

Education and Development

The case of the Colegio Diego Thomson in Arequipa, Peru

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This Master's Thesis is carried out as a part of the education at the University of Agder and is therefore approved as a part of this education. However, this does not imply that the University answers for the methods that are used or the conclusions that are drawn.

Abstract

This study explores the connection between management, education, and development. It is a case study focusing on the Colegio Diego Thomson (CDT), which is a school offering kindergarten, primary, and secondary education in the municipality of Alto Selva Alegre, a very poor district in the outskirts of Arequipa, Peru. The school is owned by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Peru (IEL-P) and is operated in cooperation with the Peruvian state. Such a dual partnership may offer challenges to the parties involved, but might also generate synergetic effects towards quality education and development. The overall objective with the study was to find out if there is a connection between primary and secondary school management, quality education and development in Arequipa, Peru.

The study concludes that the school management's ability to make sound and decisive decisions has yielded positive results. Participating in a capacity building program has improved the teachers' pedagogical approaches thus leading to quality education and award winning student achievements. Hence cultural development is in progress. The strong achievements have led to increased self-esteem among the CDT students and teachers, and improved social status for the students' families, thus leading to social development. Given the growing Peruvian economy and the consistent research connecting education with higher income, even in Peru, the schools stakeholders seem equally optimistic that education will lead to economic development as well.

The study also concludes that the CDT management is better sustained and will gain more trust from the students if the management style becomes more democratic and inclusive, thus less dependent on the persons in management while encouraging dialogue. Furthermore, the findings reveal that the strong academic results achieved in the capacity building program are dependent on a motivated principal and teachers who are willing and able to learn and change. Moreover, the Lutheran identity of the school is a unifying element for both teachers and students and an important ingredient in the synergetic effects that take place in the school: The state observes that the CDT offers quality education and receives awards for it, and the IEL-P observes that it reaches an entire community with its message and values.

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Table of contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Table of contents.....	iii
List of figures	v
List of tables	v
List of Appendices	v
Abbreviations and acronyms.....	vi
Clarification of terminology.....	vii
Chapter One: Introduction	1
1.1 Background.....	1
1.2 Brief contextual overview.....	2
1.3 Research objectives	3
1.4 Methodology in brief.....	4
1.5 Thesis outline.....	4
Chapter Two: Contextual overview	7
2.1 History, politics, and socio-economics	7
2.2 Education in Peru.....	10
2.3 Arequipa	12
2.4 Alto Selva Alegre.....	13
2.5 The Colegio Diego Thomson	14
2.5.1 Background briefing	14
2.5.2 Living conditions.....	15
2.5.3 The Colegio Diego Thomson today	17
Chapter Three: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework.....	21
3.1 Development	21
3.2 The role of education in development	26
3.2.1 Education for cultural development	27
3.2.2 Education for social development	30
3.2.3 Education for economic development.....	32
3.3 The role of school management in development settings.....	34
3.3.1 Two models of management	35
3.3.2 Leadership style and democracy in schools.....	38
3.3.3 Synergy in school management	43

Chapter Four: Methodology	47
4.1 Research strategy	47
4.1.1 Mixed methods research.....	50
4.1.2 Case study as research design.....	51
4.2 Data collection and field work.....	52
4.2.1 Qualitative methods for data collection	53
4.2.2 Quantitative methods for data collection.....	55
4.3 Interpreting the data	56
4.4 Ethical considerations.....	57
4.5 Limitations and challenges	58
Chapter Five: Findings and analyses	59
<i>Part One: Research questions and findings</i>	59
5.1 Management goals	59
5.2 Ability to reach management goals.....	60
5.3 Management’s influence on students learning outcome	67
5.4 Student mix and achievement.....	69
5.5 Education and poverty reduction	71
5.6 Students’ future expectations	75
5.7 School status and quality applicants	78
5.8 Social capital added by Lutheran profile?	79
5.9 Social capital moving from school to households	80
<i>Part Two: Discussion of findings and the overall objectives.....</i>	83
5.10 The CDT management and quality education	83
5.11 Quality education and development	88
5.11.1 Cultural development.....	88
5.11.2 Social development.....	90
5.11.3 Economic development.....	92
Chapter Six: Conclusion	95
6.1 Theory and practice	95
6.2 The role of management	96
6.3 Education and development	97
6.4 Where should the CDT head in the future?	98
References	101
Appendices	111

List of figures

Figure 1: Map of Peru.....	7
Figure 2: The Cathedral of Arequipa	12
Figure 3: Settlements at high altitudes	13
Figure 4: The Colegio Diego Thomson.....	14
Figure 5: Next door neighbor to the CDT.	16
Figure 6: The family home of five CDT students.	16
Figure 7: Way to school through the <i>torrentera</i> . The CDT is on the hill to the left.....	17
Figure 8: Students lined up in the school yard.....	18
Figure 9: The Politics Model	36
Figure 10: The competing values framework.....	37
Figure 11: Students' perception of what the management style is at the CDT.....	62
Figure 12: Students' trust in the CDT management.....	62
Figure 13: Average results for both schools.....	77

List of tables

Table 1: SPSS output.....	56
Table 2: Linkage between trust and management style.....	63
Table 3: CDT students' outlook on the future.....	68
Table 4: Neighboring school students' outlook on the future.....	68
Table 5: GPA averages among <i>poor</i> and <i>extremely poor</i> CDT students	71
Table 6: What CDT students have planned after graduation.	73
Table 7: What students at the other school have planned after graduation.	73
Table 8: Future expectations at the CDT.....	76
Table 9: Future expectations at the other school.....	76
Table 10: The school as a status symbol.	82

List of Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Guide.....	112
Appendix 2: Questionnaire for students.....	115
Appendix 3: Questionnaire for CDT teachers.....	123

Abbreviations and acronyms

AfL	Assessment for Learning
GNP	Gross national product
CDT	Colegio Diego Thomson (The Diego Thomson School)
CRECE	Educational capacity building institute in Arequipa. <i>Crece</i> means <i>grow</i>
GPA	Grade Point Average
HDI	Human Development Index
IEL-P	Iglesia Evangelica Luterana–Peru (The Peruvian Evangelical Lutheran Church)
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MRTA	Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru (Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement)
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PISA	Program for International Student Assessment
PRONA	Programa Nacional de Alimentación (National food program)
SL	Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path)
UGEL	Unidad de Gestión Educativa Local (Province-level School Management and Supervision Unit)
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
WW2	World War 2

Clarification of terminology

Adobe	Building brick made of clay, water and organic materials
Aymara	An indigenous people and language in Southern Peru
Bachillerato Académico	Secondary school degree for students completing the track of scientific and humanistic subject
Caudillo	Dictator
Caudillaje	Dictatorship
Cholo	Term describing a person of indigenous or mixed descent
Comedores	Places where different parents take turns preparing food for everyone's children
Contratado	Teacher that is hired on a temporary basis
Guano	Bird droppings sold and used as fertilizer
Hacienda	Large farms and plantations
Nombrado	Teacher that has a fixed position
Mita	Involuntarily labor drafting system used by colonists
Mestizo	Term describing a person of mixed descent
Torrentera	Dry water bed / valley illegally used as garbage dump
Pueblo joven	Shanty town
Sierra	Mountains
Sillar	Volcanic rock created from white, petrified volcanic ash frequently used as building material.
Promotór	Promoter, responsible for maintaining the IEL-P profile
Quechua	The most common indigenous language and ethnic group in Peru

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Background

In a radio interview with Greg Mortenson, the author of the bestseller *Three Cups of Tea* and founder of 131 schools for girls in remote mountain areas in Pakistan, the interviewer comments that in Mortenson's world there are only three ways to poverty reduction and peace; *education, education, and education* (Moksnes, 2010). Although this statement is clearly exaggerated and overly encouraging to the educators of the world, it certainly draws attention to the important role that education plays in every country's road towards development. It is difficult to imagine a society developing without education. In positive cases of development, the role of the educational system is often apparent. Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea for example, have all invested heavily in primary education thus lubricating and accelerating the countries' production rate for decades while also encouraging the development of democratic government structures (Nafziger, 1997:54-55). The world community in general acknowledges the importance of education for development, shown in particular through the second United Nation (UN) Millennium Development Goal (MDG) which is to 'achieve universal primary education' by 2015 (UN, 2010).

Although the UN seems to agree with Greg Mortenson that education is a crucial factor in any development process, education cannot bring about development alone. That is why there are eight different MDGs. The educated masses need a working economy and a functional society in which they can put their knowledge to work. They work hand in hand, just like a car and its driver. The quality and effectiveness of the drive will certainly depend upon the quality and limitations of the car, but perhaps even more upon the skills of the driver and how well he knows his car. The quality of a society's productiveness, development course, and governance will also depend greatly upon the skills that the inhabitants have gained through the education they have received, and on the relevance that the education has in connection with the given society and its economy. Therefore, the same way there is no universal truth about what is the best way to drive all over the world, there is no fixed answer to what the best educational system is, or to what is the best way to learn.

Nevertheless, there are similarities. There are several general lessons about education that may be relevant in a great deal of different societies. Research and ideas about didactics and

educational psychology may be adaptable to a variety of subjects and may fit in very well in societies that otherwise vary greatly in terms of culture and history. For this Master Thesis the idea is to inquire into what may work in a school that operates in a setting where resources are very limited and where poverty is widespread. In an article which deals with synergy in development settings, Peter Evans (1996:1131) encourages more research into positive cases of development in order to help developing 'soft technologies' that would be applicable in enhancing the welfare of citizens in poor countries.

This project is an attempt to contribute in that direction. Are there 'soft technologies' that may enable a school to provide quality education in spite of very scarce resources? And will applying these 'soft technologies' contribute towards development? Is there a connection between the 'soft technologies' and school management, quality education and development?

Focusing on education for development through a case study in Peru was a natural choice for me. There are at least three factors that contributed towards that choice. First, I teach at a secondary school in Norway, and I am continuously trying to improve the students' learning outcome. Secondly, I am interested in development and how to improve the lives of the marginalized of the world. The third factor is that I worked for two years in Arequipa, Peru in the late 1990's and therefore have valuable background knowledge about the local setting, and several friends and connections there that were of great help to me while conducting my research in June and July of 2010. My experience as a teacher tells me that education makes a difference in people's lives. At least that is what my students tell me when they come back to visit several years after graduating. They talk about the positive impact the teachers have had on their lives, and about the difference it has made. Their testimonies tell me that quality education is empowerment. Before travelling to Latin America for my research, I suspected that the same would be true in Peru. After finishing my research, I am convinced.

1.2 *Brief contextual overview*

Peru, with its 30 million inhabitants (Economist, 2010), is one of the countries that have come through the international financial crisis in good condition (Gross, 2010). The reason is that the country is rich on resources like copper, zinc, tin, silver, gold, natural gas, and more. Since commodity prices have risen due to the growing demand in China, the growth in the Peruvian GDP has been high with a growth rate of 9.2% in 2008 (Gross, 2010) and 5,4% in

2010 (Economist, 2010). At the same time the Government and the National Bank have lead sound fiscal and monetary policies (Gross, 2010), thus encouraging growth while at the same time maintaining inflation at a healthy 2.7% in 2010 (Economist, 2010). The positive upturn in the economy is reflected in optimistic newspaper articles (Oportuno, 2010:2) as well as in most of the people that I talked to during my research. Nevertheless, the growing wealth is mostly concentrated in the cities and the coastal regions, and poverty is still widespread (CIA, 2010).

Arequipa is the second largest city in Peru after Lima with a population of a little less than 1 million people in the greater metropolitan area (Wikipedia, 2010). The city is located at the slopes of the volcanoes Misti and Chachani, and as the city grows, it expands higher up in the hills and nearer to the volcanoes. The district of Alto Selva Alegre is at the very skirts of the Misti, and is a typical Peruvian '*pueblo joven*', which directly translates into '*young town*', comparable to the Brazilian '*favela*' of what is more commonly known as a '*shanty town*'. There are about 73 000 people living in Alto Selva Alegre, and the district is characterized among others by its dirt roads, poor and unfinished structures, lack of public services such as quality health care units, and high influx of migrants from higher up in the Andes. This is the setting in which the Colegio Diego Thomson (CDT), the school that is the focus of this case study, is located.

1.3 Research objectives

The overall objective with the study is to find out if there is a connection between primary and secondary school management, quality education and development in Arequipa, Peru.

The research questions are as follows:

1. What have been the CDT management's main goals for the school? Have they changed during the course of the past few years, and if so, why?
2. To which extent has the CDT management been able to reach its goals? What factors have contributed to reaching the goals and what factors have been counteractive?
3. To what extent has there been a connection between the management's goals and the students' learning outcome?
4. What is the ethnical mix at the school? Is academic achievement correlated with ethnicity?

5. How well have graduated students from the CDT performed in terms of getting well-paid jobs, getting into higher education and incrementing the income and the social conditions of the household to which they belong?
6. Do current CDT students hold higher expectations for future employment and income than students from other schools? Why or why not?
7. Does school status attract higher quality applicants among teachers and students hence contributing to improvements?
8. Does the CDT's Lutheran profile play a role in adding social capital to the school?
9. Are the CDT students bringing with them social capital that improve the social conditions of the households to which they belong?

1.4 Methodology in brief

The primary research was conducted over a period of three weeks in June and July of 2010. As a father of three children and married to a nurse working night shifts at the hospital, those few weeks were the only ones available for research. Nevertheless, since I had lived in Arequipa before, I was able to borrow a house and find a good research assistant so that I could make the most out of my time. The people at the CDT were also helpful in every way, and I was able to come and go there as I pleased. The result was that I was able to conduct my first interview the day after arrival, and visit the school for just about every day during my stay.

Staying true to Peter Evans' (1996:1131) request for 'more research into positive cases of development', the research design for this project is case study. The main research strategy is qualitative, but quantitative methods are also used in order to supply and verify the qualitative findings. The research methods are interviews with one person, in pairs or in small groups, questionnaires, participant observation, and document analysis.

1.5 Thesis outline

Chapter 1 gives an introduction and an overview of the thesis, the topic, the context, methodology, research objectives and the general outline of the thesis.

Chapter 2 is a theoretical discussion of relevant theory and literature that applies to the field of education and development. The emphasis is on development and management.

Chapter 3 gives an overview of the context that the CDT operates in. It will look into historical, political and socio-economic aspects of the country, the region and the local district, and provide an overview of the history of the school and its current status.

Chapter 4 goes through the research process and the methodology that is used. It explains the research strategies, design, and methods of data collection. It also discusses the challenges and limitations of the study.

Chapter 5 is divided in two parts. Part One goes through the analysis and the research findings. It follows the same order as the research questions. Part Two discusses the findings in light of the overall objectives and relevant theory and literature.

Chapter 6 offers final remarks, conclusions, and recommendations.

Before discussing relevant theory, literature, and methodology, it may be useful to become more familiar with the various aspects of the context that the CDT is a part of. The next chapter provides an introduction to the historical, socio-economic, and local setting that the CDT is a part of.

Chapter Two: Contextual overview



- Country facts Peru** (CIA, 2011)
- Country size:** 1,285,216 sq km
- Population:** 29,248,943
- Population growth:** 1.029%
- GDP per capita PPP:** \$ 9,200
- Unemployment rate:** 6.7% in met. Lima.
Elsewhere: Widespread underemployment
- Population below poverty line:** 34.8%
- Languages:** Spanish 84.1%, Quechua 13%,
Aymara 1.7%, other 1%
- Literacy:** 92.9%
- Education expenditures:** 2.7% of GDP

Figure 1: Map of Peru

2.1 History, politics, and socio-economics

In order to understand aspects of current setting, culture, and socio-economic structures in Peru, it is helpful to briefly review the country’s history. One aspect that is particularly relevant to this study is the authoritarian leadership style that has dominated Peruvian politics ever since the first colonists arrived in the country. Even today authoritarian leadership is the norm in Peru, and it stems back to the *caudillaje* or *caudillismo*, which may be translated as *dictatorship*, and had its roots in the leadership style of the *caudillo*, the *one* leader and dictator that headed a group or a country (McIntosh and Irving, 2010:33). It may well be argued that authoritarian males dominated the political scene even in pre-colonial times, but for the sake of this paper starting at the colonial period may be more than sufficient in order to provide the necessary background information on Peru.

The colonial period in Peru started when Francisco Pizarro and his army set foot on the northern shores of Peru in 1531. The combination of superior Spanish military technology and fast spreading European diseases like small pox and measles caused demographic and moral collapse. The Inca Empire came to an end, and within a few years, only interrupted by a few Inca revolts and internal intrigues between the colonists, the Spanish crown had control in

Peru (Hudson, 1992). The main source of income for the colonists and for Spain was mining. Silver was discovered in Potosí in Upper Peru (now Bolivia) in 1545, and Mercury was found in Huancavelica in 1563. By 1650 Potosí had about 160,000 inhabitants, and became one of the largest cities in the western hemisphere (Hudson, 1992).

Viceroy Toledo designed a draft system called the *mita*, actually an Incan system for drafting temporary workers to the Empire, and redesigned it to suit the needs of the colonists. Through the *mita* system several thousands of young men were annually drafted to work in the mines. The result was that the traditional social, residential and family structures were ruined as whole families would move to work in the mines and never returned to their original land. Labor was compulsory, and indigenous people were even moved to work in the mines from as far away as Hispaniola and Cuba in order to break the ties to their land (Burkholder & Johnson, 1990:109). The reimbursement for labor in the mines was compulsory purchase of Spanish goods at inflated prices, thus making sure that the indigenous population was kept poor and powerless, yet part of the colonial economy. Indians who fled in order to avoid the *mita* system effectively surrendered the land that they had lived off as well. These great population movements, coupled with epidemics, caused the indigenous population to plummet (Burkholder and Johnson, 1990:103). As the indigenous population declined and moved, the colonist didn't miss the opportunity to seize large amounts of land. Throughout the colonial period one segment of the indigenous people worked in large *haciendas* (farms/plantations) or in the mines, and the other segment kept to the old structures and ways of life alongside with the colonial economy. Due to this way of structuring society, differences in culture, status, and class within the colony was tremendous. These differences have become deeply embedded in society and in peoples' minds, and account for a large part of the explanation of why it has been so difficult to bring on development and modernization in Peru (Hudson, 1992). An uprising took place in 1780 as a reaction to the harsh abuses by the colonists. It was initiated by José Gabriel Condorcanqui, better known as Túpac Amaru II, and cost about 100,000 lives. A few changes came out of it, but the class differences just became even more pronounced and cemented, and the Spanish crown ended up strengthening its alliance with the creole elite, thus delaying the processes that would lead to Peru's independence in 1824 (Burkholder and Johnson, 1990:259).

After independence Peru has experienced governments led by *caudillos*, military dictatorships, and elected governments. Unstable governments causing a boom-bust economy through excessive borrowing have never given much consideration to fair distribution of wealth and investments in the country. Although the *mita* was abolished after independence, class differences persisted. Not only did the gap between the social classes increase, but the gap between the *sierra* (the mountains) and the coast increased as the coastal areas became home of the country's largest export industries; *guano* (bird-fertilizer) in the 19th century, and fishmeal in the 20th century until 1960 (Hudson, 1992). With jobs and modernization in the coastal areas, Peru experienced vast migration from the *sierra* to the larger cities along the coast. From 1940 to 1981 Lima's population rose from 500,000 to 4.1 million inhabitants (Hudson, 1992), and today there are about 8.7 million people in Lima (CIA, 2011), many of which live under poor conditions in shanty towns surrounding the city center.

Important but expensive reforms such as the land reform and the switch from liberal export policies to import substitution in the 1970s caused external debt figures to rise out of control. Combined with falling commodity prices, Peru faced a serious debt crisis in the 1980s. The social effects were evident with life expectancy falling and infant mortality figures soaring, particularly in the poor and remote districts in the *sierra* (Hudson, 1992). At the same time, and perhaps as a result of the deteriorating situation among the poor, the extreme leftist organizations Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso – SL) and Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru – MRTA), were formed. With a *caudillismo* approach to leadership (McIntosh and Irving, 2010:35) the organizations recruited among poor, young men, and financed their operations through illegal production and export of cocaine. Because of their acts of terror throughout the *sierra* and in Lima, the government had to launch expensive military campaigns – thus making economic recovery all the more difficult (Hudson, 1992). President Alberto Fujimori, another authoritarian leader (McIntosh and Irving, 2010:35), more or less ended the era of terror in 1997 with his successful campaign to free the hostages held for four months by the MRTA at the Japanese embassy in Lima (Nelán et al., 1997). During the same decade a decisive and hard-nosed economic reform package implemented by President Fujimori was able to rid the country of its hyperinflation and restore its credibility in the international financial markets – thus enabling the country to receive aid and foreign direct investments (Country Studies, 2003a). Tight financial and monetary policies have slowly gotten Peru back on its feet, and between 2002

and 2006 the economy grew at a rate of approximately 4% a year. With the growing commodity prices, growth increased to 8% and 9% in 2007 and 2008, and was reduced to 1% in 2009 due to the international financial crisis. Nevertheless, in 2010 GDP grew almost 8%, a quick recovery from the financial crisis (CIA, 2011) – perhaps thanks to the economic lessons learned in connection with the debt crisis in the 1980s and 90s. Today Peru ranks as number 63 at the Human Development Index (HDI), well above the world average, and slightly above the average for Latin America and the Caribbean (UNDP, 2010a). The national poverty rate has fallen 15% since 2002, but Peru has still 34.8% of its population below the poverty line (CIA, 2011).

2.2 Education in Peru

Ever since independence in 1824, the various Peruvian governments have attempted to make the education system more inclusive to all members of the nation, particularly aiming at including the indigenous population. In the 1960s a new initiative by the government promised to provide teachers to any community which built its own school. The government kept its promise, and the enrollment rates in primary schools increased significantly (StateUniversity, 2011). Nevertheless, the indigenous students have always been perceived as ‘different’, and have therefore been under pressure from the dominant Spanish speaking culture to assimilate and change. Although the government has reversed its pro-Spanish policies and opened up to the use of the indigenous Quechua and Aymara languages in education, schools are still an arena in which indigenous students must abandon traditional clothing and wear school uniforms, and feel encouraged to speak Spanish instead of their indigenous language (StateUniversity, 2011).

Education has traditionally been seen as an opportunity and a tool for governments to unite the nation and build patriotism in the population, often at the expense of developing critical thinking (Tønnessen, 1994:197). In Peru, while attempting to include the indigenous population in education, the governments have also seen education as a way of increasing the national identity among its citizens. After the War of the Pacific (1879-1884), which cost Peru dearly in terms of valuable territory and prestige (Gascoigne, 2001), schools have been actively used to boost Peruvian nationalistic sentiments while vilifying its neighbors Chile to the south and in later years Ecuador to the north (StateUniversity, 2011).

Building patriotism is deeply embedded in the Peruvian education system. Schools participate in *desfiles* (marching competitions), students line up in formation in the school yard, and the national anthem is sung and played whenever there is an occasion to do so (Hudson, 1992). I have seen this several times while living in Peru, and the family of my godchild in Arequipa has sent me several photos of him and his sisters participating in *desfiles*. Expressing national patriotism in a correct military fashion is a matter of great pride. Even indigenous people who live far from Lima – not only in terms of kilometers but also in terms of economy – are accustomed to expressing national pride in a military manner. In 1998 I joined a group of Peruvian development workers visiting a very remote and poor district in the mountains to the north-east of Lake Titicaca near the Cordillera Mountains where Peru borders with Bolivia. Several places there were no roads, and we drove in Land Cruisers at altitudes between 4,500 and 5,000 meters above sea level. At one point the local guide made a mistake, and we ended up stopping at a little school in the middle of nowhere with a teacher and 15 to 20 school children. The school was built voluntarily by the parents who were actually in the middle of setting up a new building next to the school using *adobe* (building bricks of clay). The teacher told us about the very low wage that he received, and about the tight budget which forced him to produce much of the learning material himself. Nevertheless, the respect and status that he obviously enjoyed among the parents in the little community might also have contributed to his motivation. All the parents we talked to were very much concerned that their children should receive education, but they were also reflecting upon whether or not to move away. ‘Without education our children have no future’, they said. Upon receiving unexpected visitors, the children lined up outside in military fashion and sang the national anthem. The Peruvian national anthem is a military march, and really a complicated piece of music with difficult key changes and variations, and it resembles no relation to indigenous music at all. Seeing the little indigenous children lined up singing the national anthem while saluting the flag was impressive, yet to an outsider like me it seemed like a situation full of contradictions. How long will poor, indigenous children keep saluting the flag of a state which gives them so little in return?

In Peru the primary education is compulsory and free of charge. Primary school is grade 1 to 6. After that students enter 1 to 5 of secondary school which is also free of charge. Adding up, Peruvian students receive only 11 years of education after pre-school, and graduate at the age of 16 with either a technical or an academic degree depending on what track of study they

have chosen (StateUniversity, 2011). At the Colegio Diego Thomson (CDT), which is the school in focus for this case study, the students are offered the scientific and humanistic track and receive the degree of *Bachillerato Academico* upon graduation. The Peruvian grade system ranges from grades 0 to 20. Normally grades 0 to 10 are considered unsatisfactory and grade 11 is the lowest passing grade. Grades 14 and above is considered ‘excellent work’, and grade 17 and up is the equivalent of outstanding (Fullbright, 2011).

Today the national enrollment and completion level is high. In primary school it is almost at 100%, and in secondary school the completion level is at about 65% (World Bank, 2007a:xiii). In spite of high attendance, the students’ academic achievement is low. In the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA), Peruvian achievement is the lowest in Latin America. It is 20% below the averages of Chile, Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico, and only 5% of the Peruvian students are at the level of the OECD average (World Bank, 2007a:xiii). Moreover, the inequality in learning achievement among the poor is much greater than among the better-off students, revealing that the education offered to the poor needs to improve in quality, i.e. through developing more efficient pedagogical approaches (World Bank, 2007a:xiii).

2.3 Arequipa

Today, like in earlier days, the wealth created in the growing Peruvian economy is poorly distributed. Because of poor infrastructure the sierra receives much less investment and attention compared with the coastal areas (CIA, 2011).

Therefore people keep moving away and settle in the outskirts of the larger cities such as Arequipa and Lima. Arequipa has approximately 778,000 inhabitants (CIA, 2011) and is a growing city. It is located in the southern part of Peru, about 100 kilometers from the Pacific Ocean, at an altitude of 2,350 meters above sea level. Just above the city there are three majestic volcanoes; Chachani, Misti, and Pichu Pichu which range between 6,075 and 5,665 meters above sea level (Eventyreren.no, 2010). There are archaeological findings that stem back 5 to 6,000 years, but modern Arequipa was founded in 1540 by Spanish conquistadores (World Facts, 2005). Located in the western Andes below the



Figure 2: The Cathedral of Arequipa

Altiplano, the city is shielded from rainy weather. The Rio Chili, which brings water down from the mountains, has always been the basis of sustained agricultural activity in an otherwise dry and desert-like landscape. Since there are no forests or sources of building materials, the locals have been using the *sillar* stone, which is a white, petrified volcanic ash. Arequipa is therefore characterized by its many white, colonial style buildings, one of which is the cathedral, Arequipa's number one landmark. This is also the reason for why it is nicknamed *la ciudad blanca* – the white city (UNESCO, 2011).

The city was isolated for many years, but after the railroad came in 1870 the city became the center of commerce in southern Peru. That is the case today as well, with agriculture and commerce being the main sources of income for the city. The economic growth that Peru has experienced since 2002 is also evident in Arequipa through several new shopping centers, better roads, but inevitably more air pollution. When I visited Arequipa in June/July in 2010 for the sake of doing my research for this thesis, it had been 12 years since I moved from Arequipa after having lived and worked there for two years, frequently visiting various parts of the city, particularly the poorer districts. The changes are very noticeable with many more cars, fewer pirate-taxis, more optimism and

employment opportunities, better infrastructure, and the city expanding with new *pueblo jovenes* settlements all the time moving higher up in the hillside nearer to the volcanoes Chachani and Misti. A *pueblo joven* is the Peruvian equivalent of the Brazilian *favela* or the English *shanty town*, and literally means *young village*. They are relatively new and poor settlements often located



Figure 3: Settlements at high altitudes

at the outer boundaries of the city, and in Arequipa they tend to be located on the steep hillsides near the volcanoes as can be observed in Figure 3. Alto Selva Alegre, where the Colegio Diego Thomson (CDT) is located, is a *pueblo joven*.

2.4 Alto Selva Alegre

The municipality of Alto Selva Alegre was formally established in 1992, but the settlements had started before that. It is located to the north-east of the city center of Arequipa, just below the volcano Misti at 2,520 meters above sea level and has approximately 73,000 inhabitants.

The roads are a mix of paved roads and dirt roads, and I noticed while I did my research that efforts are being made to pave more. Housing standards vary quite a bit, from acceptable homes to poor dwellings. The higher the altitude, the lower the housing standard generally becomes. Poverty is widespread, and the municipality reconns that about 31% of the population suffers from malnutrition (MDASA, 2011).

2.5 The Colegio Diego Thomson

2.5.1 Background briefing

The information in this section is based on two interviews in 2009 and on information that I found during my research in June/July of 2010. The first interview was with Jon Espeland (2009) who was the Foundation Strømme's local representative in Peru in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The second interview was with Asle Jøssang (2009) who has worked with the Norwegian Lutheran Mission in Arequipa on and off since the early 1980s.

For many years the Catholic Church in Peru has operated parochial schools with financial support from the state. The Church has hired the principal and decided the profile, while the state has paid the wages and formally hired the teachers that the principal has suggested. When Alberto Fujimori became President in Peru in 1990, he soon opened up for Protestant churches to establish schools under the same cooperative



Figure 4: The Colegio Diego Thomson.

conditions as the Catholics. Seeing a window of opportunity, the Foundation Strømme, a Norwegian NGO, wanted to establish a school aiming to give children in a poor area a chance to receive quality education that would enable them to compete with rich children attending private schools for limited university entries. In 1991 the Foundation Stromme established another foundation called 'ProdePeru' (Proyecto Desarrollo Peru / Peru Development Project) which had Lutheran affiliations and thus qualified to receive funding from the state. Together they built the CDT which opened in 1992. The building of the school was financed through the Foundation Strømme, but ProdePeru ran the operations.

The CDT was located in Alto Selva Alegre, which was one of the least developed areas of Arequipa. Since quality education was rather absent in this area, the establishing of a new school aiming to provide quality education was highly welcome. Nevertheless, during the first years of operation, the academic results were very disappointing. The main problem was finding quality teachers that fit into the Lutheran profile and that were willing to work in a remote and poor part of the city. The Foundation Stromme also found it difficult to continue pouring money into the project, and withdrew in 1997/98. The alternative seemed to be letting the state take over the entire school. Nevertheless, in 1996 the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Peru (IEL-P) had been established. This church was willing to resume the ownership and operation of the school. They would also qualify to continue the cooperation with the state under the state/church school legislation. A new Principal and a new school administrator were hired, and funding from the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) was used to renovate and expand the buildings.

The school started to improve academically, and in 2007, 2008 and 2009 the CDT won the gold medal and 10,000 Peruvian Soles (equivalent of USD 3,350) in a capacity building program where both teachers and students participated and competed with other state schools (CDT, 2011a). Winning three gold medals for academic quality is an impressive achievement considering that some of Arequipa's traditional and more renowned schools participated as well. It was these achievements that caught my attention and prompted this case study. After all, how can a poor school with students from a challenged neighbourhood compete with some of the best, and what effects does it have?

2.5.2 Living conditions

When I asked my informants about the setting in Alto Selva Alegre, I was told of broken homes and migrating families with great problems like poverty, alcohol and drug abuse, and domestic violence. Asking what percentage of the student body was poor, the unison answer was that 'everyone is poor'. Trying to be more nuanced, the promoter would distinguish between poverty and extreme poverty, and end up with a 50/50 division. A brief discussion in regards to his credibility in that matter is included in Chapter Four, section 4.2.1.

In order to provide perspectives on what it may be like to live in an *extremely poor* family, and what courage it may require to overcome the challenges that poverty adds to a young student's life, the following two paragraphs include information from one of the informants, and a description of a visit to a family home of where five CDT students live.

One of the informants told me that some students would get up at 3 am and help their parents prepare Quinoa, which is a small, traditional grain, comparable to rice, which the parents sell. After the parents leave at 5 am the older students would have to prepare breakfast for their younger siblings and get them off to school. In the afternoon, with their parents still off working, the children go to *comedores*, which are places where



Figure 5: Next door neighbor to the CDT.

different parents take turns preparing food for everyone's children. After eating they go home, perhaps to an empty house. Poor people in Peru work long hours with little to show for. Many are overworked and underemployed at the same time, and unreasonably heavy burdens are laid upon the shoulders of their poor children.

I visited the home of a family of seven; mother father and five children. All five children were at school at the CDT when I visited, and the father was off searching for work. They had no running water in the house, and had to buy and carry water in buckets from a



Figure 6: The family home of five CDT students.

water tap in the area. Around the lot they had built a fence consisting of whichever stones, bricks and rubble available. The house was a modest and unfinished structure with corrugated plates on top held in place by large rocks to prevent the roof from flying off with the wind. Needless to say, the conditions they lived under were extremely poor and difficult, but the mother was thankful that she and her husband had each other, and that he didn't spend the little income they had on alcohol. Nevertheless, whenever one of the children would become

ill, they had very limited options. The mother would have to bring her child by bus to a medical post and perhaps pay the nurse, even if the service is supposed to be free. But the mother explained that normally nothing more would happen, and she would have to bring her child back home at the bus. As a poor woman of indigenous descent, the mother and her children are at the very bottom of the Peruvian class system. Therefore they may find



Figure 7: Way to school through the *torrentera*. The CDT is on the hill to the left.

themselves at the mercy of anyone whenever they need help. She also told me that they were Baptists, and that the children had been bullied at a different school which they used to attend. Therefore they had decided to transfer to the CDT, which is a Lutheran school, yet operated in cooperation with the state and therefore free of charge. She was

very happy with that choice, but as it happens their house is located at the opposite side of a large *torrentera*, which is dry water bed where the water runs only a few days in the rainy season. The rest of the year the *torrentera* is used illegally as a garbage dump, and is therefore the home of stray dogs and drunkards. A road goes through the *torrentera* (Figure 7), but given the dangers along the road, it is not a very attractive way to and from school. Therefore the five children travel by bus, thus adding more strains to the already meager family economy. Whenever the family does not have enough money for the five children to travel by bus, they have to walk through the *torrentera*. The mother told heart breaking stories of how she would accompany her petrified children on their way to school, fighting off aggressive dogs, yet how she decided that it was worth it since the children so much wanted to attend the CDT.

2.5.3 The Colegio Diego Thomson today

The CDT is owned by the Lutheran Church, the Iglesia Evangelica Luterana – Peru (IEL-P) but receives the funding from the state through the UGEL-Sur, which is the regional school administration authority. The principal is affiliated with the church, but is a teacher who has

been working as principal at other schools as well. The principal works closely with the *promotor* (promoter), who is employed by the IEL-P, and thus represents the church at school. He makes sure that the school profile is congruent with the values of the church. Both the UGEL and the IEL-P are organizations of scarce resources both in regards to time and money. Therefore the economy is limited, but on the other hand there is relatively much autonomy from the owners. So within the tight budgets, the relative success or failure of the school seems to depend on the choices and strategies made by the principal and the promoter. For the sake of this paper, whenever there is a reference to the CDT management or managers, it refers to the principal and the promoter.

At the CDT the Peruvian flag is up every day, and once a week there is a particular ceremony where the students are lined up in military fashion to salute the flag and sing through the Peruvian national anthem and the Arequipa anthem as well. Both songs are in the same military march style, obviously the culturally correct style for patriotic music. Discipline and order are important values in the Peruvian school system, and the CDT it is not much different in that regard. Every morning the students also hear a devotional speech from one of the teachers, naturally after having lined up in orderly fashion first.



Figure 8: Students lined up in the school yard.

The school has currently approximately 430 students and 20 teachers. They are organized into pre-school, primary (six years), and secondary (five years) levels. After graduation the best students may qualify for entry to the universities. The public universities are free of charge and have a better reputation than the private institutions as far as quality education goes. Nevertheless, the universities like to compare themselves to universities in other countries, and in many countries students are approximately 18 years of age when they graduate from secondary school. That means that the mismatch between university entry level and the academic level at which Peruvian secondary school graduates find themselves, may be significant. Therefore it is very common for those who are not accepted by the universities

to enrol in a private institute in order to prepare themselves for later university entry. Another option is to pay tuition for tertiary education at a private institute, but few CDT graduates may afford to do so.

All in all tertiary education is a question of opportunity cost where time, brain power, and academic achievement are important economic variables. For the average student growing up in a poor family, attending a poor school in a poor neighbourhood, the chances of ascending on the social ladder are slim. Nevertheless, the CDT's achievements in educational quality may have spread optimism among poor students in Alto Selva Alegre.

The following chapter offers a review of relevant theory and literature in regards to development, and discusses how education may lead to various forms of development. It also discusses the role of school management in a development setting.

Chapter Three: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The overall research objective of this study is to explore whether there is a connection between school management, quality education, and development in Arequipa, Peru. This chapter takes a closer look at how we may understand the concepts of development and management in general, and how they connect with education. Moreover, it explores how development and management may relate to education in a development setting in particular, which is the reality of the CDT case.

3.1 Development

In order to understand how education may lead to development, it is necessary to clarify what is meant by development, how development is brought about, and why development is important.

In many ways the so-called ‘era of development’ started with the inaugural speech of President Harry S. Truman in 1949. In this speech he focused on the importance of supporting the United Nations (UN), continuing with international economic support such as the Marshall Plan, strengthening free countries against aggressors such as the Soviet Union, and last in this paper but certainly not least; point four was to ‘embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas’ (Truman, 1949). In his speech he continued to envision how people should be freed from their misery, and how capital investments, transfers of technology, and international cooperation through the UN system would make this happen. It was a speech filled with optimism, and ‘Truman’s point four’ was clearly of a philanthropic nature. The aim was to help, and the intentions may have been the best. Nevertheless, the word ‘underdeveloped’ complicates matters a little: Which countries were ‘underdeveloped’, and who got to define what was ‘developed’ or not? Do you have to define your country as ‘underdeveloped’ in order to receive aid? What does that do with your national self-esteem and sovereign status in relation to the countries that provide aid? Although Truman’s intentions seemed noble and good, it is necessary to question whether they were *really* philanthropic or not if development were to happen on the premises of the USA and the western world. So what would ‘development’ mean, and for the sake of this paper, would education qualify as an ingredient?

In order to answer the last question it is helpful to look to Vincent Tucker (1999:1). He is rather critical of how the West is dominating the 'development field'. He argues that development must have its origin in the given society, and not by influence from the West. There should be fundamental respect for the rationalities and logic in the culture, and he sees that the economic, political, and cultural spheres of development are closely intertwined (Tucker, 1999:23-24). Education is essential in this type of development, because the education in itself gives cultural and social status and capital. When education is based on the culture and rationale of the society in which it takes place, it also communicates value, dignity, and self-respect to those who receive the education.

This view is shared by Omar Sanchez who states that 'aid to Latin America is not contributing to the upgrading of its human capital' (2002:41). He argues that development must be initiated and generated locally, and cites Peter Bauer (2000:41-46) who points out that good performance generates capital, not vice versa. Bauer's argument is that economic return must be based on qualities residing within the very society instead of depending on aid from abroad. The same is true about development through education; human capital may best develop when the emphasis is put on pre-existing qualities in the culture. Therefore education needs to be developed in close relation with the values and virtues of society so that the schools in turn may reflect the same qualities back on society through its skilled and knowledgeable students.

Gilbert Rist (1997:9-10) has looked at various definitions of development and has found two that are particularly helpful. Moreover, he has come up with his own definition. In Rist's opinion, the two other definitions are not as good as his own, because they are neither sufficiently precise nor objective – in fact, he questions whether they are really definitions at all (Rist, 1997:9). Yet for the purpose of drawing a picture and understanding the essence of how the term 'development' is generally understood, they do serve quite well here, and are therefore brought into this discussion.

The first definition is taken from the Report of the South Commission, which was led by Julius Nyerere (1990), the former President of Tanzania. It defines development as

a process which enables human beings to realize their potential, build self-confidence, and lead lives of dignity and fulfillment. It is a process which frees people from the fear of want and exploitation. It is a movement away from political, economic, or social oppression. Through development, political independence acquires its true significance. And it is a process of growth, a movement essentially springing from within the society that is developing (Nyerere, 1990:10).

Rist's may be right when he argues that this statement lacks precision and therefore cannot qualify as a definition as such. Nyerere focuses on the process, the movement away from oppression towards dignity and lives that are fulfilled. But this definition creates no foundation on which a person can tell which country is developed and which is not. It may outline a general picture of what a developing country is going through, but provides no clear criteria for determining when the country is 'developed'. Nevertheless, it may not necessarily have been Nyerere's intention to write a clear cut definition of the term 'development', but rather to make a statement or a vision that describes what development is about. The essence of the statement is political, economic, and social empowerment, and the vision is that individuals will reach their potential in dignity and fulfillment while improving their self-confidence. So it is a value laden statement, but like most visions, it does not explain what it will take to reach the vision. However, ingredients like good governance, responsible financial policies, and freedom of speech do seem to suggest themselves. Considering the topic of this thesis, it is important to point out that a development process as described in the statement is not likely to happen without education. And the statement also ends with pointing out that development needs to be 'springing from within the society that is developing', as Nyerere (1990:10) puts it. This is an important point to make, because in order for development to happen according to the values that are important in a given society, education needs to place its roots in the cultural context of the society, and be tailored in such a way that it builds self-confidence, enables people to reach their potential, while serving as a cultural agent within the society.

The next definition referred to by Rist is perhaps also more of a statement than a definition, and it is taken from the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) Human Development Report of 1991:

The basic objective of human development is to enlarge the range of people's choices to make development more democratic and participatory. These choices should include access to income and employment opportunities, education and health, and clean and safe physical environment. Each individual should also have the opportunity

to participate fully in community decisions and to enjoy human, economic and political freedoms (UNDP, 1991:1).

Like the other definition, Rist (1997:9) criticizes it of being more of a description of what a development process may or should be like, rather than a definition. But more importantly, he also criticizes it for demonstrating several presuppositions. The UNDP puts emphasis on western values such freedom, income, education, health, and participatory opportunities for the *individual*. Participating in the growing economy, and creating personal wealth and opportunities through employment is hailed as 'human development'. Rist (1997:45) argues that the gap between the rich and the poor countries in the world has risen from one to two in the year 1700 to one to forty-five in 1980, and points out that economic growth is not the same as development, at least not for everyone. He also underscores that wealth and well-being is not the same, and wonders when we will understand that well-being does not come from economic growth (Rist, 1997:46).

This, however, is not to say that Rist considers the values presented in the UNDP statement to be wrong and false. Most of us will agree that having a job and an income, access to education, health care and political influence in a clean environment is important and essential to the development process. But Rist (1997:78-79) looks to history and argues that the 'age of development' more or less relieved the 'age of colonization'. After World War II (WW2) and 'Truman's inaugural speech, many poor and colonized countries gained independence. Nevertheless, they had to accept the label as 'underdeveloped' in order to receive development aid, thus entering into a new relationship of dependency with the richer economies of the world. As so-called inferior and dependent states, the price of receiving aid has been forfeiting national identity and political and economic autonomy, and the measure of success has been the size and the growth rate of their gross national product (GNP) (Rist 1997:79). Rist does not deny the economic aspect of development at all, but points out that development is much more complex than economic growth. He is also questioning the philanthropic intentions of the West's development efforts when the net result seems to be a widening gap between the powerful rich and the dependent poor. Rist may have a point here, but although the international development effort could have been better adapted to local needs and cultures and yielded better results, it may seem overly critical to question Truman's and the West's intentions. It is always easier to observe the consequences *after* they happen than predicting them in advance.

So what is development? Gilbert Rist offers his own definition which he argues is free from biases and written in such a way that a ‘a Martian could not only understand what is being talked about, but also identify the places where ‘development’ does or does not exist’ (Rist, 1997:10):

‘Development’ consists of a set of practices, sometimes appearing to conflict with one another, which require – for the reproduction of society – the general transformation and destruction of the natural environment and of social relations. Its aim is to increase the production of commodities (goods and services) geared, by way of exchange, to effective demand (Rist, 1997:13).

He then goes into great detail in explaining the various parts of the definition. For instance, by ‘practices’ he refers to the economic, social, political and cultural aspects of a society. ‘The general transformation and destruction of the natural environment and of social relations’ refers to how a society uses the natural resources at its hand for production of goods and services, and how interpersonal relations, like family and community relations, change more and more as development takes place. The end of the definition suggests that the motivation of development is to increase trade through increased purchasing power and growing demand.

As mentioned above, Rist (1997:9) argues that a definition should be free of preconceptions, and so it is fair to believe that he considers his own definition to qualify as such. And nominally speaking, it does seem descriptive rather than interpretive. Effectively, however, the definition carries with it both value-laden wording and ‘hidden meanings’, both negative. Without going into detailed analysis of the definition, the words ‘conflict’ and ‘destruction’ do hold negative connotations, and the last sentence, in which Rist claims that the aim is to increase trade, lacks credibility since it bluntly refuses to include all the other aims that may be associated with a development process. This is clearly deliberate given the critical view Rist has on both the development process and its actors through the post WW2 era. Through his so-called ‘objective’ definition, he seeks to reveal the destructive ‘truth’ of development and tear down the philanthropic associations most people have with the word.

Nevertheless, there seems to be great awareness in the field of development that human well-being is more than just economic growth. An obvious example of this is the Human Development Index (HDI) that is worked out by the UNDP on an annual basis. In order to reflect more accurately the well-being of a country’s inhabitants, the index takes into account

three main dimensions: Health, education, and living standards (UNDP 2010b). Furthermore, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) also clearly reflect a more nuanced approach to development than just economic growth. The economic aspect may be reflected in MDG 1 and 8 which deal with ending extreme poverty and hunger, and developing a global partnership for development. But for the other 6 goals the focus is on education, gender issues, health, and environmental sustainability (UN 2010). Development therefore consists of much more than just expanding economically.

Pierre Bourdieu (1986:242) points out that there are three forms of capital; economic, social, and cultural. With economic capital he means capital that is directly transferable to money. Cultural capital refers to educational abilities (that under certain conditions may be transferable to money). Social capital has to do with connections and a person's status in society. Bourdieu's forms of capital are easily derivable into development thinking. If development essentially is 'a process of growth, a movement essentially springing from within the society that is developing' (Nyerere, 1990:10), then development may actually be understood as a process of economic, cultural, and social expansion. It is not unusual to think of development in this sense. Article 1.1 in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights points out that every person has the right to 'freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development' (UN, 1966). This thesis thus considers whether the Diego Thomson School (CDT) is a driver of cultural, social and economic development. Because education takes a long time, it is difficult to measure the level of impact that it has on development. Nevertheless, as will be discussed in the next section, there is evidence that education leads to development, and that the manner in which it happens will influence the outcome. So in this case study the aim is to find out if there is anything that this school does that leads to increased learning outcome (cultural capital), increased self-esteem and status (social capital), and poverty reduction (economic capital) beyond what would normally be expected of a Peruvian school. And if so; which 'soft technologies' bring on the various types of development?

3.2 The role of education in development

Inspired by the second MDG, the UN general assembly adopted a resolution in which it emphasized that 'education is an indispensable element for achieving sustainable development' (UN, 2002). It therefore decided to 'proclaim the ten-year period beginning on

1 January 2005 the United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development' (UN, 2002). Clearly there is a broad consensus that education is an important ingredient in a development process. Nevertheless, general statements from the UN General Assembly offer no guidance as to *how* education should be executed in order to be effective. Moreover, Birgit Brock-Utne (2006:230) argues that the notion that education always leads to poverty reduction is highly debatable. She holds that in some countries where neo-liberal ideologies lead to privatization and higher financial contributions from the parents, education may in fact make class differences even more pronounced, thus increasing poverty. But there is no clear cut recipe towards educational success. Trying to make education available for all, Tanzania abolished school tuition in 2002. At that time school attendance was only 59 %. Today it is at 95 %, and the country is well on its way to reach MDG 2 (Smith, 2010). But the impressive growth has clearly come at the cost of educational quality. If class rooms were crowded in 2002, they are filled to the breaking point now. Some teachers resort to corporal punishment in order to maintain control of the class, and with over 100 pupils in the room, the learning outcome is obviously limited (Smith, 2010). The lesson here is that education must be done right if it is expected to play a role in development. The following sections therefore look at education through the eyes of Pierre Bourdieu (1986:242) and consider what it may take for education to bring on cultural, social, and economic development.

3.2.1 Education for cultural development

According to Pierre Bourdieu (1986:242), cultural development reflects how the 'educational qualifications' develop in a society. When societies invest in human capital through education, they do so knowing that the investments will yield future economic returns for the individual and for society as a whole. But the aim is not only economic. Both people and society value the way education enriches both the intellectual and spiritual aspects of humanity (Weil, 2009:181). More knowledge and learning (cultural development) not only makes life more interesting; it leads to higher income (economic development), and it also increases peoples' self-esteem (social development). Therefore cultural development – as in 'educational qualifications', which is how the term is understood in this paper – is a fundamental and important aspect of education. How much you learn in school matters in more than one way.

Cultural development may be considered both in terms of quantity and quality. The MDG 2, which aims to achieve universal primary education within 2015 (UN, 2010), is a quantitative goal. Yet for the discussion here it will be more appropriate to focus on quality of education. School attendance in Peru is almost at 100 % (UNICEF, 2010), so the potential for development lies in the qualitative aspect of education. Therefore, in order to find out what leads to cultural development, it will be necessary to consider what leads to learning.

Paulo Freire, the Brazilian thinker, jurist, and educationalist, published *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in 1968 (PFI UCLA, 2011). The starting point of the book is Freire's observations as an educator in Brazil and in political exile in Chile of how oppressed people themselves may have a 'fear of freedom', and how freedom may be gained through critical consciousness (Freire, 1996:17). He argues that the relationship consisting of oppressor and oppressed is dehumanizing for both parties (Freire, 1996:41) and that the liberating process goes through establishing a relationship of trust, dialogue, reflection, and communication (Freire, 1996:48). This, of course, has huge implications for how education is conducted. Freire (1996:53) criticizes educators for teaching in the same way that one deposits money into a bank, what he calls the 'banking concept of education'. The students are the bank accounts. They receive information, memorize and store it, and on the exam they will reproduce it. Yet, they have no real ownership of that knowledge; it has all been handed to them as a gift, like some act of charity from the all-knowing to the ignorant. Freire (1996:53) argued that 'education must begin with the solution of the teacher-student contradiction, by reconciling the poles of the contradiction so that both are simultaneously teachers and students'. He holds that learning must happen in an environment of trust and dialogue. Both students and teachers must engage in a process where they simultaneously teach and learn at the same time (Freire, 1996:61). That means moving away from the teacher as a lecturer towards a person who shows faith in the students, who establishes trust through dialogue, and who bases dialogue in critical thinking (Freire, 1996:72-73).

Freire's approach to education enhances the learning process for several reasons. One is that it is far easier to acquire knowledge in an environment of trust and mutual respect. It may be sufficient here to refer to Abraham H. Maslow (1946) who states that the need for safety and love must be cared for before the needs for esteem and self-actualization arise. Most teachers will agree that children who feel insecure will have a more difficult time with concentration

and learning. Yet, not all teachers may realize that their own approach to teaching actually discourages mutual trust and respect. When Freire (1996:49) explains the aspects of his pedagogy of the oppressed, he describes it as revolutionary. His description of the established 'banking concept of education' in Brazil seems so heavily embedded in the culture that it is not something that will go away very quickly, and it is not limited only to Brazil. From the interviews and the questionnaires that I conducted in Peru it was very clear that through the years the established way of teaching has been that the teacher lectures while the students listen. Freire's 'banking concept of education' has been the norm, and the need for change is overdue.

Another reason why Freire's approach leads to learning is that it encourages the student to think critically. Critical thinking is innovative, and it activates the student who moves from receiving information passively to pursuing it actively. John Dewey (1909:22), well known for his 'learning by doing' approach to education, holds that children are born to give, do, and serve, and that education must play along with nature in that regard. Both Dewey and Freire put the student, not the teacher, as the center point of action. The teacher's role is to prepare and organize so that the student is engaged and empowered. A school which educates active, searching, critical, and creative students builds confident and innovative people for a progressive society.

The Freire framework of mutual respect, dialogue, and trust must be in place in order to establish quality education. These are factors that money cannot buy, and should therefore attract all the more attention among schools with limited resources. Introducing i.e. expensive gear like interactive whiteboards in the classrooms has little or no effect (Wiliam, 2009:3). Therefore, increased funding may not always be the answer. In the search for high quality at low cost, poor schools need to look for answers in the right places. Research shows that in most countries student achievement varies greatly between schools. The answers are to be found within the walls of the best schools, and the best classrooms. Effective classrooms make up a good school, and the effective classrooms are led by quality teachers (Wiliam, 2009:3-4). Quality teachers are in dialogue with their students and are able to adjust teaching and the teaching content according to where the students are in their learning progress. The teacher who knows what the student has understood in class today knows where to continue tomorrow. Dylan Wiliam (2009:7-8) calls this approach 'Assessment for Learning' (AfL), and

points out that AfL has proven to have constant and substantial effects on learning independent of age, country or subject. Investing in making teachers aware and skilled in AfL is several times more cost-efficient than reducing the number of students in class (William, 2009:6), and should therefore be considered by school managers around the globe.

Yet, AfL does not happen by accident. Without Freire's framework of mutual respect, dialogue, and trust, there will be no way for the teacher and the student to communicate in such a way that student achievement increases. The key element towards establishing quality education is therefore the teacher. If the teacher promotes a climate of interpersonal trust and respect, and works *with* the students through dialogue, reflection, and evaluation, the chances for increased student achievement will be much higher than in a traditional environment where the 'banking concept of education' is predominant, which has been the case in much of Latin America. Nevertheless, in order for increased achievement to happen on scale, school owners and managers need to be active in encouraging and developing a culture of student-teacher integration. The element of management in education will be discussed in section 3.3.

3.2.2 Education for social development

In which way may education lead to social development? According to Pierre Bourdieu (1986:242) increasing social capital will mean developing a person's self-esteem and status in society. It is much more difficult to measure self-esteem and status than academic achievement and economic returns. Nevertheless, for the individual student as a human being, it is valuable to learn to appreciate literature, history, music, and other subjects. Knowledge will influence how a person thinks of himself. Moreover, communication and language skills are very important in most societies, and will influence how a person is perceived by others. Research carried out in Colombia by Torres (1992:519) shows that education matters among other things for individual self-esteem.

The system of social class in Peru is quite complex. The two extremes are the white upper class where most of the wealth and power is concentrated, and the indigenous poor. Located in between are the *mestizo* and the *cholo* population (Country Studies, 2003b). These make up the various class layers in the middle and lower classes depending among others on income, workplace, and social network. All classes are to be found in Arequipa, which is the only province outside Lima where that is the case (Country Studies, 2003b). From my own

experience living in Peru in the late 1990s and through staying in touch with my acquaintances for the last 13 years, I know that moving up in the class system is challenging. Moving up in society may include ceasing to associate with the old network of poor relations, probably moving to a different place, and increasing income and consumption. Although it is good to see people move out of poverty, it may come at the cost of painful ‘transformation and destruction ... of social relations’ as Rist (1997:13) would have put it.

Education, particularly primary education, may bring more equality into society, particularly if it is free. Nafziger (2006:339) points out that poor families often have many children and cannot afford to pay for schooling. So when the state makes primary education free, funds are in fact transferred from the rich to the poor thus making education more accessible. Yet, the poor must still carry the opportunity cost of not having the children, particularly the girls, helping out at home i.e. taking care of their smaller siblings while their parents are off to work. But as the labor market opens up more to women, poor families make sure their daughters get educated as well (Nafziger, 2006:341). In secondary school the opportunity cost is even higher for the poor since the children may then be able to find work that actually pays a decent wage. This is why poverty in many instances is ‘inherited’, in the sense that when parents are poor, the children will be poor as well. Breaking this vicious cycle and moving out of poverty through education will therefore depend much on educational achievement. Those who do well may have a chance to get a university education, yet the affluent are at an advantage here since they may afford to pay their way into private institutes and may hold connections that make it easier to find a good job after ending their education (Nafziger, 2006:341). In Peru, where most children complete 11 years of primary and secondary school, quality education for the poor seems to be a key factor towards social development.

Discrimination against those with indigenous background is very noticeable in the Andes region. A study carried out in Chile and Bolivia showed that the poor quality of education presented to the indigenous students accounted for 50-70% of the difference in learning outcome between indigenous and non-indigenous students (McEwan, 2004:182). The situation is very similar in Peru. In a background paper for the UNESCO Global Monitoring Report (UNESCO, 2010:111), Cueto et al. (2009) show that in their study of students in sixth grade math, those of non-indigenous descent scored one standard deviation higher than those of indigenous descent. Rigid social structures ensure that class differences are maintained in

the Andes. Improving the quality of education in areas where indigenous students are in majority will therefore be steps in the direction of more equality regardless of who your parents are and what language you speak. As it turns out, the Colegio Diego Thomson (CDT) is located in the outskirts of Arequipa and has mostly students of indigenous descent. Usage of both Quechua and Spanish is very common, and as findings accounted for in later sections of this paper will reveal, ensuring quality education is a challenging task, and the potential for increased self-esteem is obvious.

3.2.3 Education for economic development

The arguments posted in the former two sections about cultural and social development also serve as arguments for why education leads to economic development. On the individual level higher achievement leads to higher income and a longer and healthier life. For society higher achievement leads to less crime costs, more trade and employment, which leads to higher tax revenues for the state, and so forth (William, 2009:1). Moving up in society also means finding new connections and business opportunities, and perhaps a steady source of income that may provide for a decent family life. So the links between cultural, social, and economic development are relatively clear.

There is a broad research base confirming that the economic aspects of education matter. For example the *World Development Report* (World Bank, 2004:35) shows that there is a strong association between income per capita, mortality rates, and higher school completion. The link between gross domestic product (GDP) per capita and time spent in school is further investigated by David Weil (2009:174). His analyses comparing various countries around the world show that there is indeed a clear relationship between the average number of years in school and GDP per capita. More years in school do lead to higher economic development. That, however, seems a bit too simple. After all, wouldn't it be true that rich countries spend more on education than poor countries? And isn't it possible that quality education could compensate for number of years in school? When adjusting for these and other externalities, more nuances are certainly brought into the picture. But at the end of the day, the analyses suggest that the rich countries have both *more* and *better* schooling than the poor countries, and that the net result is higher economic development (Weil, 2009:179).

What may be said about the balance between quality and quantity? Studies and analyses carried out by Eric Hanushek (2004:5) reveal that quality of education matters the most. While one added year of schooling typically adds 7-10% of increased income salary, improvement of one standard deviation (about 10% improvement on a typical school exam) will result in approximately 12% higher income. Although the researcher would have to make some very general assumptions in order to present specific figures like these, the tendency is very clear; the quality education matters a great deal. In Peru, where students only attend six years of primary school and five years of secondary school, there is certainly a case for arguing that students should receive twelve or thirteen years of schooling, particularly considering that just about everyone attends school. Nevertheless, given the current educational structures and the above mentioned research, those who want to see education bringing on economic development in Peru need to focus on improving the quality of what happens at school.

Numerous studies and articles confirm that education matters, a few may be mentioned in brief here to illustrate: On poverty reduction and education in particular, Nhamo and Nhamo (2006) argue in the article *Macroeconomics, (Adult) Education, and Poverty Eradication in Southern Africa* that economic growth is very much dependent on education and the human capital which a country possesses. Furthermore, the Ministry of Education in Uganda and the Ugandan National Commission for UNESCO (2003) have presented a report called *Poverty Eradication through Education: Breaking the Poverty Cycle for Children*. Although the setting is different from the Peruvian setting, the report highlights how important it is to make education accessible, effective and of high quality through focusing on local culture and traditions while making sure that the girls are empowered (ibid, 2003:43).

Moreover, Appleton et al. (2009) summarize current research in the article *Does investing in education reduce poverty? Evidence from Ghana, Uganda and South Africa*. The research findings indicate that education lifts people out of poverty, but that it yields a smaller return on investment compared to other types of investment. Nevertheless, it provides evidence to the general assumption that education brings on development.

To sum up, education matters both for the individual and for society as a whole. The fundamental issue is that education must lead to increased cultural development, meaning that

education should lead to higher achievement and more learning. Knowledge is power, not just for the individual, but also for the society as a whole. With increased knowledge comes social development, which includes empowerment, higher self-esteem, and higher social status exemplified currently with the growing middle class in China and India. The combination of cultural and social development brings on economic development, increased earning potential, higher investments, more job opportunities, and poverty reduction.

The key to make development happen in Peru seems to be focusing on quality education. A World Bank study of the educational situation in the region of Junín, located about 200 km north-east of Lima, asks the question ‘*what can a regional government do to improve education?*’ The recommendations are in line with the arguments presented above; they recommend (1) that the region establishes systems that make sure the students receive the amount of education and the content, (2) that the teachers are followed up and given feedback, and (3) improved measurements of achievement and community involvement to assure quality education (World Bank, 2007b:vi). Quality education will lead to higher achievement, more equality, and improved economic perspectives.

3.3 The role of school management in development settings

Another World Bank (2007a) country study on Peru, focusing how to improve the quality of education, leaves no doubt about where the main obstacles are located; within the sector of school management. It spells it out clearly already in the introduction: ‘But the most important addressable issue is the very poor quality of management in the sector’ (World Bank, 2007a:xiv). The bad news is that when school management is poor, both students and society suffer, and the consequences may be long term. But the good news is that management is an area where it is possible to make changes for the better. The World Bank report points out three specific areas that need particular attention: Standards, accountability, and capacity building. Clearer standards in the areas of learning requirements, admission, and teacher standards will increase achievement and predictability. Furthermore, schools and teachers should be held much more accountable by parents. Capacity building should happen through teacher-training that is child-centered, through more financial support towards learning material and scholarships for the poor – particularly tailored towards increasing enrollment and reducing poverty (World Bank, 2007a:129-134). So there are challenges for managers both at the local school, regional, and national levels.

This study is a case study and is therefore limited to the Colegio Diego Thomson (CDT). The focus is not on the role of the governmental institutions which are obviously important stakeholders for the CDT. Although the Province-level School Management and Supervision Unit (Unidad de Gestión Educativa Local, UGEL) is mentioned now and then, the focus is on the management within the school. One of the research questions asks if there is a relationship between the CDT management and the students' learning outcome, so the research is conducted with that in mind. Therefore, for the discussion in this section, it seems useful to review the role of management. This is done through reviewing two management models, through a discussion of leadership styles and the role of democracy in schools, and a discussion in regards to synergy in school management.

3.3.1 Two models of management

The management in any organization has a central role in the midst of a variety of stakeholders and organizational aspects that demand consideration. All factors play a role in defining the limitations and opportunities that go into the decisions that come out of the management process. When i.e. the management decides on a budget, it must take a variety of factors into consideration, such as financial status, investment opportunities, new technology, market demand, the number of employees, government regulations and demands, the objectives of the organization, etc. When making decisions, school managers need to consider the needs of the students, the capacities and limitations of the personnel, goals, organizational culture and structure, power structures, motivation, finance, parents, other schools, school owners, current political signals, legal issues and directives from school authorities, investment needs, technology, history, and so forth. Basically the school management needs to consider internal and external stakeholders, and aspects of the internal and the external environment when making decisions (Boddy, 2008:84).

In this regard it may be useful to review two management models; the *Politics model* (Lane, 1997) and the *competing values framework* (Quinn et al., 2003). Both include the aspect that stakeholders bring into the decision making process, and both are applicable in a development setting.

The *politics model* (Lane, 1997:64) is initially meant for public management. But Kalu (2004:75) relates it to management situations in developing countries. It is simple, and therefore adaptable to complex and problematic settings in which individuals may have great influence on the outcome. The logic of the model is described in the figure below:

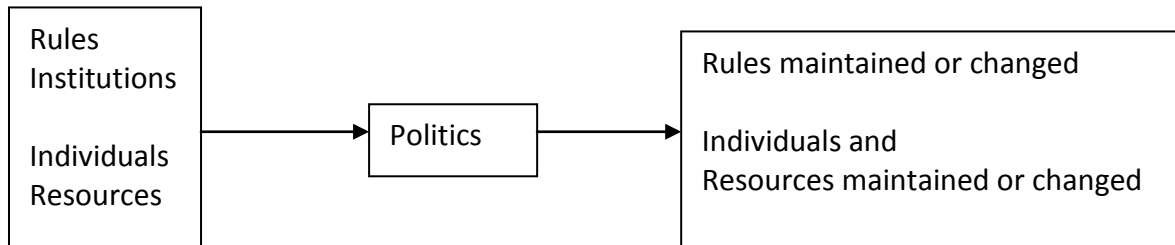


Figure 9: The Politics Model
(adapted from Ruth Lane, 1997:64 by Kelechi A. Kalu, 2004:74)

This model includes the stakeholders to a greater extent than other management models which assume logic, objectivity, and rationality, such as i.e. the *linear model* (Sutton, 1999:9). A linear approach to decision making is setting an agenda, making decisions, and then implementing. In a rational and predictable environment, that may work very well. But for a school located in a development setting where the realities are diverse, complex and unpredictable, it is necessary to pay more attention to the external and internal stakeholders and environment. For the CDT, which operates in cooperation between the IEL-P and the state, this is particularly true. The two institutions, their resources, their legislation, rules and values, all the internal stakeholders with their values, and other aspects of the school's internal and external environment all come together in the decision making process labelled *politics* in the model. The power struggle that takes place between the stakeholders is determinative for the policy outcome and the road ahead.

Keeping this in mind, it is neither possible nor desirable to please and comply with every internal and external stakeholder and environmental aspect. Considering and pleasing is not the same. The management plays an important role in leading – which means to show the way and decide on which course to take. So in order to keep the organization on the right track, it needs to be aware of its focus and its values. The *competing values framework*, developed by Quinn et al. (2003), indicate the *organizational focus* along a horizontal axis moving from *internal* to *external*. The *values* may be found along a vertical axis moving from *flexibility* to *control*. Depending on the combination of focus and values, the organization's management will more or less fit into one of four models (Boddy, 2008:43):

1. Internal process model: Internal focus valuing control.
2. The Human relations model: Internal focus valuing flexibility.
3. Open systems model: External focus valuing flexibility.
4. Rational goal model: External focus valuing control.

A school will typically have more of an internal than an external focus. That is in the nature of what goes on in most schools. Education has long traditions, and needs continuity and maintenance, stability, and predictability. The personnel have their workplaces within the building, and execute most of their daily work inside a classroom or at a desk or in an office. In most instances education requires an internal focus.

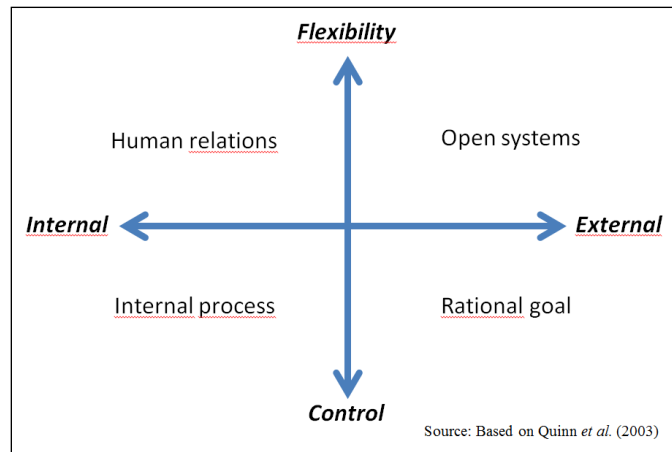


Figure 10: The competing values framework.

Which model a school ends up using therefore depends on how it values flexibility compared with control. If control is valued over flexibility, there is a culture of stability, teacher and student documentation, consolidated structures with traditional approaches to pedagogy and didactics, and so forth. This is the traditional school where decisions are centralized and students and personnel comply with directions given by the management – quite the opposite from what Freire would recommend. The internal process model draws on the ideas of Max Weber and Henri Fayol, and value bureaucracy, hierarchy, authority, discipline, subordination, centralization, and order (Boddy, 2008:50-53).

If flexibility is valued more than control, the school will depend upon teacher and student morale and commitment in their work, and decisions will be made openly with widespread participation in the decision making process. It will follow the Human relations model encouraging creativity, democracy, and group effort through reciprocal dependency (Boddy, 2008:55). This is not the traditional school, but rather the school that Freire envisioned where dialogue, trust, and democracy replace discipline, dependency, and authoritarianism.

In a school the main supplier of terms will be the school principal. He or she (in this paper the principal will be referred to as 'he' since the principal at the CDT is a man) is the very personification of management at any school, and the face that both internal and external stakeholders associate the school with. Under normal circumstances the school principal is therefore the most influential and powerful person at the school. The way that the principal exercises power is therefore very important. He has the ability to influence everything from student activities and color of paint in the classrooms to management culture. It is up to each principal to choose where to spend his energy, and how much detail he needs to know about every aspect of the school. It may be quite challenging to hold the office of the principal, because the stakeholders may hold strong opinions about the job done and the leadership style applied. The style of leadership, the character of decision making processes, and the pedagogical approach encouraged by the principal all determine the outcome of the *policy* stage in Ruth Lane's *policy model* (Lane, 1997:64) and where the school places in the *competing values framework* (Quinn et al., 2003).

3.3.2 Leadership style and democracy in schools

In regards to leadership, it often makes sense to distinguish between 'democratic' and 'authoritarian' leadership styles. Most people have an idea of these concepts, which is why they were used in the research conducted at the CDT. In addition to this they correspond well with Douglas McGregor's Theory X or Theory Y approaches to leadership (Boddy, 2008:503). McGregor argues that there are two different underlying assumptions about people that form the way they exercise leadership and motivation. The first set of assumptions is what McGregor calls 'Theory X': These are the managers who think that most people dislike work and try to get away with doing as little as possible. Therefore they need authoritarian guidance through supervision, controls, and perhaps threats and punishment. McGregor was critical of this way of managing and believed that it hindered people from contributing with their full potential (Boddy, 2008:503-505).

McGregor called the opposing set of assumptions for 'Theory Y': These managers assume that workers enjoy work as much as play, that people are capable of self-direction and self-control, that average people seek responsibility and have a great deal of creativity, and that their potential is only partially utilized when they cannot participate in decision making processes (Boddy, 2008:503). These assumptions lead to a more democratic and inclusive

leadership style. McGregor had great empathy for the underdog, and saw it as a moral issue to empower and include workers who had very little influence. His motivation behind arguing for a more democratic approach towards management was therefore not based on a theory that more democracy would increase performance (Boddy, 2008:505).

Nevertheless, increased achievement in schools may well be the result of a more democratic approach to school management, school culture, and teaching. Keith Grint (2005) points out that unless the boss is an ‘accomplished miracle worker’, the organization and everyone in it are much better off by establishing a culture that encourages ‘constructive dissent, rather than destructive consent’ (Grint, 2005). Such an organization will simply make more good decisions and obviously increase performance. Freire (1996:72-73) argues that dialogue and trust in the classroom encourages critical thinking. What students experience in school may heavily influence the attitudes with which they perform their professional careers and conduct their lives as responsible citizens in a democratic society. Allowing for independent thinking to develop may therefore be essential towards cultural, social, and economic development.

But is it not true that leadership cultures vary in different parts of the world? Keith Grint (2005) may well argue that leadership needs to be more democratic, but the focus of his article is on the management problems in the British public sector. Considering that leadership cultures vary quite a lot even within the relatively limited European context, is it not a little ethnocentric to generalize Grint’s argument and apply it to the rest of the world?

Perhaps it is. What makes sense in Britain may not work in Peru, and vice versa. Vincent Tucker (1999:23-24) has a point when he argues that the rationalities and logic in a given culture need to be respected and included in the development process since the economic, political, and cultural spheres of development are so closely intertwined. His argument should also be valid in regards to leadership style and culture; if leadership is to be effective, the leadership style must be compatible with the cultural expectations of the people that are to be ‘led’. Anant R. Negandhi (1983:16) argues that an authoritarian leadership style may actually be the ‘right’ leadership style in some instances:

There is no universal applicability of either authoritarian or democratic/participative management styles. In general, the managerial styles in the United States can best be characterised as democratic-participative, while Germany, France, and most of the developing countries are authoritarian in their management styles. Authoritarian style

is not necessarily dysfunctional in developing countries. This may be the ‘right type’ of leadership (Negandhi, 1983:16).

Negandhi seems to argue that since the authoritarian leadership style is the most common leadership style in developing countries, it may also be the ‘right type’. Paradoxically enough, democratic ideas are used to defend authoritarianism. But it may be true that most people in developing countries are accustomed to authoritarian structures in their family and social lives. But are arguments of cultural frequency sufficient to defend and explain authoritarian leadership styles?

No, a given leadership style must prove that it works in order to survive. Authoritarian leadership in education continues because it works, for the leaders at least and arguably for the students as well. Some principals have found that they need to show a greater deal of authority in order to change a negative culture in a school. Leif Østli, former principal at a secondary school located in a socially challenged area of Oslo, Norway, tells in an interview about the courage and toughness he had to muster when he came in as a new principal in order to get students and teachers to get to class on time, stop students and teachers alike from smoking during the school day, confiscate cell-phones in class, and so on. Setting standards worked miracles; the school culture was turned around (Melhus and Dysthe, 2010:37).

Furthermore, Lisbeth Eek Svensson, another Norwegian principal, argues that

...authority in relation with the students is also an important topic, they need boundaries and safety. They ask for a much stricter regime in class compared to what we offer today (Melhus and Dysthe, 2010:206).

So in order to restore order and discipline in the schools, some principals have found it necessary to exercise more authority – with the students’ blessing. Again we see an argument in favor of authoritarian leadership that bases its logic on democratic ideas.

Perhaps part of the explanation for authoritarian leadership style can be found in history? It used to be that only the nobility of a society received education. Knowing that they would one day rule the land, they were treated with utmost respect, and were in no way given any controversial ideas of democracy. So in modern day democracies, where the common people are the ones that form the basis of power, it should be expected that the students would be treated with the same respect in a spirit of democracy; they are after all the modern version of nobility. But it turns out that over the years states and schools have put priority on keeping up

national patriotism rather than encouraging ‘dangerous’ ideas such as critical thinking. The old authoritarian styles of leadership are deeply embedded in school cultures, and are difficult to change (Tønnessen, 1994:195-197).

This explanation seems very relevant to the Peruvian cultural setting. The Peruvian democracy has only been stable for a few decades, and for centuries access to power has been limited to the upper class. It has been important to develop a strong sense of national identity, and in Peruvian schools nationwide students still practice marching and compete in parades on a frequent basis. Values like discipline and order are deeply embedded in the school culture, and are easily compatible with an authoritarian leadership style.

Summing up, the main arguments for an authoritarian leadership style seem to be

- that in a development setting western interests should respect the culture in a given society and let change and development stem from within that society (Tucker, 1999:23-24)
- that the authoritarian leadership style is the most widespread style in developing countries and therefore may be the ‘right type’ (Negandhi, 1983:16)
- and that an authoritarian style may be what the students actually want, and therefore effective in the classroom, and ultimately an approach that works (Melhus and Dysthe, 2010:206).

All three arguments may be challenged, particularly if the challenge comes from within the culture of a developing country. Nevertheless, nobody should be disqualified from holding an opinion just because they are not ‘insiders’ in a society as long as they are able, willing and dedicated to understanding and considering the cultural aspects of the society. Paulo Freire, the Brazilian educator, was definitely a Latin American insider who would challenge the arguments in favor of the authoritarian leadership style in education. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Freire (1996) criticized teachers and the established educative elite in Latin America of oppressive behavior, which led to a pedagogical approach where the teacher would be the ‘all knowing’ and the student comparable to a ‘bank account’ where the teacher would deposit knowledge that could be reproduced at the time of the exam. Freire challenged the established authoritarian and bureaucratic school and would never accept the argument presented by Negandhi (1983:16) that the authoritarian leadership style may be the best just

because it is widespread and ‘normal’ in developing countries like those found in Latin America. Freire’s point of view was that the authoritarian and oppressive approach to education was wrong and dehumanizing, and should be fought - very much in line with McGregor’s optimistic view of humanity (Boddy, 2008:505).

Those in favor of more authoritarian leadership in schools argue that it ‘works’. Does the democratic style work better? Is democracy the perfect solution? During a discussion in the British Parliament Winston Churchill, the legendary British Prime Minister during World War II, made the following comment:

Many forms of Government have been tried, and will be tried in this world of sin and woe. No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed, it has been said that democracy is the worst form of Government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time (Churchill, 1947).

Democracy is not perfect because it allows for the majority to make mistakes. In their book *School management and effectiveness in developing countries* Harber and Davies (2001:165) point out that the paradox of democracy is that it rejects the idea that there are a set of right answers that may be applicable to all times, peoples and contexts. Solutions are negotiable. Democracy allows for participation and freedom of speech, which in turn are important prerequisites for human rights, dignity and empowerment. These values are not genetically inherited but must be learned and nourished by society. The Namibian Ministry of Education and Culture puts it like this:

To develop education for democracy we must develop democratic education... To teach about democracy our teachers and our education system as a whole must practice democracy. (Namibia, Ministry of Education and Culture, 1993:41)

So for democracy to develop in society it must become an integrated part of the way students learn. It must be woven into the practical aspect of how schools are run, and how teaching is executed. But the central question remains; is there anything but rhetoric and ideas that proves the democratic approach superior to the authoritarian? Harber and Davies (2001) point to a number of research projects around the world that shows how democratic approaches yield strong results. One of them is in Columbia, Peru’s neighbor to the north, where the *Escuela Nueva* or New School Program promoted active and reflective learning through an analytical and critical approach (Harber and Davies (2001:164). The results were improved relationships between teachers and students, lower drop-out rates, and higher achievement in self-esteem, creativity and responsibility, while also yielding a positive impact in society in regards to

adult education, health, agricultural extension and more (Torres, 1992:519). So the long-term effects of a democratic approach to education should not be underestimated.

Moreover, the argument by Vincent Tucker (1999:23-24) that is referred to above (in which he argues that development should stem from the culture belonging to the society that is developing and not from the West) may also be used to argue in favor of a more democratic leadership style. Although the Latin American culture may be associated with authoritarian leadership style, a more democratic approach would include the opinions and values held by regular people, not just the elite. If the school management allows for increased influence by teachers and students, the development of the school would be more in line with the values and the culture of the society where the school operates.

Democratic leadership should not be confused with or dismissed as a laissez-faire style of leadership where the leader is passive. The democratic leader is very much active and involved, but focuses his energy differently from the authoritarian leader. Decisive and demanding managers do not necessarily have to be authoritarian, or belong to the ‘Theory X’ group of leaders. Why should expecting the best of your colleagues contradict with the expectations that most people have in regards to their own work? Understanding that people have high expectations of themselves and agreeing and encouraging those expectations is actually much more in line with ‘Theory Y’ where the manager values and thinks highly of other people in the organization. The central issue is how i.e. the principal and a teacher develop and communicate expectations, limitations and decisions. Freire’s focus on dialogue and trust is helpful not only in a teacher-student relationship, but also between the manager and his sub-ordinates.

3.3.3 Synergy in school management

At last, the concept of synergy should also be discussed in relation with school management, particularly in this case. As will be remembered from Chapter Two, section 2.5.1, the Colegio Diego Thomson (CDT) operates in agreement with the state where the state covers wages and most costs and the Lutheran Church is responsible for operation and profile. So there is at least a potential for cooperation between the two parties, and chances are that both state and school management could capitalize on the synergetic effects that could occur.

What is synergy? The word 'synergy' is related to the word 'energy' which is taken from the Greek word *energōs* which means 'active, working' (Harper, 2001a). 'Synergy' is taken from the Greek word *synergōs* which means 'working together' (Harper, 2001b). The word 'synergy' is used to describe how working together can generate results that are greater than the sum of the individual inputs (WordNet, 2009). To illustrate, synergy as a term is much used in the field of medicine where combining different types of medication will magnify the effects.

Peter Evans (1996b:1130) argues that for synergy to take place in a development setting, the participants representing state and civil society will benefit greatly from building up close relations and concrete ties of trust. There needs to be a sense of complementarity and what Evans calls 'embeddedness', meaning that the representatives realize that they are in it together and are dependent on each other to make things happen. The personal aspect in this regard is therefore highly essential. For representatives of civil society it is therefore important to connect with the right people in the right governmental agencies, particularly those in local governmental offices that have personal interests in developing the area in which they live. Developing these relations will help strengthening the social capital present and thus reduce the public-private divide (Evans, 1996:1130).

Edwards & Sen (2000:3) argue that there is a need for personal transformation in order for people to focus more on cooperation instead of competition, and that the NGOs play an important role in displaying the relationship between real values and action. The aspect of personal relations that plays into synergic processes in development is therefore of great importance.

Perhaps is synergy nowhere more important than in the field of education. Children grow up to be participants in state and civil society, and if their school experience teaches them that it is possible to work with both sides of the 'public-private divide', that country is arguable taking steps towards becoming more 'civilized'. If students learn in school that their input matters, they are taking steps towards improving the conditions for democracy and with it social and economic development (Øyhus, 2009).

All in all there seem to be strong linkages between management, quality education, and development. This makes the field of 'education and development' an important sphere for research and also a field of great opportunity. The outcome of research in the field, and the hopefully positive impact this may have on the way schools in development settings are run, could alter peoples' lives and give them the leverage they need to create a better tomorrow.

Carrying out research on education and development may be exercised in a number of ways, but the following chapter offers a discussion and a clarification of the methods and approaches that have been used in this research project.

Chapter Four: Methodology

4.1 Research strategy

When researchers decide which research approach they should use for a project, they generally have two main categories to choose from; qualitative and quantitative. Yet, in order to understand the deeper origins of these differences, it is helpful to consider the ontological and epistemological aspects.

On the *ontological* level the question is whether a social entity is considered to be objective and outside the control of other social actors or not. An *objectivist* view will be that the social entity holds a reality of its own, and that it therefore is external to other social actors (Bryman, 2008:18). Organizations or culture may therefore be viewed as fixed structures that are beyond influence of individuals. A *constructionist* view is the opposite; it holds that social entities are constructed by the social actors that make up their very existence (Bryman, 2008:19). Qualitative research bases itself on the constructionist view, while quantitative research takes the objective view and maintains that there are structures beyond our control that we must conform to (Bryman, 2008:22). This research project takes on a constructivist view, thus attempting to provide a specific version of what the social reality at the CDT is today seen in relation to its history and its local and extended social context.

Epistemology deals with what may be considered proper knowledge and not (Bryman, 2008:13). What are the prerequisites needed to say that we have knowledge about something? *Quantitative* research bases itself on the natural science model, and in particular on *positivism* (Bryman, 2008:14). Measurements are therefore the basis of understanding. In natural science knowledge is gained through measuring variables such as weight, length, distance, heat, etc. In social science the same concept of measurements is applied, only in a different form and through different variables. Measuring a dependent variable such as knowledge may be done through using independent variables such as years in school, grades, GDP per capita, etc. *Qualitative* research however, bases its epistemology on *interpretivism* which contrasts with *positivism*. *Interpretivism* is a term that describes a view held by writers that have seen the limitations that the traditional natural sciences model has when applied to social research (Bryman, 2008:15). In social research it is necessary to understand the reality as those that are

part of the social setting in focus perceive it. Max Weber (1947:88) holds that it is necessary to *verstehen* – to understand – what is happening in the in the social world through perceiving context, body language, details, words, expressions, and so forth, and interpreting the information in such a way that the right explanations of the social reality are made. The interpretive aspect is based on *hermeneutics*, which is a discipline from theology applied towards interpreting texts of the Bible to find out what is the deeper truth is (Bryman, 2008:15). The same way Biblical texts may have to be translated and interpreted based on the social reality in Biblical times, current social realities that are being studied must be understood based on how they are perceived by the social actors that belong to the reality in question. A researcher who is able to block out his own cultural biases and prejudices when conducting research, and seek to understand and interpret the social reality as the informants perceive it is working in a *hermeneutic-phenomenological* tradition (Bryman, 2008:16). The field work conducted for this study was very much carried out with that in mind. Therefore I spent as much time as possible at the CDT premises attempting to grasp more of the social interaction between teachers and students. As a Spanish speaker living and working in Peru from 1996 to 1998 I was able to come close to poor people and spend a lot of time in their proximities; both in Arequipa and on the *Altiplano* which is the area surrounding the Lake Titicaca where most of the migrants to the *pueblo jovenes* surrounding Arequipa come from. The culture at the *Altiplano* was easily recognizable in the *pueblo jovenes*, although this may have changed a little over the last 12 years, as commented upon in the next chapter. But I did have previous knowledge and understanding of the aspects of Peruvian culture in general, and the culture at the *Altiplano* and *pueblo jovenes* in particular before conducting my three weeks of research in June and July of 2010. My understanding of what it may be like to live in a *pueblo joven* and also what reality the migrants have left behind in the *sierra* was valuable and necessary and provided a ‘macro’ understanding of the cultural backdrop at the CDT. Moreover, being present every day at the CDT provided me with new and interesting understanding of the ‘micro’ aspects of the school reality. Through my data collection I attempted to reflect upon how the school management and the education that the students received would impact how they perceived their social reality.

The previous knowledge of the culture in the *pueblo jovenes* and the *Altiplano* was an important reason for my choosing to conduct research at the CDT. I knew in advance that due to restraints with my work and my family, the time available for spending time in the field

was limited to three weeks. Alternatively I would have to bring my family with me and stay for a few more weeks, but considering the background knowledge that I already had acquired, I determined that I would be able to work more efficiently and collect more accurate data if I intensified my effort during my three weeks in Arequipa. In hindsight that seems to have been a good decision. I did not have to spend time getting familiar with the setting, culture, or the language, but was able to start interviewing right away. Moreover, the people at the CDT were open and helpful in any way they could, and I was able to conduct as many interviews as I needed, spend every day observing in and around the school, and find time for teachers and students to answer the questionnaires that I had prepared in advance. In the evenings I had time to work with the collected data so that I could incorporate what I had learned in my research the following day by through asking questions that would further explore what others had said or written, thus applying *grounded theory* (Bryman, 2008:542). In spite of the short time available for research, I felt that upon leaving Arequipa I had reached a certain degree of *theoretical saturation* (Bryman, 2008:416) as the same answers and attitudes among the informants were being repeated. Clearly my previous experience in Peru gave me a better presupposition to perceive the informants' reality as they experience it, thus making my research more efficient than it otherwise would have been while strengthening the hermeneutic-phenomenological aspect of the research (Bryman, 2008:16).

Since qualitative and quantitative researchers have different ways of understanding what is meant by 'knowledge', they also have different strategies towards obtaining and deriving knowledge. In relation to theory, quantitative research is *deductive* – it is 'theory testing' (Bryman, 2008:22). A quantitative researcher will typically base a hypothesis on a given theory. The research is then conducted with data collection and analysis to see what findings come out of it. The findings will then help the researcher confirm or reject the original theory, or perhaps the findings will add to the theory. A qualitative researcher is less concerned with theory testing and more with generating theory. This is an *inductive* approach (Bryman, 2008:22). The qualitative researcher has one or more research questions that need answers. The research is then aimed at finding answers to the questions. The final product of the research is ideally a new theory, new concepts, or theory about a concept.

Quantitative research has been the leading method since the Age of Enlightenment, but qualitative methods have emerged strongly through the 20th century – and with it an ongoing

ontological and epistemological debate. A closer look at some of the differences in characteristics may be helpful towards understanding the choice of strategy in this thesis.

The most obvious and common conception is that qualitative research is occupied with words, and that quantitative research is occupied with numbers (Bryman, 2008:393). This is to a certain degree true, but qualitative research may also concern itself with numbers. However, qualitative research is not so concerned with how many people say something, or how often they say it, but rather with why, where and how they say it. There is a search for deep, rich data rather than hard facts that quantitative research attempts to derive.

Furthermore, qualitative research is unstructured while quantitative research is very structured (Bryman, 2008:394). One reason for this is that qualitative research attempts to take the point of view of the participants while the quantitative approach takes the point of view of the researcher. The qualitative approach is 'micro' in nature and focuses on specific cases or settings while quantitative research is 'macro' and is occupied with generalizations.

Another important difference is that qualitative research is occupied with process rather than the static knowledge that the quantitative research produces (Bryman, 2008:394). One example of this may be political opinion polls. The poll results give us information about where the electorate stands at one point of time and is clearly quantitative in nature. Nevertheless, in order to understand and explain why the results of the polls change from one year to another, it is necessary to understand the political debate. This type of knowledge is qualitative. The ontological aspect is clear here; quantitative research will capture and comment on external facts while qualitative research will comment on how people are part of what happens and the processes towards change. The example of the opinion polls shows that qualitative and quantitative research strategies may be applied together and supplement each other. This approach is called '*mixed methods*', and is the strategic approach applied in this thesis.

4.1.1 Mixed methods research

Alan Bryman (2008:23) argues that qualitative and quantitative approaches to research should not be seen as incompatible, and that they in many instances may enhance the outcome of the research. The synergy effects described in Chapter Three, section 3.3 may also occur with the

use of mixed methods as the total outcome is greater than the individual inputs (Bryman, 2008:624). Mixed methods then, is combining the two approaches, and is the strategy applied in this study. Furthermore, by using a *triangulation* approach to mixed methods, it is possible to mainly apply i.e. qualitative research and cross check through collecting quantitative data (Bryman, 2008:379). This study does just that. It is mainly qualitative, but will often cross check with the quantitative data in order to see if findings concur. The qualitative approach is based on its epistemological and ontological foundation. The picture drawn of the Colegio Diego Thomson (CDT) is based on the perspectives of the interviewees, their reality and expectations, and is therefore *interpretive* as such. It does not attempt to establish an objective, external reality (which would be positivism), but rather to describe the reality as the informants see it. After all, if the school applies ‘soft technologies’ that work, they must fit in with the reality as the local stakeholders see it. Furthermore, it is concerned with process – positive and negative contributions towards the students’ learning environment – seen through the eyes of very different stakeholders. The orientation of the study is therefore also *constructivist*.

4.1.2 Case study as research design

When choosing *research design* the researcher decides on which framework to use when collecting and analyzing data. The design will reflect what kind of priorities that will be given, i.e. if the focus will be on searching for connected variables, or making generalizations based on findings in a limited sample, or understanding particular phenomena, and so forth (Bryman, 2008:31). Case study is a type of research design and is recognized by its intensive focus on the aspects of one limited case, and often favors a qualitative approach (Bryman, 2008:52-53). There are different types of case studies, and the case of the CDT falls into the category of what Bryman (2008:56) calls an *exemplifying case*. It is a case that may be associated with situations elsewhere. The factors that lead to success or failure in one school may also contribute to generating ideas and theories about what may or may not work in schools that may associate themselves with the setting and background similar to that of the CDT. Therefore, the aim of this study is not to generate generalizations, but rather to contribute with theoretical assumptions that may be applied to organizations in similar settings.

In addition to this, the study includes an element of comparative design (Bryman, 2008:58). The quantitative aspect of the study is one self-completion questionnaire given to the oldest students and one to the teachers. The student questionnaire was also given to approximately the same number of same aged students at a neighboring school in order to provide information about what students belonging to the same setting, yet attending a regular state school, answer in comparison with the CDT students. Of course I was also able to visit the school and the classrooms when the students filled in the questionnaires, so there was a small element of observation as well. The reason that I wanted to compare the CDT with a school in the near vicinity was that I wanted to be able to explain possible differences as much as possible with school differences rather than differences in the students' social background and culture. The students that are recruited by the CDT and the other school are more or less from the same neighborhood and the same socio-cultural setting.

4.2 Data collection and field work

As mentioned above, the data collection took place in Arequipa during a period of three weeks in June and July of 2010. With very limited time at my disposal, it was very useful to have a mixed-methods approach so that I was able to gather a lot of information very quickly through questionnaires that had both open and closed questions (Bryman 2008:624). I came well prepared to Arequipa, and CDT management had let me know in advance that I was welcome and would be able to come and go as I wanted. I therefore spent every day in and around the CDT not only interviewing informants, but observing everyday life and the dynamics at the school. Planning and executing interviews were never a problem, and nobody attempted to influence who I should interview. All interviews took place at the school or in the homes of the informants – at their home turf so to say – trying to make all informants as secure and comfortable as possible. Some of the interviews were planned in advance, i.e. the interview with the management, but other than that I was able to plan interviews as according to needs and find informants representing a variety of stakeholder categories. The main sources of information thus came from participant observation, semi-structured interviews, documents analysis, and from the self-completion questionnaires.

4.2.1 Qualitative methods for data collection

The most important research method used for this project was semi-structured interviewing. The advantage with this method is that the interview may easily be tailored to the informant's situation and knowledge. Most interviews were one-on-one, but in some of the interviews there were two or three informants. A total of 11 in-depth-interviews were carried out involving 14 people. The informants were selected among teachers, students, school managers, parents, and outside school officials with knowledge of the CDT. It was important to have informants that represented the most important stakeholder categories in order to acquire a wider overview of the school's situation. Although 14 informants may not seem like very many given the variety of stakeholders, the depth, content and outcome of the various interviews seemed to be concurring and yielding sufficient information for a general picture to emerge. Moreover, a great part of the questions in the questionnaires were open and thus qualitative and provided great insight in various aspects of the social situation in and around the school. So all in all, 14 people were interviewed, and 11 CDT teachers, 51 CDT students and 41 students from the other school completed the questionnaires (Appendix 2 and 3). In addition to that, there were a number of useful informal conversations that I took notes from as well. Summing up, approximately 120 people were involved in providing qualitative input to the research.

As far as the semi-structured interviews, I selected my informants among the students and teachers without involving the management in order to secure a more objective and random selection. I communicated to the informants that I was carrying out independent research for my master thesis, but the fact that I had to go through the school management in order to gain access, and therefore was welcomed in front of everybody by the principal, could make teachers and students associate me with him. So I assured the informants of their anonymity, thus shielding informants from possible conflicts with the management. The interviews followed a general interview guide (Appendix 1) prepared in advance which was based on the nine research questions. The interview guide contains several questions and could be tailored and moderated to each informant, with particular emphasis given to certain aspects depending on the informant. Interviews with the school managers would emphasize aspects of management, while interviews with parents would tend to focus more on how the school would have an impact on the children, the families, and the community.

Naturally all interviews were carried out in Spanish and transcribed into English. In a few interviews I was accompanied by my research assistant, Gladys, who would be able to help me getting a better understanding through interpreting body language, irony, puns, and other things that I could miss out on as a foreigner. Gladys is a college student with indigenous background from a different part of Arequipa. Seemingly, she posed no threat to managers or students being interviewed, but it is impossible to know if informants held back information because of her presence. Nevertheless, the interviews where she was *not* present did not seem very different, so it is my view that the net result of her presence was positive. She also helped out with some of the transcription work making sure that there would be no misunderstandings. In the aftermath I have been able to ask follow-up questions per email or on the telephone.

No extensive document analysis was carried out due to the nature of the research questions which asked for information that mostly had to be found through interviews and observation. Nevertheless, some information was gathered from the CDT web page which states the school's goals and values, but the interview with the school managers was quite more informative than the documents alone. Furthermore, the administration was allowed to hand over transcripts of graduated students. On these transcripts I was able to have people from the administration, who knew the students well, differentiate between *poor* and *extremely poor* students in order to see if there would be a correlation between poverty and grades. Bryman (2008:516) points out that the researcher must be sure about the authenticity, credibility, representativeness, and meaning of the documents. In this case the grades were certainly authentic. The differentiating between *poor* and *extremely poor* also seemed credible although the school had no written information about the income of the households. The credibility rests in the close relationship that the school workers, particularly the promoter, had with the families. Interviews reveal that the promoter is also the pastor of the local Lutheran church, and carries out diaconal work among the poorest families that are connected with the school and the church. As far as being able to distinguish between *poor* and *extremely poor* students, he is likely to be the most accurate and credible source of information.

Participant observation is when the researcher participates in the setting where the study takes place (Bryman, 2008:401). The researcher may either take on a covert or an overt role in an open or a closed setting. The researcher takes on a covert role when he does not disclose the

fact that he is conducting research but rather pretends to be a natural part of the setting (Bryman, 2008:404). For this study the participant observation was overt, but the setting was closed. I therefore had to gain access to the CDT premises in advance. That was no problem at all, and everybody at the school was very open and welcoming towards me as a researcher. I was able to come and go as I wanted, and those that were invited to interviews always showed up. I tried to spend as much time as possible at the school, and after a few days both students and teachers paid less attention to me, thus making it easier for me to observe daily life as it unfolded. Although it is difficult with a Nordic appearance to 'blend in' with any Peruvian setting, it could be that my speaking Spanish and knowing most of the cultural codes made it easier to become a part of the school during the time there. Bryman (2008:266) points out that there might be a *reactive effect*, meaning that people behave and speak differently when they know that they are being observed for the purposes of a research project. Through spending much time every day at the school, I could certainly observe that this effect disappeared quickly. I found a chair in an office near the entrance of the school where I would sit and read and make little notes while waiting for informants to show up for interviews. By being present in such a busy place of the setting, I was able to meet and talk to a lot of students and teachers all the time. That gave me an informal and close up impression of how students and teachers related to each other, and of what the culture was like. Given the short amount of time available, the acceptance and inclusion to the setting gave much in terms of added quality to the research.

4.2.2 Quantitative methods for data collection

Usual methods of collecting quantitative data are structured interviewing, self-completion questionnaires, structured observation, and content analysis (Bryman, 2008). For this project self-completion questionnaires were applied in order to cross-check the qualitative findings.

The questionnaire was designed based on the research questions for the project. The idea was to use the quantitative data to see if it pointed in the same direction as the interviews. Since I knew I had limited time for the project I also included open questions where the informants had to answer with their own words. So there was a qualitative element to the questionnaires as well. The questionnaires were prepared in advance, and I ran a pilot questionnaire in advance in advance on 32 informants in the Norwegian secondary school where I teach. That prompted a few changes. I then translated the revised pilot questionnaire into Spanish and was

able to find a few Norwegians who had worked in Peru for many years and have them look over the questionnaires. That helped me focus and find appropriate ways of formulating the questions. Yet, it must be noted that the questionnaires were only tested on Norwegians and applying it on people from a different culture and in a different context could provide different results.

I made two different questionnaires; one for students and one particularly for the teachers at the CDT (Appendix 2 and 3). The student questionnaire was made in such a way that I could hand it out at a neighboring school if I was able to get access, which I was. I ended up with 11 responses from the CDT teachers, 51 from CDT students, and 41 from students at the neighboring school. Thanks to my research assistant Gladys, I was able to digitalize the answers and run a few analyses through the SPSS within a few

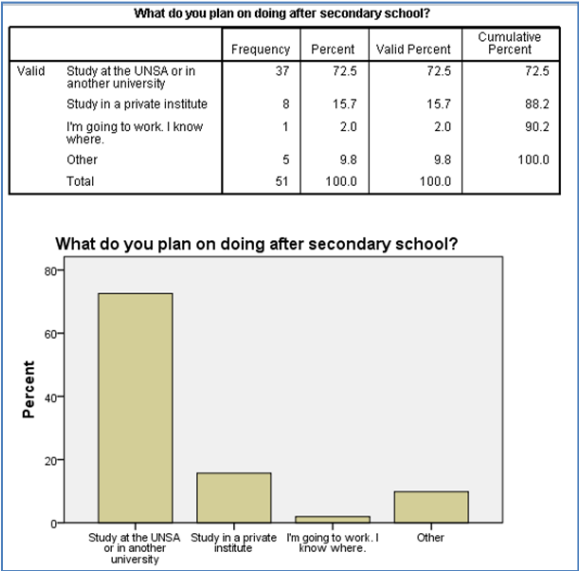


Table 1: SPSS output

days. One of the findings from the CDT student survey was that most students wanted to continue studying (Table 1). Only 1 out of 51 CDT students planned on working after graduation. Upon finding this I was able to ask the Principal and the teachers if the CDT gave the students false expectations; after all how realistic is it for 98% of the students, of which all are poor, to go on with some kind of tertiary study? Those conversations gave me new insight into the difficult realities that the students face, the sacrifices they make, and the vibrant hope they have of a better life through education. Hence, the survey provided me with insight that I could feed into my qualitative approach.

4.3 Interpreting the data

When analyzing and interpreting the accumulated data, the approach has been mainly inductive in that theory or theoretical assumptions about the relationship between development, management, and education will emerge from the accumulated data (Bryman, 2008:22). In order to deepen the inductive approach, grounded theory was applied. Grounded theory is applied when the researcher keeps analyzing data while being in the process of accumulating it (Bryman, 2008:541). In this project I would run interviews during the day and

transcribe in the evenings. Then I would use a system of *coding* to run in-time analysis of the interview. In practice this would mean opening a document for each research question and use the copy-paste function to place elements of the interviews together with the research question where it applied. This process prepared me for the next interview, and enabled me to push for more information on certain issues while eliminating questions that turned out to be less interesting. Through intensive all-day work, I feel that I compensated quite well for the short amount of time that I had at my disposal in Peru.

The quantitative data was processed through the SPSS data analysis program, and takes the form of univariate and bivariate analysis. It is mainly used to describe, supplement and cross-check the qualitative findings through triangulation as a part of the mixed-methods approach applied (Bryman, 2008:611). With 47 questions in the student questionnaire and 60 questions in the teacher questionnaire, a large amount of information was accumulated. Much of this has not been used, only what has been deemed applicable to the analysis and discussion in Chapter Five.

4.4 Ethical considerations

When conducting research it is necessary to comply with high ethical standards. According to Bryman (2008:118), particular consideration should be made in regards to whether the research could cause harm to the participants, whether informants consent to participating, whether there is intrusion of privacy, and if participants are somehow deceived. In this research I was open with all informants about the purpose of the study, that this was an independent study, and that I would treat the information with respect through anonymizing the answers when necessary. I also made sure to stay on track according to the research questions without asking for unnecessary personal information. Nevertheless, I had to ask difficult questions in regards to their view of management and the role of the Church at the CDT, and where critical views have been expressed, I have made particular efforts towards anonymizing quotes through altering gender or age in Chapter Five where findings are presented and analyzed. In other instances where the comments have been constructive and of such a nature that it would be natural to include information about the informant's position, I have refrained from anonymizing. It would i.e. be strange in this setting to anonymize statements made by the principal and the management.

4.5 Limitations and challenges

As mentioned in sections above, the obvious constraint in this study was the time factor. I only had three weeks at my disposal due to the fact that I am a father of three, and married to a nurse working night shifts at the hospital. There were also health related issues in the family that made three weeks the absolute limit. It was therefore either three weeks or no thesis at all. Due to these restrictions I had to arrive well prepared in Peru, stay healthy, and make the most out of my time there. In retrospect I think I succeeded well with this. Because I knew Arequipa from when I lived there from 1996 to 1998 and speak Spanish, I didn't need time to settle in and figure out the culture and the language. I also had a place to stay lined up for me. A family that I knew from my time in Arequipa offered me to borrow their house while they were on vacation, and I accepted enthusiastically. In addition to this, Gladys – who is a nurse, a student of pharmaceuticals, and the sister of my godchild – came in as my research assistant helping me out transcribing the most difficult interviews, and helping me understanding nuances in Peruvian culture and communication. With all this help at my disposal, I was able to focus on the research through interviewing, observing, and running surveys during the days, and transcribing and analyzing in the evenings. At the end of my three weeks I felt like I knew the CDT better than most people, and that the data I had gathered would be more than sufficient to write my thesis.

In the following chapter the findings that have come out of the research are presented and discussed.

Chapter Five: Findings and analyses

This chapter consists of two parts. The first part presents and analyzes the findings that are connected with each of the nine research questions. It does so without going into a broader discussion that would include references to the theory and literature.

The second part takes more of a macro view through involving elements of theory and literature into the discussion. The discussion connects the findings with the overall objective of the study, which is *to find out if there is a connection between primary and secondary school management, quality education and development in Arequipa, Peru.*

Part One: Research questions and findings

5.1 Management goals

The first research question concerns the management goals of the school; *what have been the Colegio Diego Thomson (CDT) management's main goals for the school? Have they changed during the course of the past few years, and if so why?*

The **mission** statement declares that the school is an

Evangelical Christian school which seeks to educate and form ambitious and competent people that are capable of generating permanent development on a personal and society level, based on values that are consistent with the holy scriptures (CDT, 2011b).

The **vision** is that the school is

an educative institution that forms productive people for the present and the future, that are competent in all areas of life, honoring God through their daily lives and serving their neighbor with enthusiasm' (CDT, 2011b).

The goal is dual; one part focusing on Christian formation and another part focusing on academic achievement.

My interviews with the administration confirm the dual goals, but the administration highlights the connection between the different areas of our lives. Education is not just for entering into higher studies, but also for functioning as a human being in all kinds of various

settings such as work, home, church, and other social arenas. The school needs to comply with state demands and curricula, while at the same time building character among the students. But it was also pointed out that the school seeks to be somewhat of a local elite school. Students who fail are not permitted to do the school year over, and must transfer to other schools at the end of the year. So the school tries to offer an opportunity to poor students who are gifted and able.

In the teacher questionnaire (Appendix 3) there was a question about what goals and visions the administration had for the school. Some teachers had an understanding that was in line with the official version referred to above. Others however, didn't know, and some underscored the aspect of being an elite school that would be respected in the local area and in the city.

It does not seem like the goals have changed very much since the school started up. As will be recalled from Chapter Three, the original idea from when the Lutheran school was founded in 1992 was to provide religious values and quality education in a poor area (Espeland, 2009), and that seems to be the same today. The dual goals reflect the character of the relationship between the two involved parties; the state and the IEL-P. The state is responsible for offering education and needs an academic goal while the Church aims to provide Christian formation and values. Without the academic goal there is no school, and without the Christian aspect there is no place for the IEL-P.

5.2 Ability to reach management goals

The second research question of the study is: *To which extent has the CDT management been able to reach its goals? What factors have contributed to reaching the goals and what factors have been counteractive?*

The CDT management consists of two persons; a principal and a promoter. In this paper they are referred to as either 'the management' or 'the manager'. The principal is the school leader with the superior responsibility. The promoter is the IEL-P's representative. He works closely with the principal in many cases, but is particularly concerned with the religious aspect of the CDT's goal and the profile of the school, and also serves as the Pastor at the Lutheran congregation that meets at the CDT premises. With reference to the religious aspect of the

goals, the school has daily devotionals and runs a youth club together with the church. So the students clearly learn about values, but the administration complains that the church should be more involved and pay for a teacher who could teach Christianity, which it currently does not. More qualified staff would improve the Christian aspect while at the same time allocating more resources towards teaching other subjects. Moreover, informants tell that the promoter works hard to help out and visit families and students that struggle with poverty and social problems. This is very different from other schools, and adds a new dimension to how the school pays attention to the whole person, not just the educational aspect.

Nevertheless, when asked about whether the management is reaching its goals, most informants answer in terms of educational quality. The managers themselves think there is still a way to go, but are pleased that more teachers are aware of new methodology. Other informants vary in their views. Some teachers hold that the school has come a long way given the strong results it has yielded in educational competitions. The results are considered as proof of the quality education offered by the school. One mother points out that the principal is relentless in following up the teachers, which is different from what she has seen in other schools. So it seems like the management's effort and continuous focus on quality is present at the school. But there are teachers who can curb their enthusiasm as well. Some are frustrated and seem to interpret the management's relentless effort as criticism of the work they are doing at the CDT, feeling that the management demands too much. There is also a teacher who thinks the goals cannot be met since poor and overworked parents offer little or no help to their children. Any school needs a good relationship between the home and the schools, and it is true that several parents in the community need to work harder and longer hours in order to make ends meet. Although the promoter pointed out that all the students are poor, it is still possible to differentiate between *poor* and *extremely poor*. The poorest children do have a disadvantage compared to the rest, and several informants from the CDT staff seemed to believe that the most disadvantaged students had smaller chances of getting good grades. The discussion of the findings in Chapter Five, section 5.4 however, challenges this assumption.

What factors contribute towards meeting or missing the management goals? Does management style play a role at the CDT? Does the management see personnel according to McGregor's 'Theory X' or 'Theory Y' (Boddy, 2008:503)? In this research it was practical to

use the terminology ‘authoritarian’ vs. ‘democratic’ leadership style since most people have an understanding of the concepts. When asking the principal and the promoter, who make up the school management team, they seem to agree that the principal has a more authoritarian style and that the promoter is more democratic, but that they work well together so that one style compliments the other. The principal points out that with lack of personnel there are fewer people to whom you can delegate, and that there are many decisions that are made based on state legislation and norms that just need to be implemented. Nevertheless, the principal argues that authority and strength works better in a setting of lower classes than it perhaps would in a middle class setting: ‘If we won’t apply force we lose authority and the same people won’t put their trust in us’, he says, and connects trust with values like ‘strength, decision, direction and control’.

This finding then needs to be supplemented with the views of other informants. Do they see the management as mostly authoritarian, yet with a promoter that applies a hint of democracy? And do they trust management? The questionnaires reveal that among students

- 55% views the administration as authoritarian,
- 23% views it as democratic,
- 12% views it as both authoritarian and democratic.
- 10% did not answer that question.

Moreover, in terms of trust;

- 70% does not trust management,
- 22% trusts it,
- 6% trusts it in a limited way.
- 2% did not answer that question.

From the numbers and the SPSS charts on the right we see that there is a clear tendency towards distrusting the management and thinking that it is authoritarian. The charts clearly resemble each other, and it is tempting to conclude that there must be a connection between trust and

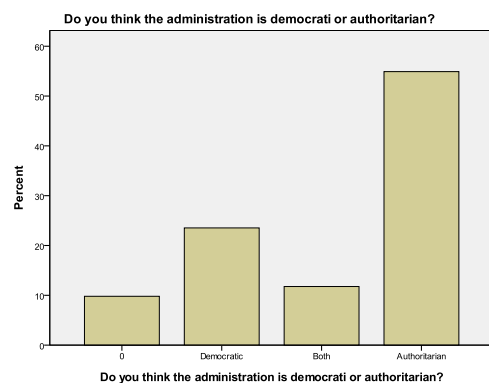


Figure 11: Students' perception of what the management style is at the CDT.

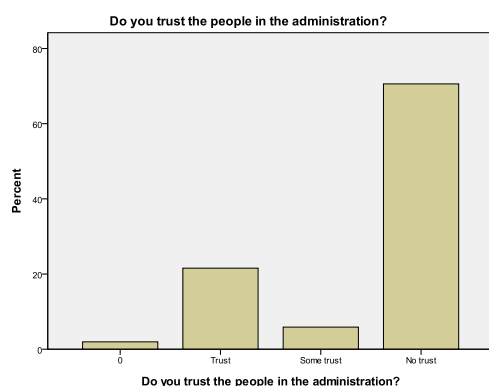


Figure 12: Students' trust in the CDT management.

perception of management style. Could it be that those who view management as authoritarian are the ones who also do not trust it, and that those who view it as democratic are the ones who trusts it? At first glance when looking at the collected data, the connection is not very clear. There are informants who think management is democratic but who still do not trust it, and vice versa. But could there be a tendency towards a correlation between trust and management style? In order to find out, the data is run through the SPSS with management style as the independent value and trust as the dependent value. A contingency table is processed, and Pearson Chi-Square and Cramer's V are calculated as presented below:

Table 2: Linkage between trust and management style

Do you trust the people in the administration? * Do you think the administration is democratic or authoritarian? Crosstabulation

			Do you think the administration is democratic or authoritarian?				Total
			0	Democratic	Both	Authoritarian	
Do you trust the people in the administration?	0	Count	0	0	0	1	1
		% within Do you think the administration is democratic or authoritarian?	.0%	.0%	.0%	3.6%	2.0%
	Trust	Count	1	5	2	3	11
		% within Do you think the administration is democratic or authoritarian?	20.0%	41.7%	33.3%	10.7%	21.6%
	Some trust	Count	0	1	0	2	3
		% within Do you think the administration is democratic or authoritarian?	.0%	8.3%	.0%	7.1%	5.9%
	No trust	Count	4	6	4	22	36
		% within Do you think the administration is democratic or authoritarian?	80.0%	50.0%	66.7%	78.6%	70.6%
Total		Count	5	12	6	28	51
		% within Do you think the administration is democratic or authoritarian?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.367	.649
	Cramer's V	.212	.649
N of Valid Cases		51	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.883 ^a	9	.649
Likelihood Ratio	7.770	9	.558
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.104	1	.293
N of Valid Cases	51		

a. 13 cells (81,3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,10.

When we consider the contingency table, we find that in all three groups, among those who view management as democratic, authoritarian, and both, the majority does not trust the management. But this majority is much more pronounced within the group which finds

management authoritarian. Within that group almost 80% have no trust in the people in the management while only 11% trusts it. Within the group viewing management as democratic, only 50% do not trust management, and 42% trust it. The tendency is even clearer when comparing the group that trusts management with the group that does not. Within the group that trusts management the majority (5/11) thinks it is democratic, while in the group that does not trust management a clear majority (22/36) views management as authoritarian. So there is a tendency for the democratic style to be associated with trust and authoritarian style with no trust. The relationship is not very strong, but the tendency is there. Measuring correlation between nominal or categorical values can be done by calculating Cramer's V (Bryman, 2008:330). If Cramer's V equals 0 there is no correlation, and if it equals 1 there is a perfect relationship. In this case Cramer's V is calculated to 0.21. This shows that there is a moderate degree of correlation between the values, but that there must be other things that influence the values as well.

The other factors that influence how much the students trust management will have to be found in the explanations that the students have given in the questionnaires. Those who do not trust management often explain that they do not know the managers well enough. Another example is the student who thought management was democratic but still did not trust it 'because my parents taught me not to trust in people'. So given the comments in the student questionnaire, the lack of trust may have (1) cultural explanations such as an inherited skepticism towards authorities in general, and (2) occur because of too much distance between management and students. But the calculations above also reveal that a more democratic leadership style may lead to increased trust. A leadership style that is too authoritarian will therefore reduce trust and work counteractively towards reaching the management goals.

Since leadership style cannot account for everything that works or not at the CDT, which other factors then, are contributing towards reaching or missing the goals? There has been a focus from management at getting teachers to realize that the methodology must be adapted to the current generation and to the current student body, which is from a very poor background. While middle class students elsewhere may hope to reach far in life, the principal points out that

...here they come with limited resources hoping to get something out of life, and so the teacher plays an important role. The students have been motivated and challenged by being asked ‘why have you come, what are you doing here?’ So that has helped.

The principal underscores the importance of focusing on the teachers, saying that the teachers are ‘the only players we have’. Therefore, for the sake of teambuilding and strengthening the relations within the staff, there have been teachers’ trips to the Colca canyon and to Cuzco. Sometimes members of the staff go out together and have a meal (as they did on Father’s Day which was the first day I visited the school). But perhaps most importantly; the management pushes hard for teachers to participate in capacity building programs that will improve their teaching (the ingredients and learning effects of that will be discussed under research question 3 below). The principal thinks that capacity building and the implementation of new methodology has increased teacher consciousness and awareness of how they teach, and that those practicing old methods of just lecturing and not paying attention to what students learn, are forced into reconsidering their ways as they observe that other teachers reach better results with their students.

The interviews and questionnaires support the principal’s view that focusing on capacity building drives the school in the right direction. Several teachers point to the fact that the principal works hard to motivate the teachers to sign up for capacity building programs that focus on improved methodology in the classrooms, and that he follows them up closely. The CDT has participated for three years at the capacity building program called CRECE, which translates to *grow* in English. A visit to the CRECE premises and a review of some of their learning material reveal that the program aims among other things to improve teacher-student relations and focus on learning through participation (Medina, 2009:7). It represents a shift away from the traditional learning method which is described by Paulo Freire (1996:53) as the ‘banking concept of education’ where the teacher just ‘deposits’ knowledge with the student so that it may be reproduced some time later at the exam. Instead teachers seem to subscribe to methods of teaching that include the students to a greater extent than what has been the Peruvian norm at large. That has yielded academic results at the CDT where they have won the CRECE ‘gold medal’ three years consecutively for best academic output (Salas, 2009).

The leader at the capacity building program CRECE comments on the process:

In 2007 to 2009 the Diego Thomson entered – very bad, that is.... But what happened there? Over again the factors that determine positive changes appeared: A good, committed principal and teachers at a certain level with certain capacities, that is, you

can tell that the teachers have been selected, they're not from the 'masses', and that they are committed. So this is what it takes: One good leader and teachers that want to change. Our conclusion is therefore that where these conditions exist it is possible to do something.

So the CDT has at least two strengths:

1. A principal who motivates and follows up, and
2. Committed teachers who are able and willing to change their teaching methodology.

These seem to be among the key findings at the CDT.

Nevertheless, another finding complicates the picture. The teaching staff at the CDT is unstable. Interviews show that there are two types of teachers; *nombrados* and *contratados*, meaning appointed and contracted teachers. A contracted teacher who does well may be hired permanently by the regional school authorities (UGEL), and become *nombrado*. Participating in a capacity building program may be a step in the right direction for a *contratado* seeking to become *nombrado*. But after three years in a fixed position as a *nombrado*, the teacher may apply to the UGEL for a transfer to a better school located in a more affluent part of the city. That way the best teachers end up leaving the poorer parts of the city, and the *pueblo jovenes* lose again. This happens at the CDT, and last year some of the best teachers left. The principal then feels like he is losing his investment as the capacitated teachers tend to leave.

Interviews and the questionnaire show that the teachers are mainly motivated by two factors; (1) devotion to students and profession, and (2) the need for a job that yields a steady income. In addition to this, some are members of the Lutheran church which runs the school together with the state, and find motivation in carrying out idealistic and people oriented work. Others like the security they have at the CDT, and are hesitant to moving into an unknown setting. But in general there is little evidence of extraordinary loyalty towards the school. Moreover, none of the teachers state the management's capacity building efforts as reasons for their motivation. This may perhaps indicate that teachers see the capacity building program as an additional burden, and that the management needs to communicate better the collective gains that may come of working in a school which works to increase quality. Nevertheless, with most of the trained and *nombrado* teachers leaving, the current teaching staff may not yet have experienced the outcome of participating in the training program.

5.3 Management's influence on students learning outcome

The third research question is: *To what extent has there been a connection between the management's goals and the students' learning outcome?*

The one effort that has yielded positive academic results is making teachers participate in capacity building programs. In particular one program stands out in the minds of both students and teachers; the above mentioned CRECE program. The program is sponsored by various businesses in Arequipa aiming to improve education in state schools. The focus is on making teachers involve the students more in the learning process instead of just lecturing. The teachers are trained over a period of approximately five months. Students are involved through projects and dialogue, much along the ideas of Dewey and Freire. The CRECE has measured how well the teachers' students perform at the start and at the end of the five month period to see if improved teaching yields results with the students. Of all the schools that participated in the program, the CDT students yielded the best results three years in a row between 2007 and 2009. At the initial test in 2009 the student grade point average (GPA) was 6.8 out of 20. At the end of the 5 months it was 12.49 out of 20. As a result the school received the gold medal and 10,000 Peruvian soles (Salas, 2009), equivalent to approximately USD 3,300. It is therefore clear that the focus on teacher consciousness in terms of methodology has yielded improved learning outcome for the CDT students.

The interviews and the questionnaires also reveal that the three year success with the CRECE has had a positive effect on self-esteem among students. Students now have proof that they can succeed academically in spite of being poor. In the questionnaire the students are asked to state on a scale from 1-5 if they agree with the statement *I am very optimistic about the future*. As shown in table 3, at the CDT all students replied 3 and up with a mean of 4.0, so there are no pessimists. At the school nearby there were more pessimists with 8 out of 41 responding 1 or 2, yielding a lower mean at 3.4 (Table 3).

Table 3: CDT students' outlook on the future.

I am very optimistic about the future.				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 3	13	25.5	25.5	25.5
4	23	45.1	45.1	70.6
5	15	29.4	29.4	100.0
Total	51	100.0	100.0	

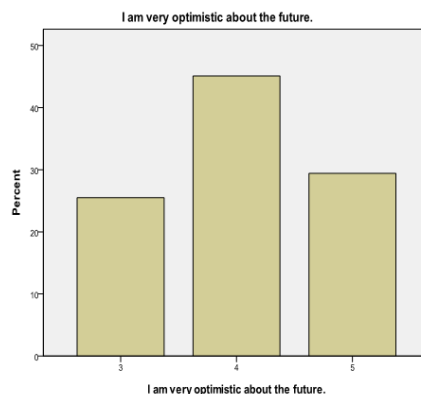
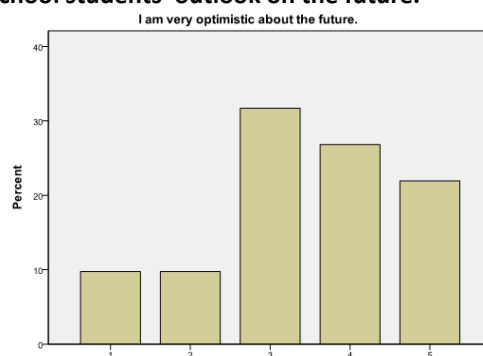


Table 4: Neighboring school students' outlook on the future.

I am very optimistic about the future.				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1	4	9.8	9.8	9.8
2	4	9.8	9.8	19.5
3	13	31.7	31.7	51.2
4	11	26.8	26.8	78.0
5	9	22.0	22.0	100.0
Total	41	100.0	100.0	



Parents that were interviewed pointed out how the principal makes sure the regional school authorities come and evaluate the school's teachers. They had not seen the same at other schools, so it is clear that this principal pursues quality teaching thus enhancing learning outcome in the student body.

Finally, one informant with knowledge of several schools in Arequipa due to experience at school authority level as well as teacher training, points to two important elements that contribute to quality at the CDT. For one there is a characteristic sense of *identity*. The source of identity may vary between schools, but the Lutheran identity at the CDT is important and helps creating a better community between teachers and students, thus yielding stronger academic results. Secondly, at the CDT there is a great deal of what the informant calls *human social responsibility*. Genuine care for the well-being of each student is an essential element of quality. This might imply that there could be a synergy effect. The CDT – with its dual goal (spiritual and educational growth) – may have found a balance between caring for both the soul and mind of their students that may enhance learning. The combination of being a Lutheran school and operating with public funding and curriculum seems from the

interviews to be a combination that generates increased effort among several teachers and students.

5.4 Student mix and achievement

The fourth research question is: *What is the ethnical mix at the school? Is academic achievement correlated with ethnicity?*

When the students are asked in the questionnaire to state their ethnicity, they do not answer *indigeno, mestizo, Quechua, Aymara* as one would have expected. They answer based on their geographical origin and hence write *Peruano* or *Arequipeño*, thus making it impossible to differentiate. But when asked to state which languages are spoken in the extended family, about 60 percent state *Quechua* or *Aymara*, which are the most common indigenous languages, frequently spoken in the *sierra*. However, when asked what their mother tongue is, less than 10 percent state *Quechua*. Interviews reveal that adolescents in Arequipa tend to distance themselves from the indigenous culture which is closely associated with low class and poverty. This tendency has gained much strength over the last decade. I could easily observe the difference from what it was like 12 years ago when I lived in Arequipa. To me it was most obviously noticeable in the Lutheran church that meets at the CDT. In 1998 all the Lutheran congregations sang traditional songs, very often in Quechua accompanied by traditional Andean instruments such as various types of flutes, rhythm instruments, and mandolins. Now the lyrics are shown on a screen with a video projector while contemporary worship music imported from the USA and translated into Spanish is sung – backed up by synthesizers, electric guitars, and a drum set. As more people in the *pueblos juvenes* are accommodating to the mainstream Peruvian and Latin American culture, they distance themselves from the indigenous identity.

Since the indigenous culture has been represented so strongly in the *pueblo juvenes*, there has always been a strong relationship between indigenous identity, poverty, and lower class. The interviews confirm this as well, and one informant puts it like this:

Well, everybody here in South America knows that there is a hierarchy. I don't know if Norwegians can tell, but I can tell just from their face who is lower, middle, and upper class, who is rich and poor. That is something that we can never change here. And we just learn that this is the way things are.

Although the perception of class may be difficult to change, peoples' income may change. Many informants made it clear that they hoped education would be their way out of poverty. Two informants said this can be verified just by looking at the name lists of those studying at the National University (UNSA) in Arequipa which is free of charge; it is full of indigenous students who have worked very hard to enter. So stepping out of poverty may be a huge incentive for students to study hard, particularly now that the Peruvian economy is finally growing at a very high pace.

Since it was hard to pin-point the ethnical variances within the student group, yet a close relationship between ethnicity and poverty, I tried to find out if there was a relationship between poverty and academic results at the CDT. Most informants were inclined towards the assumption that students from poor families would struggle more in school. But when asked in the questionnaire to state to which degree they agreed with the statement *in this school it is probable that students coming from prosperous homes will receive better grades than students coming from poor families*, the student body tended towards disagreeing. The teachers absolutely disagreed. When asked if *mestizo* students would get better grades than the indigenous students, more or less the same response was given. The perception therefore seemed to be that everyone had the same chance regardless of background.

In order to measure this better, I asked the promoter and the office clerk if I could see the grades of the graduated students. They handed me a survey of the graduating classes of 2008 and 2009 where the students were listed according to their GPA, starting with the best students. I then asked them to point out who is poor, to which they replied 'but everybody is poor'. As will be recalled from Chapter Four, section 4.2.1, the promoter, who knows the household very well through his humanitarian and diaconal work in the community, was able to distinguish between *poor* and *extremely poor* in a credible way. In the class of 2008 there were only two *extremely poor* among the top seven students, but other than that the two categories spread out relatively evenly. With 20 being the top score in the Peruvian grade system, the average GPA was 14.5 for the *extremely poor* and 15.1 for the *poor*. In 2009 however, five *extremely poor* students were among the top seven, and the average GPA for the *extremely poor* was 14.1 and 13.8 for the *poor*. So on average the *extremely poor* performed relatively better than the *poor* that year.

Table 5: GPA averages among poor and extremely poor CDT students

Average GPA for <i>poor</i> and <i>extremely poor</i> CDT students.			
	2008	2009	
Poor	15,1	13,8	
Extremely poor	14,5	14,1	

As it turns out, it is difficult to prove that there is a connection between ethnicity / poverty and actual academic results, but the indications are clear that children from the poorest families must show more perseverance in order to achieve.

5.5 Education and poverty reduction

The fifth research question is: *How well have graduated students from the CDT performed in terms of getting well-paid jobs, getting into higher education and incrementing the income and the social conditions of the household to which they belong?*

As stated in Chapter Two, it took many years from the CDT opened in 1992 until it started showing signs of positive academic results. This was also part of the reason why the Strømme Foundation, a Norwegian NGO, decided to withdraw from the partnership with its Peruvian partner 'ProdePeru', a Lutheran NGO, which ended up handing over operations of the CDT to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Peru (IEL-P) in 1998 (Espeland, 2009). After the hand-over there were also several years where the results were not all that impressive. A former CDT student explains that when she graduated at that time only 3 out of 25 students continued studying. The rest have found jobs such as taxi drivers, ticket collectors in mini-buses, or working in mines, and are consequently worse off than those that continued studying. So historically, the answer to the fifth research question is that the graduating students from the CDT have not done particularly well in terms of finding good jobs, getting into higher education and incrementing the income of their households.

This trend however, may be changing. Interviews show that many more CDT students are continuing with tertiary studies now than in the 1990s and early 2000s. Since the students continue to live with their parents in the same area long after graduation, and the management knows the community very well, the managers were reasonably sure that approximately 60% of the current student body will continue studying – either at the university or in private institutes. Graduating students that go directly to work are a minority. This change coincides

with two major factors. It happens simultaneously with the years that the school has been capacitating its teachers, and also at a time when the Peruvian economy is growing and the marked demand for skilled professionals is increasing. Both factors seem to play important roles in motivating the students in the direction of tertiary studies.

All interview subjects, regardless of age, social status, or profession, are convinced that higher education is the way out of poverty. A poor mother thinks the connection is obvious. She is convinced that it is only through getting a professional career that her daughter will be able to help them out economically i.e. with getting a better house. She continues:

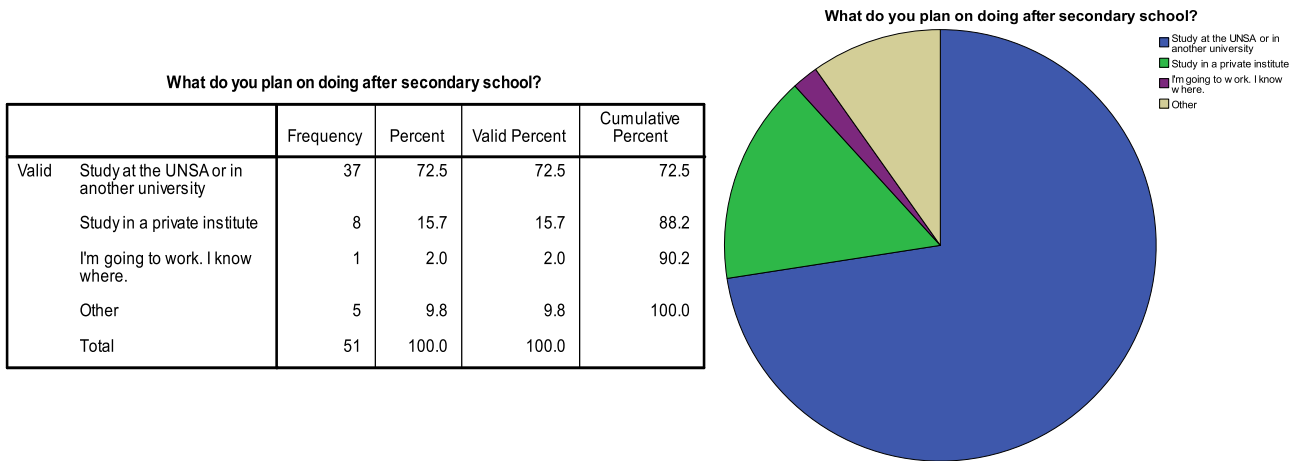
And for herself also in order to protect herself in life, for in this life – without studies you are nothing. Then there is suffering. Me for example, I haven't studied, and I am at home in the house, there is no work, I am at home, I can't find work.

Another informant agrees, and underscores her point by referring to a study that shows that Peruvians who study are better off even if they do not find a job within the very field that they have studied. Capacitated people are more likely to find solutions that yield better earnings. For this reason the teachers work hard to motivate the students to go on studying. One teacher explains:

The only thing you can do in this Peruvian reality is to study! And if you study, and study well, you will be able to have a life that more or less secures the rest of your life. I tell them 'look at your parents, they are porters, bus conductors, workers, they work in the fields, some in construction. This is what you want in your life? You are looking at all the possibilities that you have – look boys – all their problems, what is the only thing you can do now? It is to study and study well! And if you study well you will achieve a career, and this career will secure your future!'

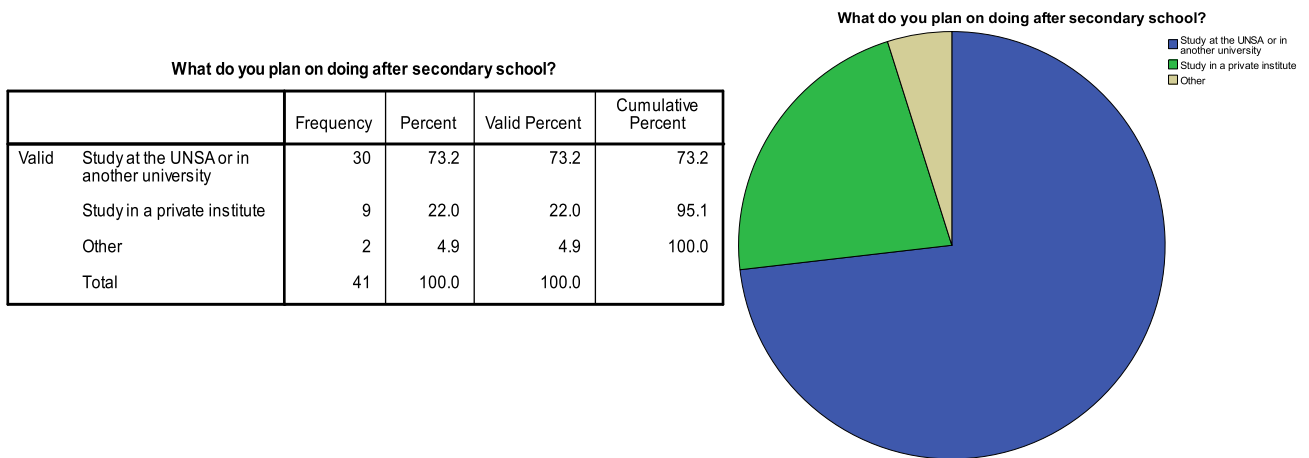
The motivating effort may seem to yield results at the CDT. When asked in the questionnaire what they plan on doing after graduation, almost all the students state that they want to go on to tertiary education of some sort, as shown in table 6 (I was explained that those who stated 'other' consider a career in the military forces or with the police).

Table 6: What CDT students have planned after graduation.



It may seem extraordinary that 98% of the student body plans on studying after graduating from the CDT. But is it truly extraordinary compared to other schools? The answers at the neighboring school shown in table 7 reveal similar results:

Table 7: What students at the other school have planned after graduation.



At that school 100% hopes to study at a university, in a private institute or with the army or the police (other). It is very probable that poor students all over Peru see the increasing economy as an incentive and a rare opportunity to get ahead through studies. The teachers, not just the CDT teachers, see this window of opportunity too and apparently motivate their students in that direction.

A little parenthesis is needed here to comment one important aspect of Peruvian education: Peruvian secondary school students graduate after only 11 years in school, compared to 12 or

13 years in many Western countries. But one informant who teaches at the local university explains that Peruvian universities do not adjust their entry requirements to accommodate the incoming graduates. Instead they run their own entry exams and require the same academic level as other universities around the world. That makes entering university directly out of secondary school very difficult indeed, and students therefore frequently choose to attend various kinds of academic institutes in order to ‘prepare’ for the university entry exam. If the Peruvian state had invested more money in education, it could have provided students with one or two more years in school in order to prepare them better both for life and for tertiary studies. There is an abundance of research, i.e. in Chapter Three, showing that such an investment would benefit the country in the long run.

The CDT management was confronted with the high percentage of students that was expecting to go on to tertiary studies and asked if the CDT gives the students false expectations when they motivate for higher studies in spite of knowing how difficult it is to pass the entry exam at the university. Although a bit surprised yet proud of the high numbers, the CDT management admits that some students will have to face reality when they graduate, and start working. While pointing out that several students have made it into the local university through preparing hard and applying several times, they do see the need for the CDT to prepare their students not just for further academic studies, but also for life. One student explains that the communications- and marketing skills that he learns at the CDT are helpful in their family business. This approach is confirmed by a teacher:

When the students are in class, the teacher will not just teach for your notebook, but for the development of your life, so that they can use it in their daily lives. This is the starting point of every teacher. They teach so that the students can become better people – for quality of life.

The teacher also points out that when students start at the CDT, they become part of a context which includes the family in a new way. The promoter i.e. shows that he cares about their well-being by visiting families that struggle. That cannot be expected from other schools. Asked if he thinks studying at the CDT will increase the income in the future, he answers: ‘At a high level’. He sees formation of character as key issues to reaching higher academic standards and better paid jobs.

Another informant agrees:

The first thing you must overcome in regards to poverty is that the people must feel able to fend for themselves. That they feel able to overcome and improve, and that they are not waiting for others to come and help. We call this to 'form subjects that act towards their own change'. And in education, the type of education that they are given at CDT will build up.

The informant points out that the CDT has worked hard to free the students of fear, and that the capacity building program, which has also included the students in many ways, has helped the students realize that they *can*, thus increasing their self-esteem and academic achievement. Everybody seems to agree that this will yield economic results in the future, but since the improved academic results have a relatively short-term history, it is still too early to point to a definite connection between schooling and income. That would have to be done in a different study perhaps five or ten years from now.

It should also be mentioned that the school is involved in the PRONA (Programa Nacional de Alimentación) food program with the children in pre-school. The state provides money for the school to prepare lunch for the children, which is obviously an economic relief for the families. But interviews also reveal that the left-overs are put aside in case there are older students that come hungry to school. There is great shame connected with not having enough food at home, so there is no long line of students who want 'free food'. But the personnel may be able to discretely hand over a piece of bread or some rice to a needy and hungry student. It seems like this is one way that the school shows that it cares for the whole person and attempts to care for the individual.

5.6 Students' future expectations

The sixth research question is: *Do current CDT students hold higher expectations for future employment and income than students from other schools? Why or why not?*

Interviews with students reveal that they think the CDT has a higher academic level than other schools in the area. But is this positive attitude reflected in how the students view their future? As showed earlier in this chapter, CDT students are more optimistic about the future than students in a neighboring school. Does this optimism also include a connection between the school they attend and future work and income?

In the questionnaire students at the CDT and the neighboring school answer to which degree attending their school will help them to

1. enter the university
2. find a good job
3. support their family economically
4. get out of poverty

The students answered the questions on a scale from 1 to 5 where 1 = nothing, 2 = very little, 3 = some, 4 = considerably, and 5 = very very much. The average results for both schools are shown in the frequency tables and the chart below:

Table 8: Future expectations at the CDT.

		Statistics			
		Attending this school will help me to get into university.	Attending this school will help me to find a good job.	Attending this school will help me to support my family economically.	Attending this school will help me to get out of poverty.
N	Valid	51	51	51	50
	Missing	0	0	0	1
Mean		3.39	3.37	3.24	3.16
Std. Deviation		1.002	1.166	1.242	1.283
Variance		1.003	1.358	1.544	1.647

Table 9: Future expectations at the other school.

		Statistics			
		Attending this school will help me to get into university.	Attending this school will help me to find a good job.	Attending this school will help me to support my family economically.	Attending this school will help me to get out of poverty.
N	Valid	40	41	41	41
	Missing	1	0	0	0
Mean		3.48	3.41	3.32	3.20
Std. Deviation		1.301	1.378	1.386	1.537
Variance		1.692	1.899	1.922	2.361

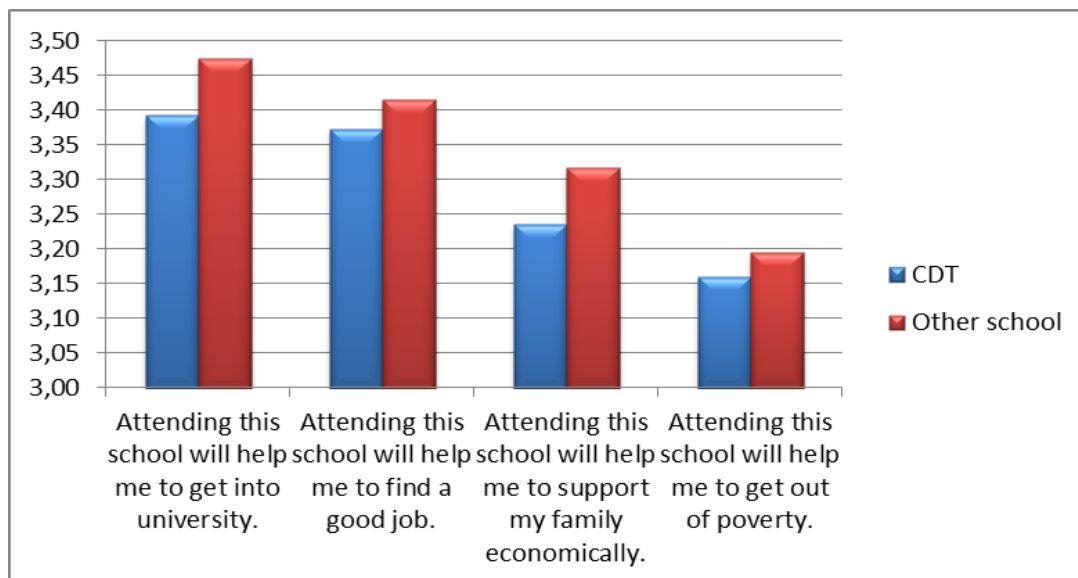


Figure 13: Average results for both schools.

For both schools the average student seems to think that the school contributes to *some* or to a *considerable* degree towards his or her future economic return, thus averaging between 3 and 4 on all questions. What is surprising, given the interviews with the CDT students, is that the students at the other school score consistently higher on all four questions. This could mean that the other students hold their school in higher regard than the CDT students, but it could also mean that the CDT students rely more on themselves for future economic returns than on the school. A third explanation could also be that Peruvian youth in general see education as their only way out of poverty, and have no choice but relying on the education they are offered. There are also explanations behind the statistical data. When considering the frequency tables and charts for all four questions and for both schools, the answers from the students at the other school are much more evenly spread out among the categories. The CDT students are much more homogeneous in their answering, and most students concentrate around answers 3 and 4 which are *some* and *considerably*. This tendency is also clearly reflected when comparing the *standard deviation* and *variance* of the schools in the statistics above; the CDT is consistently lower in both regards and in all questions. This shows a higher degree of ‘shotgun answering’ in the other school (Tables 8 and 9), and may reflect that the data from the other school is less reliable than the CDT data.

In any event, the answer to the research question is not very clear. On one hand the CDT students are clearly more optimistic about the future in general, but there is no proof that there is a connection between the school they attend and their expectations of future earnings. On

the contrary, although inconsistently, the students at the other school seem to give more credit to their school as far as expectations of future economic returns are concerned.

5.7 School status and quality applicants

The seventh research question is: *Does school status attract higher quality applicants among teachers and students hence contributing to improvements?*

The management's view on this issue in regards to teachers is rather clear; 'not at all'. Their experience is that it is difficult to attract quality teachers to a poor *pueblo joven* such as Alto Selva Alegre. Furthermore, as explained in section 5.2, the teachers tend to leave for more attractive positions in schools located in more affluent parts of the city. Nevertheless, both in interviews and in the questionnaire, the teachers express that the capacity building program that the CDT has participated in has improved self-esteem of students and teachers alike, as well as improving the school's reputation in general. Informal conversations with teachers also reveal that there are quality teachers in temporary positions, *contractados*, who want to continue at the CDT due to its Lutheran profile and good reputation, but who fear that the limited number of job openings will prevent them from getting renewed contracts.

Interviews reveal a much clearer connection between school reputation and student applicants. One informant explains how difficult it was to get students to enroll during the first years of operations in the early 1990s. Then they had to offer free accessories and uniforms in order to attract more students. Today students come from the local area, but also from further 'down', which means the more affluent areas nearer the center of the city. Several informants expressed that the school has a good reputation among parents who obviously want the best for their children.

Within the management there were reflections about how there is a great demand for quality education in an area like Alto Selva Alegre, but how difficult it is to find devoted and idealistic teachers to can supply quality education in the long run. According to management, the CDT is currently growing while other schools are reducing classes, so the CDT must be attracting students. The management thinks this is due to its reputation and quality education. Nevertheless, the management thinks it is difficult to attract teachers to a school that operates based on a convention between the state and the Lutheran church. The reason is that a school

like this will demand more from the teachers than other schools, both on the personal and the professional level.

5.8 Social capital added by Lutheran profile?

The eight research question asks: *Does the CDT's Lutheran profile play a role in adding social capital to the school?*

According to Pierre Bourdieu (1986:242) increasing social capital will mean developing a person's self-esteem and status in society. There may be several factors at the CDT that increase the students' self-esteem, but this research question searches for factors that are related to the Lutheran profile of the CDT. Therefore it will be necessary to consider the role of the Lutheran church (IEL-P) at the CDT.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the CDT is operated in agreement with the state. The IEL-P has the profile and the daily operations while the state covers most expenses such as wages. In practice the IEL-P appoints people to the management, and the management hires teachers in accordance with the state. Therefore the principal and the promoter, who constitute the management, are closely affiliated with the church and represent the values of the IEL-P. Furthermore there is a Lutheran congregation that meets on the school premises. Several CDT teachers are members of the IEL-P, but not all, and the promoter also serves as Pastor in the congregation.

Because of these connections, the values of the Lutheran church are communicated every day to the students through morning devotionals at the school. Nevertheless, although several students and teachers argue that enhanced consciousness of Christian values is important in the formation of character, it may not necessarily qualify as 'social capital' in the way Bourdieu defines the term. There must be a more tangible connection between the Lutheran profile and the development of self-esteem and status in the society.

There may be elements in the research indicating that attending the CDT gives increased *social status*, but very little indicates that the Lutheran profile would have anything to do with it. However, there are factors that lead to increased *self-esteem* that are connected with the Lutheran profile. One such factor is the counselor. She does not receive her wage from the

CDT, but is employed by the Norwegian Lutheran Mission which is affiliated with the IEL-P. Her work is directly aimed at helping students with their social problems such as bullying, understanding the importance of personal hygiene, issues concerning sexuality, finding motivation to study, understanding the concepts of social codes and proper behavior, and so forth. This is a resource available to the CDT due to its Lutheran profile and its affiliations with other Lutheran organizations.

Another issue that is brought up by an informant is the importance of identity; a school needs something that sets it aside from other schools and makes it unique:

Because every school, if they are clear on what they want to achieve, what their objective is, things fall into line, the strengths are brought together. But if there is no identification with anything, nothing happens. The teachers, although good, are alone and dispersed.

At the CDT the Lutheran profile sets it aside from other schools and gives it a different identity. This identity alone may not be enough to motivate every student and teacher, but at least the management is motivated by the idealistic long term goals that the profile provides. As shown above when discussing research questions two and three, the motivation of the CDT management has been a key factor in the drive towards quality education at the school. The funding and cooperation with the state makes it possible for the IEL-P to engage a motivated management staff and several motivated teachers towards generating quality education. A synergetic effect seems to take place. Therefore it may be fair to argue that the Lutheran profile has added social capital to the students through the zealous effort provided by the management. Without this effort the school's educational awards would not have been won, and teachers and students alike would have missed out on glory, honor, money and most importantly; increased self-esteem.

5.9 Social capital moving from school to households

The ninth and last research question is: *Are the CDT students bringing with them social capital that improve the social conditions of the households to which they belong?*

This research question aims to link the school with the homes to see if the households are influenced in a positive way, socially rather than economically, by their sons and daughters

attending the CDT. Does the school help improving the social conditions in the homes, and does it contribute to increased self-esteem and social status of the families?

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the domestic realities facing several students may be very challenging. Poverty, violence, alcohol abuse, and broken homes are key ingredients in a toxic mix that may be widespread and common in the area, yet painful enough for the children that are affected. The students at the CDT come from a variety of backgrounds, but several children struggle with difficult problems at home and need all the help that they can get.

It is difficult to measure how much *social capital* the CDT is able to transfer to the families, but at least I have tried to find out if the school has any influence on the homes, and in what way. From what I could observe and find out through interviews, the school aims to convey healthy values to the students about what is acceptable and not in the families. One informant explained that some teachers run a type of ‘diagnostics’ of the environment that the children (mainly the youngest ones) come from, and adjust the teaching content accordingly. The first day I visited the CDT turned out to be Father’s Day in Peru. For that reason the school had invited fathers to come to school to be part of a particular event. The event started out with the kindergarten children acting out a scene with a father, mother and two or three children. The mother and father were fighting all the time, and the children were afraid. Then a child dressed up like Jesus came into the family, and the father stopped drinking and the mother stopped yelling, and they were all brought together and became a happy family. It was well executed by the children, fun to watch, easy to understand for all ages, and communicating a clear message about how painful it can be if a sad situation is not changed.

One CDT staff member explained that the CDT also runs a ‘parent school’ where parents learn more about raising their children. Corporal punishment is common, so the instructors explain the value of alternative strategies like giving positive feedback, showing positive emotions, giving a hug, and so on. The staff member explains:

We’re not very good at that here in South America. And I think it is good to let the youth know and tell them, because they need to hear it. So when I talk to their mothers, they say that they have never said anything like that, i.e. if they have made food – then they think that it is just their job. So I tell them: say ‘thank you!’ and ‘well done!’ And that is something that the parents also have learned.

With broken and often disorganized homes, and with several parents working long days, the parents express the need for order and discipline at school. When asked why they have their children at the CDT and not at a different school, they point out that the school is orderly, employs discipline, offers quality teaching, teaches respect, and demands that the students do their share of work. One mother puts it like this:

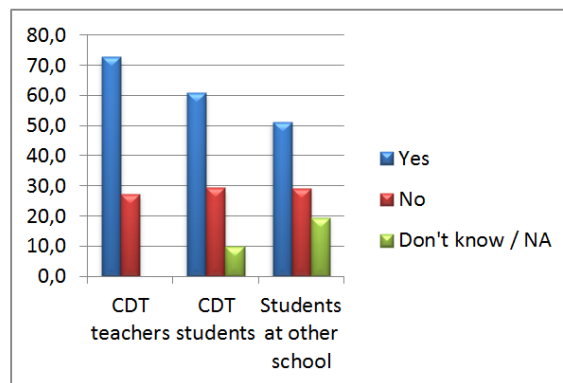
When the studies don't go so well, the parents demand more. Here you won't be able to continue without decent grades. Here you can't do a year over. So the parents get worried and demand more from their children. In other schools they wouldn't worry, but here it matters, so parents will participate and care about their children.

This statement shows that quality teaching demands quality effort from the students, and that this influences the expectations that the parents have about quality and the amount of input that the parents need to give as well. Quality at school leads to more quality at home, and a transfer of social capital takes place.

In the questionnaire there was a question asked to CDT students, CDT teachers, and students at the other school: *Do you think that it is a status symbol to some families having their children in this school?* Although the question was open and gave room for explanations, the answers have been categorized into three categories; (1) *yes*, (2) *no*, and (3) *don't know / no answer* and are presented in the table below:

Table 10: The school as a status symbol.

Do you think that it is a status symbol to some families having their children in this school?			
Percentages	CDT teachers	CDT students	Students at other school
Yes	72,7	60,8	51,2
No	27,3	29,4	29,3
Don't know / NA		9,8	19,5



Among all three groups a little less than 30% holds that the school has nothing to do with status. But among teachers and students at the CDT there is a greater sense of agreement that the school may be a status symbol to some families. Only 10% of the students do not know or did not answer the question. But 60 % of the students and over 70% of the teachers think the school is a status symbol to the families. This is well above the other school, although the other school scores high as well with 51%. This may show that most students think that

having a child that finishes secondary school increases social status in general. But the relatively higher scores at the CDT may also show that the choice of school matters, and more importantly that most CDT students think that their parents are proud of them for attending the CDT. This also confirms and somewhat explains the sense of pride that I observed every day when I visited the CDT. The school has managed to supply the students and their families with increased self-esteem and status through improving the school's reputation in the area.

Part Two: Discussion of findings and the overall objectives

The first section of this chapter provided information about the findings according to the research questions in the study. In this section findings are discussed more on a macro level, in accordance with the objective of the study. The discussion is also tied up to the theory and literature presented in Chapter Three.

As will be recalled from Chapter One, the overall objective with the study is *to find out if there is a connection between primary and secondary school management, quality education and development in Arequipa, Peru*. Thus the objective has two steps:

1. To establish whether there is a connection between the CDT management and quality education.
2. To find out if quality education, if it exists at the CDT, leads to development. Like in Chapter Three, section 3.2, the discussion here is also structured according to cultural, social, and economic development.

The discussion here will follow the same pattern and discuss the connection between management and quality education before moving on to the connection between quality education and development.

5.10 The CDT management and quality education

For many years the CDT struggled with low academic achievement. After establishing the school in 1992, the Foundation Strømme withdrew in 1996 partly due to the disappointing academic achievements. Their withdrawal ultimately led to the transfer of operation and ownership from 'ProdePeru' to the IEL-P, both Lutheran entities, in 1998. Thus the model of operating the school in partnership with the state could continue (Espeland, 2009). In spite of this change, the two main goals of the school remained unchanged; (1) providing poor people

with quality education and (2) providing Christian values and formation. Although the students may have received Christian formation every day since 1992, interviews reveal that the encouraging academic results have only been observed since the CDT started training the teachers in 2007. Why did it take 15 years to find a strategy that yielded results? The answer may lie in the nature of building a school in a development setting. Although the initial building structures were paid for by the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD), building a school structure is not done in a fortnight, particularly not in a poor neighborhood. Moreover, it takes time and effort to establish a school culture that values long term quality education in a community where so many households are used to planning for short term goals in terms of work and income.

Prior to the research conducted at the CDT in 2010, I had only been to the CDT once. That was one Sunday afternoon in 1997. Back then the school premises still seemed like a work site with sand and dust everywhere. A lot has happened since then. A second floor has been built, and today there is no sand and dust. The school yard is in cement, there are flower beds, nicely painted walls, and the school appears well maintained. It is easy to see that a lot of effort has been invested in making these improvements happen. Decent infrastructure apparel is an important ingredient in the total concept of creating quality education. This has taken its time at the CDT, probably at the expense of other pressing issues such as improving the quality of what happens in the classrooms. It may not have been until the current principal was hired in 2003 that the school was ready for focusing on quality school culture in addition to maintaining quality school structures.

The new attention that has been given to providing the students with quality teaching through providing the teachers with more training seems to be a key issue in the CDT yielding improved academic results. Everything in the research underscores the importance of the capacity building program at CRECE. The interviews make it clear that the principal has played the most important role in preparing for the capacity building process through arranging and organizing schedules, relentlessly motivating the teachers and students, and being present with close follow-up and personal involvement. But with teachers moving on to larger schools nearer the center of Arequipa, long term effects can only be assured through continuous focus on capacity building and on keeping a stable work force. There is great support for focusing on improving competence. Students, teachers, management, and parents

alike were proud of what they had accomplished and felt certain that management had made a good decision when connecting the school with the CRECE program. As will be remembered from Chapter Two, section 2.3, the World Bank (2007a:xiii) points out that there is a need for developing more efficient pedagogical approaches in poor schools. Therefore the pedagogical training efforts at the CDT seem like a step in the right direction.

As mentioned earlier, the CDT has done remarkably well at the CRECE program (Salas, 2009) and one informant with in-depth knowledge of the CDT and the Peruvian school system in general, argued that there were at least three reasons for this: First, having some kind of *identity*, not necessarily religious but something that makes the students feel ‘special’, gives the students a central element that unites them and connects them with the teachers. It may also unite the teachers and give them a better understanding of what direction the school is headed in. For the CDT the Lutheran identity has worked very well, but for other schools a connection with the military or with the Catholic Church for that matter, may do the trick. Secondly there must be a principal who is able to motivate and follow up, and third, committed and capable teachers who are willing to change their ways of teaching. Because of these three things the CRECE participation has been a success. But more importantly, it has set the school on the right track towards quality education.

Participating with the CRECE program was the principal’s decision, and it was a good one. In general when good decisions are made, fewer employees seem to worry about whether the decision-making process has been authoritarian or democratic. Keith Grint (2005) argues that it is fine to leave all decisions with the leader, providing he is ‘...an accomplished miracle-worker; in which case all we need to do is dig a lake for the boss to walk across on a daily basis’. This type of leader of course does not exist, and so the question is to which extent other people are to be brought into the decision-making process.

At the CDT interviews reveal that teachers and students vary as far as viewing the management’s style as authoritarian or democratic. In regards to McGregor’s ‘Theory X’ and ‘Theory Y’ (Boddy, 2008:503-505) the research indicates that some feel that management tells them what to do without explaining or taking their view into consideration (Theory X). Others disagree and think that they are consulted first. The managers themselves explain that the principal is probably more authoritarian than the promoter who is more democratic. So

there seems to be a mix, but both seem content working together and were reflecting over how they seem to supplement each other. Nevertheless, they both argued that when working with students from the lower class culture it was necessary to show authority and to show the ‘hard hand’. The principal argued, as previously said, that ‘if we won’t apply force we lose *authority* and the same people won’t put their *trust* in us’. He assumes that in the lower class culture there is a positive connection between *authority* and *trust*. That assumption may be rooted in the way that Peruvians historically have executed leadership, and falls easily in line with Negandhi (1983:16) who argues that in a development setting authoritarian leadership may not be ‘dysfunctional’, and perhaps even the ‘right type’ of leadership. But is the principal’s assumption applicable to the CDT, or is it perhaps more of a cultural myth?

In the questionnaire there was one question asking whether students viewed the management as authoritarian or democratic, and another question asked if they trusted the people in the management. In order to test the principal’s assumption I was able to check the two questions against each other to see if there was any indication of a relationship between trust and leadership style. The cross tabulation and the other output has been presented in the first section of this chapter under the second research question (5.1.2). The Cramer’s V, which is an indicator of correlation between two nominal/categorical sets of data, was at 0.21. That result would indicate a very moderate relationship. The Cramer’s V is like a regular correlation where 0 equals no relationship and 1 equals a complete relationship (Bryman, 2008:330). But the interesting point is that the relationship between trust and leadership style was the opposite from the principal’s assumption that authority would create trust. Those among the students who trusted management had a tendency to view it as democratic. Those who did not trust it had a strong tendency to view it as authoritarian. Hence the research shows that the principal’s assumption is not very applicable to the CDT. If his goal really is to have the students put more trust in management, he would do well in considering a more democratic approach to leadership.

A more democratic approach would also make the management’s leadership style more congruent with the content of the CRECE capacity building program which puts the students in the center and focuses on developing a much higher degree of cooperation and dialogue between teachers and students (Medina, 2009:7). The program’s view of humanity and people-oriented approach are similar to the perspective and the ideas held by Paulo Freire

(1996) and John Dewey (1909). Developing a people oriented pedagogy where students are trained in asking questions and searching for answers while at the same time managing the school with an authoritarian leadership style seems like a contradiction. The outcome of the contradiction may be at least two things: *One* that students distrust management and write it off as hypocritical, or *two* that they lose faith in education and disregard what they learn in class through the new pedagogy because it represents a mismatch with how they perceive their own reality – the authoritarian ways with which they are met and treated at home or at school. But in spite of the Peruvian authoritarian culture, Peru is a democracy. Although there may be technical and practical differences between how democracy is applied in politics and in schools, both have to build on basic democratic values such as freedom of speech and venues of influence on the decision-making processes. Therefore Tønnessen (1994:195-197) and the Namibian Ministry of Education and Culture (1993:41) may have an important argument when pointing out that people who live in a democracy ought to be educated in a democratic fashion.

CDT students who do not trust management write in the questionnaire that they do not know the people in management, or that their parents or their own experience have taught them not to trust in anybody. So in order to generate more trust, the managers could attempt to prioritize more time towards becoming better acquainted with the students. Moreover, getting to know people better may be difficult to achieve without at the same time moving in a more democratic direction. So a more democratic approach with closer ties between students and management could possibly generate more trust. Nevertheless, in a culture where distrust towards authorities is deeply embedded, it may take a long time to establish a new culture of democracy and trust. The expectations must be realistic, and patience will be needed in the process.

Finally, the last aspect mentioned here in regards to management is the possible synergy generated from the agreement that the IEL-P has with the state. Peter Evans (1996:1130) argues that synergetic effects of a relationship between a civil actor like the Lutheran Church and the state depends upon how close the ties are between the two parties. At the CDT the potential for generating more synergy between the IEL-P and the state seems relatively unexploited. The regional school authorities (UGEL) are involved, but since resources are scarce they do not visit more often than they have to. The same seems to be the case with the

IEL-P. Informants explain that the Church's involvement in school management is restricted due to its very tight economy, and several students did not really know who the owners of the school were. The result is that school management in many regards is left to itself. Informants explain that the IEL-P likes the work that is carried out at the school, but hardly contributes with money since the CDT receives funding from the state. So in terms of management, the presence of a synergetic effect seems hardly evident.

It seems fair to conclude that the improvements in quality education that have taken place and are in progress at the CDT, are mainly due to the management focusing on capacity building and close teacher follow-up. In order to keep up quality at the CDT, teacher training needs to continue. Moreover, in the management's effort to sustain, modernize, and improve education in the future, there is also a great potential in making the decision-making processes more congruent with the new pedagogical approach, thus more democratic. Nevertheless, it is observed that the school is vulnerable to the fact that the management team only consists of two people, and that they seem relatively distant from both the UGEL and the IEL-P. The management of the school therefore seems to depend more on the persons in management than on overall strategies and plans adopted by the school owners. The CDT management process is therefore not very linear as is more often the case in Western societies, but seems to fit much better with the Ruth Lane's *Politics Model* (Lane, 1997:64), which will be recalled from section 3.3.1. The *Politics Model* emphasizes the importance that the individual person in management has on the decision-making process.

5.11 Quality education and development

Having established that quality education has improved at the CDT, the second part of the main objective is to discuss whether this improvement has led to development. As in Chapter Three, section 3.2, the discussion in regards to development is organized according to Pierre Bourdieu's forms of capital; cultural, social, and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986:242).

5.11.1 Cultural development

According to Bourdieu (1986:242) *cultural capital* increases when the 'educational qualifications' of a society develops. The more the students learn, the greater the *cultural*

development. In this section I therefore discuss to what extent the CDT generates cultural capital through quality education.

The students at the CDT hold a perception that they receive quality education. As in any other school teachers may vary in capability and popularity, but in general there is a sense of pride and satisfaction among the students in regards to the school and its quality. The analysis in section 5.1.6 in this chapter shows that most students feel confident that the CDT will teach them what is required in order to advance into tertiary education. Nevertheless, the students at the neighboring school had even higher confidence in their school. It may well be that this finding underscores the confidence that Peruvian youth in general have in education as the way out of poverty. Their hopes of a better life depend on their schools working as vehicles towards university education. Students from poor homes have no choice but to believe in the education at hand and make the best out of it.

Nevertheless, as mentioned above, the CDT has made changes that have led to more quality education. The most important change that the CDT has attempted to make is the focus on new teaching methodology in the classroom. In practice that has meant enrolling teachers in capacity building programs. The most notable program in that regard has been the CRECE program which has involved the students as well. Participation has yielded academic results at the CDT where they have won the CRECE ‘gold medal’ three years consecutively for best academic output (Salas, 2009). The informants see the achievements at CRECE as proof that the learning process has become more efficient at the CDT, that learning has actually taken place in a more pronounced way than earlier, and that studying hard will yield results.

This type of motivation gives hope to the poor. In section 5.1.4 there is a comparison of the grade point average (GPA) achieved by the *poor* and the *extremely poor* students (there are no middle class or rich students at the school). In 2008 the GPA of the *poor* students was a little higher than that of the *extremely poor*, but the following year the *extremely poor* came out ahead. This finding shows that the poorest students have also benefited from the capacity building that has taken place at the school. They are yielding strong academic results, but several informants point out that the poorest students need to overcome difficult challenges in their lives in order to do well in school.

5.11.2 Social development

The results achieved by the poorest segment of the students bring this discussion over to the concept of *social development*. Bourdieu (1986:242) holds that *social capital* increases with self-esteem and social status in society. In the case of the academic achievement among the poorest students, it seems like increased cultural development (more learning) affects self-esteem and even social status in a positive way. Studies carried out in Bolivia and Chile (McEwan, 2004:182) and in Peru (Cueto et al., 2009) reveal that students of indigenous descent in general yield poorer academic results than the non-indigenous students. According to Figueroa (2008:29) students of indigenous descent are poorer and hold lower social status compared with the non-indigenous segment. Therefore it is fair to assume that the *extremely poor* at the CDT are mainly indigenous and should therefore be expected to perform at a lower level than those who are just *poor*. That assumption was also held by some of the informants. However, the grade point averages reveal that at the CDT both *poor* and *extremely poor* students seem to achieve equally well with the *extremely poor* actually averaging slightly higher in 2009. Moreover, in the questionnaires both students and teachers seemed to agree that ethnicity, wealth and gender had nothing to do with how students were treated and what grades they would be likely to receive. The CDT may not be representative of the Peruvian society at large, but the findings indicate that quality education in a poor setting provides a realistic hope of moving ahead in life. In a setting where the economy is growing thus demanding qualified professionals, there might be an attitude change initiating towards increased emphasis on ability and less attention given to people's ethnic and social background. This may not necessarily hold true in all of Peru, but it may well be the case in the *pueblo jovenes* in Arequipa. It is my impression through observing the situation today compared to that of 1998 when I lived in the area that the influence which the indigenous culture has had in the *pueblo jovenes* has been decreased. As mentioned in the previous section, the churches hardly sing hymns in the indigenous languages anymore, nor do they seem to use the traditional musical instruments either. And in the student questionnaires, when asked to state ethnicity, answers are given in terms of where they live (*Peruano*, *Arequipeño*) instead of their indigenous heritage (*Quechua*, *Aymara*). This may indicate that people's focus may be shifting away from the indigenous towards the mainstream Peruvian culture.

Gilbert Rist may have a point when he argues that development requires ‘the general transformation and destruction of ... social relations’ (Rist, 1997:13). In the setting related to the CDT, it seems like there is a desire to identify with what is urban and modern, and informants explained that there is a trend among children and adolescents towards favoring Spanish, even at home, at the expense of the Quechua and Aymara languages. From an anthropological point of view this trend may be undesirable since it may have a negative effect on the cultural variety and deplete people’s link to their indigenous identity. But the course of development may still be in line with Vincent Tucker (1999:23-24) who argues that the process of development must be based on the rationale of the society in question instead of Western values. Students at the CDT seem to perceive the mainstream Peruvian and Latin American culture as the arena for social development. Without getting into a discussion about the degree to which mainstream Latin American culture may or may not be influenced by the West, at least it seems fair to comment that it contrasts a great deal with the indigenous Andean culture that used to be even more influential in the *pueblo jovenes*. My findings indicate that the students at the CDT are choosing to connect more with the Spanish language and the Latin American and Western music, while turning their back on their indigenous alternatives which are associated with low class and poverty. The main point here is that young students growing up in the Arequipan *pueblo jovenes* seem to perceive themselves first and foremost as *Peruvians* more so than *Quechua* or *Aymara*, and consequently the indigenous culture is gradually reduced. Therefore the social changes taking place seem to stem from within the culture that the students perceive as ‘their own’, and are therefore based on the rationale found in the Peruvian culture. Although interesting, a more thorough discussion about cultural changes in Peruvian *pueblos jovenes* is beyond the scope of this thesis.

In any event, as the CDT offers quality education it also opens the way into higher education, the formal Peruvian economy, and thus a chance to acquire higher social status. The research reveals that almost every student wants to continue studying, and that the majority actually continues studying at an institute or in a university after graduation. The high ratio of students moving on to tertiary education is not unique for the CDT as the findings from the survey conducted at the neighboring school confirms the same pattern. One informant reports that the lists of students at the local state university mainly consist of typical indigenous names. Hence the lower class poor are climbing on to the educational band-wagon.

Although the CDT is not the only school yielding students that move on to higher education, the parents seem to think that the CDT is a better alternative than other schools. After all, they have made a conscious choice to enroll them there. But more importantly, both CDT students and teachers seem to think that having a child at the CDT is a status symbol to the students' families – more so than what is the case at the neighboring school. The parents interviewed also expressed pride and contentment that their child was a CDT student.

In the interviews both parents and students justified their pride in the school with the results that had been achieved at the CRECE program. There is no doubt that these results have boosted the self-esteem of students, teachers, management, and parents alike. If nothing else, the people at the CDT have proven to the world that poor people can achieve excellence. One informant argued that in addition to the three elements for the CDT success discussed in the former section (Lutheran identity, good principal and committed teachers), the CDT also had a high degree of what she called *human social responsibility*. The school's ability to see the whole person, not just the academic aspect, but also addressing domestic challenges and issues of faith and character, is arguably an important advantage for a school that seeks to prepare students for life in general and for higher studies in particular.

5.11.3 Economic development

The informants seem confident that the CDT's dual focus with formation of faith and character on one hand and academic achievement on the other, will yield future economic returns and lead to *economic development*. As mentioned in Chapter Three, section 3.2.3, there is an abundance of research that ties quality education with economic development. David N. Weil (2009:179) discusses the strong relationship between years in school and GDP, Dylan Wiliam (2009:1) connects grade point average with future income, and Simon Appleton et al. (2009) summarize current research on education in developing countries and conclude that education universally is a key factor in the fight against poverty and that investing in education yields returns that are almost comparable with other types of investments. Given continuous economic growth in Peru, the expectations among the CDT students and teachers of long term economic development will probably become true. With a majority of the students continuing into tertiary education there are reasons for continued optimism among students, teachers, parents, and the community and city at large.

Nevertheless, several informants, particularly the teachers, drew the attention to the importance of teaching values. In a community characterized by i.e. domestic violence and widespread alcohol related problems, limited economic resources become even more scarce when one of the parents, most commonly the male and the main benefactor, leaves the household. One informant, a very poor mother, explained how grateful she was that she and her husband stayed together. Her husband was away searching for work when I talked to her, and when discussing if she had any work opportunities, she could only think of low income work such as doing laundry and housekeeping. Nevertheless, she had several children to look after, so looking for work did not seem like an option, and so she was very much depending on her husband. It seemed that in the middle of desperate poverty, what kept that home from falling apart was absence of alcohol and focus on family values. Thus, the teachers may know what they are doing when they teach values like mutual respect and the importance of ‘*serving their neighbor with enthusiasm*’ as it is formulated in the CDT vision (CDT, 2011b), and even arrange ‘parent school’ in order to improve family relations in the community.

The above mentioned vision plays out in practice at the CDT through working together with the PRONA, which is a national food program for the children in kindergarten. One informant tells that leftovers are put aside so that other students that lack food may be relieved of hunger. Moreover, the promoter, who also serves as Pastor in the local Lutheran Church at the CDT premises, provides diaconal services to needy families that are connected with the school or the church. Furthermore, the school counselor is there to talk to students when they struggle with the various difficulties that they encounter, trying to encourage and motivate them to stay in school and keep working hard for the sake of their own future.

As mentioned in the former section, in terms of management there is very little indication of a synergetic effect happening between the IEL-P and the local school authorities due to very limited involvement by both parties. Nevertheless, in terms of development there may be synergetic effects taking place. Obviously the school would not be able to operate and offer quality education for free in a poor neighborhood without funding from the state. But in addition to offering education according to national curricula, the school’s Lutheran profile adds another aspect to the total school experience. That aspect may well qualify as a form of ‘soft technology’ as Peter Evans (1996:1131) calls it. His idea is that research should be

carried out in regards to positive cases in various sectors where a private actor and the state are involved so see if there are synergetic effects (Evans, 1996:1131). In this case, the IEL-P adds an extra dimension to the national educational package offered at the CDT, and the combination leads to development beyond what the state can do on its own. A synergetic effect is taking place because the total development output is greater than the sum of the individual inputs from the two parties. The state observes that the CDT offers quality education and receives prizes for it, and the IEL-P observes that it reaches an entire community with its message and values. Although the CDT has difficult challenges that it needs to deal with, both the state and the IEL-P have reason to be content with the output of cultural, social, and economic development at the CDT.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

The radio show host who commented that in Greg Mortenson's world there are three ways to poverty reduction and peace; *education, education, and education* (Moksnes, 2010), obviously made a humorous and exaggerated statement. Nevertheless, she does have a point in regards to professionals and academics who in various areas, i.e in the field of development, sometimes tend to overstate the influence by their own area of specialization. Although this thesis is focusing on the importance of education for development, it by no means attempts to argue that education is the only way to development. However, in a development process education plays an important role, and if done well it may contribute a great deal. Peter Evans (1996:1131) sees the importance of combining knowledge from different fields, and is particularly interested in finding out more about how synergy may emerge from cooperation between state and private actors in development settings, and which 'soft technologies' that might be useful towards development.

The search for 'soft technologies', and what might come out of cooperation between the state and private actors, was the starting point that inspired this research project. Upon learning that in a *pueblo joven* in Arequipa, Peru there was a school operated in cooperation between the state and a church that had won the gold medal three years consecutively in a capacity building program, I thought that there might be lessons to learn and perhaps 'soft technologies' to discover. There was no proof initially that the Colegio Diego Thomson (CDT) was a 'success' as such, but there were indications that the school did something right when it was able to attract media attention for its academic achievements in spite of its very limited resources, its poor students, and the challenged neighborhood it is located in.

6.1 Theory and practice

Schools, teachers, and students are easily recognizable around the world, and there are several similarities across borders and cultures. Therefore most knowledge about education is applicable in a variety of settings; what works in a classroom in Berlin might also be effective in Seoul or Arequipa. John Dewey (1909:22), known for his 'learning by doing' approach, argues that learning is natural and must happen simultaneously with other natural activities. Such an approach is applicable everywhere. The same can be said about Dylan Wiliam

(2009:7-8) who argues that the more the teacher knows about each student's academic status, the better he will be able to tailor teaching so that it suits the needs of the student. Even David N. Weil (2009:181), whose writings mostly relate to the field of economic growth, acknowledges that education may have several other aims than just increased future earnings, such as spiritual and intellectual growth. In many ways it is true that 'people are people', and the 'hierarchy of needs' by Maslow (1946) holds a certain degree of relevance in most cultures. Therefore educational systems and institutions around the world have obvious similarities, and there is much to learn from one another.

Nevertheless, one such similarity, paradoxically enough, leads to great differences between schools in different cultures: In most cultures the school is a central cultural actor. Therefore, classrooms and schools are just as different from place to place as the culture is. When the school plays out its role as a cultural actor in society, it secures and sustains the values that the society identifies with. And when schools change, the society is impacted as well since the values that the students adopt in school are conveyed into society. Therefore, in this study the input of Paulo Freire (1996), the Brazilian thinker, jurist, and educationalist, has been an important ingredient not only towards understanding the background of education on the Latin American continent, but in realizing that in spite of having a history of oppression and utilization, there is a way for Peruvian teachers and students to join hands through dialogue and trust and move in the direction of empowerment and development.

6.2 *The role of management*

At the CDT the students and the teachers have made accomplishments in that direction. Through working together, they have been able to participate in a competitive capacity building program and win the competition three years consecutively between 2007 and 2009. But the supplier of terms and an important motivating factor behind the participating effort has been the CDT management. Thus at the CDT, it has seemed like there could be a connection between management, quality education, and development. Finding out whether that is true has been the overall objective with this study.

In regards to management the CDT case study concludes that the participation in capacity building programs would not happen unless the principal had pursued it and made explicit efforts towards motivating the teachers into participating. The CDT benefits from having a

principal who wants to make a difference. Furthermore, the school has several teachers who are motivated, committed and capable of changing the ways they teach for the better. The motivated principal and teachers have also been able to motivate and include the students in the capacity building process. The uniting element seems to be provided by the CDT's Lutheran identity which sets it apart from other schools and communicates certain values and virtues such as the importance of teachers focusing on the whole student, not just the academic aspect.

Rose-colored as this may seem, findings also indicate that the level of trust between the CDT management and students could improve considerably with the majority of the oldest students indicating that they did not trust the people in the management. The study indicates that the level of trust is influenced by at least three factors: One is the students' perception of the management's leadership style. Those who have trust in the management tend to see it as democratic, but those who do not trust the management clearly perceive it as authoritarian. Secondly, some students do not trust management because they do not know the people there well enough. Closeness between students and management seems to be a plus. And third, there seems to be an inherited distrust and skepticism among some students who report that they have been taught at home never to trust anybody. So in order to increase the level of trust, the management should consider a more democratic approach to management with more open decision-making processes, and spending more time becoming acquainted with the students. Changing what students learn at home about not trusting others may be a more difficult task to endeavor.

6.3 Education and development

Although students may inherit both their sympathies, antipathies and other attitudes from their parents, they do seem to identify less with the indigenous culture which is the real source of heritage for several CDT students. The trend is towards identifying more with the mainstream Latino culture in Peru. The indigenous culture is associated with low class and poverty, and students see education as an opportunity to step out of poverty and move up in society. Approximately 60% of the CDT students continue studying after graduating from the CDT.

As mentioned, the CDT teachers and students have been very successful when participating together in a capacity building program. The study shows that the participation has had at

least three effects: The learning outcome has improved, student self-esteem has increased, and the social status for the parents who have their children at the CDT has improved. Moreover, when dividing the graduated students in two groups; one *poor* and one *extremely poor*, there is no significant difference in the two groups' grade point average (GPA) – in fact, one year the *extremely poor* group of students had a slightly higher GPA than those who were just *poor*. But the study also reveals that the students who face the most challenging realities also need to muster more perseverance in order to succeed in school.

In terms of the synergetic effects that Peter Evans (1996:1131) was searching for, it may seem like the cooperation between the state and the Peruvian National Evangelical-Lutheran Church (IEL-P) yields some results. A synergetic effect is taking place because the total development output is greater than the sum of the individual inputs from the two parties. The state observes that the CDT offers quality education and receives prizes for it, and the IEL-P observes that it reaches an entire community with its message and values. Given the very limited input that the state and the IEL-P provide, the output of cultural, social and economic development must seem quite satisfactory to both parties.

6.4 *Where should the CDT head in the future?*

There are several aspects of what happens at the CDT that need to be continued and other aspects that could be changed for the better. One aspect that is outside the control of the CDT management is the number of years that the students are in school. As will be recalled from Chapter Two, section 2.5.3, graduating at the age of 16 seems early, and the result is that there is a gap between the academic level held by graduating secondary school students and the academic standard required to gain entry to Peruvian universities. Although this study has not aimed to calculate the amount which the mismatch costs the Peruvian society, the number is likely to more than illustrate how 'expensive it is to be poor'. Appleton et al. (2009) document that investing in education pays off, and the Peruvian government should invest in prolonged primary and secondary education in order to meet the demands of a growing economy.

As far as the CDT goes, if the management wishes to increase the level of trust it enjoys from the students, it should consider changing its leadership style towards becoming more democratic. This may be done through improved communication practices and more open and inclusive decision-making processes. A more inclusive and democratic approach will also

make the school less vulnerable to changes in management; after all the CDT management team only consists of two persons. The development of the school needs to be sustained regardless of who the people in the management are. In terms of communication there may be room for improvements as several students did not really know who the school owners were, and several teachers did not have a clear view of the school's goals and visions. The management needs to make sure that the staff and the students know where the school is headed and what happens at the school. Staying informed and feeling included are important factors that need to be in place if the management aims to keep the staff and the students motivated.

The CDT needs to continue developing its identity as a Lutheran school. The identity is a unifying aspect of the CDT experience for both teachers and students, and when hiring new teachers it will be important to find quality teachers who are able to identify with the Lutheran profile in the long run. Teachers who identify with the school's profile are less likely to move on to different schools since the profile is so unique in the area. Moreover, for synergetic effects to continue yielding cultural, social and economic development, the two parties which operate the school together need to maintain their characteristics. If the Lutheran identity is weakened, the CDT will become more similar to any state school and lose the basis on which it is able to provide the students and the community with diaconal services.

Finally, the CDT needs to continue its relentless effort to train teachers through capacity building programs, particularly those who include the students in such a way that the teachers and students are dependent on each other in order to succeed. In addition to increased learning output, the process has provided the students with increased self-esteem while also raising the social status of their households.

Quality education does not only depend on economic resources. Scarce resources demand that the school management makes decisions that are decisive and sound. Although there may be room for improving aspects of the decision-making processes at the Colegio Diego Thomson, the study shows that sound and purposeful school management may lead to immediate and long term development.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Guide

1. *What have been the CDT management's main goals for the school? Have they changed during the course of the past few years, and if so, why?*
 - What goals does the management set, and what visions do they have for the school?
 - What do you think about the changes that have occurred here in the school?
 - What difference do you notice in what the students produce today in comparison with what was observed some years ago?

2. *To which extent has the CDT management been able to reach its goals? What factors have contributed to reaching the goals and what factors have been counteractive?*
 - Do you know what the goals are?
 - Do you think that the school has achieved its goals?
 - What do you think of the way the management is managing at the CDT?
 - What has been working, and what has not been working?
 - What is the leadership style in this school; is it democratic or is it authoritarian?
 - Do you trust the management?

3. *To what extent has there been a connection between the management's goals and the students' learning outcome?*
 - What influence do the people in the management (principal/promoter) have on what the children learn?
 - Does the management at the CDT hold any influence over the quality of teaching – what happens in the class room?
 - What can the management do to develop or improve the school even more, though within the limited resources at their disposal?
 - In terms of the capacity building program that the school has participated in; have things improved in the school?

4. *What is the ethnical mix at the school? Is academic achievement correlated with ethnicity?*
 - Do most families speak Aymara or Quechua at home? What percentage?
 - Does the ethnicity of the students have any influence on how they are treated here?
 - If there is a difference in achievement between indigenous and non-indigenous students? If so why?
 - What is the situation of the children that you have in class?
 - Is there any type of discrimination between the students?

5. *How well have graduated students from the CDT performed in terms of getting well-paid jobs, getting into higher education and incrementing the income and the social conditions of the household to which they belong?*
 - How do the students who enter directly into work after graduation do?
 - How / what do those who graduated about 10 years back do now?
 - Do you think that the children that graduate from this school are increasing the income of the families to which they belong because they have studied here instead of another school?

- is there a connection between what takes place here and the development of the municipality, or perhaps the city or the country? Is there any influence on development in general?
- Not everybody will be able to get into the UNSA. How will they reach their goal which is to continue studying?
- There are more students who want to study now than before. Is it due to the teaching in this school, or is it the same in all schools, that more people want to study?
- What is the role of this school in the fight against poverty?

6. *Do current CDT students hold higher expectations for future employment and income than students from other schools? Why or why not?*

- Do you think that students at the CDT have reason to be more optimistic about the future than students at other schools in the area? How about you?
- What do you think about the future?
- What will you do? What will you do next year?

7. *Does school status attract higher quality applicants among teachers and students hence contributing to improvements?*

- Do you think that school status makes the CDT a more attractive workplace amongst teachers? Are better qualified teachers attracted?
- Is status attracting teachers and students of higher quality and is this in turn improving the quality of the school?

8. *Does the CDT's Lutheran profile play a role in adding social capital to the school?*

- May the relationship between the school and the church be too close, or do you view the relationship as a positive thing?
- What is the role of the church in terms of increasing the social capital of the school?

9. *Are the CDT students bringing with them social capital that improve the social conditions of the households to which they belong?*

- Do you think that there is a connection between what you teach the children and their lives?
- Do you think that most of the children here lack self-esteem and that in this society they feel somewhat oppressed?
- Does having a child at the DT enhance the status of the family?
- Are the families changed through bringing home the social capital that they have got at school?

Appendix 2: Questionnaire for students

Cuestionario para estudiantes

El propósito de esta investigación es juntar información para mi tesis sobre educación y desarrollo. Toda la información será manejado en confianza y de forma anónima. Por favor que marques o escribas directamente en este papel, o si será necesario, por favor que escribas por atrás. ¡Muchas gracias por brindarme tu ayuda compartiendo tu conocimiento y tus opiniones!

En el cuestionario hay preguntas abiertas en cual puedas responder como quieras, y preguntas cerradas en cual marques lo que te parezca lo más verdad.

1 ¿Cuál es tu edad?

2 Sexo

Hombre

Mujer

3 ¿Cual es tu etnicidad?

4 ¿Que idioma es tu lengua materna?

5 ¿Que idiomas se hablan en tu familia extendida?

6 ¿Por cuantos años has asistido este colegio?

7 ¿Que piensas hacer después de secundaria?

Estudiar en la UNSA o en otra universidad

Estudiar en un instituto privado

Voy a trabajar. Sé que hay trabajo

Quiero trabajar, espero que haya trabajo

Probablemente voy a quedarme sin trabajo

Otro. Explique, por favor:

8 Soy muy optimista sobre el futuro.

	1	2	3	4	5	
No de acuerdo	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	De acuerdo
←—————→						

9 En mi colegio el año escolar está bien organizado y planificado por la gestión.

	1	2	3	4	5	
No de acuerdo	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	De acuerdo
←—————→						

10 El horario de clases casi nunca se cambia.

	1	2	3	4	5	
No de acuerdo	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	De acuerdo
←—————→						

11 Ausencia entre los estudiantes es muy normal.

	1	2	3	4	5	
No de acuerdo	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	De acuerdo
←—————→						

12 Ausencia entre los profesores es muy normal.

	1	2	3	4	5	
No de acuerdo	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	De acuerdo
←—————→						

13 La gestión está muy enfocada en la importancia de disciplina.

	1	2	3	4	5	
No de acuerdo	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	De acuerdo
←—————→						

14 La gestión siempre consulta con los estudiantes antes de tomar decisiones importantes.

	1	2	3	4	5	
No de acuerdo	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	De acuerdo
←—————→						

15 ¿La gestión te parece democrático o autoritario? Explique, por favor.

16 Si alguien en la gestión se encuentre en un conflicto, ¿que tipo de conflicto puede ser lo mas probable?

17 ¿Hay personas corruptas en la gestión o entre los profesores? Explique, por favor:

18 ¿Sabes algo en cuanto a las visiones o metas que la gestión tiene para el colegio?


19 ¿Piensas que la gestión ha llegado a sus metas o visiones? Explique, por favor

20 ¿Quien es el dueño del colegio (por ejemplo estado, municipalidad, iglesia, fundación, etcétera), y cual piensas que sea el rol del dueño?


21 ¿En que manera o nivel está el dueño trayendo capital económico, social, o cultural para el colegio?

22 En cada asignatura conozco bien las metas de aprendizaje.


No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5 De acuerdo




23 El contenido de un curso de ciencias naturales está estandarizado, pues igual en todo el Peru.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5 De acuerdo 6
 No sé


24 El nivel académico aquí está muy elevado en comparación con el promedio del país.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5 De acuerdo 6
 No sé



25 En este colegio puedo aprender todo lo que sea necesario para entrar a la UNSA?

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5 De acuerdo 6
 No sé


26 Que nivel de influencia tienen los depositarios siguientes a lo que suceda en tu colegio?


	nada	muy poco	algo	considerablemente	muchissimo
Los padres	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
El directór	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
El promotor	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
La gestión	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Los profesores	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Los estudiantes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
El dueño	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Gobierno/estado/ciudad/municip.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Otros? (explica abajo)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

27 Mis profesores participan en programas de capacitación para mejorarse.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5 De acuerdo 6
 No sé



35 Tengo mucha confianza en mis profesores.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5
 O O O O O De acuerdo




36 Mis profesores tienen mucha confianza en mí.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5 6
 O O O O O De acuerdo O No sé




37 Yo solo hablo con mis profesores cuando sea absolutamente necesario.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5
 O O O O O De acuerdo



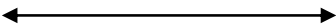
38 Si hablo con mi profesor en cuanto de un asunto delicado, puedo estar seguro que la conversación será mantenida confidencialmente.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5
 O O O O O De acuerdo




39 En clase prefieren mis profesores que los estudiantes se mantengan silenciosos mientras que hablen ellos.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5
 O O O O O De acuerdo




40 Muchas veces trabajamos en grupos y con proyectos.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5
 O O O O O De acuerdo




41 En este colegio se tratan los muchachos y las muchachas igualmente.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5
 O O O O O De acuerdo




42 En este colegio no importa la etnicidad del estudiante.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5
 O O O O O De acuerdo



43 En este colegio es probable que los estudiantes mestizos reciban mejores notas que los estudiantes indígenas.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5
 O O O O O De acuerdo



44 En este colegio es probable que los estudiantes viniendo de familias prósperos reciban mejores notas que los estudiantes viniendo de familias pobres.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5 De acuerdo
 O O O O O
 ←-----→

45 Asistir a este colegio va a ayudarme para

	nada	muy poco	algo	considerablemente	muchissimo
entrar a la universidad	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
buscar buen trabajo	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
sostener mi familia economicamente	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
salir de pobreza	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
recibir respecto de amigos y familia	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
volverme a buen ser humano	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

46 ¿Piensas que es un simbolo de status para algunas familias tener sus niños en este colegio?

47 En tu opinión; ¿cual es el rol de este colegio en la lucha contra la pobreza?

¡Muchas gracias por compartir tu experiencia y tus opiniones!

Appendix 3: Questionnaire for CDT teachers

Questionario para profesores en Diego Thomson

El propósito de esta investigación es juntar información para mi tesis sobre educación y desarrollo. Toda la información será manejado en confianza y de forma anónima. Por favor que marque o escriba directamente en este papel, o si será necesario, por favor que escriba por atrás. ¡Muchas gracias por brindarme su ayuda compartiendo su conocimiento y opiniones!

En el cuestionario hay preguntas abiertas en cual pueda responder como quiera, y preguntas cerradas en cual marque lo que le parezca lo más verdad.

1 ¿Cuál es su edad?

2 Sexo

Hombre

Mujer

3 ¿Cual es su etnicidad?

4 ¿Que idioma es su lengua materna?

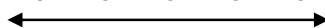
5 ¿Que idiomas se hablan en su familia extendido?

6 ¿Por cuantos años ha usted trabajado en Diego Thomson?

7 ¿Por cuantos años más piensa continuar?

8 El año escolar está bien organizado y planificado por la gestión.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5 De acuerdo



9 El horario de clases casi nunca se cambia.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5 De acuerdo
 O O O O O
 ←-----→

10 Yo enseño las mismas asignaturas cada año.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5 De acuerdo
 O O O O O
 ←-----→

11 Ausencia entre los estudiantes es muy normal.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5 De acuerdo
 O O O O O
 ←-----→

12 Ausencia entre los profesores es muy normal.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5 De acuerdo
 O O O O O
 ←-----→

13 La gestión está muy enfocada en la importancia de disciplina.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5 De acuerdo
 O O O O O
 ←-----→

14 La gestión siempre consulta con los profesores antes de tomar decisiones importantes.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5 De acuerdo
 O O O O O
 ←-----→

15 La gestión siempre consulta con los estudiantes antes de tomar decisiones importantes.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5 De acuerdo
 O O O O O
 ←-----→

16 ¿Que piensa usted en cuanto al estilo de liderazgo de la gestión?

17 ¿La gestión le parece democrático o autoritario? Explique, por favor.

18 Las personas de la gestión son muy buenos para colaborar.

	1	2	3	4	5		6
No de acuerdo	O	O	O	O	O	De acuerdo	O No sé

19 Si alguien en la gestión se encuentre en un conflicto, ¿que tipo de conflicto puede ser lo mas probable

20 ¿Hay personas corruptas en la gestión o entre los profesores? Explique, por favor.

21 ¿Cuales son las visiones o metas que la gestión tiene para el colegio?

22 ¿Ha llegado la gestión a sus metas o visiones? Porque sí o porque no?

23 ¿Que impacto real tienen esas metas o visiones en las vidas de los estudiantes y los profesores?

24 ¿Cuales son los cambios más positivos en este colegio durante los años que ha estado usted aquí?

25 ¿Cuales son los cambios mas negativos en este colegio durante los años que ha estado usted aquí?

26 ¿Cual es el rol de la Iglesia Evangelica Luterana – Peru (IEL-P) en el colegio?

27 ¿En que manera o nivel está la IEL-P trayendo capital económico, social, o cultural para el colegio?

34 ¿Como serán evaluados los profesores?

35 ¿Que se hace la gestión para deshacerse de profesores que no funcionan?

36 ¿En que tipo de programas de capacitación están participando los profesores?

37 ¿Cuales son los efectos de la participación?

38 Escasez de material de enseñanza (libros, papel, computadoras, programas) claramente limita lo que aprendan los estudiantes.

	1	2	3	4	5	
No de acuerdo	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	De acuerdo

←—————→

39 ¿En su opinión; que se necesita hacer para mejorar este colegio aún más?

40 ¿Porqué se levanta usted cada día para ir al trabajo en este colegio? ¿Cual es su motivación?

41 ¿Que piensa usted del sueldo que reciban los profesores en el Peru?

42 ¿Que métodos pedagógicos pone usted en trabajo en sus clases?

43 Típicamente corrijo y devuelvo las pruebas dentro de

- 1-2 días
- 1 semana
- 2 semanas
- 3-4 semanas
- más que 1 mes

44 ¿Que rutinas o maneras tiene usted para comunicar al estudiante el nivel académico en cual se encuentre?

52 Muchas veces trabajan los estudiantes en grupos y con proyectos.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5 De acuerdo

53 En este colegio se tratan los muchachos y las muchachas igualmente.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5 De acuerdo

54 En este colegio no importa la etnisidad del estudiante.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5 De acuerdo

55 En este colegio es probable que los estudiantes mestizos reciban mejores notas que los estudiantes indígenas.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5 De acuerdo

56 En este colegio es probable que estudiantes viniendo de familias prósperos reciban mejores notas que estudiantes viniendo de familias pobres.

No de acuerdo 1 2 3 4 5 De acuerdo

57 Asistir a esa colegio va ayudar a los estudiantes para

	nada	muy poco	algo	considerablemente	muchissimo
entrar a la universidad	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
buscar buen trabajo	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
sostener sus familias economicamente	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
salir de pobreza	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
recibir respecto de amigos y familia	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
volverse a un buen ser humano	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

58 ¿Que importancia tienen los premios del programa “Capacitación Arequipa” para el colegio y para cada estudiante y profesor?

59 ¿Piensa usted que es un símbolo de status para algunas familias tener sus niños en este colegio?

60 En su opinión; ¿cual es el rol de este colegio en la lucha contra la pobreza?

¡Muchas gracias por compartir su experiencia y sus opiniones!