its cloud over Latin America. Nbn-Resolving.Org, 8, 8. https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-360988
26. Okoko, J. M., Tunison, S., & Walker, K. D. (Eds.). (2023). Varieties of Qualitative Research Methods. Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-04394-9
27. Organization of American States. (2015). SICE: Trade policy developments: Pacific alliance. Oas.Org. https://sice.oas.org/TPD/Pacific_Alliance/Pacific_Alliance_e.asp
28. Roque, A. A. C., Murguía, J. C. D. De V., Chamochumbi, A. D. P., Roncagliolo, R. A. Q., Ostos, Á. I. T., Jauregui, J. Y. T., & Cuaresma, J. R. M. (2025). The pacific alliance integration process: A systematic literature review. Economies, 13(9), 255–255. https://doi.org/10.3390/economies13090255

29. Serrano, L. O. (2018). The Pacific in Chile's foreign policy: A tool to reinforce open regionalism. Latin American Policy, 9(2), 282–303. https://doi.org/10.1111/lamp.12152
30. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. (2026, July 27). Indonesia and the Pacific Alliance Strengthen Cooperation on Disaster Risk Reduction in Tourism Destinations. Www.Kemlu.Go.Id. https://www.kemlu.go.id/en/berita/berita-perwakilan/Pages/berita/indonesia-dan-pacific-alliance-perkuat-kerja-sama-pengurangan-risiko-bencana-di-destinasi-wisata?type=publication
31. The United Nations Office for South-South Cooperation. (n.d.). About south-south and triangular cooperation – UNOSSC. United Nations Office for South-South Cooperation. Retrieved October 20, 2026, from https://unsouthsouth.org/about/about-sstc/
32. Wendt, A. (1992). Anarchy is what states make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics. International Organization, 46(2), 391–425. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2706858
33. World Trade Organization. (2025). Understanding the WTO - principles of the trading system. World Trade Organization. https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/tif_e/fact2_e.htm