The Fourth Way of Leadership and Change in Latin America: Prospects for Chile, Colombia, and Brazil

La cuarta vía de liderazgo y cambio en América Latina: perspectivas en Chile, Colombia y Brasil

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Abstract

According to Hargreaves and Shirley (2009a, 2012), recent educational changes have often followed three stages: a First Way of teacher autonomy characterized by great professional freedom, but little system coherence; a Second Way of standards, markets, and accountability; and a Third Way of data-driven decision-making. Hargreaves and Shirley argue that each of these stages of change are limited. They present international evidence that a Fourth Way of democratically-governed educational professionalism yields greater student outcomes while preserving and enhancing local school and community cultures. But does this framework for educational change contribute to our understanding of recent educational reforms in Latin America? This article serves as a first exploration of this question, drawing on the cases of a national policy reform in Chile; a single school in Porto Alegre, Brazil; and a rural school improvement network in Colombia. The cases indicate that the region has already enacted examples of Fourth Way principles and practices, such as inspirational school leadership, educational networks, and student voice that manifest core principles and practices of the Fourth Way. These, in turn, can be instructive for advanced school and system-level change both within and beyond the boundaries of Latin America.

Keywords: democratic education, educational change, equity, leadership, policy, school improvement

Resumen

Según Hargreaves y Shirley (2009a, 2012), los recientes cambios ocurridos en la educación por lo general han pasado por tres etapas: una Primera Vía de autonomía del profesorado caracterizada por una gran libertad profesional pero escasa coherencia en términos de sistema, una Segunda Vía de estándares, mercados y rendición de cuentas y una Tercera Vía de toma de decisión basada en datos duros. Hargreaves y Shirley sostienen que cada una de estas etapas de cambio es limitada. Los autores presentan ejemplos internacionales según los cuales una Cuarta Vía de profesionalismo educacional democrático permite mejorar los resultados de los estudiantes a la vez que preserva y mejora las culturas comunitarias y escolares locales. Cabe preguntarse, sin embargo, si este marco de cambio educacional incrementa nuestra comprensión de las reformas educativas recientes adoptadas en América Latina. En el presente artículo se propone un primer abordaje a esta interrogante basado en los casos de la reforma nacional llevada a cabo en Chile, de un establecimiento de Puerto Alegre (Brasil) y de una red de mejora escolar en Colombia. De estos casos se desprende que la región ya ha adoptado principios y prácticas de la Cuarta Vía, tales como el liderazgo escolar inspirador, las redes educativas y la voz de los estudiantes. Estos, a su vez, pueden servir de inspiración para la evolución de los establecimientos y los sistemas dentro y fuera de América Latina.

Palabras clave: educación democrática, cambio en la educación, equidad, liderazgo, política, mejora escolar

According to Hargreaves and Shirley (2009a, 2012), recent educational changes internationally have often followed three stages: a First Way of teacher autonomy characterized by great professional freedom, but little system coherence; a Second Way of standards, markets, and accountability; and a Third Way that began with a promise of combining the best of the First and Second Ways, but instead has become marked by the rise of data-driven decision-making, which in turn is narrowing and distorting important parts of a well-rounded education. To recalibrate the nature of contemporary educational change, Hargreaves and Shirley present international evidence indicating that a new Fourth Way of change is needed in order to enhance the educational profession, preserve democratic governance of schools, and to lift student performance. Hargreaves and Shirley (2009a, 2012) draw on their original case studies of schools, change networks, and state and national policies from Finland, Canada, England, the United States, and Singapore to provide an evidentiary base for a new ensemble of educational policies to support their recommendations.

But can this four-fold framework of change contribute to our understanding of recent educational reforms in Latin America? Or is the region too vast, too heterogeneous, and too distinct from the schools, networks, and nations studied in *The Fourth Way* (2009a) and *The Global Fourth Way* (2012) for the model to be of any relevance for Latin American settings? This article serves as a first exploration of these questions.

These research questions are significant. Hargreaves and Shirley (2012) follow Sahlberg (2011) in contending that a Global Education Reform Movement (GERM) is increasingly pervasive in educational change internationally. Spearheaded and sustained by international organizations and consultancies such as the World Bank, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and McKinsey & Company, the contention is that a dominant "new orthodoxy" of educational change is visible that advances a hybrid of market-oriented, standards-based, and data-driven reforms through schools around the globe. In terms of the Fourth Way change architecture, this "new orthodoxy" represents a twinning of Second and Third Way change elements. It blends Second Way emphases on consistent, uniform academic standards with increasing conviction in the use of student performance data to drive policy and to increase student outcomes.

Sahlberg himself, a citizen of high-achieving Finland, nonetheless observes that none of the major reforms advocated by international consultancies are practiced in his own country, which has chosen a very different pathway of democratic governance and professionalization of educators to achieve its iconic status. This raises the question of how much the reforms disseminated by the GERM—typically, economic strategies such as pay-for-performance incentives for teachers, high-stakes testing in literacy and

math, to the detriment of other core subjects, or sanctions for struggling public schools such as closing them and then reopening them under semi-private auspices—are driven by evidence and how much by ideology.

If the analyses of Hargreaves, Shirley, and Sahlberg are correct, then much is at stake in the current era of educational change internationally. Increasing pressures are placed on educators to lift student achievement and close gaps between groups of students, thereby providing them with long sought-after recognition of the indispensable social contribution of their profession. These are policy gains, at least in terms of aspirational rhetoric, that are widely applauded. On the other hand, however, how do these pressures play out in diverse settings around the globe? What are the costs for educators and their students? Finally, for the purposes of this paper, how do the tensions they create play out in the schools and societies of Latin America in particular?

Unlike the educational cases described by Hargreaves and Shirley (2009a, 2012), in which each nation has had exclusive control of its own educational policies, one dominant factor shaping educational change in Latin America concerns the region's reliance upon both the advice and funding of external international agencies such as the World Bank. The rationale for the Bank's involvement has been that of developing the region's capability to effectively participate in the global knowledge economy (Filho, 2009). To achieve this purpose the Bank has recommended accountability and decentralization measures informed by a free-market logic that was intended to enhance consumer choice and lead to the development of more efficient and effective educational systems that guarantee universal access and quality education (Gershberg, González, & Meade, 2012; Meade & Gershberg, 2008). By and large, central and local governments in Latin America have endorsed this approach to reform, but it has been met with resistance from a wide variety of actors who resent and reject the power of these international directives to shape their educational policies and practices (Gershberg et al., 2012).

Accountability-based reforms, advanced by entities such as the World Bank, reflect powerful tensions between large international "cornerstone organizations," as they are called by Hargreaves and Shirley (2012), and what they describe as their opposite, small "corner store" offerings. But cornerstone organizations cannot be effective without local actors to implement globally defined policies. Evidence (Meade & Ginsburg, 2008) indicates that although there is great variation from one region to another, by and large Second and Third Way reforms in Latin America have failed to effectively engage local communities. In general, they have not dedicated enough effort and resources to build capacity within them (Gershberg et al., 2012). Furthermore, they have not recognized local aspirations and needs in order to inspire a shared vision that empowers and commits the community to achieving its own, self-identified educational purposes.

These areas of concern are not new to Latin America. Years before current educational reform efforts in the region, Freire (1969/2011) had critiqued the introduction of foreign models that were superficially adapted to Latin American realities as "cultural invasion." More recently, de Sousa Santos (2011) has argued that although marketplace models of reform are now prevalent in Latin America, there continues to be an important groundswell of resistance to international influences on policies, such as education, health, and welfare. These grassroots movements were manifested in a particularly vibrant and visible form at the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 2001, and they continue throughout the region today, particularly in the form of student protests in Chile and mass social protests in Brazil.

Educational policy makers in Latin America occupy a difficult political location. On the one hand, given the available financial incentives and sanctions, they must comply with the policy recommendations advanced by the World Bank and other international "cornerstone" organizations. Jeopardizing World Bank funding, for example, is economically and politically intolerable for most leaders. On the other hand, popular movements seeking to assert legitimate national control over matters as determinative as educational policy can challenge policy makers' legitimacy and thwart their aspirations. The pressures on contemporary policy makers are especially intense as it becomes evident that while Second and Third Way policy reforms related to standards, accountability, markets, and data sophistication add a great deal to policy makers' knowledge base, they do not appear to have a significant independent effect on student learning. These findings replicate those from the United States and the United Kingdom. As Philip Piety (2013) has recently commented, "The educational data movement is full of puzzles and seeming contradictions. None may be more significant than the lack of evidence of its own success." He continues,

"Despite many optimistic claims by educational data proponents, solid evidence of improvement has been hard to find." (p. 19). This absence of evidence intensifies the search for alternative, more humanistic principles and strategies for improving learning.

Theoretical framework

These considerations provide the point of departure for the current article. In what way does the everyday, on-the-ground life in the schools of Latin American countries relate to the different ways of change articulated by Hargreaves and Shirley? How might Latin American educational experiences provide us with additional points of departure for critiquing the "new orthodoxy" of educational change and perhaps provide models for transitioning into the Fourth Way? Our three case studies are chosen to enable us to provide initial answers for these queries.

Before doing so, however, greater clarity about the Fourth Way change typology itself is warranted. Table 1 provides an overview of the argument (2012).

Table 1
The Four Ways of Change

		The First way	The Second way	The Third way	The Fourth Way
Pillars of Purpose and Partnership	Purpose	Innovative and inconsistent	Markets and standardization	Performance targets: raise the bar, narrow the gap	Inspiring, inclusive, and innovative mission
	Community	Little or no engagement	Parent choice	Parent choice and community service delivery	Public engagement, community development
	Investment	State investment	Austerity	Renewal	Moral economy
	Corporate Influence	Minimal	Extensive-charters and academies, technology, testing products	Pragmatic partnerships with government	Ethical partnerships with civil society
	Students	Happenstance involvement	Recipients of change	Targets of service delivery	Engagement and voice
	Learning	Eclectic and uneven	Direct instruction to standards and test requirements	Customized learning pathways	Truly personalized; mindful learning and teaching
Principles of Professionalism	Teachers	Variable training quality	Flexible, alternate recruitment	High qualification, varying retention	High qualification, high retention
	Associations	Autonomous	Deprofessionalized	Reprofessionalized	Change-makers
	Learning Communities	Discretionary	Contrived	Data-driven	Evidence-informed
Catalysts of Coherence	Leadership	Individualistic and variable	Line managed	Pipelines for delivering individuals	Systemic and sustainable
	Networks	Voluntary	Competitive	Dispersed	Community focused
	Responsibility	Local and little accountability	High-stakes targets and testing by census	Escalating targets, self-monitoring, and testing-by census	Responsibility first, testing by sample, ambitious and shared
	Differentiation and Diversity	Underdeveloped	Mandated and standardized	Narrowed achievement gaps and data-driven interventions	Demanding and responsive teaching

Note: Adapted from Hargreaves & Shirley (2012).

In *The Fourth Way: The Inspiring Future for Educational Change*, Hargreaves and Shirley (2009b) expanded upon the "Third Way" scholarship of Anthony Giddens (1998, 2000) to conceptualize four distinct stages of educational change that are recognizable in the United Kingdom and the United States. In the First Way of the post-World War II welfare state, educators had almost unlimited autonomy, but this very freedom undermined their ability to shape a collective ethic and set of coherent professional practices for schools. In the Second Way of the 1980s, leaders such as Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom and Ronald Reagan in the United States launched an ambitious new blend of policy strategies that were neo-conservative on the one hand (demanding new standards for all schools to achieve with considerable sanctions for failure) and neo-liberal on the other (infusing marketplace models of reform into state schools). By the 1990s, Prime Minister Tony Blair, with Giddens' guidance and support, sought to combine the best of First Way policies (professional autonomy and government spending) with the best of the Second Way (high and demanding standards and freedom to innovate) into a new, Third Way of change. In this effort he was joined, to different degrees and with different emphases, by German Prime Minister Gerhard Schröeder and United States President Bill Clinton.

The Third Way became a popular and widely disseminated model of change, provoking commentary and debate around the world (Giddens, 2001). It seemed to offer a path beyond the excessively state-sponsored and professionally individualistic model of the First Way on the one hand and the distortions of the paradoxically market-driven, but also standardizing policy thrust of the Second Way on the other. By linking educators through structures like professional learning communities and supplying schools with additional resources and support (along with new accountability pressures), it appeared that a policy impasse was overcome and a new model of social and educational change was on the horizon.

But even in the comparatively prosperous setting of the global North, it turns out that the Third Way soon developed many problems of its own. In an in-depth study of a secondary school reform network in England with many Third Way features, Hargreaves and Shirley (2009b) contended that the initial promises of the Third Way were compromised by a new wave of data-driven, technocratic reforms that lifted test scores on the one hand, but narrowed the curriculum on the other. Furthermore, while educators were promised a restoration of professional dignity and competence through an infusion of additional funding in the Third Way, the retention of and, in many ways, escalation of market-based accountability pressures led them to be more constrained and controlled than ever. These research findings led Hargreaves and Shirley to study high-performing states and systems around the world, and, based on their findings, to propose a new "Fourth Way" of change and leadership as an alternative.

While limitations of space do not allow us to describe its features in detail here, we can outline the most important features of its new change architecture. These include six "pillars of purpose and partnership" emphasizing the public purposes of education and student voice; three "principles of professionalism" asserting the necessity to provide highly qualified and broadly educated teachers; and four "catalysts of cohesion" that can ensure that reforms reinforce one another so that they are not dissipated through a lack of systemic support. The overall shift is one that reimagines education as democratic, professionalizing, and humanistic in its overall thrust and development. This Fourth Way does not outline specific actions that should be replicated in different contexts. Instead, this theory of change offers principles or pointers in the path of change which every country, district, or institution could choose based on its particular situation.

Methodology

In their research on the Fourth Way, Hargreaves and Shirley (2009, 2012) rejected the assumption that policy makers implicitly know what is best for schools and systems, which virtually no one ever states explicitly, but which does have a manner of working its way into and distorting democratic deliberation. It may be the case that many of the most positive developments in education today happen not so much *because of*, of but rather *in spite of* many educational policies. To be open to such possibilities, a methodology suited to the Fourth Way principles could explore change from several different points of view. One could investigate a law or national policy in one context, an individual school in its interaction with its community in another, and explore a dynamic change network that links schools to one another for purposes of teacher training for another.

This methodological preference for heterogeneity continues the research strategies employed in *The Fourth Way* and *The Global Fourth Way*. These volumes documented the development of individual schools such as the Grange Secondary School in England along with Rulang Primary School and Ngee Ann Secondary School in Singapore. They also described and analyzed change networks such as the Alberta Initiative for School Improvement in Canada and the Raising Achievement Transforming Learning project in England. Finally, national policies, such as those in Finland and Singapore that have yielded such high student performance, were also studied.

In these accounts, Hargreaves and Shirley studied mainstream student achievement data as documented on examinations such as the Program in International Student Assessment (PISA) of the OECD and the Trends in International Math and Science Studies (TIMSS) of the International Education Agency to gauge student importance. To probe into the processes of change, in-depth interviews were conducted with educators implementing different reform initiatives. These allowed for a distinction between change processes and the substance or content of change to emerge.

Using the Fourth Way theoretical framework, this essay offers a critical review of secondary sources to describe and analyze educational reform in diverse sectors of these three nations. In Chile, we analyze the case of the *Subvención Escolar Preferencial* or "preferential school subsidy law" (SEP law), an educational policy implemented since 2008 to promote school improvement and educational equity. In Brazil, we explore the case of the Gilberto Jorge School in Porto Alegre, which has implemented school changes based on professionalism, community participation, and inclusion. Finally, in Colombia, we study the *Escuela Nueva*, a rural education reform network that has been a highly successful and influential model of rural school reform and improvement.

This paper on the Fourth Way in Latin America is primarily aimed at making a theoretical argument rather than conducting original empirical research, so our research methodologies reflect this orientation. The sections on Chile and Colombia are based on extensive review of available scholarship on the SEP law in the first case and on the *Escuela Nueva* in the latter. The case of the Gilberto Jorge School is different; there, participatory action research among faculty-based staff at the University of the Sinos Valley provided data for much of this section. Quotes from educators that appear here are drawn from interviews conducted as part of that research. It has been supplemented by study of secondary research findings on education in Porto Alegre and Brazil.

The selection of the three cases was based on principles of purposive sampling to elicit three very different types of educational phenomena in contemporary Latin America. Chile, with the region's most developed economy, has most fully embraced the recommendations of international cornerstone organizations on a policy level. At the same time, Chilean students at both the secondary and tertiary levels have led massive protest movements in recent years opposing the inequities that mark all levels of their educational system. Brazil, the world's fifth-largest nation, has experienced dramatic economic growth in recent years, as well as large social justice movements with relevance for education. Columbia, a medium-sized economy in the region, has struggled with years of internecine civil war, although hopeful signs are now emerging of a final conclusive peace to the conflict.

The SEP Law: Second and Third Way Chile

In the past few years, Chile has faced some of the longest and largest student demonstrations in its history. These demonstrations have questioned the quality and equity of the system, as well as the rapidly expanding role of for-profit organizations in education. The demonstrations have responded to the high social segregation and inequality of the contemporary Chilean educational system (Cavieres, 2011; García-Huidobro, 2007; Valenzuela, Bellei, & De los Ríos, 2010). Chileans are now at a crossroads as they deliberate possible paths of educational change in the future.

In this section, we analyze the SEP law, a major educational policy implemented by the Ministry of Education in 2008 to foster school improvement and educational equity in Chile. The SEP law is aimed at improving the educational quality of schools by providing more funds to public and voucher schools for each "priority" or low-income student that they serve and by defining the academic goals to

be achieved by these schools (MINEDUC, 2008b).[1] The Ministry of Education in Chile has categorized schools in three broad levels—*autonomous*, *emergent*, and *in recovery*—based on educational quality indicators (MINEDUC, 2008d).[2] These categories were designed to help schools to understand their current levels of student achievement and what they must do to further improve. They also are used to assign schools different levels of autonomy (Contreras & Corbalán, 2010; MINEDUC, 2008b). Once a school accepts additional per-pupil monies, the local school administrator (or owner) signs an agreement with the Ministry stating the commitments and goals that the school needs to meet in relation to its categorization. The SEP law requires schools to conduct a diagnostic assessment of their current status and to elaborate and implement an improvement plan. Standards are clearly defined and measured. Schools are mandated to provide public reports to their communities so that the system is transparent to parents and other community members (MINEDUC, 2008b, 2008d).

This law manifests principles and practices of the Second and Third Way of change in Chile. To understand how this occurs we first analyze the responsibilities of educational actors, strategies for fostering change, and the levels of improvement and autonomy promoted by the SEP law. Then, we discuss some preliminary results of the SEP law and some Fourth Way possibilities for improving Chilean educational policies.

Responsibilities of educational actors

Distinct from previous policies, the SEP law unambiguously states that local administrators and schools are responsible for the educational attainment of their students (MINEDUC, 2008b). For the first time in the history of Chile, this responsibility has been measured through universally applied performance-based indicators and sanctions. Potentially sanctions are severe. They include revoking the school's official educational status, and the disqualification of local administrators judged to be deficient from holding their current position or a similar position in the future (MINEDUC, 2008b, 2008d). Like Second Way reforms in other national contexts such as the United States and the United Kingdom, the SEP law entails top-down pressures from the Ministry of Education applied to schools and local administrators. Similar to Third Way reforms internationally, there is provision of additional funding as part of an effort to build public confidence in the school system. Centralized frameworks and control are combined with decentralized responsibility for the professionals. This strategy holds schools accountable for poor results and assumes that schools have sufficient resources, should sufficient willpower and perseverance be marshaled by the educators, to obtain the desired results (Navarro, 2007).

Along with this shift to greater measurement and accountability, the Ministry of Education, in enforcing the SEP law, has largely abandoned its traditional role of providing technical support to schools. The local administrator now is tasked with generating this technical support either directly or by hiring private consulting organizations (*Asistencia Técnica Educativa*) empowered by the SEP law.[3] The Ministry of Education administers a public registry of these providers (MINEDUC, 2008b, 2008d, 2012a; Weinstein, Fuenzalida, & Muñoz, 2010). However, it does not provide any control or oversight of the quality of these organizations. In this way the SEP is similar to other national reforms, such as the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) in the United States. NCLB, a reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, funds Supplementary Educational Services that are largely unsupervised by the government.

Strategies for fostering change

The SEP law emphasizes test-based educational accountability and is based on prescription and standardization that require the growth of bureaucratic mechanisms of oversight and control. The underlying assumption of these standardization, testing, and accountability strategies is that students and

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[1] The definition of priority student defined in the law is: students whose home socioeconomic situation makes his or her possibilities difficult to face the educative process (MINEDUC, 2008b). There is a set of criteria that the student's family needs to fit to be officially considered a "priority student."

[2] Some 70% of this index is based on the student achievement in the national standardized test (SIMCE), while the other 30% considers indicators such as efficiency and teacher evaluation results.

[3] Most schools contract private consulting organizations rather than use the technical support offered by local administrators.

educators respond well to extrinsic motivation and behaviorist principles. Public embarrassment, threats, rewards, and sanctions serve as incentives for improvement (Casassus, 2010). In this way it shares many characteristic features of other international Second Way reforms that seek to push reform strategies upon educators rather than to elicit and pull ideas for improvement from them and then to support their implementation and dissemination.

During the first two years of the implementation of this law, schools were obliged to achieve effectiveness goals in the curriculum area of language arts as measured on standardized tests (Assaél et al., 2009; Contreras & Corbalán, 2010; MINEDUC, 2008b).[4] Weinstein et al. (2010) have noted that the Ministry of Education's goals became the foremost priority for school leaders because they are associated with the provision of funds. According to Raczynski, Muñoz, Wieinstein, and Pascual (2013), there is a new sense of urgency for improving student achievement and meeting learning goals in schools.

With future funding at stake, however, schools are now pressured to devote much more time to the subjects evaluated in tested areas than to other subjects. This possibly unintended consequence of SEP has reduced the scope of student learning of other important curricular areas, such as science, social studies, and the arts. It has had the effect of promoting greater uniformity of curricular focus across the system, while necessarily diminishing the attention paid to diversity (Contreras & Corbalán, 2010). Although it has been contended (Raczynski et al., 2013) that the SEP law allows schools to fund professional development for teachers or remedial classes for students in need of special support, additional SEP resources are carefully channeled so that students are not able to benefit from a broad and deep curriculum.

One other major negative consequence of the SEP law is that teachers now focus excessively on teaching for the test (Raczynski et al., 2013). Assaél et al. (2009) pointed out that although teachers have recognized that they spend a lot of time training students for standardized tests, they want their students to benefit from other kinds of learning opportunities as well. Unfortunately, the accountability pressures compel teachers to enact a problematic form of "alienated teaching" (MacDonald & Shirley, 2009) in which they find themselves compromising their most deeply-held professional ethics in order to meet official government targets (Contreras & Corbalán, 2010). Accountability strategies that associate standards with sanctions produce new forms of constrained professionalism, where teachers limit themselves to a restricted range of pedagogies and curricula to meeting the externally-defined goals (Carrasco, 2013).

Levels of improvement and autonomy promoted

As stated above, the SEP law mandates that Chilean schools are now classified based on their effectiveness as in recovery, emergent, or autonomous (MINEDUC, 2008b, 2008d). All schools must design an improvement plan based on a previous diagnostic evaluation and a quality model defined by the Ministry of Education. Schools that do not reach government standards are subject to greater regulations and more demanding external supervision (Contreras & Corbalán, 2010; MINEDUC, 2008b; 2008c; 2012b; Weinstein et al., 2010). There is active mistrust of these schools' capacities, which fosters additional pressures, surveillance, prescription, and intervention. The Chilean system blends the Second Way's use of standards, markets, and sanctions with the Third Way's infusion of additional financial resources. This hybrid model has created a particularly nettlesome problem field for educators because while new resources have almost always been sought, their linkage with more severe accountability mechanisms has not produced a lift in professional morale that might have been anticipated.

These policy features have far-reaching implications for schools. Chilean reforms deprive schools in struggling circumstances of opportunities for improvement insofar as they impede the development of opportunities to assume responsibility, to generate commitment, and to build capacity to improve. This is because struggling schools are required to transfer their authority to external organizations, often for-profit in nature, that are given charge of their diagnoses and improvement plans (Contreras & Corbalán, 2010; MINEDUC, 2008a). While this may be warranted in extreme cases of organizational paralysis in some struggling schools, the long-term import of deferring the direction of struggling schools to external organizations with their own agendas reflects characteristic features of the GERM in its broad international transformation of schools and systems around the world. It indicates that school leaders,

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[4]   Schools can define optional goals based on their diagnostic, but only goals in language art were mandatory for the first two years.

by and large, have not been able to maintain professional legitimacy in the eyes of Chilean policy makers. The transfer of legitimacy to unregulated groups external to the profession—for-profit or non-profit "educational management organizations" or EMOs in the argot of US-based reformers—is underway not just in the global North, but also in Latin America.

Some preliminary results of the SEP Law

The new performance regime with greater accountability and sanctions for educators in Chile is in many ways indistinguishable from the Second Way strategies evident in recent reforms in the United States and the United Kingdom. Some researchers (Raczynski et al., 2013) have pointed out educators' acceptance of the SEP law based on the large number of public (99%) and voucher schools (73%) that implement this law. Other reports have observed that principals attributed recent achievement gains by Chilean students to the impact of SEP law in 2010 (Corvalán, 2012).

As occurs internationally, much contemporary debate in Chile focuses on issues of interpretation in regard to the rise and fall of test score results. The analysis of the SEP law's implementation from 2007 to 2010 showed important positive results on students' standardized tests in language arts and mathematic in schools categorized as autonomous, and limited positive results in schools with a great concentration of priority or low-income students (Valenzuela, Villarroel, & Villalobos, 2013). This means that this policy has had positive effects in schools that historically performed well on standardized tests, but their effect has been limited in the underperforming schools that stand in greatest need of assistance. Only amongst the autonomous schools is there a positive impact of the SEP law on low-income students' learning results over those of other types of students, and this is in only one subject: mathematics.

Despite these results, the improvement of fourth grade student achievement and the reduction of the gap between low- and high-income students in the national standardized tests of 2011 were used by the Ministry of Education to justify the SEP law (Muñoz & Toro, 2012; Valenzuela et al., 2013). However, the 2012 results showed no significant improvements for fourth grade students (Agencia de Calidad de la Educación, 2013). In other areas the SEP law is not impacting some of the country's most pressing educational needs. The SEP law has not reduced school segregation (Valenzuela et al., 2013) and it has not improved student enrollment in the schools where it has been implemented (Raczinski et al., 2013).

Fourth way possibilities for Chile

The assumptions and strategies used in the SEP law are not an exception in Chilean educational policy. Carrasco (2013) states that Chilean reforms have been characterized by privatization, standardization, testing and accountability. In spite of the negative consequences of the SEP law in teacher professionalism, curriculum, equity and segregation, the new Quality Agency recently approved by the Ministry of Education would produce an intensification of the SEP law's accountability strategies and consequences. Alternative approaches to improving education are not being explored.

From what sources might Chilean school leaders and citizens derive a new theory of change aimed to overcome the negative consequences of the Second and Third Ways of change as they have been implemented in their country? There are many social actors—student groups, teachers' unions, and civic associations—that are endeavoring to shift from the educational system with markets and standardization as drivers of change to a renewal of democracy and professionalism. This shift might be seen as especially important in the Chilean context that reproduces dramatic social inequalities through its very structure. Our analysis now focuses on two of six Fourth Way pillars of purpose explored in relation to the Chilean educational context in order to assess their potential and limitations.

The two pillars under investigation concern the Fourth Way pillars of public engagement and student voice. The Fourth Way questions the removal of so many educational decisions up and away from the lives of those most intimately impacted by the "instructional core" of teaching and learning—the students, teachers, and parents in their real, everyday lives in their communities. Through their creative protests demanding improved secondary schools and greater access to and quality in higher education, Chilean students have taught much to students and their educators around the world. The Chilean

student movements have identified a serious problem of social and educational injustice, proposed a new model of education to address it, and gained widespread support from the population (Larroulet & Montt, 2010; Salinas & Fraser, 2012). While some of the students' demands have been successful, in other regards they are still very much contested by the public at large, as well as among policy makers.

Student protests, however visible and creative, nonetheless reflect a certain breakdown in a system's ability to anticipate change and to steer it in an inclusive manner that respects the aspirations of diverse social sectors. To move beyond the Second Way to the Fourth Way, Chilean leaders will need to modify the methods by which educational decisions are made so that dramatic social protests are superseded by broad deliberative educational engagement that is anchored in civil society and in schools. A democratic public space requires a greater willingness from educational policy makers in Chile to create new venues with students and educators in which they can discuss a new educational model and vision for their country.

If Chilean educators are expected to continuously improve student learning and achievement as well as reduce segregation, it may be time now to question the ruling theory of change that has reproduced so many levels of educational and social inequities during the last two decades. Can Chile develop a public space for the redefinition of its educational system so that it is more socially inclusive? Is the political system open and capable of initiating changes in the forms of student and parent participation in educational reform? Can the educational system explore a deep and capacious redefinition of learning and teaching from standardized implementation approaches toward more respectful and mindful processes predicated upon the mutual dignity of teachers and students? Must the private sector be unleashed without constraints in the pursuit of profits, or can Chile develop more mutually beneficial collaborations between business and the social sector?

These questions that animate the Fourth Way model correspond to the concerns that Chilean student activists, their educators, and many concerned members of the public have today. It may be that many of Chile's student leaders exemplify some of the most courageous dimensions of student voice to be found anywhere today. Their tenacious demand for affordable, high quality, and equitable education certainly shows that students—not only their educators and certainly not only policy makers—are capable of inspiring leadership.

Strengths and limitations of school change in a complex and evolving Brazil

The Fourth Way proposes a high level of public engagement as one of its pillars of progressive change and, as is appropriate to its respect for local processes, leaves the nature of that engagement open for educators, students, and communities to define. One way that public engagement can be enacted is through inventive collaborations that can occur between diverse sectors—higher education, the business community, or social activists for example—and local schools. The exact manifestation of such collaborations is viewed as a source of strength and diversity.

If any site would appear to be propitious for such collaboration, and hence advantageous for the Fourth Way in the global South, it would appear to be the city of Porto Alegre in the state of Rio Grande do Sul in Brazil. Ever since the *Partido dos Trabalhadores* ("Workers' Party" or "PT") won a landmark electoral victory in Porto Alegre in 1989, the city and its schools have engaged in a series of audacious experiments to transform civic participation and to improve education. What changes did Porto Alegre undertake?

Democratic educational transformations in Porto Alegre

First, the PT initiated what was to become an internationally renowned process of "participatory governance" with "participatory budgeting" (*Orçamento Participativo* or "PB") at the center of this opening of the public sphere. Political scientists have long noted that one of the most problematic dimensions of democratic politics is that elites, rather than poor and working-class citizens, are often able to misuse state institutions to advance their own private interests (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). Democracy as a set of institutions does not produce democracy as a form of lived participation without an intermediate set of practices to empower those traditionally excluded—by language, class, or education—from participation.

In Porto Alegre, the activists of the PT were able to transform this obdurate problem by undertaking a long-term didactic process of teaching the poor how to engage in public deliberation. Drawing upon traditions of Christian base communities and other popular movements in Brazil, Porto Alegre has been able to open up the political process so that those with less formal education and from poor and working-class backgrounds have been able to participate in complex deliberations about how public revenues are expended. This openness in the system has helped ensure greater access to and provision for many social services than is the case in other Brazilian cities (Baiocchi, 2003; Gandin & Apple, 2013).

Second, within the education sector the PT sponsored a "Citizen School Project" (*Escola Cidadã*), also beginning in 1989. The Citizen Schools manifested many principles and strategies drawn from the critical pedagogy of Paolo Freire, who became Secretary of Education in São Paolo in the same year. Many of these principles and strategies radically transformed schools from islands of bureaucracy to centers of civic engagement. Rather than receiving their appointments through deeply ingrained traditions of clientelism, principals and vice principals now had to be elected by their teaching colleagues, a transformation that has boosted teachers' morale and sense of professionalism (Myers, 2008). Rather than marching children upward through the grade levels and forcing struggling students to repeat a grade, schools implemented cycles of education that allowed students to review critical curricula with additional support to proceed with their peers. Progression groups and learning laboratories that taught students through flexible modules began to be disseminated throughout schools to keep students in schools and to give them additional opportunities to master the curriculum (Gandin & Fishman, 2006).

Community Organizing at the Gilberto Jorge School

These democratic and educational transformations in Porto Alegre are evident in a case study school—the Gilberto Jorge School—that is located in the Morro Alto *favela* (Titton, 2006). This school was born from the community's self-mobilization in the 1980s at the same time that the PT was rising to power. At that time education was so underfunded and of such poor quality that parents in the community themselves found themselves providing many basic services to their children. As a result of tenacious efforts, staff members were assigned to the school and pressure was placed on the municipality to assume its responsibilities to provide education for the children in the community.

Although there have been many ebbs and flows in the school over the ensuing decades, Gilberto Jorge School has been served well by its origins in community organizing. As is the case in many schools in Brazil that are serving poor and working-class students, the pedagogical influence of Paolo Freire is profound. Drawing upon Freire's legacy and the many popular movements with which he worked, Gilberto Jorge School has articulated five core convictions that underlie all of the staff's work (Titton, 1995). These are (i) that every student can learn, (ii) that every student must attend school; (iii) difference does not mean deficiency; (iv) group work qualifies as learning, and (v) learning and discipline are not mutually exclusive, but play different roles in the educational process.

Each of these convictions resonates with the professionalizing and democratic aspirations espoused in *The Fourth Way* (Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009a). Each upholds the dignity of the student as a learner and provides a moral foundation for the work at Gilberto Jorge School. Furthermore, each does this is in such a way that the underlying commitment to equity is blended with sensitivity for diversity and differences among the school's students.

Collaboration, innovation, and self-governance at Gilberto Jorge School

The school culture at Gilberto Jorge is collaborative and connects to learning and continuing professional achievement. The faculty evaluates teaching practice constantly through regular meetings with intense study and discussion. They also have different social activities, like dinners, movie screenings and discussions about educational theory to engage all of the team in the ethos of the school and to create a participatory culture. This enhances dynamic partnerships and creates a sense of belonging for the staff.

At Gilberto Jorge, teachers have the freedom to innovate. At one point in the school's recent history, teachers observed a great concentration of students in remedial classes for struggling pupils. These were

initially intended to help the students, but they inadvertently turned into separate special education classrooms. Therefore, the teachers chose to eliminate such remedial classes altogether. Students have been reintegrated into their regular grades with peers from their age group. To make this inclusive approach work, however, the teachers needed to modify their work and they did this through team teaching. This innovation started in 2006 and consists in scheduling two teachers to instruct together in order to improve the assistance and the teaching and learning process of the class as a whole.

All students now are organized into diverse groups designed by the staff at the beginning of each school year. The themes of the activities for the groups are the same for everyone, but the way content is approached is different for each student. The activities can be texts, drawings or games, for instance. According to Director Maria Rosangela Carrasco Monteiro, "the very fact of being among such different people is an incitement for every student to think about the matter of difference" (personal communication, 2013).

The so-called "regular" students now understand that what matters to the teachers is not written content itself, but the development of each student as a whole. In this cultural environment everyone can actively participate in helping students with special needs. The crucial issue is for the school to provide optimal conditions to assist the children to learn at their pace. Individualized teaching, supported by a team teaching colleague, communicates two key principles. First, every student is unique in his or her way of learning and thinking. Second, to appreciate and build on one another's uniqueness, it is best if we all collaborate and help one another.

A school such as Gilberto Jorge blends educational self-governance and teacher professionalism. The school's principal is elected by her colleagues and she works together with the teachers and staff as a collective team. Teachers can establish their own priorities for the school and are committed to a professional culture of permanent reflection and dialogue. The school community has the courage and capacity to confront its shortcomings and to change them, as it did when it abolished progression classes and created its own team-teaching model. The school is interdependent with its neighborhood and welcomes the community to use its facilities for a wide variety of services and functions.

Close connection with the community

Because Gilberto Jorge School is located in a poor and working-class neighborhood, there are some issues that children bring to the school that go beyond the expertise of the teachers. Hence, the community is also provided with social assistance and psychological services at the school, involving other members of the community–not only relatives–in the school environment. These services are highly valued by the community. Before their provision, it was necessary to have an appointment at a nearby health center, which cost time and money. According to one teacher, having these services at the school brought parents, school members and community together. Sheer physical proximity helped parents, students, and teachers to communicate with one another better.

The significance of the school as a public space is intensified by its partnership with the Neighborhood Association. Some of its members are also members of the school's Parents' Council and the group hosts their meetings at the school. Family members, teachers and directors of Gilberto Jorge School frequently meet informally because their events overlap with one another.

Beyond the progressive policies developed by the teachers, and the supportive context of Porto Alegre, Gilberto Jorge School does benefit from certain aspects of official Brazilian educational policies. For example, the "Open School" program of the Ministry of Education supports the opening of public schools in *favelas* over the weekend for community use. This strategy improves the partnership between the school and the community by offering a wide range of educational and cultural activities. This overlaps with meetings of the community's neighborhood association, and is an effective form of influencing and involving the public in matters concerning education. The school also hosts collective breakfasts and supports theater and sport events for the children. Faculty members reach out to the parents through home visits and even assist with some of the household tasks of family members.

Educational results and lessons from Gilberto Jorge School

In terms of the school's test results as measured on examinations required by the Ministry of Education in Porto Alegre, they were characterized by achievement above the mean until 2009, from which they have fallen just below the mean. On the one hand, these results indicate that the school has done an impressive job in overcoming the impediments that poverty can bring to formal education, since it is located in one of the city's poorest neighborhoods. On the other hand, might there be some potential strategies that the school might seek to address in the future to improve its student learning outcomes?

One strategy taken from Fourth Way case studies in Canada, England, and the United States may wish to be considered by educators in schools such as Gilberto Jorge. While the school has a partnership with a nearby university and with several businesses, it does not appear to participate in any systemic school improvement *networks* in which teachers can learn from their colleagues in other schools as part of bolstering their collective professional expertise. Many innovative schools such as Gilberto Jorge choose to focus on developing their strength from within, or in selective partnerships with their local communities, higher education faculty or businesses. There are many advantages to such approaches, but it is not clear that they improve the abilities of educators to master academic content areas, develop professional relationships with colleagues across a school system, or improve their ability to make good pedagogical judgments. This tripartite ensemble of human, social, and decisional capital has been described as "professional capital" (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012; Hargreaves & Shirley, 2012) and is a recurrent feature of high-achieving school systems and the Fourth Way change architecture.

Still, Gilberto Jorge School raises important questions about our assumptions of educational change. Perhaps educators do not have to strap every child to a computer to create positive learning environments. Maybe educators do not need a potent policy cocktail of teacher evaluations and escalating sets of sanctions to drive learning forward. Perhaps policy learning can be less data-driven, more open-minded, and more respectful of students and their communities. We need to explore more such schools in diverse settings to investigate what can be accomplished when supportive policies, professional educators, and democratic engagement all come together harmoniously to develop schools as places of learning and joy.

A Fourth Way Network in Third Way Colombia

What might Colombia, a more mid-level economy and school system, reveal about the relevance of the Fourth Way for the global South? We explore here whether the Fourth Way of educational change provides a theory of action that is relevant for a country that has been bedeviled by internecine guerilla warfare and is just beginning to emerge into a new era of greater domestic tranquility that now must be capitalized upon to open up new possibilities for education. We continue to develop the themes of professionalism and democracy that were presented in the previous sections and that are played out in a different way in Colombian school reform.

To develop this argument we first discuss the potential that the school improvement "quality cycle" as defined by the *Revolución Educativa*, an educational reform developed in Colombia between 2002 and 2010, has of either taking a direction consistent with the Fourth Way *or* one consistent with the Second and Third Ways. We then examine the direction that the reform *actually* took by analyzing how it was diffused in schools. Subsequently we discuss *Escuela Nueva*, a rural education program, as an example of an educational experiment consistent with the idea of a Fourth Way change network. The *Escuela Nueva* network shows that even in policy contexts with strong admixtures of Second and Third Way strategies, and even in societies that have been riddled with violence, it is possible to pursue Fourth Way approaches.

We then step back from our analysis of the Colombian context to ask how Colombian educators, and their National Ministry of Education (MEN) in particular, could adopt a steering and support role characteristic of the Fourth Way to better engage communities in educational reforms. As was the case with Chile and Brazil, building inclusive and participatory venues for public engagement with opportunities for new kinds of educational professionalism will also be important for improving Colombian society and its schools in the future.

Revolución educativa: Towards shared responsibility or accountability?

Colombia's *Revolución Educativa* defined a school improvement quality cycle with: (a) a definition of basic competence standards; (b) nationwide testing of 5ᵗʰ and 9ᵗʰ grade students every three years; and (c) the development of improvement plans by schools based on the results obtained in these tests (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 2010). This cycle was designed with the intention of enhancing the shared national responsibility for the education of Colombian children. One consequence of the *Revolución Educativa* is that the MEN dictates standards, evaluates student achievement, and monitors improvement in order to make schools accountable for student achievement. In this way it is a Colombian blend of the Second and Third Ways that use standards and data-driven decision making to push up student achievement.

The first component of the *Revolución Educativa*—basic competence standards—was initially intended to be consistent with cognitive theories in which instructional methods turned from a focus on memorization and repetition, to the development of greater conceptual understanding, problem solving, and interpersonal skills. This paradigm shift among researchers and leading practitioners of school improvement conflicted, however, with a more powerful system-wide focus on tested literacy, numeracy and science. The constructivist shift encouraged teaching that is deep and multifaceted, whereas the shift toward a small range of subjects that are tested on high-stakes examinations set a countervailing and in many instances dominating set of reforms in motion.

Insofar as the quality cycle was adopted as a strategy to enhance the shared responsibility for the teaching and learning of all children, these standards could be a framework guiding innovative and challenging curriculum design. This would support teachers' deliberative capacity in such a way as to build the capacity for them to engage with colleagues from schools in their local contexts, and flexibly adopt the standards to their students' interests and needs. Furthermore, the basic competency reform has promoted a formative evaluation culture that allows schools to identify strengths and weaknesses, and design improvement plans according to this information. From this point of view the nationwide assessment system provides educators with a valuable source of data for schools to engage in inquiry about their teaching and their students' learning.

In contrast, if the quality cycle is interpreted through Second and Third Way perspectives—in which standardization and accountability are bolstered by an infusion of new resources to enhance monitoring and control—it can undermine professionalism. Instead of having schools and teachers translate the standards into their own curricula adapted to their own students, experts who are often based in private, for-profit companies take up the responsibility of this translation by producing scripted instructional materials that teachers then follow in their classrooms. The evaluation system, in this scenario, evolves into a high-stakes management system in which the distance between school administrators and teachers is magnified through new technologies of control.

This latter approach, often taken by the MEN in practice, shares so many policy affinities with Chile's SEP that it almost is identical to it. As with the SEP, the Colombian MEN's focus on external pressure and monitoring may limit improvement possibilities since schools are deprived of autonomy in defining their improvement plans. An excessive focus on fidelity of implementation can diminish the professional judgment of educators, again reinforcing alienated teaching. This approach, then, can limit the reform's potential to transform the quality of education in Colombia since it does not have strategies in place to support the multiple actors of the education system in a common effort to improve schools.

The diffusion strategy adopted by the MEN focused on the *transmission* of information, not on the *transformation* of local contexts. The model was of a one-way, simplistic diffusion rather than one of dialogue and exchange between professionals. As part of its model of change the MEN published 13 books that were distributed nationwide and made available online. Teachers attended conferences where they shared their experiences in implementing the standards (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 2010). These were strategies that focused on transmission. They were short-term and based outside of the school. While valuable in some regards, they did not promote civic or professional engagement in knowledge building about the standards.

A broad range of stakeholders—comprising schoolteachers, schools of education, and experts in other fields—were involved in the design of the quality cycle. Unfortunately, once they were written down, they

became reified in the policy arena—that is, an object to diffuse, and not a subject to discuss, modify, or develop. They lost the potential valued by the Fourth Way for promoting pedagogical change that "grows, adapts, emerges or evolves as it does in natural or complex systems" (Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009a, p. 8).

A rural education network: Local communities develop their own definition of education

What might be an alternative model of educational change that engages communities, and especially poor and rural communities, in Colombia? One such example may be found in the *Escuela Nueva,* a grassroots education network begun in the 1960s and then formally founded in 1976 that illustrates the importance and the practical benefits of engaging teachers, students, and the community in educational innovation.

The roots of *Escuela Nueva* can be traced back to the long history of progressive education launched by European reformers such as Maria Montessori, Friedrich Fröbel, and Célestin Freinet, who sought to promote the idea of the "active school" against more traditional forms of rote learning (Mogollón & Solano, 2011). In the 1960s, rural Colombian educators, supported by higher education faculties and UNESCO, adapted a modified form of this progressive tradition called the "unitary complete schools methodology" to improve access and quality education in rural areas in Latin America (McEwan & Benveniste, 2001; Schiefelbein, 1991). This methodology was based on the ideas of "individualized instruction, active learning, use of textbooks, complete primary school, multi-grade teaching (non-graded school) multiple (one per group) chalkboards, and continuous automatic promotion" (Schiefelbein, 1991, p. 34). The first such school was established in 1967 in the department of Norte de Santander. As the methodology won quick acceptance from rural educators, students, and communities, the government endorsed it by a presidential decree that promoted the use of this methodology throughout the country (McEwan & Benveniste, 2001).

One group of visionary and dedicated educators in Norte de Santander selected the best-designed instructional materials and compiled them into an attractive textbook that could be used by educators in isolated rural districts to study their teaching, modify their practices, and to join one another in a model of "Teachers Training Teachers" (Mogollón & Solano, 2011, p. vi). A steering committee, led by Oscar Mogollón and Vicky Colbert, worked to gain support from the MEN for this rural unitary school network, which then evolved into the *Escuela Nueva* (Schiefelbein, 1991). The program gained administrative support from the MEN and funding from coffee growers and diverse international agencies (Shiefelbein, 1991).

Epstein and Yuthas (2012) identified three scaling levers to explain the growth of *Escuela Nueva* from a diffuse cluster of innovative schools to a national network with MEN funding. First, educators in the *Escuela Nueva* movement understood the pressing problems of isolation, lack of opportunity, and social marginalization experienced in rural schools and offered an excellently organized program that could be adapted to the unique needs of each community. Second, while the *Escuela Nueva* movement valued diversity and put a premium on bottom-up innovation and experimentation, it also acknowledged the financial pressures on urban schools that called for efficient and replicable processes to be offered at a minimal cost. Training teachers to train other teachers not only makes good pedagogical sense, but it also makes for a more affordable model of educational change. Third, *Escuela Nueva* leaders consistently conveyed a deep and enduring passion for using education to lift rural students out of poverty. From its modest beginnings as a pilot program in the 1960s *Escuela Nueva* has grown to serve approximately 20,000 of the 29,896 rural public schools in Colombia today (Forero-Pineda, Escobar-Rodríguez, & Molina, 2006).

Part of the organization of the school curriculum as designed by the *Escuela Nueva* involves the elaboration of a community map, placed near the school entrance, where all family homes are represented (Shiefelbein, 1991). Families' funds of knowledge are integrated into the learning process by asking parents to share their knowledge in classes, and having students do research projects about community activities and traditions. The local community is viewed as a vital curricular resource, rather than as something extraneous to the process of learning.

Although the program designs its instructional materials centrally, it is open and flexible enough to be adapted to the multi-aged classrooms common in rural schools in Colombia. *Escuela Nueva* promotes quality teaching by designing instructional materials that guide students in a self-directed and self-

paced learning process. These materials allow the teacher to assume an advisory and support role and to differentiate instruction to attend to the diverse needs of the students (Schiefelbein, 1991).

The student council in *Escuela Nueva* engages students as partners in the learning process, manifesting the Fourth Way theme of student voice. Every student participates in school affairs by joining committees that enable them to further their own initiatives (Mogollón & Solano, 2011). Students gain responsibility in diverse issues that range from keeping their school clean to designing and disseminating its newspaper (Shiefelbein, 1991). Their participation on the student council not only promotes their engagement in school community activities, but also their cooperation with peers that are having academic difficulties (Mogollón & Solano, 2011).

Active participation in the student council prepares students to cultivate the skills necessary to participate in democracy. The student council and the program's particular instructional approach is one in which students are engaged in different learning activities with their peers. These activities have yielded impressive results in traditional academic measures of student achievement with *Escuela Nueva* schools outperforming a comparison group of traditional rural schools (Forero-Pineda et al., 2006; McEwan, 2008; PREAL, 2006). *Escuela Nueva* has a positive impact on children's social interaction as compared with children attending traditional rural schools. Children learn respect for others, solidarity, fair play, and equity (Forero-Pineda et al., 2006).

Towards a steering and support role

The *Revolución Educativa* made important advances in opening up the conversation about the relevance of focusing on student learning, achievement and wellbeing, but it did not develop adequate strategies to engage local schools in inquiry and innovation. The following ideas from the *Escuela Nueva* network would enable the MEN in Colombia to adopt a steering and support role, and empower school communities to engage in local school transformation.

- Engage teachers, students, and parents in discussion about standards to agree on a broad definition of learning goals that can be adapted to their local context. The *Escuela Nueva* experience has shown that it is possible to adapt curriculum to local context and that this enhances student and community engagement.
- Invest in the development of teachers' professional capital by establishing closer communication with schools of education, supporting ongoing on-site professional development, and promoting the establishment of school networks that allow teachers and schools to learn and support each other.
- Engage students as partners in change by revitalizing the student council and ensuring that it plays a relevant role in students' social development.
- Eliminate high-stakes testing and further the development of teacher capacity to engage in inquiry about teaching and learning.
- Advocate that public schools become community centers, as demonstrated in *Escuela Nueva* experience, where parents have a chance to know each other, engage in their children's learning, and find inspiration to commit to the development of their community.

The example of the *Escuela Nueva* shows that innovative educators working with engaged communities have built a successful educational change network that manifests many Fourth Way principles and strategies in Colombia. Fourth Way themes such as increased student voice, public engagement, teachers learning from teachers, and respect for differentiation and diversity all are manifested in the *Escuela Nueva*. As such, the *Escuela Nueva* network takes the schools and the system at least partially beyond the Second and Third Way features of the *Revolución Educativa*.

This case study of educational change in Columbia reminds us that none of the different Ways of change identified in *The Fourth Way* are likely to exist anywhere in pure form. The Fourth Way is what sociologist Max Weber (1949) described as an "ideal type," a theoretical composite that is intended to be useful for heuristic purposes and should not be taken for an actual, concrete social reality. It is in the intensely dialectical, iterative interaction between the different Ways of change in educational systems serving *real* students in *real* schools that the nitty-gritty, boiler room dynamics of change get played out. It is, of course, the task of theory to enable us to better understand and critique those realities.

Discussion

This initial investigation of the relevance of the Fourth Way model to Latin America has found a number of points in which it provides a new set of theoretical lenses for understanding educational change in Chile, Brazil, and Columbia.

While benefiting from rapid economic growth, a substantial investment of government resources in education and by some gains in academic achievement, Chilean policies have sharpened a sense of social exclusion among the young. The students who attend schools that are exclusively funded by tax revenues suffer both in terms of their educational provision and their outcomes. The SEP law was intended to address these problems, but it has been constrained by and exacerbated the Second and Third Way policy context in which it is embedded. To address these issues a broader and more imaginative set of social policies are warranted that could address students' aspirations for greater recognition, as well as social justice demands for a better redistribution of educational resources.

This critique of the SEP law does not mean that there are not excellent schools in Chile and it certainly does not mean that there are not many hard-working and conscientious educators. It does mean, however, that educators with aspirations for a more just society characterized by greater cohesiveness and solidarity are not supported adequately by current policies. To give them such support a broader reshaping of the nature of Chilean schools is needed that gives each young person an equal stake and opportunity in the flourishing of their society.

The case of Gilberto Jorge School in Porto Alegre, Brazil represents an inspiring Fourth Way alternative to most Chilean educational settings. At Gilberto Jorge School, educators have considerable flexibility to choose the terms of their work and can learn from one another on a daily basis through team teaching. A tenacious dedication to a pedagogy of inclusion has opened up the school to all of its learners and enabled a matching of teachers' skill sets to better adjust instruction to their students. Parents work closely with educators before, during, and after school, and teachers have the power to elect the principal as their own school leader. The school's faculty has accomplished much on its own, but it would be a mistake to overlook the contribution of the Workers' Party to educational policies that respect all of the diverse stakeholders in the educational enterprise. As in the case of the *Escuela Nueva*, there is a deep, Fourth Way-style appreciation of public engagement and democratic governance at Gilberto Jorge.

On the other hand, the school does not appear to be supported in the same way through a lateral model of "Teachers Training Teachers" *across* schools and systems, as exists in the *Escuela Nueva*. To this degree it is an institutional island and could benefit from a broader network to support its internal learning and development. To clarify: The Fourth Way does not argue against a certain amount of pressure to excel in schools. Rather, it argues against the wrong kind of pressure: one that is externally-imposed and heavily sanctioned. The right kind of pressure, by contrast, is that which sparks the internal motivation of each educator to do their very best, day in, day out, over the course of a career. For a Fourth Way school like Gilberto Jorge to be sustainable in the long term, it will need a broader community of similar neighborhood schools that can convene in a professional learning network to sustain such collegial motivation over time. Such networks, when characterized by lively democratic deliberation and debate, can provide educators with vital forums for reexamining their instruction and honing their practice.

The *Escuela Nueva* antedates the theory of the Fourth Way by decades and yet its principles and practices correspond entirely with the Fourth Way's aspirations for democratically governed and professionally-led schools. By providing teachers with continual opportunities to learn from one another, even in the conditions of remote, rural schools, *Escuela Nueva* has built continual growth and development into its model of change processes. Its deeply embedded practice of schools learning from schools corresponds to a core moral and structural principle of the Fourth Way that supports critical dialogue among educators in an atmosphere of dignity and respect. For these reasons the *Escuela Nueva* provides many lessons for educators everywhere, including those in systems that are well provisioned in the global North.

The Fourth Way (2009a) and *The Global Fourth Way* (2012) described schools, educational change networks, and government policies in high-achieving jurisdictions such as Finland, Singapore, and Canada. The research findings presented here indicate that it is not necessary to import Fourth Way principles and practices to Latin America from other regions because *they already are evident in diverse*

educational sectors in the region. Chilean student leaders who protest for greater equity and quality across their system are *already* showing the importance of developing student voice for school reform. The take-charge educators of Gilberto Jorge School who have developed their own home-grown model of inclusive education and distributed leadership *already* enact key Fourth Way principles of social justice and sustainable change. The *Escuela Nueva* network *already* enacts a rich culture of lateral learning for powerful and principled professionalism that has inspired educators not just in Latin America, but in other countries around the globe.

The findings of this paper, then, indicate that the Fourth Way is not just the provenance of the affluent and those who are deemed successful on orthodox measurements. It is and should be a flexible framework that allows for students, educators, and community members to pursue their educational aspirations in ways that are uniquely appropriate for their own cultures and contexts. If theories such as the Fourth Way are to have any enduring value they need to be explored, tested, and critiqued across jurisdictions, including the nations of Latin America, and then shared with others who can apply their lessons to their own rapidly evolving schools and societies.

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