CAN A CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATION QUIETLY AFFECT POLITICAL IDENTITY IN A WAR-TORN NATION?

THE STORY OF ESCUELA NUEVA IN COLOMBIA

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ABSTRACT

The Escuela Nueva is a unique non-governmental organization which has collaborated with the Colombian Ministry of Education, the Federation of Colombian Coffee Growers, and corporate partners to improve access to and quality of education. The Escuela Nueva Foundation enacts policies based on the political belief that all children should have the basic right to an education. The most visible way that the Escuela Nueva promotes this belief is through the implementation of multi-grade classrooms, where more advanced students aid those who are younger or further behind in their studies. The Escuela Nueva classroom model was implemented in 1977 as a response to the shortcomings in teacher training and replicability that were the downfall of earlier attempts to implement multi-grade models in rural Colombia. The gradual growth and continual improvements to their model has afforded the Escuela Nueva Foundation a level of immunity from state intervention that few other non-state actors enjoy. Although the Colombian state government has historically been opposed to those non-state actors with overtly political goals, the cost-effective and competitive services provided by the Escuela Nueva programs, like their multi-grade schools and Learning Circles, acted as a strong incentive for allowing this organization's work to continue. Organizations like the Escuela Nueva, particularly those that partner with public and private actors to achieve service-oriented goals, play an important role in Colombia, creating new social forums where individuals can share their political identities and beliefs in a way that affects real change in the communities where they live.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

My mother attended St. Francis Xavier's Catholic School for Children when she was growing up in LaGrange, Illinois. When mom was in second grade, her teacher, Sister Hannah, had her back turned to the rows of students neatly arranged in the classroom, writing on the blackboard. My mother, ever the achiever, was sitting in the front row when the wad of paper struck the good sister on the back of her head. As she turned to face the silent class, the passion of Sister Hannah tended toward rage rather than rapture. The culprit's feigned innocence must have been more convincing than my mother's real ignorance, which is how mom came to spend the afternoon locked in the closet - penance, I assume, for raising her hand. No matter how many times I point out that it may not have been the most opportune time to attract the attention of the angry nun, my mother is convinced that she was doing the right thing. She has retold this story throughout the years which I am sure was intended to compound the moral imperative inherent in the tale. This story does indeed contain some lessons, but I fear they may not be the ones that were intended to be conveyed.

My first thought, whenever I think about what it would have been like to attend St. Francis Xavier myself, is that it is not so dissimilar from most other schools. While teachers may not lock students in closets or smack them with rulers, they are still the absolute authority, having the final say on classroom activities and student learning, and sole the disciplinary check or student behavior. Paolo Friere, author of Pedagogy of the Oppressed writes that in what he calls "the banking concept of education" teachers validate their own self-worth through depositing knowledge, dispensing ideas in isolation of one another with uniform knowledge as the goal in mind (72). Traditional classrooms are structured rigidly, emphasizing memorization and intake of information rather than a collaborative learning experience which centers on the student's individual development. As Friere says of the Banking model: "Hence in the name of the 'preservation of culture and knowledge' we have a system which achieves neither true knowledge nor true culture" (80)

Since the 1970s there has been a new option for students in rural Colombia provided largely through efforts of The Escuela Nueva Foundation. The Escuela Nueva is a term used throughout this thesis to describe an organization as well as new model for organizing

classrooms, along with a series of discrete inputs such as school libraries. The Escuela Nueva Foundation is offer a classroom model that breaks away from the constraints of the traditional classroom in favor of a more collaborative model of education (Schiefelbein 1991, Colbert 2011, 2009). This model involves a new classroom design where teachers act as guides; students instruct themselves and their peers with the help of innovative new materials and extensive training. In much the same way that each Escuela Nueva classroom reforms traditional structures to maximize benefits and keep costs low, this organization has positioned itself advantageously in a series of partnerships with the Colombian state and private actors in such a way supersedes the well-established structures of the state as sole authority in the realm of service provision and development such as providing an education which is different from that which is offered in traditional public schools - which brings me to my second point regarding that story of my mother.

My mother should not have raised her hand.   Much like the raging teacher, the Colombian state has been prodded; they have been attacked politically, economically, and physically. The Colombian state looks out at a political landscape full of potential adversaries and it sees red. Although it is far clearer who the responsible parties are in Colombia than in the classroom of St. Francis, there has been political fallout to such a point that even those non-state entities who are "raising their hands" to suggest answers for Colombia's difficult questions are being locked away and prevented from being heard as a politically sweeping way of silencing potential detractors of state policies. I have argued that there were other kids that day who knew the answer to Sister Hannah's query; they simply preferred recess outdoors to an afternoon in the closet. What was their secret? They were quiet. Similarly the Escuela Nueva has been able to expand rapidly and gain renown in the field of educational reform by playing a careful political game, forming alliances inside and outside of the state government, and maintaining service oriented goals such as opening schools rather than staging protests or letter writing campaigns. However the impact of the Escuela Nueva is in not in increasing educational access, or surviving as an organization, but rather at the level of the individual student who is able to participate politically in a forum where their voice is heard. Students of the Escuela Nueva for their political identity through participating in school government, affecting their lives as pupils, as well as participating in community projects alongside their parents and other community members, planting public gardens, holding town hall meetings, and gaining a sense of political

efficacy. In a deeper political sense, and a more urgent plea is offered by Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed for what he calls "humanization" (44). Humanization, he says, "is thwarted by injustice, exploitation, oppression, and the violence of the oppressors; it is affirmed by the yearning of the oppressed for freedom and justice, and by their struggle to recover teir lost humanity" (44).

Although Vicky Colbert de Arboleda, the founder and president of La Fundacion Escuela Nueva, is a native of the United States, she was raised in Colombia. It was 1973 when Colbert received her Masters of Arts from Stanford's school of Education (15 Minutes 2008, 29). She returned to Colombia with the goal of working to improve the education system for Colombia's children (29). What she discovered was an incredible lack or resources, organization, and training (30). It was a radically unequal system that privileged children in certain regions and provided no way to compensate for years of displacement which prevents consistent classroom experiences for student (30). Colbert began her work as a liaison between the Colombian state and teachers in rural Colombia and began to understand the scale of reform required to remedy the problems in the education system. Colbert said of this early period in her career: "my goal became to make sure that all children had equal opportunities of access to success despite their low income" (Milnes 1). Colbert had benefited from her elite education and designed a cost effective, multi-faced approach to improving access and quality of primary education in Colombia.

In the late 1960s multi-grade schools were adopted in rural Colombia as a means of providing access to quality primary education to marginalized or displaced children. The Escuela Nueva is a unique non-governmental organization in that it has been accepted and allowed to thrive in a hostile political environment. Through innovative practices and partnerships with the Colombian Ministry of Education, The Colombian Coffee Growers Association, The World Bank, and private actors, the Foundation has expanded its reach to more rural communities as well as targeting youths in urban settings. Schools adopting the Escuela Nueva practices in Colombia have partnered with local communities, bringing students, parents, and teachers into a new kind of social forum. Vicky Colbert saw the potential in a loose affiliation of poor, rural schools, saying: "I have seen so many wonderful dedicated social workers and wonderful shining teachers that are transforming schools, overcoming all the problems, in the middle of violence, in the middle of conflict areas. People who make silent

changes. I love silent revolutions," (Milnes 1). These silent revolutions have become standard practice for those implementing the Escuela Nueva programs. This notion of a silent revolution lines up nicely with Friere's description of "revolutionary leadership, "of which he writes: "revolutionary leaders do not go to the people in order to bring them a message of 'salvation,' but in order to come to know through dialogue with them both their *objective situation* and their *awareness* of that situation…" (95).

The story of the Escuela Nueva begins and ends with their unique classroom model which has been copied so frequently in Colombia, and now worldwide. However, the rest of the drama takes place between the Escuela Nueva Foundation and the Colombian state, non-governmental organizations, and private corporations. Although the foundations of multi-grade education in Colombia can be traced back to the Santander District in 1967, the Escuela Nueva model was implemented in 1977 as a response to the shortcomings in teacher training and replicability that were the downfall of earlier attempts to implement multi-grade models in rural Colombia (Schiefelbein 1991, 34). In the first stage of development, a steering committee comprised of Escuela Nueva founder Vicky Colbert and officials from the Ministry of Education implemented the Escuela Nueva model in five hundred schools throughout rural Colombia (34). The program was first evaluated by a third-party in 1984 and it was found that students enrolled in Escuela Nueva programs performed better on national standardized tests than students in traditional classrooms. This was an enormous step for the fledgling Escuela Nueva. In the early 1980s, new partnerships with the World Bank and the Colombian Coffee Growers Associations allowed the Escuela Nueva to expand their model, implementing it in 8,000 schools with a new emphasis on efficiency and a low cost-per-student (35).

The multi-grade model makes the student responsible for his or her own rate of advancement and emphasizes peer-tutoring where children with more advanced comprehension help those children who are younger or struggle with the material (Schiefelbein 1991, Colbert 2011, 2009). Innovative inputs such as larger libraries, a focus on teacher training and student involvement, and active participation in student government are but a few of the reasons for this relatively rapid expansion. The standardized one hundred book library is given to teachers at the end of their third and final week-long workshop which is required prior to instructing in a classroom (Schiefelbein, 36). Additionally, teachers attend monthly training sessions where they are encouraged to implement strategies that center on student self-instruction. The microcenters

where this training takes place also function as places where teachers can informally discuss classroom activities or new pedagogical tools (36). Escuela Nueva students are introduced to good citizenship practices by holding regular elections for the student government which manages maintenance of the school grounds, student publications, sports, and recreation (36). Self-instructional textbooks promote student-tutoring and self-reliance that allows teachers the freedom to move throughout a classroom, helping those students who require it most.

Learning Circles are a more recent addition to the Escuela Nueva program, starting as a pilot in Soacha, Colombia in 2003 (Education 2009, 1). Although most multi-grade classrooms are situated in regions with high levels of internal displacement, the Learning Circle program particularly targets displaced youth who may have trouble adapting to a classroom environment (3). A study conducted by Save the Children in 2006 reported that there are one million children internally displaced in Colombia and of these, eighty-five percent do not return to school after displacement (3). These children often live in abject poverty, turning to crime and fighting to survive, learning social behaviors and political norms on the streets of Bogota. The Learning Circle program promotes the development of skills like conflict management and tolerance of the opinions of others, which are crucial for the reintegration process of these students (3). Where traditional classrooms are unprepared to give students the personalized attention required by children who have suffered displacement, Learning Circles are small groups of ten to fifteen students and a "youth tutor" who works personally with each student (4). After only six months, an evaluation conducted by UNESCO indicated that the Escuela Nueva Learning Circles had achieved an unbelievable one hundred percent enrollment and raised student math and language scores well above the national average (5).

Organizationally, the Learning Circles function as a direct subsidiary of the Escuela Nueva, which is in turn endorsed as official policy by the Colombian Ministry of Education. Each Learning Circle reports to a single "mother school," where students are officially enrolled (4). The students enrolled in the Learning Circle program share the same academic calendar, extracurricular activities, and system of grading, with the student in the multi-grade classrooms of the Escuela Nueva "mother schools." However, the Learning Circles are specifically tailored to help students who have been living on the streets to develop sufficient social and academic skills, with the end goal of a smooth transition to the Escuela Nueva classroom (4).

In line with the theories of Friere, who claims: "This, then, is the great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed: to liberate themselves and their oppressors" (45). The Learning Circle program builds a foundation of self-esteem and personal identity in students who have been disconnected from their families, homes, and communities. Today, 8,611 children participate in the Escuela Nueva Learning Circles in Colombia, as well as employing 9,120 teachers and tutors, with the stated goal of "educating the nation's future citizens" (Scope 1). This is crux of what is at stake for the Escuela Nueva politically, members of the Foundation, and the numerous partners involved in Escuela Nueva projects, recognize the urgency of the needs in Colombia. Colombia is still in the grips of an ongoing internal-armed-conflict that has lasted for decades, children grow up in Colombia basing their politics on this sixty-plus year war.

The political importance of the Escuela Nueva is two-fold, first is the impact of each school on local politics and each student's political behavior. Students enrolled in the Escuela Nueva schools are encouraged to engage their communities as responsible citizens. Students are assigned to write letters to their local and national governments, addressing specific concerns of their community. Additionally students may be assigned to communal development projects such as maintaining a community garden, painting public buildings, or any number of activities. The student government offers a chance to participate in a democratic institution where the outcome affects the daily lives of students. Bringing the workings of student government to the theory level, the political significance is that: "As critical perception is embodied in action, a climate of hope and confidence develops which leads men to attempt to overcome the limit-situations" (Friere 99).

The collaborative and student-centered model promotes respect and cooperation as well as self-reliance. In equating problem-posing education to revolutionary leadership, Friere writes: "Teachers and students (leadership and people), cointent on reality, are both Subjects, not only in the task of unveiling that reality, and thereby coming to know it critically, but in the task of recreating that knowledge" (69). In this way students teacher students, and learning from students removes the issue of authoritative constructions of reality and allows for collaboration in creating a new future with more equal and pluralistic interactions (80). However the long-term effects of an Escuela Nueva education have not yet been studied in sufficient depth, recent research from the Institute of Education of the University of London indicates that the Escuela Nueva has a positive impact on collaborative interactions and democratic behaviors among

children. Perhaps collaborative learning environments also lend to formation of a student's political identity: how they define themselves through their social interactions and self-reflection, based on the individual's perception of his or her own context.

The notion of a silent revolution is important in the context of Escuela Nueva's political impact on the Colombian and global arenas. The Escuela Nueva has survived by adapting to a unique political context that requires flexibility and forward-thinking practices, allowing it to have a gradual impact on the political landscape of Colombia. A politically interesting story occurs at the organizational level. The Escuela Nueva, which began as a loose affiliation of one-room schools in the conflict-ridden geopolitical margins of Colombia, quietly exploded. In contrast to the Banking model of education presented by Friere, Vicky Colbert pointed out: "It was a bottom-up process. We started with the children and rural Colombian teachers, with their parents and communities and the schools. It was a large-scale systemic approach to educational reform" (Milnes 1). Friere expresses that "It is not our role to speak to the people about our own view on the world, nor to attempt to impose that view on them, but rather to dialogue with the people about their view and ours" (96). Friere's reasoning is that rather than an alienating dialogue, as comes from politicians and educators that has no relation to "the concrete situation of the people they address there should be a discourse based on context. Relating this concept to the Escuela Nueva, each community is a unique context in which to operate.

The Foundation's gradual growth and continual improvements to their model has afforded the Escuela Nueva a level of immunity from state intervention that few other non-state actors enjoy. Although the Colombian state government has historically been opposed to those non-state actors with overtly political goals, the cost-effective and competitive services provided by the Escuela Nueva programs acted as a strong incentive for allowing this organization's work to continue. Organizations like Escuela Nueva play an increasingly important role in Colombia, where decades of political violence have been obstacles to decentralization by state governments. Non-governmental organizations like the Escuela Nueva, particularly those that partner with public and private actors to achieve service-oriented goals, may fill an important gap which exists in many regions across the globe.

Speaking to the challenges encountered by the Escuela Nueva Foundation during the most recent phase of expansion, Vicky Colbert said "by the early 1990s the model had been adopted by much of the Colombian educational system (27,000 rural schools in 1992), and it was

starting to be adopted in other countries as well. But soon after, we began having problems in Colombia" (15 minutes 30). Changing administrations in the state meant changing policies and changing attitudes and priorities in funding for programs. As a way to strengthen the resilience of the organization, the Escuela Nueva Foundation began expanding its partnerships to the private sector. "One thing we learned is that to create lasting change in education, you can't rely solely on government. Instead, you need to have public-private partnerships….by building out NGO and creating partnerships with groups like the National Federation of Coffee Growers of Colombia, we were able to revive the movement" said Colbert (15 minutes 30). However these public-private partnerships were just one facet of the strategies that the Escuela Nueva adopted in the early 1990s. The organization also; began to pull their increasingly large weight in the political arena. Vicky Colbert said "I stared creating international conferences on Escuela Nueva to publicize the results of research that had been conducted by The World Bank, Stanford, Harvard, and other organizations" (15 minutes 31).

From 1986 until present day the foundation flourished. With increasing endorsements from organizations like UNICEF and The World Bank, the Escuela Nueva Foundation is now considered "best practices" and is implemented worldwide. Vicky Colbert has also gained personal accolades in her mission to improve access and quality in education across the globe. She is currently Colombian Vice Minister of Education, President of La Fundación Escuela Nueva Volvamos a la Gente, which is designed to secure funding and awareness of the Escuela Nueva as well as to expand the program internationally (29). Colbert says: "Now, it's not my project, it's a whole movement where children, teachers and communities are the main actors of change" (Milnes 1) Today the Escuela Nueva schools boast nearly five million graduates across the globe with close to 20,000 schools operating out of Colombia alone (Schiefelbein 1991, Colbert 2011, 2009). The students comprising the foundation's programs are learning in both rural multi-grade classrooms and the "Learning Circles" offered in urban settings, in what have historically been some of Latin America's poorest and most violent regions. They have funding partners ranging from state governments and ministries, to communications industry giants, and individual donors who contribute online.

In her capacity as the Regional Education Adviser for Latin America and the Caribbean for UNICEF, Vicky Colbert is expanding the scope of the Escuela Nueva programs beyond Colombia's borders. The Escuela Nueva model has now been established in many countries

throughout Latin America as well as Kenya, Uganda, India, and the Phillipines, thanks to increasing demands by teachers in these countries for cost-effective reform. Colbert points out, "you can't have reforms by decree. They have to come from the bottom up. The real actors of change are the children, teachers and communities" (15 minutes 31). Although evaluation studies taut the merits of the program and the results obtained in numerous countries, Colbert says that the best way is a hands-on approach, advising; "create demonstration schools so that teachers can see it for themselves. That way we can promote a demand-driven approach" (15 minutes 31). This is the most important criteria involved in the decision to implement the Escuela Nueva in a new context; are teachers eager for reform? From the beginning or the process of implementing the Escuela Nueva classroom, a community acts with clear political agency; making the decision to change their community. Another crucial element, necessary to insuring that the Escuela Nueva has continued support where they are is " that the effort is supported by an NGO, the government, and the private sector" Colbert says, "in order that it can be scaled up" (15 minutes 31).

Although each national context brings it own unique triumphs and challenges, the model is consistent in character. With all schools implementing the Escuela Nueva model, the community and municipal governments are central to the process. Government leaders and teachers visit the demonstration school to see the Escuela Nueva model in action before endorsing it for their own localities. In addition to coursework which is specifically tailored to include local cultural traditions such as legends, songs, and historical accounts, which makes course material personally relevant to students; the school also functions as a place for teachers and parents to meet and discuss student performance, as well as a location for health, sanitation, and nutritional aid programs. "It's very important that teachers, children, and communities take ownership of these programs" says Vicky Colbert (15 minutes 31).

Findings from a 1984 study indicate that learning is improved with increased parental involvement. Parents, students, and teachers often work side-by-side gardening, painting, or improving their communities in other ways. By addressing communal concerns and promoting an appreciation of local culture, the Escuela Nueva promotes pride in cultural identities and communal action. Describing the stakes and viability of the Escuela Nueva internationally, Colbert says "it's a solution not only for Latin American countries, but for Asia and Africa. It's so important that learning happens in these places, because educational failure is terrible for

building peace, democracy, the economy, everything" (Milnes 1). It is somewhat artificial to call the failure to consistently educate Colombian children a "gap." Education of some kind occurs whether it takes place in FARC training camps, the streets of Bogota, or in a classroom; the political importance of the Escuela Nueva is not merely in provision, but also prevention.

The future of Escuela Nueva will emphasize the same values with which it began: student-centered learning in a community centered context. Colbert argues that the impact of the Escuela Nueva is experienced at the community level, saying "real change doesn't take place in the ministry of education; it takes place at the community level, at the school level. This is one of the reasons why Escuela Nueva has survived and been sustained" (15 minutes 31). Colbert indicates in her remarks that careful planning and encouraging community participation is just as important as partnerships with private and state actors. In recent years the Escuela Nueva has been piloting secondary education and university programs in Colombia. "One of the big problems in Latin America is keeping children in school. That is why the challenge right now is for us to focus on post-primary and secondary education" said Colbert in her 2008 interview with Eric Nee of the Stanford Social Innovation Review. They have further developed partnerships with academic research institutions and other third-party evaluation agencies in order to demonstrate the advantages that the program offers. The Escuela Nueva Foundation has ambitious goals for the future, hoping to reach eight-million children worldwide while continuing to expand, improve, and streamline the programs already in existence.

Organizations like the Escuela Nueva have an important role to play in 21st century politics. They are crucial for continuing the discourse regarding structures of authority and the power of the state. In his work The Transformation of Peace, Oliver P. Richmod argues that "International NGOs have been important in bringing to light abuses by states and advocating change in their practices, and local NGOs are often crucial in re-establishing human rights in conflict and crisis zones" (136). However, NGOs are not entities whose missions are easily or uniformly defined, they often determine what their goals should be based on local needs and the political context of where they are operating. "Sometimes this is in a role which directly addresses human rights abuses, or provides monitoring, or it is a 'norm entrepreneur' in which NGOs are instrumental in bringing the social, political, and economic changes necessary to enhance human rights" (136). The Escuela Nueva foundation is better described by the latter, in that it provides services which are precursors to a more just society in which human rights are

respected and enforced. Escuela Nueva also addresses the need of disenfranchised citizens to be heard. The Escuela Nueva works to change communities for its own political purposes or protecting the rights of children, but it also lend legitimacy to the Colombian state, whose presence has not been felt in many parts of Colombia for decades.

Therefore, the nature of the Escuela Nueva and organizations is not apolitical, in that they merely provide education to children who achieve slightly higher scores in language and math; rather they are subtly political. Incorporating with public and private entities and adapting to the political contexts where they operate allows these NGOs to exert their influence on national policies over time and with high levels of legitimacy. For some, this may be cause for concern based on the theory of isomorphism posited by Paul DiMaggio, or the idea that the Colombian state may have coercive influence on the Escuela Nueva Foundation. Instead, the literature demonstrates a strong partnership with the state, from the very beginning of the Escuela Nueva's history. Rather, the Escuela Nueva Foundation arose somewhat organically within the existing Colombian multi-grade schools, with many Escuela Nueva officials in the Colombian Ministry of Education. Oliver Richmond says this of service-providing non-governmental organizations that exist in conflict-prone states: "Such actors are far from non-political actors, (or even apolitical actors). They have increasingly adopted a discourse of peace in order to justify the strategic choices they make in the field as to which actors they work with" (Richmond 137). The new means of promoting peace in countries that have experienced perpetual political violence may be found in an educated population, which can no longer reasonably justify the continuation of war.

This thesis will explore the Escuela Nueva and the political and economic impact that it has had in Colombia. The research is drawn from a variety of sources, academic, journalistic, personal accounts, and evaluation studies conducted by UNESCO and The World Bank. The following thesis explores the origins of the Escuela Nueva in the Colombian political context. It will examine the structure of Escuela Nueva classrooms and Learning Circles as well as The Escuela Nueva Foundation itself, and the relationships it has formed with communities, state-governments, NGOs, and private actors. Finally this study investigates the political significance of organizations like the Escuela Nueva, which are adaptable and enduring in harsh political contexts.

Qualitative Metasynthesis:

Margarete Sandelowski et al. (1997) write in "Qualitative Metasynthesis: Issues and Techniques" that "By its very nature and purposes, qualitative research appears resistant to, and endangered by, efforts to synthesize studies….Yet, qualitative research also appears endangered by the failure to sum it up" (366) "With the micro ethnographies replacing grand anthropological ethnographies of whole cultures, more and more studies have been undertaken where overlap of milieu occurs, and this has led to attempts to summarize existing knowledge in specific fields" (Walsh et al. 2005 205). The meta-synthesis method used to analyze data is a relatively new approach to qualitative research and incorporates elements of the systematic review method when dealing with quantitative data (Denis Walsh & Soo Downe 2005. 204; Myfanwy L. Jones 2004. 272; Lela Zimmer 2006. 312) "Meta-synthesis is the synthesist's interpretation of the interpretations of primary data by the original authors of the constituent studies" (Zimmer 312). Meta-synthesis is a technique where data and common elements from various qualitative studies is related to a larger theoretical framework, transformed, and utilized for as a means of gathering a deeper understanding of a central topic (Michael J. Rice 2008. 382). Broadly speaking, this method draws from the findings of other academic research pertaining to the relevant topic, in this case - the Escuela Nueva program and other Civil Society actors in Colombia-- as a means of bringing higher levels of theory development, conceptual abstraction, and generalizability to highly specific studies (Zimmer 313; Walsh et al. 205; Jones 272; Meadows et al. 2010. 413).

Specifically, this study draws from the data provided by the Escuela Foundation's executive director Vicky Colbert, "The Effectiveness of Multigrade Schools in Colombia" by Patrick J. McEwan, "In Search of the School of the XXI Century" by Ernesto Schiefelbein, the evaluation studies conducted by the World Bank Group titled "Public Private Partnerships to Improve Academic Achievement of Marginalized Students," "The Role and Impact of Public-Private Partnerships in Education," "Achievement Evaluation of Colombia's Escuela Nueva: Is Multigrade the Answer?" Participation and Alliances in the Escuela Nueva System," "Indicators of Democratic behavior in Nueva Escuela Unitaria Schools" by Ray Chesterfield, "Multi-Stakeholder Partnerships in Education: The Escuela Nueva Program in Colombia" by Graciela Mann et al., "Breaking the Cycle of Underinvestment in Human Capital in Latin America" by O. Arias, A.M. Diaz, and V. Fazio, "Education in Emergencies: The Success Story of the Escuela Nueva Learning Circles in Colombia" by the staff of the Escuela Nueva Foundation, "Escuela

Nueva's Impact on the Peaceful Social Interaction of Children in Colombia" by Clemente Forrero-Pineda, Daniel Escobar-Rodriguez, and Danielken Molina, and finally, "Achievement Evaluation of Colombia's Escuela Nueva: Is Multigrade the Answer?" by George Psacharopolous, Carlos Rojas, and Eduardo Velez. These articles and evaluations represent the complete body of evaluations of the Escuela Nueva to this date, as well as offering some theoretical perspective into how the Escuela Nueva may impact political identity in the communities where the Escuela Nueva operates.

Limitations of the Metasynthesis Methodology:

As the proponents of this methodology clearly note, there are many unresolved questions about the validity of results garnered from a meta-synthesis approach, considering that the goals of the primary research may differ significantly from the stated goals of the synthesis (Zimmer 314). "The quality of any systematic review or meta-synthesis depends on the quality of the studies which it includes. However there is no absolute list of criteria by which to assess the quality of qualitative research studies" (Jones 276). Zimmer points out in "Qualitative meta-synthesis: a question of dialoguing with texts":

"The process of synthesizing across methodologies may set qualitative meta-synthesis apart as a particularly postmodern method of inquiry. The constituent study texts can be treated as the multivocal interpretation of a phenomenon, just as the voices of different participants might be in a single qualitative study. Just as all participants do not have the same history, belief system and worldview, neither do methodologies nor individual researchers share all of the same philosophical commitments and purposes" (Zimmer 315).

However, the benefits of this approach far outweigh the potential drawbacks. "The inclusion of all studies, following an exhaustive literature search, helps to prevent the exclusion of important information or views, and thus strengthens the findings because they are generated from a broader base" (Jones 276). While many studies have focused on the success of the Escuela Nueva program and additional studies have focused on the success of certain types of Civil Society actors when interacting with the governments of the states where they operate, there has been little research that provides the explanatory link between specific organizations like the Escuela Nueva and the larger relationship between the State and Civil Society.

This study is of considerable significance to non-governmental organizations seeking voice in countries where state government agencies or agents may have a hostile approach to

external intervention or civil society movements largely. This study is also potentially significant to state governments seeking to increase provision of services by showing how the organizational techniques and expertise of NGOs may work in parallel or in combination with government projects. Finally this project is significant to the population of Colombia whose needs have been set aside through the routinization of political and structural violence.

The following chapter explores Colombia as a unique political and social context for non-governmental actors. Specifically Chapter Two compares the goals, methods, and reaction within the state, to two kinds of NGOs: those which are have overt political goals intended to be achieved by purely political means, and those which have service-oriented and political goals, but which may achieve these goals by building partnerships with many stakeholders, including the state. The Escuela Nueva Foundation falls into the latter category. Chapter Three examines the Escuela Nueva at the macro and micro levels of organization, beginning with the multi-grade classroom model utilized by the Escuela Nueva, and ending by exploring the relationship of the Escuela Nueva Foundation to the Colombian state government, corporate and private partners, and other non-governmental organizations. Chapter Four reviews the four evaluation studies that have been conducted by scholars and third-party evaluator to measure the impact of the Escuela Nueva Programs. Finally, Chapter Five concludes this thesis with a discussion of "political identity:" where one has a sense of individual agency, effectiveness, and empowerment in the political sphere.

The Escuela Nueva may or may not contribute significantly to a speedy and lasting peace in Colombia. However, it is more interesting how the Escuela Nueva may lay the necessary foundation for the next generation of Colombians to take those steps. In the mean time, children are off the streets and in classrooms, parents, teachers, and whole communities are coming together to let their voices be heard at Escuela Nueva schools all over Colombia.

CHAPTER 2

COLOMBIA, CIVIL SOCIETY, AND THIRD SECTOR POLITICS

Many of the displaced and disillusioned Colombians are simply looking for a way to feed their children or send them to school. The concerns of democratic citizenship are the furthest thoughts from their minds. Billboards all over Colombia simultaneously target the young guerilla soldiers saying "there is another way" while telling tourists that "the only risk is wanting to stay;" Colombia is getting safer, but it is certainly a place that exists in transition. The AUC and the FARC are not the only armed forces using violence for political ends in Colombia but they are the largest and most active - comprised of the shadows of ideologues that have been twisted by years fighting the state, funded by profits from cocaine (128). With ongoing wars in the Middle East and increasing engagement in Central Asia, it is not surprising that full-scale war is often the crucible within which conflict is investigated. "War" however, is a surprisingly fluid conceptual tool to use when trying to craft a relevant set of solutions to specific crisis. Generally speaking, the world in all of its complexity cannot be broken down into a simple two-sided conflict with "good-guys" and "bad-guys."

The article "The Political Economy of War-Affected Children" by Stephen Hicks notes early on that "The nature of armed conflict has changed since the rise of globalization and the end of the Cold War. Now wars predominantly take the lives of civilians, over half of whom are children" (106). The results of the Colombian conflict has inflated the civilian death toll at a rate that is twice that of military deaths, roads and arguably whole regions in the county have been closed or are subject to frequent raids by both government and guerilla forces, public funding of most efforts that are not related directly to combating the guerilla have been cut or have simply not kept up with the country's growth. Julia Sweig highlights some of the foundational benefits that Colombia possesses in "What Kind of War for Colombia?" writing:

> Remarkably, for all its troubles, Colombia remains a democracy for the time being—at least if judged by standards such as freedom of the press and regular open elections. The country has a market economy and is adopting the kind of tough fiscal reforms many other Latin American countries resist, and until the late 1990s it consistently posted one of the highest growth rates in the region. Colombia boasts cosmopolitan, urban middle and upper classes, a vibrant intellectual community, talented businesspeople, world-class

artists, and spectacular national resources. It exports not only drugs, but Latin America's top-selling soap opera. (124)

Although Colombia is rich in culture, cuisine, and civilization, the Colombia people live their lives with the incongruence of the "mass murder of hundreds of thousands of citizens" in the democracy that governs them. Holmes et al. write: "violence from the guerilla conflict, the drug trade, and the state make Colombia one of the most dangerous countries in the world. Millions of Colombians have fled the country, and millions more have been internally displaced" (163).

However, non-violent groups like the Escuela Nueva, that seek social, fiscal, legal, and educational reform also have to change the paradigm in Colombia. Because of the tense political environment in Colombia, these non-governmental or civil society actors have been maligned in the past as leftist or even terrorist organizations in opposition to the state government. Julia Sweig writes: "Many Americans and Colombians, civilians and military officers alike have come to regard pesky nongovernmental organizations and the media as 'the opposition,' an annoying obstacle to be surmounted in bringing peace and democracy to the region" (126).

The project also examines how the ongoing violence and tension with state-actors has cast civil society organizations into certain roles that may at times be seen as "at odds with" overt state policies and players. However, as the smoke settles in Colombia and the state emerges from the rubble the role that civil society plays in Colombia is largely undetermined. Civil society can play a unique part in the rebuilding and restructuring of Colombia by demonstrating the power of collective action, advocacy, and provision of services like education. It may also act as a mediating force between the state and the needs of the Colombian people.

Democratic Stability versus Humanitarian Aid:

Although there has been a great amount of research regarding the benefits that civil society organizations and nongovernmental organizations offer to developing countries, there is very little in the literature regarding the more intangible benefits that these organizations bring (Clark 1995, Salamon 2003). Among the most significant of the benefits that NGOs may add to developing societies is their contribution to enhancing a stable, pluralistic democracy (Francis Fukuyama 2008). Higher levels of stability and plurality are achieved because NGOs may be

specially situated to combat the social crisis facing the most marginalized members of a society such as poverty or unequal access to basic government services (Clark, 593). In Colombia, where there are huge populations that do not have consistent access to forums where local and national government agencies may identify and respond to citizen needs, NGOs fill in a gap and foster "good governance" as well as good citizenship. In many cases in Colombia, nongovernmental organizations and the projects they perform are well-received by both the local populations and the Colombian state.

However, due to the complex political nature of the conflict, many nongovernmental organizations that have humanitarian goals, and the individuals working for them, have been the target of political attacks and in many cases- trial and subsequent imprisonment (Greenaway 1). This fact largely matches the guiding theory provided by Lester Salamon that certain political environments make it easier for certain kinds of nongovernmental organizations to function and reach their goals rather than others.   Although humanitarian aid has been traditionally associated with groups like the Red Cross that are sanctioned under the Geneva Convention limitations, NGOs and other non-state actors have used humanitarianism as a political tool to achieve narrow goals (Greenaway 2) Ultimately the broader political goals of explicitly humanitarian organizations may be indirectly met by those nongovernmental organizations that contribute to a stable inclusive democracy by encouraging democratic social reforms that target the most marginalized populations in a society. In Colombia, non-governmental organizations that meet these goals are found in the educational field as well as in organizations that promote cultural development and community programs. As with other countries that have experienced ongoing conflict and a resulting increase in their state's emphasis on security, nongovernmental organizations with broader political agendas may be better served in Colombia by taking the oblique route of service provision as a more effective strategy for implementing structural reforms**.**

Colombia is a unique place in many senses; the most relevant to this thesis is the ongoing struggle between the Colombian state government and many of the non-governmental organizations that have tried to operate within the country's borders. The hostile attitude of the Colombian state can perhaps be best explained by pointing to the *type* of organizations with which it has bumped heads. Those non-governmental entities that have sought to promote peace through negotiation with the guerilla fighters have been summarily dismissed as traitors or

conspirators, where as those who have tried to address the structural problems of education and health reform have met great success. Due to the country's tumultuous history, Colombians are regularly and perpetually displaced from their homes and existing civic ties, NGOs and civil society organizations may work to increase networking and dispersion of information which encourages political efficacy among the marginalized. In this way NGOs act as both a conduit for information and education, but also as "a response to the failures in the public and private sectors" (Clark 595). However, helping Colombians feel that their voices are being heard can only be accomplished when there is a healthy relationship between the Colombian state and the NGOs seeking to reach those marginalized individuals. For Clark, the criteria for health is simple to describe and difficult to accomplish. "A healthy relationship is only conceivable where both parties share common objectives…. This does not mean the subcontracting of placid NGOs, but a genuine partnership between NGOs and the government to work on a problem facing the country or region, based on mutual respect, acceptance of autonomy, independence, and pluralism of NGO opinions and positions" (Clark 595).

The steps necessary to reach that 'healthy' relationship between the state and NGOs are often troubled. John Clark illuminates some of the strategies that NGOs can take to influence state actors and work collaboratively to effect changes in social policy; although, he ultimately concedes that in certain extreme cases collaboration may be impossible. Although there are risks to internal autonomy and independence, many NGOs work on forming positive relationships with government agencies as a piece of their strategy to reach the populations that they target. Clark advises that NGO leaders should become involved in local governance as a way to apprise themselves of the policy environment and lend voice to the concerns of their organization in a public forum (596). Even in cases of an adversarial relationship between the state and NGOs; consultation and dialogue is a useful strategy for relieving tension. Susan Appe writes in her article "Toward Culturally Democratic Citizens: Nongovernmental Organizations and the State": "NGO-state relationships can be understood as a spectrum; relationships are not solely conflictual or solely collaborative. Complexity is furthered by the fact that increasingly local NGOs are accountable to several stakeholders. Local NGOs in developing countries, for example, can be responsible to international donor agencies for funding at the same time they are responsible to the state contracts them as service providers" (9).

Civil Society in Colombia:

Many groups, movements, and organizations have sprung up to combat the displacement of civilians and the consequent gaps in education, health, and other basic services. However, other nongovernmental organizations have taken the approach of "new humanitarianism" described by Greenaway: "The new humanitarianism coexists with traditional humanitarianism and relations between them are not infrequently conflictual. The international Committee of the Red Cross is the most jealous guardian of orthodoxy: its mandate is derived from the 1948 Geneva Conventions, and the Committee seeks a clear separation between 'humanitarian' and 'political' action" (Greenaway 1). However, even the Red Cross has been subject to the backlash of the Colombian state and the consequences and complexities of the post-modern conflict in Colombia. In a 2008 article found on CNN.com, journalist Karl Penhaul writes that Colombian officials used a modified Red Cross Helicopter as a ploy to recover fifteen hostages and stage a military operation against their guerilla captors (Penhaul 1). Although the Uribe administration has denied the use of Red Cross symbols, the video footage and photographs from the rescue scene clearly show that this is nothing but deceit by the state. The photographs mentioned in the article indicate that not only was the helicopter repainted, but the pilots and military-intelligence team were outfitted with Red Cross hats, neutral helmets, and emblems that read "Mision Internacional Humanitaria" (International Humanitarian Mission) which is the name of an allegedly fake aid organization (Penhaul 2).

ICRC.ORG/COLOMBIAN DEFENSE MINISTRY

Figure 2.1

"What seems to be part of a red cross is seen on a bib worn by a man involved in the rescue in this official image" - Karl Penhaul

-CNN Staff Bogota - Image taken from "Colombian military used Red Cross emblem in rescue," originally provided by the Colombian Defense Ministry. August 6, 2008. Used under fair use guidelines, 2011.

It is tempting to stand on the sidelines and comment about how low the state has sunk in hiding behind the shield of Humanitarian Aid. However, this convoluted conflict has created new complexities in the way domestic politics are conducted in Colombia, particularly regarding the relationship between state and non-state actors. "Both of Colombia's main guerilla armies, the FARC and the smaller National Liberation Army, have been known to misuse the Red Cross symbol, sometimes transporting fighters in ambulances. The Colombian government frequently makes international denunciations of rebel violations of international humanitarian law" (Penhaul 3). This is largely supported by the literature on peace initiatives in Colombia; Llorente et al. write:

In their eagerness to reposition themselves nationally and internationally, the FARC have sought to capitalize on two processes related to humanitarian exchange. First is the unilateral release of only a small number of hostages at particular times…The second process involves seeking interlocutors other than the Colombian government and the Catholic Church, with the goal of opening up new political spaces for the FARC. (Llorente 9)

However as Greenaway notes "State policy makers themselves have, repeatedly, improvised reactions to crises and groped toward more appropriate policies, palpably constrained by traditional approaches and available tools" (Greenaway 1). In an article later released by the BBC President Uribe is quoted as saying "We regret that this occurred" explaining that the soldiers who had used the Red Cross symbols, had done so without approval or orders (Betancourt 1). In the same article, Red Cross spokesperson Florian Westphal replied saying "For us it's important that this has cleared up the situation to an extent, because obviously what we wanted to make clear all along is that we played no part in this operation, and secondly that it's extremely important that the Red Cross emblem is respected as a protective sign for humanitarian activities that aim to help victims of armed conflict" (Betancourt 1). As satisfied as representatives of the Colombian state and the Red Cross are to put this potential political quagmire behind them and say that it is "cleared up," this event highlights a far more complex issue that goes largely unspoken in Colombia - What is the role for human rights advocates and humanitarian aid in Colombia? What role will civil society play in Colombia?

Colombians for Peace

Much like the popular "Save Darfur" movement, organizations like Colombianas y Colombianos por la Paz (Colombians for Peace) have taken a more directly political approach to dealing with the crisis and have been met with crises of their own.   Colombians for Peace seek a peaceful and swift resolution to the guerilla war in Colombia through peace talks, compromise, and reconciliation - this is unpopular to say the least (Colombianosporlapaz.com). As Greenaway writes in his article: "One of the many ironies associated with contemporary humanitarianism is that, despite the extent to which private actors have laid claim to it, the legal clothing of humanitarianism has always been determined by states…" (Greenaway 1). In case of Colombians for Peace, the "clothing" of humanitarianism has been portrayed as wolf in sheep's clothes. The organization has been maligned to the point where advocacy of peace talks is perceived as a declaration of war.

One extreme instance of public outrage against non-governmental organizations came from the highest levels of the Colombian government. "Following the publication in September 2003 of a report entitled 'The Authoritarian Curse' (El Embrujo Autoritario), which criticized the performance of the newly installed Colombian government, Ex-President Uribe accused human-rights groups of being 'spokesmen for terrorism'" (Howell etc. 87). Howell goes on to argue that this type of language is indicative of a "clamp-down on civil society" justified largely by the language of the war on terror (87). What is truly at stake when civil society is mistrusted by the state to the point where they publicly demonized is that this kind of language "threatens to close off spaces where alternative ideas may be expressed, where genuine dialogue may emerge, and where democracy may flourish" (87). This view is, perhaps, best exemplified by the Colombian state's treatment of former senator Piedad Cordoba who is the head of Colombians for Peace.

Colombians for Peace is one group that has negotiated peace talks with leaders of the guerilla movement on behalf of the Colombian state government, others include Manos por la Paz which promotes disarmament and demobilization of guerilla forces (Llorente 9-12). "In February 2009, the FARC liberated two politicians and four members of the security forces. On this occasion, the handover was mediated by Colombianos y Colombianas por la Paz" (Llorente 9). The organization was established in 2008 under the leadership of Piedad Cordoba "to establish alternative means to opening channels of communication with illegal armed groups in the search for a negotiated peace" (Llorente 9).

In fact, Colombians for Peace has been wildly successful in meeting the stated goals of opening channels of communication through letter writing campaigns and negotiating peace talks and the release of hostages (Colombianos). However, some of the recent actions taken by the leadership of Colombians for Peace, particularly the correspondences of Piedad Cordoba with some of the leaders of FARC, are even being called "treason" (Por Traicion 1). Attorney General Alejandro Ordonez Maldonado has been conducting an investigation into Former Senator Cordoba's activities regarding the FARC and is cited by one article published by CNN.com regarding several communiqués found between Cordoba and Raul Reyes, a powerful player in the FARC (CNN Wire Staff 1) "In these communications with the FARC, a designated terrorist group, Cordoba overreached her functions and authority to negotiate hostage releases The links found on the computers were corroborated through other channels, including legal phone taps, the attorney general's office said" (CNN Wire Staff).

However subjective the treasonous nature of Cordoba's activities may seem, what is particularly damning to the cause of humanitarian aid agencies and groups promoting peaceful negotiations to end hostilities in Colombia, is the danger of blurring lines between negotiation, advocacy, and providing relief to those suffering. For Sra. Cordoba, the reality is that her work as a humanitarian can no longer continue in the same capacity that she has been due to the political nature that her method of her so-called humanitarian efforts. Meyer notes that when states exhibit political control publicly, techniques include:"repression and curtailment or denials of civil and political rights for the populations of developing countries" (379). Attorney General Ordonez has gone as far to refer to the former senator and former Nobel Peace Prize candidate, as an "apologist for the FARC" who has "a partiality for illegal groups" (Por Traicion 1). This claim has largely been supported by the Colombian state government, the popular Colombian media, as well as international news sources. In one article published by CNN.com the Attorney General addressed some of the specific accusations that led to Sra. Cordoba's removal from the Colombian Senate. The Attorney general is cited as stating:

Investigators 'established with certainty that the senator sent advice to the FARC,' the statement said. In particular, the investigation found that she advised the rebel group not to send videos of hostages and instead voice recordings, with the goal of helping meet the group's agenda, the statement said. The attorney general's office said that Cordoba instructed the FARC to release proof of life videos from the hostages with the goal of making other countries look

favorable. She also made public statements aimed at promoting the rebel group and helping their interests, the statement said. While Cordoba lost her senatorial post, she was not charged with treason, the attorney general pointed out. (CNN Wire Staff 1)

Regardless of the fact that it was President Uribe who had initially requested the participation and mediation be performed Colombians for Peace, Piedad Cordoba remained a harsh critic of his administration and their emphasis on security rather than negotiation (Llorente 10). Llorente et al. write: "That is why the government had doubts about the impartiality of CCP and has tried to exert greater control over Senator Córdoba and her group's work on behalf of a humanitarian exchange" (10). Although the experiences of Sra. Cordoba and Colombians for Peace is just one side of the ongoing debate on how to manage the costs and pervasiveness of armed conflict, they represent a concrete example of how more politically oriented humanitarian movements may be met with state and citizen resistance.

However, Colombians for Peace does not represent the entire scope of civil society and nongovernmental actors in Colombia. The backbone of Colombia is the resilience of its people and the democratic structures of its government, both of which can ultimately be strengthened and given voice through civil society. "The Colombian experience thus far underscores the positive role that a healthy and well-organized civil society has in conflict prevention,… the more organized a community, the less vulnerable it is to violent conflict and the more capacity it has to present nonviolent alternatives to reconfigure social relations and enhance democratic practices and institutions;" and in fact many actors and organizations within civil society are trying participate in what Virginia Bouvier calls "creating a climate for political resolution of the conflict" (Bouvier 5). NGOs that emphasize service provision and community development are shown to have greater success in ensuring stability and enhancing democratic plurality than their counterparts emphasizing humanitarian action. This is shown both in the guiding theoretical framework provided by Lester Salamon and John Clark as well as specific examples of case studies throughout Colombia.

Humanitarianism, Human Rights, and Prospects for Peace

Just this year, Principe Gabriel Gonzales, a human rights activist in Colombia was tried and now faces seven years in prison. The Los Angeles Times reported on January 21st: "Gonzalez, who had been providing inmates with educational and social services, was arrested in 2006 and charged with the standard smear against activists who are thorns in the government's

side: being a member of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, a drug-trafficking terrorist group. The FARC, which has been waging its guerilla war for 50 years, is so widely loathed that just the allegation of rebel allegiance is life-threatening. More than one human rights activist, although cleared by the courts, has been murdered by vigilantes." As the article indicates, Principe Gabriel Gonzales is simply one of the most recent victims of the aggressive stance taken by the Colombian state government against any form of compromise when dealing with the guerilla threat. As Greenaway notes in the introduction of "Post-Modern Conflict and Humanitarian Action: Questioning the Paradigm" "The 1990's will be remembered as the decade when regional wars were transformed, in the popular Western consciousness and to no small extent in the language of international relations, into 'humanitarian' emergencies" (Greenaway1). Greenaway further argues that the classification of certain crisis as "humanitarian emergencies" is not due to any particular set of criteria that is only present in certain conflicts, "it reflects rather a quality *ascribed* to such conflicts by key, mainly Western state actors within the international system: a collective discourse which is intended to engender - at the same time as to mask - an extension of the international paradigm of security…" (Greenaway 1). Many acts of humanitarian aid, and the movements associated with them have concealed ulterior political agendas; this is certainly the stance reflected by the Colombian state. However, it is not the only nation that has taken this stance.

This thesis examines the line between social reform and political action which takes place in subtle and enduring ways, specifically in Colombia. This is accomplished by sampling texts related to two specific civil society actors in Colombia: Colombians for Peace and La Fundacion Escuela Nueva. While these groups both try to accomplish lasting political change in Colombia, combating the effects of unchecked violence, the methods employed by each group largely determines the roles into which they are cast and the political and economic changes they effect. The texts selected for this thesis represent a broad study that examines the information that is provided by Colombians for Peace and La Fundacion Escuela Nueva (EN), third party evaluation studies (World Bank, UNESCO, etc.), as well as a large body of scholarly literature that focuses on the relationship of civil society to the state, progressive educational policies, and other related topics. The following study is qualitative in nature and any quantitative data provided within the study was not gathered first hand by this researcher. The qualitative meta-synthesis approach is explained in the following section.

CHAPTER 3
LA FUNDACION ESCUELA NUEVA: A UNIQUE NGO

Bridging the Gap between Civil Society and the State:

In the words of Rodrigo Villar: "The Escuela Nueva program…emphasizes an organizational form based on the development of human rights where the implementer of reform, the teacher, continuously recreates, preparing constantly adapting strategies, and is an active agent in the development of the overall program" (359). Throughout the history of the Escuela Nueva, Villar's description of the role of innovation is truer at some times than at others. This organization has been in and out of Colombian politics since its inception, although the leadership, hierarchy, and role in the state has changed drastically over the last few decades; their goal of protecting the right to an education for Colombia's children remains consistent.

The Escuela Nueva is a unique non-governmental organization in many ways, not the least of which is the strange history which led to its creation. The first steps toward the Escuela Nueva classroom model were taken under in the late 1960s and early 1970s in Colombia as a UNESCO-funded project known as Escuela Unitaria (Villar 364). Although these schools were successful in providing access to education where before, there had been none; the lack of uniformity in implementation and the abysmal organization of teachers and administrators in the group, led to its replacement by the "Escuela Nueva." The Escuela Nueva was originally a division within the Ministry of Education comprised of university professors, researchers, department, and Ministry officials, intent on designing improvements to the Unitary Schools system, and drafting policies to expand coverage and improve effectiveness (368).

Villar describes what he refers to as the second phase of Escuela Nueva development (1979-1986) as being marked by an emphasis on efficiency and replicability, particularly within the Ministry of Education (364). Rather than a separate entity that functioned within the Ministry, Escuela Nueva's Ministry liaisons were folded into the existing functions of the Ministry. The popularity of the Escuela Nueva model created the appeal for expansion of the program; however, this very popularity caused the unpopular, and rushed implementation of the Escuela Nueva in many communities (368). In a large part, this co-optation of the Escuela Nueva within the Ministry was a political backlash resulting from the appointment of a new

Minister of Education (369). This is consistent with the difficulties cited by Vicky Colbert in her interview with Stanford University, as well as the theories of isomorphism posited by DiMaggio. The effort to streamline the Escuela Nueva model and their functions within the Ministry, would involve the creation of a so-called "Universalization Committee," composed of members of the old Escuela Unitaria system, Ministry of Education, and the recently-dissolved liaison office of the Escuela Nueva.

The proliferation of the Escuela Nueva model as a result of this "universalization" was experienced three-fold. First, and mentioned above, was the lack of popularity enjoyed by the newly and unequally implemented schools, a far different result than the originally (and fully) implemented Unitary Schools of the 1960s and 70s (368). Secondly, there was, what Villar describes as a freezing of the innovations that used to grow organically from the relationship of teachers to students and administrators (368). Finally, there was the formation of the Escuela Nueva Foundation itself, as an entity that existed outside of the Ministry of Education with a heavy overlap in the participation of leadership from one group, in both the Ministry and the Foundation. Rachel Kline writes in her 2002 article "A Model for Improving Rural Schools: Escuela Nueva in Colombia and Guatemala," that, "one critical aspect of the Escuela Nueva's expansion is that, 1n 1978, one of the key innovators of EN, Professor Oscar Mogollon, was transferred to the Ministry of Education's central office to coordinate teacher training and participate in creating regional EN support groups" (172). This trend of leadership-overlap continues to this day; Vicky Colbert, the principal founder of the Escuela Nueva is also Vice-Minister of Education in Colombia.

From the "Escuela Nueva" division in the Ministry of Education, to the Escuela Nueva Foundation, what we find is a story that defies the traditional notions of isomorphism. Rather than an organization that merely collaborates with the state to meet shared goals; the Escuela Nueva Foundation of today is almost commissioned by the state to do exactly what the government cannot seem to do: coordinate donor needs, run efficiently, and still manage to innovate and adapt to the context of localities or individual students. It is hard to say affirmatively whether the story of the Escuela Nueva conforms with the theories of isomorphism, is that at time they have been influenced or co-opted by the Ministry of Education. However, in

its current stage of development, Escuela Nueva performs in cooperation with the state, emphasizing effectiveness rather as well as efficiency.

In Colombia, conflict has disrupted the relationship between the state government and the citizens of Colombia (Education 2009 4). "It is estimated that there are close to 1 million Colombians, between the ages of 0 to 18 years, living in a state of displacement. 85% of previously enrolled students did not go back to school after the displacement took place" (Education 2009 3) Colombians cannot consistently rely on their government to provide for their basic need for quality education delivered under a uniform standard (Appe 2010 5). Civil Society organizations have a uniquely beneficial role in Colombia as with other states that experience ongoing violence (Dagnino 2005 212). Civil Society Organizations target marginalized populations and focus on areas where they may provide services and aid with value-added in the form of democratic capacity building and empowerment (Reinelt 1994 686). However, the role of these Civil Society Organizations is largely determined by the relationship that they have with the state based on the kinds of services they provide - while an organization targeting specific problems such as education reform or public health may find it easy to gain state support, organizations that target violence more broadly may be seen as adversaries to the state (Salamon 2000. 14).

Scholars such as John Clark and Lester Salamon have defined parameters for what a "healthy" relationship between a Civil Society Organization and a state-government might look like and these descriptions act as criteria by which to compare the Escuela Nueva model. Additionally the authors above mention some of the more abstract benefits of how a partnership can benefit not only those people targeted by CSOs and the state, but also the CSO itself as well as state actors who may benefit from the knowledge and approach of CSOs. The Escuela Nueva program's history, goals, and relationship with the Colombian state offer some insight for other Civil Society organizations in countries where conflict is prevalent and the state may not be as receptive to broader political goals or non-governmental actors pursuing them(Colbert 2009 2). The unique nature of the Escuela Nueva Foundation is largely due to the relationships it has formed with public organizations like the Ministry of Education and the private partnerships with organizations like the Colombian Coffee Growers Association.

In the 2009 article in the "Journal of Education for International Development" entitled "Improving Education Quality and Access in Colombia through innovation and participation: The Escuela Nueva Model," the organization's founder and executive director Vicky Colbert de Arboleda writes "the Escuela Nueva program is an example of how local innovation in education can become national policy" (1). It is important to note the possible bias that may be involved in citing a source that is so integrally tied to the Escuela Nueva program itself; however, numerous sources (Mann et al., McEwan, etc.) have confirmed the claims made within the evaluation criteria provided by the organization itself. However, an independent study conducted by Rodrigo Villar shows that there is depth to the claim that there is at least a collaborative approach. (366). In 1992 Ministry of Education officials worked closely with Escuela Nueva teachers to design new self-guided textbooks that would help prevent rote instruction by teachers (366). Additionally, there are numerous evaluation studies conducted by The World Bank evaluating the performance of the Escuela Nueva locally. However local innovation and state support are only a few variables accounting for the broad-reaching impact of the Escuela Nueva program's implementation and enduring place in the Colombian education system.

The Escuela Nueva was initiated from the roots of the unitary or multi-grade systems that were already in place in rural Colombia in the mid 1970s: the Escuela Unitaria.   The multi-grade classroom model had existed in Colombia prior to the Escuela Nueva Foundation, due partially to the necessity of low-cost, high-coverage elementary education, as well as due to the funding of UNESCO and other donor groups (Villar 364). The original "Escuela Nueva" was committee formed in the mid-1970s that was a separate entity within the Ministry of Education designed to research, plan, and advocate improvements and policies for the Unitary Schools, newly named Escuela Nueva.   The success with new kinds of teaching techniques and textbooks garnered enough attention from large international funding organizations that "by the end of the 1980s, the Escueva has proven that quantitative and qualitative improvements could be made in even the most disadvantaged schools" (1). As the Ministry of Education gradually eased into the partnership role with the Escuela Nueva Foundation; the Foundation itself found new ways to function independently of the the Ministry (Villar 367).

However, the techniques pioneered in the seventies were now being expanded and funded by USAID, the World Bank, and eventually the Colombian Ministry of Education (Colbert 2009

1, Mann 3). At this point the Escuela Nueva is comprised of over 20,000 schools in Colombia alone and is "one of the bottom-up innovations that has survived the longest, despite the administrative and political changes of the educational system in Colombia" (Colbert 2009 2). The success, resilience, and flexibility or the Escuela Nueva model, as well as their focus on service provision and community development as a means of combating structural deficiencies in Colombia is due largely to their hybridized relationship with the state government and other non-state actors (4).

The Escuela Nueva model works to confront the difficulties in meeting certain educational goals in rural Colombia, the structure of the organization and the internal goals are largely responsible for the easy partnership with the state and non-state actors that the foundation has experienced. "The Escuela Nueva, which makes the school the unit of change to improve the quality of education, started with two fundamental assumptions: 1) that improving education effectiveness would require creative changes in the training of teachers, in the administrative structure, and in relations with the community, and 2) that it is essential to develop innovations that are replicable, decentralized, and viable technically, politically, and financially. In other words, the design of the system must include plans for going to scale (2). Specifically:

- A strong partnership of mutual goals and shared responsibility with state and non-state actors
- A strong partnership with local communities
- Innovative inputs and design such as the multi-grade structure, increased teacher training, and larger libraries
- An emphasis on community and civic responsibility such as participation in student government
- Adaptability and replicability, each school evolves with and within the communities and countries where they are situated to most effectively target the populations there

In many of the case studies that follow, it is this awareness and foresight with issues of scale that has often accounted for the relative successes of CSOs who partner with the state (Reinelt 1994 691, Matthews 1994 292).   However, in many cases, like that of the Escuela

Nueva, the success of their program's efforts was largely a result of shared goals and history within the state government.. The executive director writes: "significant achievements were made, however expansion coincided with the country's nationwide decentralization policy and a Ministry of Education reorganization diverted attention from rural schools leading to significant losses in effectiveness and efficiency" (Colbert 2009 3).

The beauty of the hybridization or multi-stakeholder model becomes readily apparent in situations where the state has diverted or cut funding to a Civil Society organization like the Escuela Nueva or as Colbert writes: "at a minimum, some of the components and elements work when others do not, generating a positive net effect, even if small" (4). Mann et al. write "The common agreement is that only when comprehensive and cross-sector initiatives are undertaken will the social impact generated be innovative and sustainable. Multi-Stakeholder Partnerships enable sectors to acknowledge each other's strengths and limitations, recognizing that together they can create stronger initiatives" (3).

In the case of Escuela Nueva, their foundation was able to rely more on other non-state partners such as The Coffee Growers Association, World Bank, Unicef, IADB, AED, and Plan International for financial support (Colbert 2009 4). "Multi-Stakeholder Partnerships provide a highly effective mechanism for the creation and implementations of education programs….As Mr. Jaramillo Villegas (of the National Federation of Coffee Growers of Colombia) observed, '…it's a hybrid. It's a hybrid where one takes the best from both sides; where despite the difficulties of the different cultures, of the different rhythms, of the different interests…when agreements are reached and things are done, the results are better than if each did things separately. That's what we call a synergy; where one plus one is much more than two'" (Mann et al. 6).

The flexible and innovative E.N. unitary classroom model has received numerous well-deserved accolades simply for its work in broadening access to education in the violence-stricken rural areas in Colombia over the last few decades. However a large part of the Escuela Nueva Success story takes place what kind of education children in rural Colombia gain in the Escuela Nueva. "Since 1985, there are 3,100,000 displaced persons in Colombia….This has led to major disruptions in children's schooling and has had serious socio-psychological effects thus requiring a somewhat differentiated (from conventional methods) approach to teaching and learning"

(Colbert 2009 6). Among the most successful and recent of these non-conventional classroom strategies has been the implementation of the Escuela Nueva Learning Circles (Circulos de Aprendizaje) "which provide 'youth tutors' for groups of students, to facilitate the transition of migrant displaced children into schools, attracting them and maintaining them when conventional schools fail to adapt to their needs" (Colbert 2009 6).

Targeting the Displaced

In "The Political Economy of War-Affected Children," Hicks writes: "Children's rights are affected armed conflict in numerous ways. Due to armed conflicts, children are displaced and become refugees; children are recruited or abducted to become child soldiers…wars disrupt the education of children" (107) "Comparing the maps of drug production in 2001 with the map of displacement from 2000 to 2001, it appears that there is a positive relationship between displacement and drug production" (Holmes et al. 159). "According to a 2006 study by Save the Children, it is estimated that there are close to 1 million Colombians, between the ages of 0 to 18 years, living in a state of displacement. 85% of previously enrolled students did not go back to school after the displacement took place" (Education 3).

The Escuela Nueva foundation has published several statistical referents for the success of this Learning Circle initiative based on the evaluations of outside observers like Save the Children (Education 3). The interesting part of the success of learning circles is largely the language that is used to describe the problem for education that displacement presents. The foundation describes it as a "humanitarian crisis" and calls for "public policies that protect children;" by choosing those words the specifically development-driven Escuela Nueva has cast the quest for access to quality education as an issue of basic human rights with the language of increased security that has come to fit the Colombian state's priorities (Appe 2010 8).

Indeed, the learning circles have experienced marked success in Colombia where the program has been incorporated by the Ministry of Education so that students who transition from a tutoring environment in their local church or community center under the guidance of an Escueva 'mother-school,' can do so smoothly (Education 4). "According to the results of the application of UNESCO tests in 2004 and 2005, in only 6 months of operation the Escuela Nueva Learning Circles achieved 100% enrollment, increased children's self-esteem by 18.5%

and obtained the highest level of improvement in both language and math, placing the children of
the Learning Circles 13.9 and 17.3 points, respectively, above the national average" (Education
5).
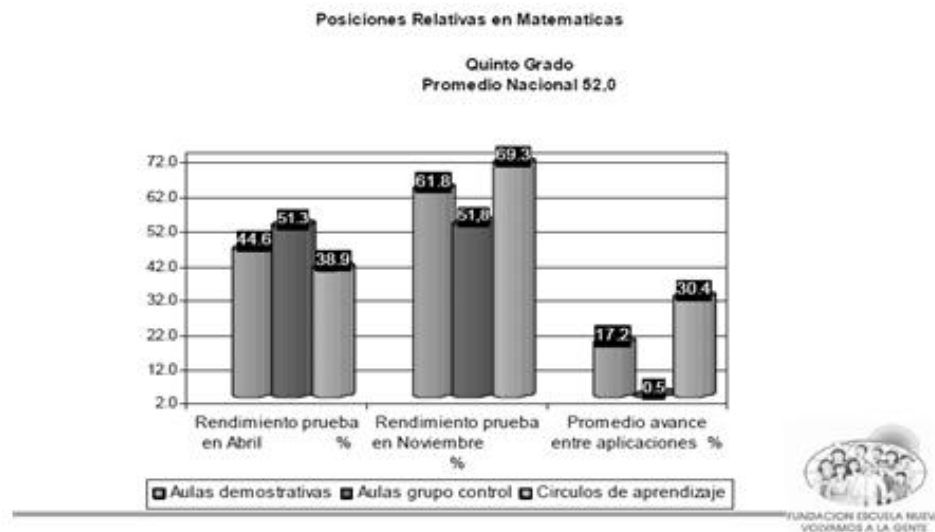
Figure 3.1

The table on the above is titled "Relative Ranking of Mathematics Skill" and indicates the margins of improvement for fifth
graders in Escuela Nueva Classrooms (left), Control Classrooms (middle), and Learning Circles (right). This table
is taken directly from The Escuela Nueva presentation for The World Bank. Used under fair use guidelines, 2011

The aforementioned statistics are truly unbelievable and so the question that follows should be
"why?" "Too often, services directed at assisting war-affected children ignore the cultural
specificity of the helping model and also fail to integrate in a holistic fashion, the personal and
structural elements of the problem or situation" (Hicks 111) However, the innovative structures,
techniques and partnerships embraced by the Escuela Nueva may account for such vast
improvement in the classroom, attendance, as well as the increased intangible benefits such as
democratic tendencies, sharing, and self-esteem (Chesterfield 1994 5, Education 5, McEwan
1998 441-446).

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Table 3.1

Adaptation of Escuela Nueva to Urban Populations and Monograde Contexts

	1998 Before Assessment	2000 During Assessment	2002 After Assessment
Language	166	213	241
Mathematics	126	191	229

✓ Evidenced improvement of 45% and 83% in the development of basic competences in math and language, respectively.
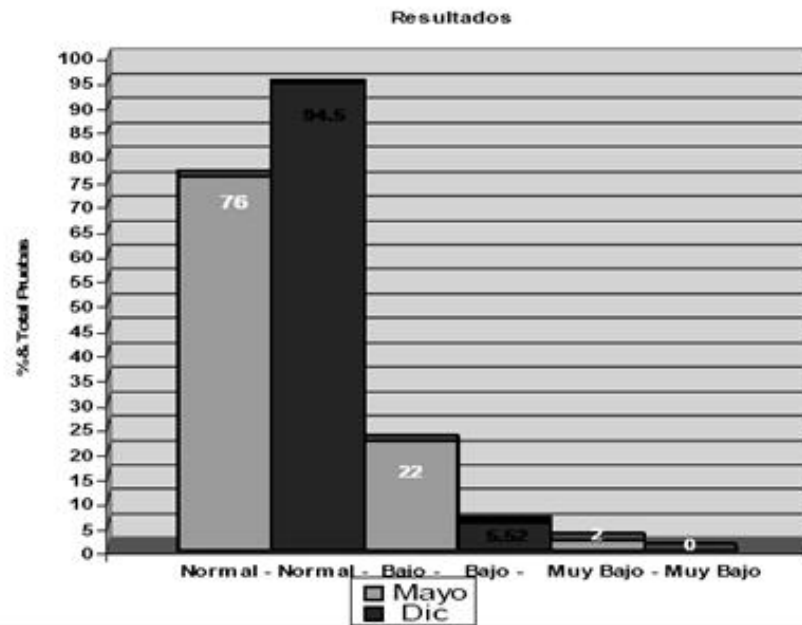
FUNDACION ESCUELA NUEVA
VOLVAMOS A LA GENTE

> The table above is taken directly from The World Bank and is indicative of the improvements made to student learning in the adaptation of the Escuela Nueva from the multigrade rural classroom to urban Learning Circles and urban multigrade classes. Used under fair use guidelines, 2011.

Part of this transitional stage that the EN Learning Circles engage, is that "value-added," characteristic which Salamon refers to as a "plus" in his own work on the democratic tendencies that Civil Society organizations generally promote (Salamon 2000 23). Director Colbert writes "the program contributes to conflict management, developing habits of peaceful coexistence, constructive behavior, and social integration;" however, there are other more easily measurable benefits from the Escuela Nueva model that are not restricted only to the Learning Circles but the program overall (6).

Table 3.2

Escuela Nueva´s Adaptation to Displaced, Migrant Populations
Self esteem TAE Test

The table above indicates improvement in the self-esteem of displaced children enrolled in the Escuela Nueva at three different self-described levels (normal, low, and very-low). The children were surveyed in May, and then the following December of that same year. The table above is taken directly from The World Bank. Used under fair use guidelines, 2011.

In an article published in 1998, Patrick McEwan evaluates the effectiveness of the Escuela Nueva not only quantitatively but also qualitatively, examining the different inputs as well as consulting other evaluation organizations' findings. He begins by tracing some of the rationale for the Escuela Nueva model saying that on average students in rural Colombia receive far less (as little as half) the total years of schooling that their urban counterparts receive (McEwan 1998 436). Although McEwan notes that there is some discrepancy as to what the exact numbers are; the urban/rural education gap is, or was, an empirically proven reality (436).

Tables 3.3 and 3.4

Net primary enrollment rates by income quintile and zone of residence

| | Percent ages 6–12, 1974 | | Percent ages 6–12, 1992 | | | |
| | National | Rural | Urban | | Rural | |
Quintile	Male/Female	Male/Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1 (low)	54.1	51.2	78.4	79.9	73.0	77.0
2	61.4	44.5	85.6	86.4	80.2	80.0
3	66.3	56.5	89.1	91.1	76.3	83.0
4	78.1	56.2	94.8	95.7	81.6	84.0
5 (high)	86.3	60.0	95.4	96.8	88.2	90.5
Total	64.9	51.9	86.1	87.2	78.2	80.9

Source: Molina *et al.* (1993).

Drop-out and promotion rates in rural primary schools

| | 1978 | | | | 1987 | | | |
| | Drop-out rate | | Promotion rate | | Drop-out rate | | Promotion rate | |
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Grade 1	11.9	16.8	67.7	55.6	12.1	18.9	73.8	59.2
Grade 2	8.9	14.2	75.4	65.9	8.5	14.5	82.3	72.4
Grade 3	9.3	14.2	77.5	71.2	7.6	13.6	83.4	76.4
Grade 4	8.3	14.1	80.4	73.5	7.1	13.2	83.5	77.9
Grade 5	7.5	12.6	84.9	78.6	6.1	11.6	87.9	83.4

Source: Colombia, Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (1993).

The tables above are taken directly from Patrick J. McEwan's article "The Effectiveness of Multigrade Schools in Colombia." Used under fair use guidelines, 2011.

The rationale for why the flexible model of the Escuela Nueva has been successful in changing the enrollment and performance numbers is where the value-added shines through. McEwan gives several reasons explaining why these multi-grade modeled classrooms have been so successful. McEwan points out that multi-grade classrooms offer some inherent benefits such as pairing students of different ages and abilities together so that those who understand some kinds of material may tutor those other students who are struggling (437). "Teachers, as they remain in the same classroom for more than one year, become better acquainted with students and can tailor individualized instruction" (437). However, as Colbert and others point out in addition to McEwan, the teachers are trained differently from their counterparts in traditional classrooms right from the beginning (Colbert 2009 2, McEwan 437). The emphasis on teacher

training is toward planning and organization so that the focus in the classroom is on the diverse needs of the children as they engage their classmates and the material (McEwan 437). The emphasis on organization and planning taking place outside of the classroom makes sense when you consider that rural schools within the Escueva may only have one or two teachers at any given time (437).

Additionally, the strategy of student-tutoring within the classroom, self-direction and self-instruction through improved textbooks and expanded libraries allows students to come and go depending on the community or agricultural calendar rather than a uniform school-year (Schiefelbein 20, McEwan 438).

Table 3.5

Table 5. Percent of New Schools with suggested inputs, 1987

	Percent
Library	94
'Learning corners'	98
Classroom decoration	96
Suggestion box	91
Family records	91
Community monograph	77
Student journals	79
Agricultural calendar	61
Community map	97
Sufficient New School textbooks	67
Student government	58

Source: Rojas and Castillo (1988: 177).

The table above is taken directly from Patrick J. McEwan's article "The Effectiveness of Multigrade Schools in Colombia." Used under fair use guidelines, 2011.

Political Identity, Oppression, and Education

Paulo Friere claims that what he calls "humanization"," or a validation of individual humanity through recognition of self worth, and the social value of an individual, is the "people's vocation" (43)"Within history, in concrete, objective contexts, both humanization and dehumanization are possibilities for a person as an uncompleted being conscious of their incompletion" (43). That is to say, as reality is constantly being reinterpreted by the individual, so are the possibilities for changes to that reality. In a reality where oppression exists, liberty

becomes that much more validated, by its very negation. Friere writes: "dehumanization, although a concrete historical fact, is *not* given a destiny but the result of an unjust order that engenders violence and oppressors, which in turn dehumanizes the oppressed" (44). This is not to say that cycles of oppression are unbreakable, but rather that it is then the duty of the oppressed, with their "softer" power, to free both the perpetrators and persecuted from that cycle (81). Friere's theories are a relevant lens through which to examine the political goals of the Escuela Nueva, as well as the part the collaborative learning model plays in achieving those goals (84).

Friere describes a collaborative learning model (problem-posing education) as one that is very similar to the classroom structure within the Escuela Nueva Schools. Problem-posing education, Friere claims, is naturally liberating as it attempts to reconcile the unknown to the known (72). "Education must begin with the solution of the teacher-student contradiction, by reconciling the poles of contradiction so that both are simultaneously teachers and students" (72). Unlike traditionally structured classrooms where students act as repositories for the knowledge the teacher bestows on them, Friere says of collaborative learning: "the students - no longer docile listeners - are no critical co-investigators in dialogue with their teacher" (81). The notion of a "critical co-investigator" is crucial to understanding the political significance of the Escuela Nueva model. Students who engage in collaborative learning, playing the role of teacher at student at various times, will engage challenges from a variety of perspectives, with an innate understanding of the other person's perspective. Friere writes:

> "students, as they are increasingly posed with problems relating to themselves in the world and with the world, will feel increasingly challenged and obliged to respond to that challenge. Because they apprehend the challenge as interrelated to other problems within a total context, not as a theoretical question, the resulting comprehension leads tends to be increasingly critical and thus constantly less alienated" (81).

One of the most notable efforts to combat the violence in Colombia takes the seemingly apolitical guise of the Escuela Nueva education reforms in rural Colombia. However, Helen Haste asks several important questions which directly relate to the persistence of violence:

"How do the three issues - identity, positioning, and narrative - translate into educational practice? How can curricula and school experience work with the processes of identity formation? How can an understanding of positioning enable us to strengthen community commitment while providing defenses against out-group discrimination? How can we use narratives to transmit political knowledge as well as motivate nationhood?" (424).

 In Virginia Bouvier's report for the U.S. Institute for Peace, Psychologist and education specialist Ana Maria Velasquez is cited as saying:

> Education offers an important, if often overlooked or underestimated, vehicle for conflict prevention, management, resolution, and transformation. The conflict's chronic and prolonged nature has shaped the environment in which Colombian youth have been raised, validating and rewarding violent beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors. However, schools can foster an alternative culture of democratic participation, nonviolent resolution of conflicts, critical thinking, and cooperative interactions for problem solving (Bouvier 13).

Surprisingly, it is not only scholars and educators who feel that education should encompass more than memorizing a specific skill set by rote, the ideals of a progressive education are present in the expressed ideals of the Colombian state among others (Suarez 331). "Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Paraguay even discuss teaching human rights in their constitutions. The Constitution of Ecuador from 1998, for example, states that 'education, inspired by ethical, pluralist, democratic, humanist, and scientific principles, will promote the respect for human rights, develop critical thinking, and promote civic engagement(art. 66)" (331). This outlook is nearly identical to the stated goals of the Escuela Nueva foundation in Colombia which seeks to improve access to quality education in rural Colombia originally and currently in more than 16 countries globally (www.escuelanueva.org/pagina 1)

The aspirations to reach these goals are apparent in both the structure and design of the Escuela Nueva as well as the inputs utilized by the school. When the Escuela Nueva was initiated from the roots of the unitary or multi-grade systems that were already in place in rural Colombia in the mid 1970s, the success with new kinds of teaching techniques and textbooks garnered enough attention from large international funding organizations that "by the end of the

1980s, the Escueva has proven that quantitative and qualitative improvements could be made in even the most disadvantaged schools" (1). However the techniques pioneered in the seventies were now being expanded and funded by USAID, the World Bank, and eventually the Colombian Ministry of Education (Colbert 2009 1, Mann 3). At this point the Escuela Nueva is comprised of over 20,000 schools in Colombia alone and is "one of the bottom-up innovations that has survived the longest, despite the administrative and political changes of the educational system in Colombia" (Colbert 2009 2). The success, resilience, and flexibility or the Escuela Nueva model, as well as their focus on service provision and community development as a means of combating structural deficiencies in Colombia is due largely to their hybridized relationship with the state government and other non-state actors (4).

Innovative Inputs

The Escuela Nueva model is adaptable in responding to the difficulties in meeting certain educational goals in rural Colombia, the structure of the organization and the internal goals are largely responsible for the easy partnership with the state and non-state actors that the foundation has experienced. "The Escuela Nueva, which makes the school the unit of change to improve the quality of education, started with two fundamental assumptions: 1) that improving education effectiveness would require creative changes in the training of teachers, in the administrative structure, and in relations with the community, and 2) that it is essential to develop innovations that are replicable, decentralized, and viable technically, politically, and financially. In other words, the design of the system must include plans for going to scale (2). Foresight with issues of scale accounts for the rapid expansion of the Escuela Nueva Foundation as well as that of other CSOs who partner with the state (Reinelt 691, Matthews 292). However, in many cases, like that of the Escuela Nueva, the results of their program's efforts were largely due to similar goals within the state. The executive director writes: "significant achievements were made, however expansion coincided with the country's nationwide decentralization policy and a Ministry of Education reorganization diverted attention from rural schools leading to significant losses in effectiveness and efficiency" (Colbert 2009 3).

The beauty of the hybridization or multi-stakeholder model becomes readily apparent in situations where the state has diverted or cut funding to a Civil Society organization like the Escuela Nueva or as Colbert writes: "at a minimum, some of the components and elements work

when others do not, generating a positive net effect, even if small" (4). Mann et al. write "The common agreement is that only when comprehensive and cross-sector initiatives are undertaken will the social impact generated be innovative and sustainable. Multi-Stakeholder Partnerships enable sectors to acknowledge each other's strengths and limitations, recognizing that together they can create stronger initiatives" (3). In the case of Escuela Nueva, while the state government shifted their emphasis and funding away from rural schools the EN foundation was able to rely more on other non-state partners such as The Coffee Growers Association, World Bank, Unicef, IADB, AED, and Plan International for financial support (Colbert 2009 4). "Multi-Stakeholder Partnerships provide a highly effective mechanism for the creation and implementations of education programs….As Mr. Jaramillo Villegas (of the National Federation of Coffee Growers of Colombia) observed, '…it's a hybrid. It's a hybrid where one takes the best from both sides; where despite the difficulties of the different cultures, of the different rhythms, of the different interests…when agreements are reached and things are done, the results are better than if each did things separately. That's what we call a synergy; where one plus one is much more than two'" (Mann et al. 6).

Decentralization and Civil Society:

Like most countries in Latin America, Colombia's state government is working toward increasing decentralization of provision of services and increasing the "managerial capacity" of local governments (Carrion 208). However, the efforts of the Colombian state have been met with great difficulty due not only to the trying nature of modernizing projects, but also due to the high levels of violence and displacement resulting from the ongoing conflict between the state and guerrilla and paramilitary force (Sweig 2008 202, Education 3). Holmes et al write in "Drugs, Violence, and Development in Colombia" that "a meaningful state presence is something that Colombia historically has not provided uniformly throughout the country" (159). However the lack of capacity of the central and local governments to effectively provide services to the citizens of Colombia creates a space that Civil Society organizations are created to fill (Salamon 1996). Diego Carrion argues in his article "Democracy and Social participation in Latin American Cities" that "A central issue in the current reform of the state involves the transfer of powers from national to local governments, principally in order to relieve pressure on the national government institutions and to transform the municipality, assigning it roles and functions so that it can provide better services" (210). However, this national-local divide can

also be characterized as a conflict between rural and urban interests. In a report for the U.S. Institute for Peace, Virginia Bouvier writes:

> The relationship between local and regional authorities, on the one hand, and those based in Bogotá, on the other, is historically marked by mutual distrust….It is important to realize that many local communities view the Colombian state, which has long been absent from many areas of the country, as merely another armed actor and not as an actor whose presence is more legitimate than that of other actors (Bouvier 11).

For this reason, it seems likely that a third-party broker, possibly a non-governmental organization or other civil society organization will be necessary to facilitate the decentralization process on a local level.

Multi-stakeholder Partnerships in Colombia:

A more realistic model of decentralization in Colombia accounts for the fact that power does not reside only in the state. Rather, power is spread throughout society in a way that private individuals acting in unison or in conjunction with state actors of civil society organizations are in fact, more able to accomplish goals for change than if only state or private actions were considered (Carrion 214, Mann et al. 3-4). In a list of advantages Mann et al. indicate that among other beneficial aspects of hybridization or "multi-sectored responses" the sharing of risk and cost may create an "opportunity to implement a project where numerous societal actors are not only involved, but actually have a stake in the success of the project.... the limitation that one partner faces may be the strength that another partner brings….each actor has specific sector-related knowledge to share with other partners…this knowledge can be transferred to other actors, resulting in significant learning, as well as enhance the project itself " (3-4).

Bouvier notes that while Mann et al. describe an ideal scenario where there is an open and equal exchange of ideas, "In rural areas that have been marginalized, abandoned, and subject to criminalization, it is often difficult for civil society and the state to renegotiate a relationship of trust or for the state to achieve legitimacy. The state's efforts to assert itself primarily through an armed presence have sometimes exacerbated this mistrust" (Bouvier 11). The model of state and citizen, at its healthiest, is a relationship of trust. For a democratic state like Colombia to function as it is supposed to, there needs to be legitimacy granted to the state by its people. However, uneducated populations without any memory of a state presence are far from ideal

citizens. They remain uninvested in state projects and may fail to realize how the actions of their government have an impact in their lives. Granted, this is an issue present in many stable countries such as our own. However, this problem is exacerbated in Colombia where the disconnect between citizen and state has been forced upon both parties through violence. Richards et al. further comment that "history has shown that citizens can be repressed by being prevented from exercising their political rights or being denied the basic subsistence rights necessary for physical survival" (226). One of the ways that civil society organizations are able to achieve some measure of legitimacy and success in community development projects is by implementing programs that directly involve the community where the NGOs are active (Bouvier 15). Regarding community organization generally, Bouvier writes: "It builds "soft" power, based on persuasion, legitimacy, and moral authority, which helps balance and counteract the "hard" power of the armed groups. The reverse also seems to be true: Where social organization is lacking in the conflict zones, the influence of armed actors increases, making the communities more vulnerable to the violence" (Bouvier 16). Many of the efforts to combat the violence in the rural and marginalized areas of Colombia have been implemented indirectly, programs like rural education reform and specifically the efforts of the Escuela Nueva program have been met with great success.

Part of the success of this "multi-stakeholder partnership" model that is described by the literature may be due to the unique social and political space which a partnership like the Escuela Nueva's occupies (Borkman 1999 4). In Thomasina Borkman's 1999 book *Understanding Self-Help/Mutual Aid: Experiential Learning in the Commons,* Dr. Borkman refers to "the commons" as the place in which voluntary action may occur saying that this may manifest as anything from crime watch groups, food cooperatives, unitary schools, or any number of organizations (45). The key to this definition is that the groups are "autonomous, self-defining, collectives of voluntary associating individuals." Salamon describes what he terms the "nonprofit sector" as "the thousands of schools, hospitals, clinics, community organizations, advocacy groups, day care centers, relief organizations, nursing homes, homeless shelters, family counseling agencies, environmental groups, and others that make up this important sector" (13). It is useful to realize the broad and contestable nature of these kinds of organizations which are referred to as civil society throughout the literature. Lester Salamon points out through his own somewhat convoluted struggle to define these kinds of groups and movements, writing: "without a set of

concepts to give some order to reality, there is no way to group perceptions and begin to make sense of them…Definition lies at the heart of all social analysis" (27). Regardless of the contested nature and name of the organizations that occupy the space between the state government and the private corporation, the crucially interesting and important part of these organizations is how they go about accomplishing their goals. In a classic text, "The Iron Cage Revisted: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields," regarding organizations and how they relate to one another, Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell write that "organizations compete not just for resources and customers, but for political power and institutional legitimacy, for social as well as economic fitness"

In "The State, Popular Participation, and the Voluntary Sector," written in 1995, John Clark focuses on the capacity for participation building provided by NGOs as well as other civil society functions and the potential for increasing development of civil society as positive relationships and open dialogue are formed with the state government. Clark finds that "NGOs may be best placed for the tasks of fostering popular participation which include articulating the needs of the weak, working in remote areas, changing attitudes and practices of local officials, and nurturing the productive capacity of the most vulnerable groups such as the disabled or the landless" (593). The relevance of this capacity and specialization is easily applied to the particularities of the Colombian conflict. The following are only two of the explicit ways NGOs and other third sector organizations may function: The NGOs may act as a mediator where there is a divide between the public and private sectors and disenfranchised individuals in society. Additionally NGOs are able to focus their efforts on a "demand side" approach rather than "supply side" - The emphasis is on delivery of services rather than "efficiency" (593). That is to say, that rather than conforming to the traditional values of many hierarchical organizations like government agencies, many NGOs and third sector organizations strive toward their goals through collaboration gauged on effectiveness rather than efficiency.

Carrion echoes Clark's point regarding the emphasis on effectiveness rather than efficiency found in Civil Society writing: "Neither poverty, hunger, nor the lack of housing and services, constitutes a problem in itself. The problem arises when hunger is not followed by access to enough food; when the need for shelter is not satisfied by good-quality houses; when basic facilities are either inadequate in themselves or in insufficient supply" (212). While it seems that one would be hard pressed to find someone capable of denying the harmful nature of

homelessness, hunger, and poor education on society; in countries that are still in the building stages of democratic habits, places that are still grappling with violent histories and militaristic governance, the space to identify and partner with new actors to find solutions to these social ills may be small. This lack of social space, which forces the ongoing discussions of development to some remote and inaccessible corner of society, illuminates the primary reason why participation in creating common social achievement goals so necessary. Carrion writes: "It is thus important

to recognize the specific competences and dynamics of national government and municipal institutions, as well as those of NGOs and communities. Arenas for consultations, co-ordinations, interrelation, and cooperation among these actors are vital, for it is here that the conditions and guiding principles necessary for local development are negotiated" (210).

Civil Society and Political Unrest:

Although the article "Civil Society, Political Capital, and Democratization in Central America" focuses on a different region of the world, many Central American countries share a history of political violence with Colombia. In this article John Booth et al. argue that "civil society may be particularly important in areas emerging from authoritarian rule and violent political conflict" (781). Booth et al. agree with the literature regarding the benefits of civil society generally saying that "civil society may contribute to democratization by mediating between citizen and state, mobilizing and conveying citizens' interests to government, constraining government behavior by stimulating citizen activism, and inculcating democratic values" (780). The theory that civil society engenders democratic values and stability is largely supported by the research of Diego Carrion in "Democracy and Social Participation in Latin American Cities" and Susan Appe's "Toward Culturally Democratic Citizens: Nongovernmental Organizations and the State: The Case of Bogota Colombia."

Diego Carrion notes that Latin American countries are increasingly more urban, following the global trend away from rural areas (209). Although this makes sense considering the Colombian governments emphasis on urban reforms, with little care for rural reform, Carrion argue that the problems of urban Latin America cannot be solved by either the state or the market alone (211). "Bureaucracy, corruption, political patronage, and lack of creativity on the part of the state have been obstacles to addressing the needs of low-income groups. The private sector, because of its profit-seeking logic, is not geared toward low-income populations. The popular

sectors have, therefore, developed their own strategies and mechanisms for resolving vital needs" (211).

John Clark writes in his report to the World Bank that the elements of "good governance" emphasized in Colombian civil society are "transparency, accountability, freedom of speech and association, greater participation in political decision making, and due process. But these elements, firmly installed in the capital city, do not necessarily mean changed circumstances for poorer members of society, particularly in remoter areas" (594). While Carrion notes that it is the state's role to act as a "regulatory agent" within society, he also points out that largely it is the popular sector that advocates for democratic reforms (215). "The community sector, which until now has been marginalized from decision making, has demonstrated an increasing dynamism and capacity to offer solutions to society's problems. From its position of economic and social disadvantage, this sector presses for democratic development processes" (215). That is to say that as society becomes more stable and open people have greater expectations regarding the duties of the state and the growth of the national economy.

In Susan Appe's article focusing on policy reforms initiated by civil society organizations in the cultural sector in Bogota, she notes that the policy reforms "aim to open participation spaces and decentralize government services, policy formulation, and spending on the local level" (5). Appe remarks that decentralization is an especially crucial process in Latin America where there is a long history of a strong authoritarian state designed to "suppress dissent" (5). However, the result of these strong central states is that many of the poor and marginalized people are largely left out of the policy-making process entirely, even in democratic states like Colombia (8). Appe cites a study conducted by the John Hopkins Center for Civil Society Studies, written by Villar, List, and Salamon, which demonstrated the extent to which civil society has achieved success in Colombia. "One of the largest in Latin America, Colombia's non-profit sector has been successful in not only producing a workforce that accounts for 2.4% of nonagricultural workers and 14.9% of service employment, it also has been relatively successful in producing a volunteer workforce" (Appe 10). Some of the most successful efforts by civil society have been made in the field of education, a crucial sector when considering the goal of a sustained stable democracy. Bouvier writes: "Schools can foster an alternative culture of democratic participation, nonviolent resolution of conflicts, critical thinking, and cooperative

interactions for problem solving. Teachers, NGOs, program developers, local and regional state institutions, and district and regional secretaries of education are promoting these initiatives" (Bouvier 13). These goals have been best realized by the innovations made by the Escuela Nueva program that began in the marginalized rural areas of Colombia.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

Substantial Findings

The results of several evaluation studies have yet to indicate in any satisfying way that the Escuela Nueva program does impact the later political behavior of students who have graduated from multigrade classrooms. Still, there is suggestive evidence to indicate that the impact on the political identity of children currently enrolled in the program is positively impacted, as indicated through an increase in responses to surveys that utilized behavioral proxies to stand in for "democratic behavior." Additionally, there is evidence that the Escuela Nueva program may has a substantial impact on the communities that choose to adopt the multigrade model. This is demonstrated through increased parent participation in community activities, volunteer projects, and town-hall-style meetings.

Although preliminary assessments of the Escuela Nueva program were conducted in 1988 by Rojas and Catillo as part of a World Banks study in association with el Insistuto SER de investigacion, these results were further fleshed out in the 1992 study conducted by George Psacharopoulos, Carlos Rojas (of the 1988 study), and Eduardo Velez. The article "Achievement Evaluation of Colombia's Escuela Nueva," uses the raw data from the 1987 survey conducted by the Ministry of Education to compare the Escuela Nueva program to traditional, non-multi-grade classrooms in the twelve regions that had implemented the Escuela Nueva program at the time. The Escuela Nueva schools and traditional schools were selected from the same districts for the sake of accurate comparison. Because of the relatively recent implementation of the Escuela Nueva in Colombia, this study only selected programs that had been active for five years already.

In total 3,033 students from 168 Escuela Nueva programs and 60 traditional classrooms participated in cognitive achievement evaluations in language and mathematics at the third and fifth grade levels. Additionally, this evaluation involved a survey designed to measure democratic behaviors, self-esteem, and creativity. Most importantly, this study gives an extensive account of the contexts in which each of these schools operate. The study emphasizes differences in the socioeconomic status of students, the education of their parents, differences in

teacher training and faculty make-up, as well as comparing based on gender and region. Psacharopoulos et al. are quick to note that the survey used to measure cognitive achievement and democratic behaviors in students may hide factors of individual aptitude, claiming: "Several instruments were designed to measure achievement, specific for each grade. The Spanish tests included open questions for reading comprehension, writing skills and basic grammar according to the national curriculum. The reliability for each test was 0.82 and 0.86, respectively. The math tests included 20 items for each grade level. The reliability for the third grade test was 0.84 and the one for the fifth grade test was 0.80" (8).

These evaluation results are nonetheless interesting in that they demonstrate some trends which may shed light onto the studies that follow. Psacharopoulos et al. explain that while boys perform at higher levels in mathematics, girls tend to be better in Spanish (12). Children from wealthier families, associated with ownership of a television for this study's purposes, tended to perform better than poorer students (12). Additionally, this study finds that younger children tend to have a more difficult time academically in the Escuela Nueva than older children, which is based on the ratio of teachers to students (12). Regarding the measurement of democratic behaviors, Psacharopoulos et al. found that only civic-behavior, and not creativity or self-esteem, was positively affected by the Escuela Nueva programs. "Civic behavior, the only non-cognitive achievement positively affected by Escuela Nueva, was also explained by students characteristics, i.e., age (older students were more civic), gender (male students were less civic), grade repetition (repeaters were less civic), work experience (workers were less civic)and hours watching TV (the more TV watched, the less civic). Among family characteristics, students from households in poor regions were less civic, while students who received help to do their homework and had a TV at home were more civic" (14).

Additionally, this study focused on the relationship of the Escuela Nueva schools with the communities where they have been implemented. Psacharopoulos et al. argue that the Escuela Nueva makes learning a "communal affair" rather than merely an individual one (9). This is best demonstrated by the comparison of activities and community events offered by the Escuela Nueva as opposed to traditional schools. "In spite of the fact that in 42% of the Escuela Nueva schools the student body government had not been organized, these schools had a significantly higher level of participation measured by activities such as adult education (35.6% versus

28.1%) , agricultural extension (35% versus 15.8%), athletic competitions (54.6% versus 42.5%), health campaigns (82.9% versus 56.7%), and community celebrations (88.5% versus 83.3%)" (18). This study was conducted just a few years after the Escuela Nueva program had expanded to serve 800,000 students and had recently been funded by The World Bank. It should be considered as a preliminary study, one that demonstrates the great potential represented by the Escuela Nueva at this time.

The follow up to the 1992 study conducted by Psacharopolous et al. was titled "Indicators of Democratic Behaviors in Nueva Escuela Unitaria Schools," written by Dr. Ray Chesterfield. This 1994 study conducted through the Office of Health and Education along with USAID compared the behavior of students enrolled in the Escuela Nueva program to students in previously established multi-grade schools. This study was conducted by Dr. Ray Chesterfield in association with the Basic Education Strengthening Project; he used existing data from the Improving Educational Quality study, which had been evaluating the Escuela Nueva for years prior. Of the two hundred and twenty children who participated in this study, one hundred and sixteen were students from the Escuela Nueva, one hundred and four were enrolled in other multi-grade programs. The evaluation conducted by Chesterfield was designed to measure three distinct facets of democratic behavior in children: egalitarian beliefs, interpersonal effectiveness, and leadership. Using a chi-square analysis, Chesterfield compared students based on the program where they were enrolled, region, and gender.

Education of the Oppressed discusses social interaction as a part of self-cognizance, which is a part of critical and therefore, liberating, education (83). Friere writes:"In problem-posing education, people develop the power to perceive critically *the way they exist* in the world *with which* and *in which* they find themselves; they come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation" (83). In his study, Chesterfield notes that "observable democratic behaviors were not only more frequent in the Escuela Nueva Program, but were also qualitatively different from those observed in traditional multi-grade schools" (4). As opposed to traditional multi-grade classrooms, where students act more democratically when observed by teachers or directed to act a certain way by other supervisors; students of the Escuela Nueva program showed democratic tendencies that occurred organically in student-to-student interactions (4). Interestingly, the analysis of the study continues, indicating that

children from indigenous and ladino heritage were observed engaging in democratic behaviors more frequently than other students, additionally, boys tended to display more democratic behaviors than girls (3).

For the purpose of the study by Chesterfield, each category of democratic behavior (egalitarian beliefs, interpersonal effectiveness, and leadership) was broken down into indicators that would act as proxies by which to measure each behavior. Egalitarian beliefs were observed in A) turn-taking and B) assisting other students, interpersonal effectiveness was measured by observing A) expression of opinion to peers and adults and B) choosing among viable options, and finally leadership was measured by observing A) participation in student government and school clubs and B) directing other students during class activities (7).

Chesterfield notes that these are complex behaviors and are therefore difficult to measure and it is subsequently difficult for these measures to act as truly representative of the real interactions among students. As a means of adding context and tone, Chesterfield includes several accounts of student behavior in both the Escuela Nueva and other multi-grade programs. The study finds that eighty percent of democratic behaviors observed in the entirety of the study took place among students of the Escuela Nueva. The following examples are taken directly from Chesterfield's observations during the 1994 study; each tracks a specific type of interaction.

In this example of turn-taking, "Juanito, a second grader at the NEU school of Pantanal, is working on finding words in the dictionary with several other boys. William has the dictionary and points to a picture saying, "these are lions" (Son leones). Then passes the dictionary to Juanito, saying "let's see." Juanito looks through the dictionary and says "I have bears" (yo tengo osos), pointing to a picture of bears on the page" (10). Chesterfield remarks that while turn-taking certainly occurs in the traditional multi-grade schools, it is more often wating for a teacher to give feedback or provide assistance, as opposed to the collaborative model of the Escuela Nueva where students help one another to further their peers and their own learning. "David is a first grader in Escuela Unitaria Aguazal. He finishes copying his numbers from the board into his notebook, then joins the line of three children at the teacher's desk. He shoves his notebook in front of the teacher who says "wait" (espera). The teacher finishes with the notebook he is correcting , then takes David's" (10).

In measuring the interpersonal effectiveness of students, Chesterfield notes that the proxies utilized in the study elicited so few results that they were abandoned and replaced by "receives positive feedback" versus "receives negative feedback." These were adopted under the assumption that even though students were not observed engaging in opinion sharing or choosing among viable options, teachers create an environment where this behavior is more or less likely. Although Chesterfield supplies additional examples of student interactions with teachers, there is not a significant difference between the practices observed in traditional multi-grade classrooms and those of the Escuela Nueva.

Finally, leadership was measured by observing student participation in school activities taking place outside of the classroom. Although there was a low prevalence of student participation observed in the whole study (eight cases), all were observed taking place in the Escuela Nueva. Chesterfield provides us with this example:

> "Carlos is a second grader in Sanimlaha, a Escuela Nueva schools serving Maya-speaking children in the department of Alta Verapaz. He is working with three other children who make up the "turtles" group. The children are carrying out an assignment in the Escuela Nueva self-instrucitonal guide, on which they have been working for about ten minutes. Carlos speaks in Q'eqehi' to Alma, another member of his group who responds in the same language. He then bends over his own work without speaking to anyone else. After a minute, Carlos gets up from his group and walks over to the "cows" group. Carlos says something to his classmate who exchanged a ball for a car, but exactly what is said isn't heard. It is only observed that he watches and touches the car that his classmate exchanged. Carlos then returns to his seat and begins to write in his notebook. At this moment, the president of the school government address all of the students saying in Q'eqchi', "We are going to go outside to practice a song. Please, everyone should participate." Carlos puts his notebook away in his backpack and goes outside with all of his classmates" (17).

Although this story is not particularly relevant to any leadership role played by little Carlos, it demonstrates the effectiveness and legitimacy enjoyed by the student government in the Escuela Nueva program. Students not playing a direct role in student government activities still participate voluntarily in school functions.

The most substantive study at this point was conducted by Patrick J. McEwan, who was the first to investigate the possibility of benefits derived from the Escuela Nueva program in addition to academic improvement. "The Effectiveness of Multigrade Schools in Colombia" by Patrick J. McEwan furthers the dialogue regarding the context and need for the Escuela Nueva in Colombia. It specifically looks to compare different kinds of schools, Escuela Nueva, other multi-grade classrooms, as well as both public and private traditional schools. The data used in this study is taken from a 1992 survey of Colombian elementary schools and was conducted in association with the Insistuto SER de Investigacion. Schools from three rural districts in Colombia were randomly selected, comprising the total sample of fifty two schools; of these, twenty four Escuela Nueva programs were chosen (439). McEwan points out that there was no limit imposed on which Escuela Nueva schools were selected, such as the study conducted by . Psacharopoulos et al. which only evaluated programs that had been in place for at least five years (440). This evaluation looks not only to school performance when evaluating the effectiveness of each model, but also explores how faithfully the Escuela Nueva programs "adhere to their stated methodology and to what degree traditional schools also utilize New School-type inputs" (440).

This study tests the hypothesis that the Escuela Nueva has a positive effect on student achievement. To accurately measure this, McEwan employs regression models and estimates obtained using ordinary least squares: <achievement score = f(school characteristics, principal characteristics, teacher characteristics, family characteristics, student characteristics)> (442). McEwan uses the study conducted by Psacharopoulos et al. as a baseline for his own evaluation, remarking that "results are strikingly similar between the two evaluations, despite the use of different samples" (446). McEwan argues that the apparent declining effectiveness of the Escuela Nueva program, particularly in fifth grade mathematics, may be due to external factor which could not be accounted for in the study, such as: students who may have only enrolled in the Escuela Nueva recently, students who have transferred from traditional classrooms, or perhaps the case is simply that the Escuela Nueva has a deficiency in the fifth grade math curriculum or instruction (446). McEwan also argues that proxy factors like access to electricity, which may stand in for the overall quality of school facilities, affect student performance (446).

Among these external factors were some that were included in past studies as well as others that gained relevance in studies conducted after 1998. McEwan points out that economic factors have a large affect on student achievement. "Valle, the department with the highest GDP per capita of the three under study, increases student achievement in the third grade" (447). Another important determinant of student-success in the third grade is the highest level of education obtained by an immediate family member (447). One factor that applied to students of every level and in every school model is repetition (447). "Student repeaters are lover achievers in every level and subject, while students who hold jobs are significantly lower achievers in fifth grade" (447). This final quotation draws attention the cyclical nature of poverty and low-educational attainment; a working eleven-year old may be distracted or unable to attend classes to the point where repetition is the only option.

The level of implementation is a key to understanding differences between the potential represented by the Escuela Nueva program versus the results that it delivers in reality. McEwan notes that while the inputs touted by the Escuela Nueva program as key factors for the success of students are not uniformly implemented even within a single region (440). "Two-thirds of New Schools have a library, surprisingly low in light of the emphasis placed on this input; however, only one-third of traditional schools have this input" (440). Although this result is not surprising, the one that follows (along with McEwan's editorializing) is alarming. "Between 33 and 45 percent of New School classes are utilizing the official self-instructional guides, providing some cause for concern. One might question whether a New School without the prescribed textbooks, and the curriculum and instructional techniques they encourage, could really be said to be 'New'" (440). Although the result of the evaluation of cognitive achievement indicates that the Escuela Nueva is having a decreasingly positive impact on fifth graders, the effect is a positive one. McEwan advises caution when classifying each school under the umbrella of Escuela Nueva as truly "new," however, he also note that "Evidence from this and previous evaluations suggests that, overall, the New School program has important effects on raising student achievement in Spanish and mathematics. This is impressive in light of evidence that not all schools have been endowed with the necessary program inputs" (449). However, McEwan steps back at the end, saying that perhaps it is the "holistic" approach of the Escuela Nueva, a synthesis of inputs such as communities, teachers, and students, rather than a simple breakdown of discrete items like libraries and textbooks (449).

Although McEwan's contributions to the evaluation of the Escuela Nueva are important in terms of directing the conversation to a more politically interesting corner; like most important work, McEwan's study falls short; as indicated in "Escuela Nueva's Impact on the Peaceful Social Interaction of Children in Colombia" by Clemente Forrero-Pineda, Daniel Escobar-Rodriguez, and Danielken Molina

This study by Forrero et al. is part of a collection title Education for All and Multigrade Teaching, which was assembled and edited by Angela Little. Each contributor to this article comes from a slightly different background, which contributes to the unique perspective adopted by this study. Forrero-Pineda is a Professor at University of los Andes where he studies education and economy in developing countries. Escobar-Rodriguez is a Graduate Student at Universidad el Rosario, researching education and peaceful interactions, and Danielken Molina is a research assistant studying education at the University El Rosario as a part of his work for the Inter-American Development Bank. This article is incredibly important as it represents the most current evaluation study conducted of the Escuela Nueva program. The investigation compares the Escuela Nueva to traditional schools, specifically examining the effect of each model on the peaceful social interaction of children. The sample utilized by Forrero et al. is taken from six towns in the Cafetero region of Colombia which has a higher incidence of homicide than the rest of the country. Forrero et al. justify this selection saying "the levels of violence in communities could be related to the peaceful social interaction of children in schools" (274).

The nine hundred and eighty nine observations of this study are based on data from a 2001 survey of third and fifth grade students from the Cafetero region. The students were selected from ten traditional schools and fifteen which had implemented the Escuela Nueva program and behavior was analyzed using hierarchical multi-level models as a way of limiting bias. This study is more comprehensive than those conducted previously, in that it also accounts for some additional factors in student interaction by surveying forty nine teachers, twenty four principals, three hundred and forty three parents, and one hundred and seventy nine alumni (278). Forrero et al. remark, "the first question dealt with in the research, the impact of schooling methodologies on the peaceful social interaction of children, needs to be complemented with other questions and analyses, since the behavior of children in schools is a

component of an intricate network of relationships between these children, their schools, their families, and their communities" (274). This study is also reflective of a progression in the dialogue regarding the Escuela Nueva and its evaluations. Forrero et al. point out that, while previous studies noted that the Escuela Nueva was not uniformly implemented, they did not account for traditional schools employing techniques borrowed from the Escuela Nueva (275).

Forrero et al. define peaceful social interaction using the concept of "convivencia," which is composed of active respect for others, universal solidarity, fair play, and equity (275). Active respect was measured by asking students about difficulties they experience with students of the opposite gender or different racial or geographical background (275). Universal solidarity was measured by asking children how they relate to strangers who may be experiencing social difficulties (275). Fair play was judged by surveying students about scenarios where they could get away with violating class rules (276). Finally, equity was measured by polling students on issues of distribution and sharing (276). Forrero et al. analyze convivencia in four different contexts, claiming that context is an important determinant of student behavior. They examine the interactions of children at the student level, school level, classroom level, and municipality level, controlling for age, gender, moral development, and household socio-economic level (276).

This study indicates that even though the techniques originally implemented by the Escuela Nueva, have spread to traditional schools; the Escuela Nueva still utilizes their unique inputs and methodologies to a much larger extent (278). The findings of this study are somewhat disappointing in light of the stated goals of the Escuela Nueva foundation. Forrero et al. report that "A statistical exploration with hierarchical models…shows positive significant relationships among communicative action, democratic behavior of three types (those related with the institutions of direct, participatory, and representative democracies) and peaceful social interaction," which confirms the hypothesis put forward in the research (280). However, it was alarming to read that "school climate, political management of the school, level of formal education of the teacher, infrastructure of the school (quality and state of the building), habitat (urban, semi-urban, rural), homicide rate of the municipality, and sub-region (departamento) where the municipality is located" had no statistically significant effect of the peaceful social interaction of children (280).

Forrero et al. continue by reporting the findings of the parent, teacher, administrator, and alumni surveys, which were designed to measure perceived change within families and communities using pobabalistic logit and probit models (284).   The independent variable in this analysis is the level of Escuela Nueva policy implementation with participant perception as the dependent variable. The results obtained from these surveys are arguably the most interesting presented in this research. Forrero et al. find that "parents of children attending the Escuela Nueva show a higher propensity to change their behavior, and a higher probability that they would consider that the school has an influence on the community," supported by a statistical significance of greater than ninety five percent. (284). Forrero et al. go on to explain that these differences can be accounted for by the generally higher levels of participation in school activities experienced by parents of students in the Escuela Nueva programs (284). Parent participation is crucial to many of the academic and non-academic success of the children enrolled in Escuela Nueva programs. "It was found that when parent participation in school activities is higher, it is more likely that they perceive that their children accept different opinions among their peers, and that what the children have learned at school has had an influence on changes in permission rules and home and the way family decisions are made…it is more likely that the family collectively solves home problems…." (286) Additionally, seventy three percent of Escuela Nueva parents indicated that the school influences the ways in which their children are disciplined at home, although this is significantly higher in municipalities where implementation of the Escuela Nueva programs is complete (285). Seventy percent of parents who had children in the Escuela Nueva schools reported that division of labor in the home had changed since their children began attending the program. Additionally, parents of students at the Escuela Nueva claim that "trust and respect among families has increased" due to increased participation in school activities (486).

"Escuela Nueva's Impact on the Peaceful Social Interaction of Children in Colombia" also explores the perceived effect of the Escuela Nueva on the community itself as well as local politics. The findings consistently show a positive relationship between implementation of an Escuela Nueva program and positive answers given by parents relating to the influence of the school and electing community leaders as well as "the probability that parents participate in monitoring community projects and resources" (286).   Seventy two percent of Escuela Nueva parents indicate that school activities have "helped them to organize and solve community

problems" (287). Additionally, parents stated that school activities offered a useful place to meet other families in the community and work toward solving problems together (287).

Finally, Forrero et al. examine the lasting effect of the Escuela Nueva schooling by interviewing one hundred and seventy nine alumni. The alumni surveyed had an average age of sixteen and most are still students in post-primary schools (287). This section of the study surveyed "the propensity of alumni to join voluntary organizations," which is associated with human capital (288). This information was obtained through a questionnaire which asked how many and which kinds of voluntary organizations alumni had participated in over the course of the last two years. Although there is only statistical significance to eighty percent; "alumni participating in larger numbers of voluntary organizations have a higher probability of being alumni from Escuela Nueva" (288). Additional observations indicate that the alumni who have graduated from the Escuela Nueva are more likely to engage in participatory democracy, while students from traditional schools are likelier to support a model of representative democracy (488). Forrero et al. provide an example saying, "while conventional school alumni have a higher probability of acknowledging that the mayor of the town has asked them to vote for a certain initiative, Escuela Nueva alumni are more likely to present an initiative of their own to the mayor of the town" (488). Alumni of the Escuela Nueva programs are also more likely to respect women's ideas, measured with a statistical significance of ninety percent (488). Most encouragingly, Escuela Nueva alumni are also more likely to expect discussions to end in agreement (489).

The idea of convivencia is politically important, relating to personal political identity, and a belief that individual actions affect the real world in real ways. Paulo Friere claims that the belief in transformation is essential for change to occur: "the unfinished character of human beings and the transformational character of reality necessitate that education be an ongoing activity" (84). In a very Foucaultian sense Friere seems to be saying that a critical investigation of reality leads to the creation of new knowledge, and perhaps even new kinds of knowledge, which in turn transform reality, leading to the need for further interrogation of this constantly reforming reality. In the case of the Escuela Nueva in Colombia, perhaps the transformation to a country where children can engage in collaborative learning, investigating the world they live in, is one that paves the way for political transformation.

Suggestive Evidence

When estimating the costs of implementing the Escuela Nueva program or expanding the role of civil society in Colombia generally it is important to consider the economic context. In "The Private Sector and Peace in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Colombia" Angelika Rettberg writes:

> "The National Planning Depatment estimates suggest that the conflict cost the country between two and four GDP points per year between 1991 and 1996, and over seven per cent of GDP between 1998 and 2003. This had an important international dimension: a World Markets Research Centre report ranked Colombia as the most likely country among 186 to be targeted in a terrorist attack in 2004, a fact that 72 percent of companies factor into their decision-making process when defining locations for investment" (483).

"In the early eighteenth century, when it became possible to imagine the nation-state as an abstract entity, mass education emerged as the primary vehicle for creating national citizens" (Suarez 329, Meyer). The scholars who research the relationship of civil society to the state commonly refer to the importance of shared goals.

> "More to the point, educational investments may generate technological advances through creating more adaptable workers as well as promoting research and development. Through education it is possible to produce more scientists, engineers, and entrepreneurs who can capitalize quickly on new knowledge; a higher level of general technical literacy among the population; information flows that provide quick access to the latest developments; and research and inquiry in higher education (and industry) that can generate technical advances" (Levin 545).

Reforming educational policy differs significantly in its execution, to the techniques used by the Colombian state in continuing a war against the guerilla groups. However, both of these contribute to ending the plight of persistent displacement and the resulting social blights. The economic and political effects of poor education, comprised over decades of unrest can be staggering (Arias et al. 168). The problems experienced by the displaced in Colombia are compounded through generationally inherited poverty and low levels of education.

Table 4.1

Low education continues for generations, especially among the poor
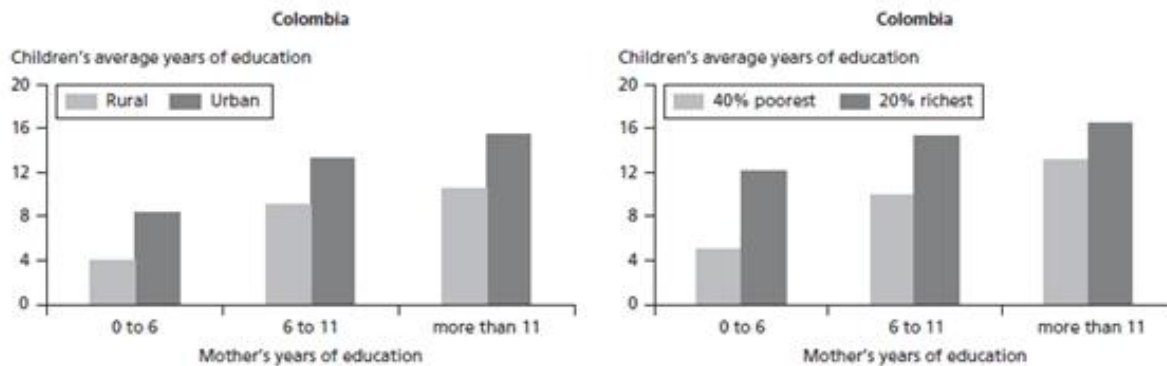
The tables above are based on household survey data conducted for the chapter "Breaking the Cycle of Underinvestment in Human Capital in Latin America" and are taken directly from Arias, O., A. M. Diaz, and V. Fazio. Used under fair use guidelines, 2011.

"Education has long been viewed as one of the most important strategies for raising the productivity of both individuals and nations. In the past, considerable attention has been devoted to the expansion of enrollments and educational opportunities to improve the labor force (Levin 541). In "Breaking the Cycle of Underinvestment in Human Capital in Latin America," Arias et al. write that "educational investments are crucial for increased productivity, rapid technological adaptation, and innovation…." (165). However, one of the limitations in analyzing the relationship between educational attainment and poverty is the danger of two-way causality (165). That is to say that the relationship between poverty and education is a variety of the classic chicken-egg conundrum, where either variable could be the causal factor for the experienced levels of the second variable. However, the truth of the matter is addressed in "Pedagogical Challenges in Industrializing Countries" where Levin writes: "Workers have access to specific resources of the firm in their productive activities. Even how they allot their own time to different tasks can have an important productive effect. And, educated workers are better able to gather and process information that signals the relative cost and productivities of different allocative choices" (543). Arias et al. ask us to consider the following: "can market forces be expected to break down this poverty-low-education cycle, say with sustained economic growth? Or are there self-reinforcing mechanisms that tend to reproduce the cycle? If so, what are they, and what sorts of public policy interventions are needed to address them?" (165).

"The effect of trade on poverty and income inequality depends largely on other policies being implemented simultaneously. The impact of trade on poverty reduction can be significantly enhanced (and the effects on inequality mitigated) by polices that increase the provision of and access to skills and other productive assets for the poor. Such reforms may include measures enhancing labor market flexibility, promoting new entry, improving governance, and increasing secondary education enrolment. For example, faced with changed wages for skilled and unskilled labor and, thus, higher incentives for continued schooling, individuals may review their decisions regarding educational attainment. But education policies need to follow to ensure that everyone can indeed invest in education. In terms of production decisions, if prices of certain crops remain higher and production is sustainable and profitable, farmers may decide to upgrade their capital stock. Similarly, firms may exploit new trading opportunities by investing in physical capital, R&D, or adjusting the quality of their goods. These responses may lead to further growth in labor demand and further changes in wages and household welfare. Thus, complementary policies in the areas of education, access to credit, insurance and infrastructure, as well as technical assistance to poor farmers, can help the poor to maximize the new economic opportunities offered by trade reforms. Government actions to increase the supply and quality of public education, to help overcome liquidity and informational constraints on poor families, and to move towards more competitive and efficient training and remedial education services, would play a key role in such a response" (Perry et al. 6)

Arias et al. go on to suggest "the acceleration of educational development in the region requires filling in the middle of the education pyramid through a more egalitarian skills upgrading" (169). The authors point to " a large body of literature" emphasizing the importance of "formal schooling and training from childhood to adulthood, these early investments crystallize in the development of marketable skills….The productivity content of an individual's educational level depends on the quality of family and formal school formation during infancy, childhood, and adolescent years" (169) "Breaking the Cycle of Underinvestment in Human Capital in Latin America" points to a simple cost-benefit analysis as the primary inhibitor to increased levels of educational development (169). "Many poor families may under invest in schooling because the full benefits of the investment are too remote" (169).

Table 4.2

Poor children and youth stay out of school because of high costs and low benefits

Colombia

Percent

| | Limited access | | Low benefits | | Work related | | Insecurity | | Other |
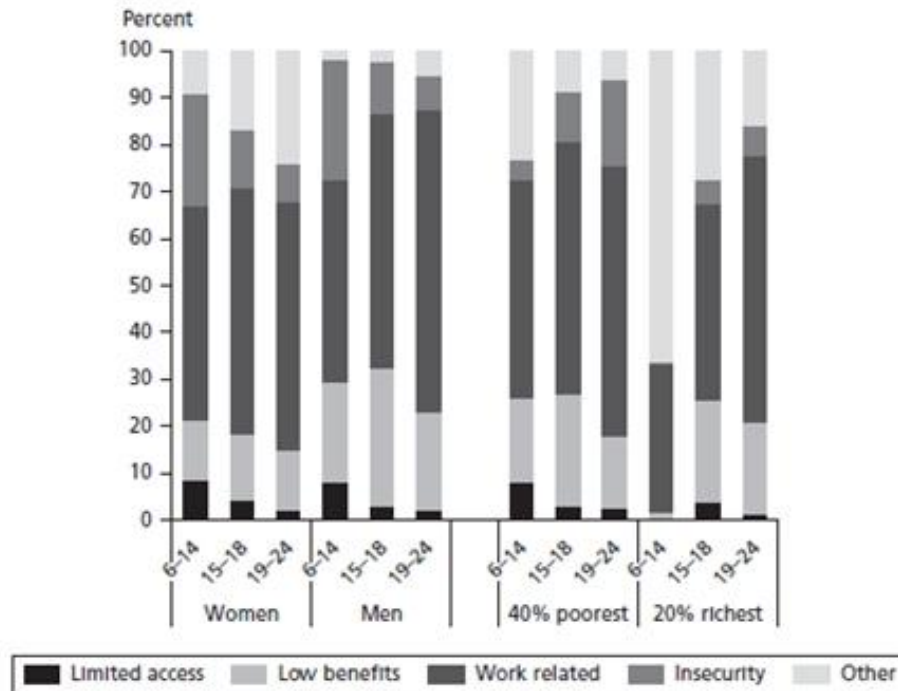
The table above is based on household survey data conducted for the chapter "Breaking the Cycle of Underinvestment in Human Capital in Latin America" Used under fair use guidelines, 2011.

However, the low cost-benefit return estimate may merely be a case of faulty logic or being misinformed. "To the extent that individuals and families act on the expected returns to education in making their schooling decisions, estimates of average returns to education may not accurately represent the actual return …." (183). However, the rate of economic returns to both the individual and national markets; even a single additional year of education per citizen, spread over the whole of the population, could have substantial economic effects.

Table 4.3

Years of education and lifetime economic gains in Colombia

Colombia, 2003
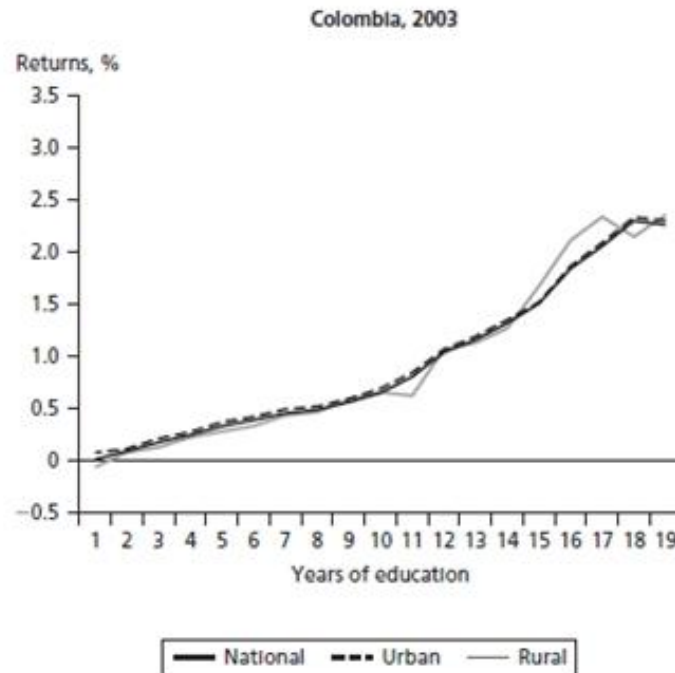
This table is based on household survey data conducted for the chapter "Breaking the Cycle of Underinvestment in Human Capital in Latin America" and is taken directly from Forrero et al. Used under fair use guidelines, 2011.

The opposite remains true as well in that the failure to act in ways that allow for increased access and quality education in Colombia, the symptoms of poverty and low educational attainment will persist (190). "In Colombia, having *grandparents* will little education increases the risk of school failure of children and youth even when parental education, incomes, and other family characteristics are accounted for" (Arias 191).

Human Capital and International Capital

In "The Private Sector and Peace etc." Angelika Rettberg writes

"Issues related to economic viability and stability provided to an important stimulus to growing business involvement in seeking a negotiated solution to the Colombian conflict. 'Instead of asking for bullets, they are saying" fix this fast, we can't take any more of this." This is not because of conviction but because of fear. They are very pragmatic,'

said one important business leader. The underlying rationale was simple; as stated by one Colombian executive, 'peace is better business" (485).

However, peace is not so easily attained - better business or not. Certain political climates, historical contexts, geographical facts, and any number of other factors conspire against peace. Additionally, there are individuals, organizations, movements, and states working together toward the mutual goals of stability, prosperity, and peace. While some may argue, that education is merely a precursor or antecedent to democratic citizenship; it is more accurately associated with predicting socio-economic factors of future generations. "Whether Colombia eventually achieves peace will depend on a variety of factors, such as success in cutting the flow of resources nurturing illegal armed actors and overcoming deep-seated socioeconomic grievances" (Rettberg 492). Programs like the Escuela Nueva have implemented standards for education reform that are economically and politically far-reaching, especially now, as the practices used there are spread across the globe. "Where education returns are high and basic infrastructure in deficient, public investments in the construction and upgrading of schools and roads are essential. The development of multigrade schools, learning from best practices such as the Colombian *Escuela Nueva…* can address supply constraints cost effectively" (Arias195).

Identity, Agency, and Praxis

-It was shown that the use of Escuela Nueva methodologies has a significant positive impact on the peaceful social interaction of children" (Forero 289).

The quotation above is meant to be taken as humorous. We want to know how this "positive impact" manifests in a way that becomes relevant, operational. Abstractions like respect, tolerance, and even peace are by nature difficult to measure. However, as political scientists we must be able to study these concepts in order to better understand political behaviors. Often times, as with many of the studies used in the writing of this thesis, measurable behavioral proxies are used to measure the democratic values and the practices associated with them, which are advocated in Escuela Nueva and traditional schools. In, "Constructing the Citizen," Helen Haste writes that "*voting* was associated with school factors, such as civic knowledge, curricular emphasis on the importance of elections, student confidence in their ability to participate, and an open classroom climate" (Haste 430). An emphasis on student-self-

confidence and an open, participatory environment are some of the key principles of the Escuela Nueva. However, in order to fully address the implications laid out by the scholarly literature relating to civil society and the emancipator political possibilities that it represents, it is important to look beyond traditional institutional measurements of participatory democracy. Rather than a narrow definition of democratic citizenship the students who graduate from the Escuela Nueva posses a broad understanding of what civic involvement means.

One of the key ingredients in fostering an engaged citizenry is an open forum for communication with the community. With the structure of the Escuela Nueva organized to do exactly this, neighbors and friends have a place to air their concerns not only regarding curriculum, but also the school is a space where a common social norm of respect and self-governance pervades. The results of this involvement have been mutually beneficial and have had some results that are consistent with the literature regarding civil society generally. "Intention to *volunteer* was affected by school factors such as learning about community problems, but otherwise, related to experience with organizations and sense of efficacy" (Haste 431).

The intention to volunteer, coupled with improved voting practices, community involvement, and en elementary education make it clear that the "value-added" addition that civil society organizations can offer is a political benefit that should not be overlooked. However, these benefits to society continue long after children graduate. Forero et al. write: "the system of education where children form their peaceful social interaction behavior extends beyond the school….We found significant positive effects of *Escuela Nueva* on some family behavior related to home educational practices and to the influence of the school on parent participation in community life" (290). Perhaps it is somewhat whimsical to define this community effort, focused through the Escuela Nueva as a smaller version of the multi-stakeholder partnership; however, it seems a shame to dismiss the comparison simply because it is a tired writing device. The Escuela Nueva represents something new, not only in providing access to competitive, if not superior education to formerly displaced Colombian children, but it also brings a new political dimension to the disenfranchised communities in Colombia.

As the graduates of the Escuela Nueva continue growing into a larger portion of the Colombian and global populations, the pertinent question becomes: Do the alumni of Escuela

Nueva continue to act based on the principles of good citizenship, volunteerism, and self-governance ? The findings in "Escuela Nueva's Impact on the Peaceful Social Interaction of Children in Colombia," indicate that the inclination of *Escuela Nueva* alumni towards participatory democracy contrasts with the inclination of conventional school alumni towards representative democracy. The propensity of *Escuela Nueva* alumni to join voluntary organizations, thereby forming social capital, was shown to be higher, though the level of significance of the relationship was only 90%" (Forero et al. 290). Although, the conversation regarding the impact that Escuela Nueva graduates is far from over, this article from "Education for All" points the way forward for scholarly research.

CHAPTER 5

IMPLICATIONS

In "The backlash against civil society in the wake of the "Long War on Terror;" Jude Howell argues that policies designed to formally structure the relationship of nongovernmental actors to the governments of the states where they are operating has had an unfortunate effect (Howell 88). Howell elaborates, "The policies and practices have inadvertently restricted the diversity of civil society by putting an emphasis on the technical service-delivery functions of CSOs, at the expense of their potential emancipator and political roles" (88). This contrasts with the stated goals of many organizations seeking to change the political landscape by purely political means. However, assuming that the service-providing organizations have no political role seems to be at least an incomplete view of the potential for political progressiveness that exists in those kinds of organizations. Diego Carrion writes: "Twenty-first century human society will require democratic and governable peoples, who are prosperous and efficient; who express solidarity and justice; who are healthy and who support life; who feel safe and respect the right of others; who share collective identities and a creative culture….Creating the social and political will to enable everyone to join in efforts to achieve these ideals is the task ahead" (216). Although the efforts of some nongovernmental organizations that advocate for political reform by means of so-called humanitarian efforts, the political environment of Colombia and many other countries with long histories of conflict may not be ideal for organizations of this type.

Conflict with state actors and questions of loyalty or legitimacy are inevitable in a highly polarized and often victimized society. The interactions of the Colombian state and non-state actors like the Red Cross and Colombians for Peace highlight some of the ways that civil society organizations may cloud the already turbid political waters of historically violent regions. The specific goals of Colombians for Peace, such as the end to violent conflict through negotiations, may never be realized by the particular means advocated by the group. Considering the reaction of the Colombian people and state officials to the correspondences of this organization's leadership and guerilla leaders, it is not surprising that many of these organizations are summarily dismissed as members of some sort of oppositional force. However, democratic reforms can be achieved.

Organizations within civil society generally, and Colombian civil society specifically, are providing new spaces for open communication and empowering Colombian citizens to speak out and participate in the development of their community and state. These organizations that have been most widely acclaimed remain in the service-provision sector, without any overt political motivations other than the promotion of tangible social reforms and democratic values. The Escuela Nueva Program has been a shining example of a civil society organization that has changed the political landscape of Colombia, not only in providing access to primary education to marginalized and displaced populations, but also in engendering the values of equality, plurality, non-violence, and respect. This multi-grade model is an innovative and cost-effective approach to the problems of instituting sweeping reforms in educational policy in some of the regions in Colombia that have been hit the hardest by political violence. What started out as a program to expand access to education among the rural poor is now a nationally implemented program that reportedly outperforms most traditional state-schools in Colombia in both rural and urban settings for a comparable price. The Escuela Nueva program sheds some light on how political change is effected in a country with a long history of violence, without the potentially dangerous conflicts that occur when NGOs engage the state directly with purely political goals such as peace talks with hostile forces. Ultimately service-oriented civil society organizations may provide a step on the path to peace in Colombia; however, this will be accomplished by educating citizens in good democratic practices and mutual respect, while giving students the tools they need to compete and thrive in a rapidly modernizing global community.

"*Identity* emerges as central to engagement. To become involved requires that one have a sense of ownership of the issue, that one define oneself as a member of a group or as a holder of particular beliefs. The data show that civic knowledge is not enough; such knowledge has to become salient to the individual through the experience of participation in relevant action, through the negotiation of identity with others, and through incorporating narratives about values, self-hood, and national identity into one's self-definition" (Haste 433). This is the crux of what is at stake for civil society in Colombia. Although the world can no longer be broken down simply into "state" and "adversary," civil society organizations such as Escuela Nueva illuminate a path laden with alternative stories to tell. These stories involve communities working in conjunction with national governments who are working with grassroots movements,

partnered with local entrepreneurs, international investors, and organizations which promote world peace and human rights.

These are the kinds of stories that define a nation and the individuals living in that nation. The stories become the people, and the Colombian people have been in desperate and dire need to spin a different yarn. The Escuela Nueva Foundation provides access to education despite: harsh conditions of pervasive and historical political violence, lack of government presence both in regard to law-enforcement and infrastructure, and a generally poor perception of civil society actors given the context. Education is shown to positively affect both the national economy as well as individual earnings. The democratic practices promoted, as well as the Foundation's specific goals of targeting the displaced, lead to a political environment that is economically more attractive for both domestic and international investors and business-persons. However, not all investment is monetary; communities that have adopted the practice of Escuela Nueva have increasingly invested politically.

As a result of an emphasis on student government, sharing, and open classroom environments, children enrolled at the Escuela Nueva experienced higher levels of self-esteem and a greater propensity to take-turns. As the graduates of the Escuela Nueva grow into active Colombian citizens, the research contained in this thesis points to a greater likelihood in graduates of the Escuela Nueva to participate in elections or to volunteer. This finding is largely based on the widespread community involvement that villages with Escuela Nueva schools experience. Students, parents, teachers, administrators, and other community-members are encouraged to meet regularly in sort of "town-hall" that often takes place in the school building itself. Although it is hard to predict the political results of this emphasis on civic education will have in Colombia, it is not hard to see that they should be consistent with the principles embraced by civil society largely as well as those directly stated by the Escuela Nueva.

Metasynthesis a variety of source materials and put them to work doing an extensive range of tasks. The lenses provided by the literature contained in this thesis represent everything from the academic to the pedestrian, public to private, qualitative to quantitative, etc. In approaching the research questions laid out in this thesis, it is important to note the complexity of the relationships being studied. How does civil society relate to the state? How about the Escuela Nueva? How do they do that? Ok, what else do they do...and so on. The purpose of the

metasynthesis approach is to attempt to answer these questions, in all of their nuanced glory with the goal of higher abstraction and broader application always in mind. That being said, the Limitations section notes that while some generalizability is good in that it allows for the collaboration of multiple disciplines, too tenuous a relationship between cases leaves future scholars with gaps to be filled.

Future research regarding civil society in regions that have experience pervasive or historical violence may investigate the relationships of states to other kinds of civil society organizations that focus on service provision rather than direct political action. Additionally, the study of Escuela Nueva in Colombia is a deep study, rather than a broad cross-national study. Research into "best-practices" in other fields which are endorsed by third-party evaluation and funding organizations may also become of interest. Finally, and more specifically a long-term study of the political behaviors of Escuela Nueva graduates would be useful in determining if other characteristics besides the propensity to volunteer and vote continue after graduation from the program.

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