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Service-Learning and the Promotion of Social Responsibility

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UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

SERVICE-LEARNING AND THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

By

Dana Rasch

A DISSERTATION

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of the University of Miami
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
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the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

SERVICE-LEARNING AND THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

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A number of scholars have identified a crisis in the field of education. Namely, students today are more self-absorbed and individualistic than ever before. In other words, they have few social commitments and lack a sense of community. This lack of social responsibility is particularly problematic in Colombia, where a privileged few enjoy all the spoils and the elite youth are groomed as the future leaders of the country. For many, hope is all but lost on these socially irresponsible students. On the other hand, some planners and critics believe that service-learning -- which connects community service to the classroom -- is a remedy for this lack of social solidarity. With this in mind, service-learning has become increasingly popular during the past decade all over the globe, and particularly in Latin American countries such as Colombia. This research project is an evaluation of the service-learning program at one of the most elite high schools in Colombia. The project has two specific aims: (1) to document the impact of the program on the attitudes and behaviors of the students and (2) to assess the quality of the implementation of the program. In order to achieve these aims, three data collection methods -- questionnaires, interviews, and focus groups -- were used to paint a holistic picture of the program. Furthermore, a theoretical model of service-learning was developed as a benchmark to evaluate the program. The results revealed that the service-learning program was having a minimal impact on students' attitudes and behaviors. In fact, the analysis showed that in many instances the program was simply reinforcing

stereotypes and solidifying the social division in Colombia. The failure to achieve the desired outcomes may have been due to the fact that the program did not fulfill many of the required expectations of service-learning. In the final chapter, specific recommendations are given to improve the program.

This dissertation is dedicated to the millions of Colombians living in abject poverty.

Me siento tan patriota de América Latina, de cualquier país de América Latina, que en el momento en que fuera necesario, estaría dispuesto a entregar mi vida por la liberación de cualquiera de los países de América Latina, sin pedirle nada a nadie, sin exigir nada, sin explotar a nadie.

I feel such patriotism for Latin America, for any country in Latin America, that in the moment it might be necessary, I would be ready to yield my life for the liberation of any Latin American nation, without asking anybody anything, without demanding anything, without exploiting anyone.

--Che Guevara

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 The Idea for the Research Project

In the summer of 2006, I took my first trip to Latin America by venturing to Colombia with a couple of professors and a number of fellow graduate students. Stated plainly and simply, this trip changed my life. Never before had I been exposed to the poverty and misery that I saw first-hand in the barrios. In one of the barrios that we visited, La Ciudad de Kennedy (the City of Kennedy), I can still recall the stench of the garbage, the children playing in the muddy, dirt roads, and the cardboard houses that were built on top of a garbage dump. Ironically, Kennedy was named after John F. Kennedy who visited the barrio when promoting his Alliance for Progress in the 1960's, which aimed to inject enough money into the economy to insure that another Cuban revolution did not occur anytime soon (Scheman, 1988).¹

During this trip to Colombia, and seeing the plight of the poor, I realized that I wanted to work there in some way or another to help in any way that I could. On the last day of the two-week trip, I got lucky and found the opportunity I needed when I visited an elite high school, Colegio Nueva Granada (CNG), located in Bogotá. At CNG, the primary mission of the school is to provide an American style education to prepare students for college, particularly abroad in English speaking countries. The school is considered to be, perhaps, the most elite private school in the entire country.

I traveled to CNG with Dr. John Murphy (my dissertation chair), Dr. Karen Callaghan (Barry University), and the wife of a fellow Ph.D. candidate at the University of Miami, María Isabela Gómez, who works in the administration of CNG and was

¹ The Alliance for Progress aimed to establish strong economic ties between the U.S. and Latin America in order to counteract the influence of communism after the successful Cuban Revolution in 1959. Economic aid to Latin America over the next decade amounted to over \$20 billion.

giving us a tour of the campus. The campus was immaculate. Although Kennedy was only several miles from the campus, it felt a million miles away. Walking around the campus could almost make visitors forget that they were in a country where almost two-thirds of the population lives in poverty (World Bank, 2007). At this point I truly realized the strength of the class division in Colombia, and perhaps even more alarming the hopelessness that accompanied the situation.

After leaving the school, María mentioned that the president of the school, Dr. Barry McCombs, was looking for someone carry out an evaluation of the social service projects at CNG. These projects had been developed over the past decade with the aim of transforming the consciousness of these elite students from self-interest to empathy and care for others, particularly the poor. Immediately, I jumped at this opportunity and put my name into consideration, although, at the time, I did not know if I would be able to complete the research considering my hectic schedule in the upcoming year, not to mention the fact that I knew little to nothing about service-learning at the time.

But I kept my fingers crossed, started reading about service-learning and community-based research, and by the arrival of spring break of March of 2007, everything was coming into place (Strand, et al., 2003; Sax and Astin, 1997; Speck and Hoppe, 2004). During this period, my dissertation chair and I returned to Bogotá to meet with the leaders of CNG to determine if this research project was actually feasible. Initially, we met with Dr. Barry McCombs, the school director, and he established some guidelines for the project. Essentially, Dr. McCombs wanted us to measure how these programs are affecting students' sense of civic responsibility toward the poor in Colombia. Fortunately, he put no other restrictions on the project, and trusted our

judgment in designing and developing the research study. Most important, however, he stressed that the strategy adopted should be “holistic.”

After meeting with Dr. McCombs, we participated in a number of meetings over the next five days with school officials and others involved in the social service projects to include a group of extremely active students. The one primary concern that we had was how we were actually going to measuring attitudinal change without a pre-and-post test time period. However, the decision was made to create a questionnaire that specifically asked the students how they feel the program impacted them. At the end of the week long trip, we presented a general outline of the proposed research project to Dr. McCombs and he was pleased with the proposal and gave the go ahead for the project to happen in the summer.

The agreement that was reached stipulated that a triangulation of data sources would be most appropriate. Accordingly, data would be collected using self-administered questionnaires, focus groups, and interviews. Both quantitative and qualitative data would be gathered. McCombs believed that qualitative data would be especially important, particularly the observations that would be involved. But in general, and the desire to be holistic, data collection would have to be systematic.

A couple of months later on Tuesday, May 17th, I arrived in Colombia, and thanks to the excellent planning of the CNG staff I was all set and ready to start collecting research data the very next day. Fortunately, the school was able to arrange for me to be picked up and dropped off by a school bus that stopped close to the apartment where I was residing. Although riding a school bus might not seem very pleasant to many researchers, the bus was actually quite insightful and for a few minutes everyday I

had a small peak into the private lives of the elite in Colombia. Based on my observations from the bus, perhaps what stuck out in my mind the most was that virtually every student, no matter what age, had a female servant or maid that walked them to the curb in the morning and patiently waited for them in the afternoon at the bus stop. Everyone on the bus seemed to think such behavior was quite normal, and never uttered a word, but I was in shock! With the images from my previous trip of the poor in Colombia, who were living in cardboard shacks, this sight was quite disturbing and, most important, very depressing. I could only imagine that many of these maids actually came from similar poor barrios like Kennedy, and now were happy to live in the back room of one of these residences and pander to every whim of these privileged persons. But this observation clearly illustrates how strong the class divide is in Colombia.²

In many ways, CNG represents the epitome of the class division in Colombia. With the school perched in the mountains high above the urban metropolis of Bogotá, when students walked around campus they could literally see the entire city suggesting that the world was simply at their fingertips. This symbolism is not far from the truth. The upper classes in Colombia are privileged beyond belief and the elitism that accompanies this privilege runs deep. The students, staff, and others at CNG were no exception.

CNG was founded in 1938 and offers a private day school with grades 4 through 12, and has the goal of providing a “U.S. oriented college preparatory education” (Colegio Nuevo Granada, 2007a). According to the CNG mission statement, the

² The GINI coefficient measures the level of inequality in countries on a scale of 0 to 100 with 0 being no inequality and 100 being perfect inequality. According to the World Bank, in 1999, Colombia's GINI coefficient was .575, one of the highest in the world. This is compared to .408 in the United States and .593 in South Africa (1995).

education is designed to develop well rounded leaders who are “fully bilingual and bicultural adults.” The student body consists of over 44 different nationalities, and almost a third of the students originate from outside of Colombia. Not long ago, CNG was acknowledged to be the “American” school in Colombia.

In discussing the aristocratic nature of Colombia society with my dissertation chair, he often brought up Camilo Torres, a Colombian Catholic priest who wrote extensively about the class division in Colombia. However, as I began to read about Torres, he was much more than just a Catholic priest who wrote a few articles. Torres was also a liberation theology professor, co-founder of the sociology department at the National University of Colombia, and interesting enough, although Torres despised the class division and the life of luxury of the elites, he was an elite himself (Broderick, 1975).³ Over time, Torres became extremely distressed by the separation and treatment of the poor and, in turn, he could no longer live the privileged life. In 1956, he broke from the Catholic Church and the status quo, picked up a rifle and joined a guerilla movement in the jungles of Colombia (Torres, 1971).

Although Torres died a few months later in an ambush, his writings and influence lives on in Latin America. In fact, Torres' influence extends deeply into this research project. Torres believed that social researchers must get at the heart of meanings through systematic research, with the aim of exposing social conditions and promoting the welfare and well being of those least advantaged. Accordingly, this research project fits into the same line of thinking as Torres promoted.

³ For a good reference on Liberation Theology, see Berryman, Phillip. 1987. *Liberation Theology: The Essential Facts and the Revolutionary Movement in Latin America and Beyond*. New York: Pantheon Books. Essentially, liberation theology is an intellectual movement that appeared in the late 1960's after Vatican II and re-interprets the Bible to reject the status quo and promotes the idea that God sides with the poor.

1.2 The Concept of Service-Learning

In the past decade, service-learning programs have become an extremely popular in the field of education. Seen as the medicine for what ails failing educational systems, service-learning programs are currently being developed and implemented around the world. The philosophical basis for service-learning is often attributed to the writings of the radical American educational philosopher John Dewey. In laying out a progressive theory of education, primarily in his book Democracy and Education, Dewey argued that the current state of education in the early 20th century was leaving students unprepared to enter the real world and, perhaps more important, creating undemocratic citizens who are completely disconnected from the communities where they live and interact (Dewey, 1966).

Accordingly, Dewey argued that the academic curriculum must have real-world meaning for students through application, instead of simply sitting in a classroom and learning abstract and vague philosophy that has little practical use. Dewey argued that the only way to accomplish this objective was to connect the classroom to the social world through community-based service. And in this sense, he believed that community service integrated into an academic curriculum added crucial meaning to material for students. In turn, this connection would not only create higher levels of learning and retention, but also produce democratic citizens who were concerned and active in their communities politically and socially in various ways.

Essentially, the general aims of service-learning are two-fold in regard to altering a students' world-view. First, service-learning is a way to produce students who are more than just robots who recite and memorize abstractions, but learned individuals who are

able to use classroom material to solve and overcome real challenges and issues. Second, service-learning has the potential to create democratic citizens who are connected to their communities and have a deep concern for others well being.

A good example of Dewey's philosophy in action was Hull House developed by Jane Addams in the poorest areas near the West side of Chicago in 1889 (Morton and Saltmarsh, 1997). However, this endeavor was not a result of Dewey's philosophy, but was actually his inspiration for developing a progressive theory of education over 20 years after the institution was established. In fact, Dewey was not only a close friend of the founder of Hull House but was also a trustee (Morton and Saltmarsh, 1997).

Essentially, Hull House offered working class immigrants a helping hand and specifically attempted to address the problem of a lack of a sense of community in the rapidly changing and evolving immigrant haven of Chicago (Morton and Saltmarsh, 1997). The mission of Hull House was educating poor men and women so, in turn, they could acquire the skills to one day become successful in America. But Addams did not model the educational process in Hull House after the authoritarian public school system that existed in the United States. Instead she created an environment where the central focus was connecting people to their community to create a sense of social responsibility and commitment to their community. The educational program at Hull House consisted of a variety of classes and activities that included art and literature classes, plays, group discussions and related projects, and lectures delivered by famous activists and philosophers, such as John Dewey himself (Stebner, 1997).

1.3 Service-Learning Research

Although the research literature on service-learning is certainly not exhaustive, a number of studies have found positive outcomes associated with high quality service-learning programs. With regard to outcomes, students have been shown to be more civically responsible (Sax and Astin, 1997; Astin and Sax, 1998; Reed, et al., 2005; Markus, Howard, and King, 1993; Billig and Root, 2005; Stephens, 1995), perform at higher levels in the classroom (Sax and Astin, 1997; Eyler and Giles, 1999; Weiler, et al., 1998; Follman, 1998), and have a continued commitment to community service (Sax and Astin, 1997; Billig, 2000; Melchoir, 1999). However, not all of the research supports the use of service-learning, and a number of studies have shown that such programs do not always produce the desired results (Pritzker and McBride, 2007; Billig, 2000; Billig and Furco, 2002; Billig, et al., 2005, Payne, 2000).

The reason many scholars believe these programs have failed in their objectives is because of poor program quality and design (Billig, 2000; Pritzker and McBride, 2007). Accordingly, for a service-learning program to be considered of high quality, there are seven components that must be included: collaboration, reciprocity, curriculum integration, preparation, action, reflection, and recognition (Payne, 2000; Jacoby, 1996; Wade, 1997; Speck and Hoppe, 2004). Each one of these elements is vital to the success of the service-learning program, and the absence or poor implementation of any one of these factors may lead to failure.

Along with the inclusion of these core components, service-learning programs also must insure that they do not fall into the trap of volunteerism, where one group is "served" and the other is the "server." To avoid this pitfall, service-learning programs

must contain the element of social justice in contrast to charity (Wade, 1997). In this sense, the community service is not based on giving a "helping hand" but working with communities in a manner that brings about positive social change. Essentially, the community service must be meaningful to all involved, and not be something that simply makes a student feel good about their privileges. The aforementioned example of Hull House in Chicago illustrates the notion of social justice in service-learning quite well. In this instance, Addams created an educational environment that was linked directly to the community through a curriculum that included community projects that focused on social change.

In sum, with a number of educators calling for reform of the educational system, the concept of service-learning -- connecting community service with the classroom -- has become extremely popular within the past decade all over the world (Casey, et al., 2007; Shumer and Cook, 1999). Essentially, service-learning is seen as a remedy for the ills of the school system today and research has supported this claim to a certain extent. However, service-learning programs must be implemented correctly and contain the seven core components, along with an emphasis on social justice. In the end, with a high quality service-learning program in place, there is a strong chance that students will become socially and politically active members of their communities and care about the common weal.

1.4 The Importance of the Project and Expected Contributions

Given the recent explosion in the popularity of service-learning, many people assume that service-learning is a relatively new pedagogical tool that has been developed over the past couple of decades. However, this is not the case and, in actuality, the

inclusion of service-learning programs in educational institutions has been around for over four decades, with programs initially appearing in the 1960's in colleges and universities across the United States (Jacoby, 1996).

Nonetheless, there is one aspect of service-learning that is relative new and uncharted: empirical research. Research on service-learning has been a new endeavor within the last ten years; therefore, the empirical literature is not very comprehensive. In fact, much of the literature consists of anecdotal evidence that attempts to support the benefits of service-learning, or is quantitative in nature and utilizes vague and general attitudinal surveys to measure change (Casey, et al., 2007). Even more telling is that in-depth evaluations are virtually non-existent in the literature.

With that in mind, the purpose of this study is to make a contribution to the research literature in service-learning by providing a systematic and in-depth evaluation study of a service-learning program based on a mixed-methods approach. The primary goal of this research project is to paint a holistic picture of a service-learning program and, in turn, assess not only the impact of the program on students but also whether the CNG strategy fulfills the criteria related to a general model of service-learning. Furthermore, the research has been adapted to the school environment and does not employ a general questionnaire, but uses a survey tailored for the context for this specific program.

1.5 The Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation contains eight chapters, including the current introduction that sets the backdrop for the research study. The remaining chapters are described as follows:

Chapter Two -- Statement of the Problem

In Chapter Two, the focus is on identifying the central problem of this study. Accordingly, the chapter begins by examining the current crisis in the educational system in the United States that stems, at least partially, from the emphasis placed on individual values and the absence of any sense of community on the part of students (Bellah, et al., 1985). Many scholars attribute this failure to the type of individualism instilled in students by the neo-liberal agenda (Astin, 1993; Speck and Hoppe, 2004). This American crisis is linked to a similar problems occurring in Latin America where community and a concern for others have all but disappeared (Freire, 1990). With this context established, the objective of the evaluation research is explained by discussing the social service projects provided by CNG, which aim to transform the consciousness of the students from self-interest to a sense of civic and social responsibility.

Chapter Three -- The Philosophical Base for Service-Learning

In Chapter Three, the concept of service-learning is introduced and described as a remedy for the ills in educational institutions. In this chapter, service-learning is examined in-depth in four sections. In the first section, the philosophical justification for service-learning is explained by examining the progressive educational theory developed by John Dewey in the early 20th century, and the more recent writings of the Latin American philosopher Paulo Freire (Freire, 1990). In the second section, the historical emergence of service-learning as a radical pedagogy for student learning and developing a strong democratic citizenry is chronicled. In the third section, a thorough review of the definitions of service-learning is undertaken, and a comprehensive definition of service-learning is provided. And in the last section, an intensive review of the empirical

research on service-learning is offered, while focusing on the benefits of service-learning for students.

Chapter Four -- A Service-Learning Model

In Chapter Four, a general theoretical model of service-learning is developed for the purposes of the evaluation. The general model provides a framework that is used as a measuring stick for evaluating the service-learning program at CNG. Essentially, seven vital program components -- collaboration, reciprocity, curriculum integration, preparation, service, reflection, and recognition -- are identified in the literature review and included in the model. Each of these components is explained in-depth, and their inclusion and importance for any service-learning program is illustrated both philosophically and empirically.

Chapter Five -- Research Design

In Chapter Five, the objectives and design of the research project are described in detail. First, the aims of the study are advanced, along with how each will be measured with the data collected. Second, the use of abduction to infer cause based on a mixed-method approach is introduced and justified epistemologically.⁴ And last, the specific data collection methods -- questionnaire, interview, and focus group -- are discussed. Furthermore, issues, problems, and challenges that were encountered during the data collection process are identified.

⁴ Mixed-methods is an approach that uses multiple ways of collecting data in order to increase the validity. In this sense, researchers felt as if the bias in one method could be canceled out by another method (Creswell, 2003). In this research study, a qualitative approach was used by conducting in-depth interviews and focus groups. Concurrently, quantitative data was also collected through the use of a questionnaire. With the questionnaire data, descriptive statistics were calculated.

Chapter Six -- Data Analysis

In Chapter Six, the findings from the data analysis are revealed. In this chapter, there are two sections of analysis. The first section examines whether the students attribute any attitudinal and behavioral changes to the influence of the CNG program based on the answers provided in the questionnaire, along with data from the interviews and focus groups. Although there is no pre-and-post-test in this research study, the questions asked were specifically designed to ascertain if the students feel the program has had any impact on their attitudes and behavior.

The second section involves assessing the service-learning program at CNG according to the general model of service-learning that was developed in Chapter Four. In this section, for each program component, the service-learning program at CNG is analyzed to determine how it measures up to these criteria. Each program component is measured using a variety of indicators from the questionnaire, interviews, and focus groups.

Chapter Seven -- Discussion

In Chapter Seven, the results of the evaluation are discussed and placed within a theoretical framework. Based on the results from Chapter Six, the contact theory was the most appropriate explanation for the evidence presented. Basically, the contact theory argues that, when certain conditions are met, intergroup contact may reduce bias between groups (Allport, 1954). As the analysis reveals, the contact between groups at CNG is not meeting these requirements, and thus is resulting in negative outcomes. In this chapter, a model based on the contact theory is presented that reveals how service-

learning can create the conditions for optimal contact between groups that result in attitudinal and behavioral change.

Chapter Eight -- Recommendations

In Chapter Eight, six (6) specific recommendations are made based on the analysis and discussion in order to improve the CNG service-learning program. These recommendations focus on creating an environment that allows for the development of meaningful relationships in the CNG projects. Normally, dissertations do not contain a recommendation section, however due to the nature of this research based on social action, this section is perhaps the most important.

1.5 Conclusion

Colombia is in dire need of help. In particular, the country needs leaders who empathize and understand the daily struggles of the two-thirds of Colombians who live in abject poverty. At CNG, the most elite school in Colombia, they are training the future leaders of Colombia and around the globe. In turn, they have developed social projects that aim to create a sense of responsibility for others in students. This research project aims to help further that goal. Accordingly, this research is an evaluation of these social projects to determine if they are making an impact on the average student at CNG, and, in turn, provide recommendations for correcting the program.

Chapter 2. Statement of the Problem.

2.1 Introduction to the Problem

For a number of years service-learning has been popular in the United States, with many colleges and universities implementing mandatory service-learning programs (Baumberger-Henry, Krouse, and Borucki, 2007). In many ways, service-learning has exploded in the past decade, and this expansion has been felt on an international basis. In fact, service-learning has become part of many educational reform packages worldwide and in turn, service-learning has become the new fad for educators all over the globe. Many believe that service-learning programs have the capability to transform students from self-concerned individuals to people who are compassionate, caring, and understanding of others thus many feel service-learning is the only hope for producing strong democratic citizens in the age of the neo-liberal agenda based on individualist and materialist ideals. In Latin America, service-learning has become very visible in the past few years, particularly with the Inter-American Development Bank funding a large number of projects.

Based in the philosophical work of John Dewey, service-learning adds meaning to the curriculum for students by connecting community involvement to learning, with the goal of producing students with a social conscious who possess the ability to solve “real-world” problems in a communitarian manner. However, due to the relatively new emergence of the field, the research on service-learning is weak at best. There have been very few in-depth studies of service-learning programs, particularly in Latin America. Much of the available research is either anecdotal or focuses on quantitative outcomes

where students fill out a general survey and express their attitudes and opinions about vague statements.⁵

With that in mind, the purpose of this study is to make a contribution to the field of service-learning by providing a systematic, in-depth qualitative study of a service-learning program in Latin America within the context the program occurs. The goal of this research project is to paint a holistic picture of a service-learning program and in turn, assess not only the impact of the program on students but also whether this program fulfills the criteria related to a general model of service-learning. Accordingly, this research project is a program evaluation that educators may use to create (or alter) service-learning programs in order to produce specific benefits.

2.2 Community-Based Research

This research constitutes a community-based approach. Accordingly, the community is the institution of Colegio Nueva Granada (CNG); therefore, the research project was designed in collaboration with school leaders. A community-based approach was necessary for this project because the research needed to fit the needs of the CNG community. Essentially, the CNG school leaders wanted to gauge the effectiveness of their service-learning program, and in turn, understand where their program needs improvement. With this focus, research questions were developed with school leaders that were deemed useful and worthwhile to evaluate the program and perhaps, make improvements to some degree. For example, many of the questions in the questionnaire, contain simply a “yes” or “no” response. This approach was chosen instead of using a

⁵ For example, the National Services Learn and Serve America Higher Education Program, who conducted perhaps the largest service-learning evaluation to date, used a general questionnaire. For this evaluation, students from across the United States answered the same questions regardless of their location. In this regard, the questionnaire did not take into account contextual differences that might apply due to geographic location. This evaluation is discussed in-depth on page 40.

Likert scale because a “yes” or “no” answer was deemed as more useful to the CNG community.⁶

Another important reason for using a community-based approach was that the school was located in a country where taking context into consideration is vital. In particular, the divide between the rich and poor that exists in Colombia is unlike many other countries, particularly the United States; therefore, the research approach had to take this into account when developing research questions and input from the school leaders was instrumental in this regard. Overall, a community-based approach was the only viable approach because this type of research would provide school leaders with the ability to improve the program, and ultimately, that was the aim of this research and the reason for carrying out the project.

2.3 The Crisis in Education

A number of times in American history, educators, philosophers, and others have identified problems in the educational system and called for widespread reform. In the past couple decades or so, a crisis has begun to emerge once again in the educational field and many are calling for a new approach to educating youth. In America, the current crisis can be traced to the Reagan administration and the rise of the neo-liberal agenda in the 1980's (Kahne and Westheimer, 1999). With the emergence of the "total market" in particular, and with individualism as a primary value in American society, the idea has been generally accepted that personal growth is the best way to advance the common good in society (Hinkelammert, 2002). Accordingly, students are produced who have little sense of responsibility or commitment to their communities and lack any concern for others. They focus on their own personal achievement and, more important, their

⁶ The reasoning for this approach is explained in-depth in section 5.9.1 -- Questionnaire -- on page 74.

education is simply seen as a way to gain the individual tools and skills necessary to succeed in the marketplace. With this style of educating youth, there should be no surprise that students believe they have little obligation to their community and feel the need to only pursue their own aims.

Indeed, the emphasis placed on individual performance has influenced students in important ways (Schine, 1999). In particular, the emphasis on individualism has fueled the rise of standardized testing as a means of judging performance and intelligence in the past two decades. With that being said, how could one expect students to be committed to their communities when SAT scores determine their future and what college they can attend? With standardized tests as the cornerstone of the educational system, and the basis for all judgments, one can hardly blame students for their egotism and lack of commitment to their communities. This loss of a sense of community is particularly problematic when students are under the spell of neo-liberalism, and are told that pursuing their own aims is the best way to contribute to the community.

The results of indoctrinating youth with neo-liberal values are evident in the growing fragmentation in the United States and around the globe. For example, Bellah, et al. (1985) revealed that a large number of Americans feel isolated from institutions such as schools and the community. Essentially, these authors conclude that “We have failed at every level; we have put our own good, as individuals...ahead of the common good” (Bellah, et al., 1985:285). A vast amount of research also reveals that education is simply failing to have any impact at all on students in regard to being socially and politically active in the community. For example, Battistoni (1985) showed that most high school government and civics courses have little impact on students. Galston (2003)

also found that compared to 66% of entering college freshman in 1966, only 28% of entering college freshmen in the fall of 2000 reported an interested in political affairs. In this regard, educational institutions are failing miserably at producing democratic citizens who are community minded and care for others. This failure has been connected directly to the educational process where the separation between community and the student is evident. In sum, schools are simply not providing the opportunity for students to participate meaningfully in community affairs, and in turn produce students who only have a concern for themselves.

2.4 The Crisis in Colombia

The neo-liberal agenda has certainly not been limited to the United States. A number of Latin American countries have succumbed to the pressure of neo-liberal politics. In the last decade, Colombia has been no exception and the country has been ravaged by neo-liberal reforms. Similar to the United States, these economic reforms are wreaking havoc on Colombia in a variety of ways in the social and educational realms. In particular, the gap between the rich and the poor has grown larger and represents an unprecedented divide between social classes. Currently in Colombia, almost two-thirds of the people now live below the poverty line (World Bank, 2007). As one can imagine, the other third has a lifestyle that is unattainable for those born into poverty. The separation and segregation of the rich and poor is so extreme that elites never see the way of life of the poor. And as the saying goes, “out of sight, out of mind.”

With this division in place and constantly being reinforced by neo-liberal policies, the elite students are educated in a completely different environment than the rest of the population. These select students attend private schools in Colombia that are harder to

enter than a Marine Corps base at full alert. No one enters and leaves without permission, while surveillance is continuous. Obviously, this type of educational environment does not create much of a sense of community in these elite students. In fact, at this point, their educational experience only serves to reinforce the division of the classes in Colombia. Often, the students believe that they are superior to others, and in turn they do not feel the need to interact with the “lower classes” because their special circumstances need to be protected. The only concern of these students is to protect their privileges.

Given this background, Colombia is producing a crisis similar to that in the American educational system, where a sense of community and a concern for others have almost disappeared. In Colombia, this situation is particularly dire because of the rigid division between the rich and poor. In fact, elite students are told explicitly everywhere they go to avoid the community as much as possible to protect them from the dangerous, violent, and resentful “other.” Furthermore, in the United States poor people have at least some chance for mobility, whereas such advancement is denied to the poor in Colombia (World Bank, 2002). Where you are born is where you stay. Accordingly, these elite students will be the future leaders in Colombia. With that in mind, it is frightening to know that they are being shown first hand that they need to have little commitment to the community and an even smaller concern for others less fortunate.

With the separation of the elite from all others in Colombia, coupled with the strong support in the political realm for a neo-liberal agenda, the situation for the underprivileged in Colombia will likely worsen in the future. In particular, the fragmented nature of society, along with the inability to bridge the gap between the social

classes is certainly a major concern in a country looking for a national identity. Many persons feel so hopeless about the situation that a sense of fatalism has creped into the mindset of a vast number of Colombians. In fact, within five minutes of my arrival to begin my research I was informed that any idealism I arrived with should have been checked at the airport because social change is not possible in Colombia.

But despite this bleak situation in Colombia, there is hope and some educators are trying to make a difference and create a sense of responsibility on the part of elite students. Ironically, this is happening at perhaps the most elite private school in Colombia, where the school leaders are determined to fight against developing self-absorbed students who only care about themselves. The leaders at Colegio Nueva Granada (CNG) are interested in developing students who have a social conscious, a sense of community, and empathize with those who are less fortunate. In order to develop leaders who can raise the living standards of all Colombians, the leaders of CNG have developed and implemented several social service projects that aim to transform the consciousness of their students from elitism to empathy. In turn, they hope that one day the effect of these programs will last long enough to influence them to make decisions and act in favor of those less fortunate when they are in positions of power.

2.5 The Research Project at Hand

In Colombia, the aforementioned division between the elite and the poor is highly visible and nowhere is this division more clear than at the end of the school day at CNG where bodyguards are lined up at the gate to protect students from the wretched poor. But right across the street from the school, not even 100 yards away, is a barrio -- Juan XXIII -- where people are literally living in shacks. Considering the extent of poverty in

Colombia, particularly when extreme poverty exists only right across the street, avoiding the poor on a daily basis seems almost impossible. However, exposure to the poor and the least fortunate in Colombia is actually a serious problem for elite students who attend schools such as CNG. In this sense, the problem is that the students are not exposed at all to the plight of the poor! The question for these leaders has become, how can one understand the situation of those living in poverty and empathize with their situation, if they never are exposed to these conditions?

With this background in mind, why service-learning projects have become popular in Colombia is quite clear. Particularly noteworthy is the action of the Interamerican Development Bank, which recently published an RFP (Request for Proposal) in an attempt to solicit proposals for service-learning programs in Bogotá, Colombia. Consistent with this policy change, the school leaders at CNG believe that service-learning can “burst the bubble” where the elite students live and expose them to the real Colombia, in order to transform their consciousness to the point where they understand the poor and, in turn, empathize with their situation, instead of simply turning the other cheek.

Accordingly, the primary aim of this research project is to test whether these social service projects have had any effect on students. More specifically, the evaluation intends to measure if the social service projects have influenced the student’s sense of social responsibility to their communities. But many research evaluations of service-learning have stopped after simply assessing general attitudinal change. The goal of this research project, however, is much more and the idea is to paint a holistic picture of the social service projects. To achieve this goal, the social service projects at CNG will be

examined and analyzed in detail in order to determine where the program has succeeded or failed, and in turn, provide the necessary data to develop recommendations for improvement. With that in mind, this research project has two research questions:

1. How have the social service projects at CNG influenced the student's consciousness and increased their sense of social responsibility?
2. How have the implementation and conduct of the social service projects allowed for this shift in consciousness to occur?

With these research questions in place, it is necessary to understand the context of the research study. The following sections will provide a detailed description of CNG and the social service projects that constitute the service-learning program that has been created and implemented. Furthermore, the specific goals of the service-learning program will be revealed and discussed.

2.6 Colegio Nueva Granada (CNG)

CNG is a private day school founded in 1938 that is located in the city of Bogotá, Colombia. CNG provides students with a U.S. style of education in grades 4-12. CNG is a bilingual school where English is the preferred language on campus. In 1959, CNG first received accreditation from the U.S. based Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS). All classes at CNG are taught in English, with the exception of Colombian social studies and of course, Spanish. CNG has 44 nationalities in the student body with over 30% of the student body coming from abroad, including almost 10% from the United States. Based on the demographic data collected by this project, almost all of the students (95%) are from the highest classes in Bogotá (Strata 5-6).⁷

⁷ In Bogotá, seven social classes have been created by the government (0 to 6). A designation of 0 means essentially that one is homeless. As one moves up the scale, the standard of living increases tremendously.

The immediate goal of CNG is to prepare students to attend college in the United States or other English speaking countries such as England. But in the long run, the primary aim of CNG is to develop well-rounded students who they expect will be the future leaders in Colombia and around the globe. The mission states this goal clearly: “Prepare tomorrow’s leaders by educating the mind, nurturing the spirit, and strengthening the body” (Colegio Nueva Granada, 2007a). Within their philosophy, the school boasts of maximizing the potential of students through participatory education, working together, and offering a challenging educational experience to produce good citizens who “do unto others as you would have done unto you” (Colegio Nueva Granada, 2007a).

Given this philosophy, the leaders of CNG feel that it is extremely important to develop “well-rounded” leaders who are able to understand the plight of the poor in Colombia. In turn, over the past decade and a half, CNG has developed three programs in an attempt to alter the consciousness of students, so that they become more responsible for the poor. Essentially, the aim of these programs is to provide enough contact with the underprivileged children and adults from the local poor neighborhoods for the CNG students to develop this new “consciousness.”

2.7 Social Responsibility Program

CNG has three social service projects that students participate in throughout their studies: Hogar Nueva Granada, Alianza Educativa, and the Social Service project. These three projects constitute the Social Responsibility Program at CNG. Each of these social

A social class of 6 is the most elite and includes the wealthiest families in Bogotá. From the perspective of the government, this approach represents a functionalist methodology and assumes there is social movement and society represents a meritocracy. However, many scholars, particularly conflict theorists, would view this system differently. Rather than a meritocracy, Colombia would be viewed as a caste system with little mobility. In Colombia, the term strata is used often as synonymous with class.

service projects takes place at varying times during students' academic careers. At this point, an in-depth explanation of each social service project is necessary.

2.7.1 Hogar Nueva Granada

At the heart of the social service projects is the Hogar Nueva Granada (Hogar, in short). The Hogar is located on the campus of CNG and is a school that provides preschool, primary, and elementary education for children living in low-income barrios. In this case, low-income families are usually located in the social strata anywhere between levels 1 and 3. In point of fact, many of the children do not have running water or electricity in their homes. The primary objective of the Hogar is to help these low-income families by providing their children with an education, and also offering various low cost (or free) social services to their families such as medical and dental care. The vision statement for the Hogar states: “Hogar Nueva Granada provides a promising start to low income children who, with the support of basic education later on, will become good members of society and will make positive contribution to their communities” (Hogar Nueva Granada, 2007a).

The idea for the Hogar began in the late 1990's when the director of CNG, Dr. Barry McCombs, and the CNG board of directors wanted to “commit to an ongoing social issue” in Colombia to help create social change (Hogar Nueva Granada, 2007b). In March of 1999, the planning and development of the Hogar project started, and after 2 and a half years of planning and construction they opened the doors to the public on October 1, 2001. The Hogar is located on the South end of the campus, only a few minutes away on foot from the CNG main entrance.

At the Hogar there are approximately 250 students, ranging from 2 to 8 years of age, who receive school instruction up to the 4th grade. At the time that this evaluation was being carried out, CNG was actually raising funds to expand the school to include a 5th grade level. The CNG leaders expect to raise the necessary funds and open the fifth grade in the coming school year. Students at the Hogar receive a typical education with courses in writing, reading, and math. Along with class instruction, the students receive three meals (breakfast, lunch, and a snack), along with free medical and dental service. For many of these students, the meals they receive at the Hogar are the only ones they will eat all day.

Although the primary objective of the Hogar is to help the children from low-income barrios, a second objective is to offer opportunities for social service projects. The CNG students work with the pupils of the Hogar from the time they enter CNG. For many students, the Hogar projects are their first exposure to the poor and social service.

The Hogar program is broken into 3 distinct phases for CNG students. The first phase is for CNG students who are studying in kindergarten to 1st grade. In this phase, at the beginning of each school year the children from the Hogar are brought over to the CNG campus to work with CNG students of the same age (or close to). Several Hogar students are assigned to each CNG classroom, and in the end 2 or 3 Hogar participants are assigned to a group of about 5 or 6 CNG students. The activities occur approximately once a month and there is no standard curriculum. The teachers and students at CNG decide beforehand what activities the CNG students will complete with the pupils at the Hogar. Some examples of activities that have been completed in the past are having a Thanksgiving or a Valentine's Day celebration.

The second phase of participation for CNG students is from 2nd through 5th grade. This phase of the Hogar program is more directly related to academic material. The teachers at the Hogar send over worksheets to the teachers and students at CNG, which detail the areas where Hogar students need help. Accordingly, the CNG students and teachers build a curriculum around the needs of the Hogar students. For many of these activities, CNG students usually go over to the Hogar to work with the students. I was fortunate enough to observe and take field notes on one of these activities undertaken by third graders from CNG and the Hogar.

The third phase pertains to CNG students who are in grades 6th through 8th. Each student is now matched with at least one child. Each student works closely with those at the Hogar on schoolwork and related materials. The idea is to develop a connection between the Hogar children and the CNG students. During the research project, I was able to observe the end-of-year celebration between 8th grade and Hogar students. The celebration took place in various CNG classrooms.

After 8th grade, the CNG students are no longer required to work with the Hogar, however, there are annual field trips when the high school CNG students take the children from the Hogar to various places. Essentially, CNG students are assigned a Hogar "buddy" for the day. Three hundred and fifty-two CNG students participated in the 2006 field trip. Basically, there are two goals for these field trips. The first is to have the students get to know each other to try to establish a connection of some sort. The second is to allow the Hogar students a day of fun that would probably never occur under normal conditions. This past year, the field trip was to Mundo Aventura, an amusement

park located in Bogotá about 45 minutes from CNG. I was able to observe the activity and take field notes.

2.7.2 High School Social Service Hours

In Colombia, the law states that any student who wants to receive a high school degree must complete at least 80 hours of community service. For CNG students, this occurs by requiring 20 hours of service in the 10th grade, 40 hours in the 11th grade, and 20 hours in the 12th grade. At this time, the CNG students are no longer working with students from the Hogar but instead they are required to work with students and adults from a poor barrio located directly outside of the school, Juan XXIII (Juan Veintetres).

Juan XXIII is literally across the street from the entrance of CNG. Interesting enough, this neighborhood is the only one in the area that is considered poor. High rise apartments and other well-to-do residences surround Juan XXIII. Workers who were building many of the apartments and other buildings in the area originally settled the neighborhood. Although Juan XXIII is not as poor as many other areas in Colombia, the residents are typically categorized as belonging to social strata 2 or 3. This means that many of the residents have running water, plumbing, and electricity but not much else. As with all of the posh areas existing around Juan XXIII, the land in this barrio is growing rapidly in market value; hence, a struggle is beginning to occur to “relocate” the residents. Accordingly, the future of Juan XXIII is uncertain.

In order to earn the social service hours, the CNG students have three options. They can participate during the week on Tuesday and Thursday, after school, or on Saturday in the morning. On Tuesday and Thursday after school, CNG students tutor youth from Juan XXIII who range in age from 7 to 14 years in age. The CNG students

teach the students from the barrio basic English, which includes keeping of a year-long notebook with exercises in English.

On Saturdays, CNG students tutor adults from Juan XXIII (many who are support staff at CNG) who are attempting to complete primary and secondary educational courses, with the goal of earning a high school diploma. The adults range in age from 19 to 70. The CNG students tutor the adults in subjects such as Math, Spanish, and Science. The tutoring is often conducted in a one-on-one setting, but if there is a parity of CNG students several groups are assembled for each CNG student. The CNG students arrive at 7 in the morning and tutor the adults until noon, with periodic breaks given throughout the day.

In order to advance, the adults must pass a standardized test approved by the government of Colombia. They may take these standardized tests at CNG all the way up until 12th grade, but to receive a high school diploma they must travel to a designated government site to take a final exam. At the time of this study, there were 4 adults who were preparing to take the final exam to earn their high school diploma. If they pass, these 4 adults will be the first from this program to graduate.

2.7.3 Alianza Educativa

The Alianza Educativa is an alliance between CNG and three other educational institutions (Universidad de Los Andes, Colegio San Carlos, Colegio Los Nogales) designed to support local area public schools. The aim is for students at CNG to provide leadership and academic support to public school students in a variety of areas. On designated Saturdays, CNG teachers and students provide special classes at public

schools in order to improve the education at these institutions. For the classes, CNG students deliver presentations on subjects such as teen pregnancy.

Additionally, every year CNG students travel to a designated public school with the goal of “integrating” themselves into the public school for a day. The CNG students sit in on classes with the public school students, plant trees, and do other activities intended to break down walls for the students from both schools with the hope of developing some type of connection. All of the students in high school are expected to participate in this program.

2.7.4 Desired Program Outcomes

These three social service projects constitute the core of the service-learning program at CNG that they call the Social Responsibility Program. With regard to student participation, the goal of these programs fits into the philosophy of the school to develop well-rounded leaders. The primary goal for students is stated in the mission statement of the Social Responsibility Program: “...to promote in CNG students spirit of leadership for the future through a practical experience in social responsibility” (Colegio Nueva Granada, 2007b). More specifically, the goals of the program are listed as follows (not in rank of importance):

- ❖ Develop an understanding of the country’s problems and needs
- ❖ Promote proactive reactions when solving problems, especially those dealing with the country’s situation
- ❖ Realize the importance of prevention programs
- ❖ Understand the importance of balancing “giving” and “receiving”
- ❖ Identify, accept and celebrate differences

- ❖ Value a teacher's role by experiencing it
- ❖ Foster a sense of identity and ownership with the social program
- ❖ Develop a long-term commitment

Representatives from the school have claimed that through an annual attitudinal survey carried out since 1998, there has been an increase in the social responsibility of students at CNG. They claim that in some areas the increase has been close to 50%. However, access to this data was not granted for various reasons.

2.8 Evaluating the Program

Essentially, the end outcomes desired by the CNG program leaders involve a transformation of consciousness in the students that result in them possessing a sense of social responsibility to their communities. Although the CNG leaders never use the term “service-learning,” these desired outcomes are directly in line with the aims of service-learning. With that being said, the program will be evaluated under the premise of service-learning that has been shown to produce these results in research studies. Accordingly, in Chapter Three, the philosophy, importance, and emergence of service-learning as a radical pedagogical tool to transform student consciousness will be identified, defended, and discussed and the empirical literature of the effects of service-learning programs on students will be reviewed and examined. In Chapter Four, the major components to any successful service-learning program will be discussed. These two chapters will set the basis for the study of the outcomes, and the processes of the program.

Chapter Three. Service-learning.

3.1 The History and Importance of Service-learning

Early philosophers, such as Plato and Aristotle, argued that the focus of education should be in developing good citizens armed with a knowledge that allows them to act in a manner that produces good “ends” for society (Rocheleau, 2004). Over the years, the idea of an education based in community and civic duty has been supported by a number of great thinkers such as John Stuart Mill and Immanuel Kant. But perhaps no one believed in this idea espoused by Plato and other philosophers more than the American philosopher John Dewey. However, John Dewey differed from these philosophers in an important and crucial way in his approach to education: he believed that community service should be part of every student's educational experience. Contrary to other philosophers, Dewey developed a progressive theory of education that called for community service as an integral part of the learning and developmental process for students (Dewey, 1966). In other words, for Dewey, classroom instruction was pointless unless a student was able to apply this knowledge to concrete situations and solve social problems.

At the time of his writings in the early part of the 20th century, Dewey was highly critical of the educational process in the United States, which was based on the Platonic model where the focus of learning is simply on the delivery of knowledge from the teacher to the student. For Dewey, this type of learning was monological -- an authoritarian one-way street -- and not conducive to creating active, critical, and ultimately democratic citizens (Dewey, 1966). Dewey stated, “I believe that under

existing conditions far too much of the stimulus and control proceeds from the teacher, because of neglect of the idea of the school as a form of social life” (Dewey, 1897:78).

But Dewey was reacting to more than the authoritarian nature of the classroom when he argued that education was not producing democratic citizens. In Dewey’s mind, with education as a monological process, there was a complete schism between reality and the classroom. Students were not being prepared for life and the real-world challenges and problems they face everyday by simply sitting in a classroom and taking notes. In other words, the primary failure of the classroom was this context. Dewey believed that with this style of educating students, schools “subvert, pervert, and destroy the foundations of democratic society” (Dewey, 1966:133).

Dewey argued that education must be based on “active” learning and he wanted to connect the real-world with the classroom in a form of “experiential” learning. For example, history did not have to be taught in a classroom based simply on memorizing dates that are seemingly unconnected and have little application. Instead, history can be learned through experience. In this case, students could enter the community and collaborate with individuals and groups to develop a living oral history. Accordingly, Dewey believed that the connection of the classroom to community service would instill a civic duty in students that would lead to a better world for everyone.

Based on this connection between community service and learning, Dewey felt that these relationships were an integral part to developing democratic citizens who cared for one another. Dewey stated, “A democracy is...primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience. The extension in space of the number of individuals who participate in an interest so that each has to refer his own action to that of

others, and to consider the action of others to give point and direction to his own” (Dewey, 1966:87). In this sense, learning is not something that happens with walls built around the student, but should actually open the student to the world and the relationships they participate in everyday. By connecting the community and the student in an interactive learning process, relationships develop and students begin to see how their actions are connected to other people in a variety of ways. Accordingly, the awareness of this sense of connectedness creates a conscious student who is constantly reflecting on his or her actions and their implications for society.

But this problem was certainly not limited to the United States. A number of years after Dewey was writing, Paulo Freire emerged as a key figure critical of the Latin American educational process. Freire chastised the educational system in Latin America for many of the same reasons put forth by Dewey. Specifically related to Latin America, Freire felt the educational environment only perpetuated an unjust society by instilling values of conformity and obedience into students to the status quo. In this sense, Freire pointed out that the educational system in Latin America suffered from a “narrative” sickness (Freire, 1990). In this sense, he argued that teachers had the simple objective to of "filling" students with “the contents of [their] narration” (Freire, 1990:57). Furthermore, the knowledge being imparted was completely detached from reality and, hence, mostly insignificant. Freire likened the educational process to that of a banking system where “students are the depositories and teachers are the depositors.” In turn, similar to John Dewey, Freire called for a radical pedagogy he called “problem-posing education” that would connect the classroom with the world utilizing a “critical intervention in reality” (Freire, 1990:68). In the end, Freire suggested that the teacher-

student dichotomy had to be abolished, and the teacher simply acted as a guide or facilitator in the classroom. Ultimately, Freire felt that this type of educational approach would lead to a “consciousness raising” in students, and liberation would soon follow.

3.2 The Emergence of Service-Learning

In essence, Dewey and Freire argued that instead of creating an authoritarian classroom where learning is based on simple memorization and repetition, education should be an active process where students combine education with social service, thereby allowing a "learn by doing" model to emerge in schools (Payne, 2000:6). Ultimately, Dewey’s philosophy and the subsequent work of Freire laid the foundation for service-learning to emerge. Essentially, service-learning programs have come to be seen as a way to produce “a generation of citizens who would restore community” (Speck and Hoppe, 2004:viii). And, as William James (1910) called for in 1910, in "The Moral Equivalent in War," an army of youth should be created in order to reverse the injustices of the world.

Over the years, the ideas put forth by Dewey have been carried out in a number of ways to create service-learning programs, including the Peace Corps in the 1960's during the Kennedy administration and Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) in 1965. However, the first actual use of the term “service-learning” is credited to Sigmon and William Ramsey in 1967, who coined the phrase at the Southern Regional Education Board (Giles and Eyler, 1994). A few years later, a National Center for Service-Learning was established in the United States (Jacoby, 1996). And by 1971, the National Center for Service-Learning, the Peace Cops, and VISTA combined to create a federal agency called ACTION based on the principles of service-learning (Jacoby, 1996). By the

1970's, the use of service-learning exploded and these programs were being established in colleges across the United States (Jacoby, 1996).

However, service-learning began to fade in the 1980's. Although Jacoby (1996) attributes much of this failure to establishing effective service-learning programs certainly a large share rests on the shoulders of the neo-liberal agenda that appeared and de-emphasized the value of community service in education. But by the late 1980s, with the crisis in education and the lack of concern for the community by students becoming apparent, educators began to take notice and service-learning began a resurgence in the field of education. By the 1990's service-learning programs were appearing virtually everywhere and there was an "explosion of literature and conferences on service-learning" (Jacoby, 1996:15).

Accordingly, Speck and Hoppe (2004) note that a central theme in service-learning is that America and students in particular have lost their sense of community. In this context, service-learning is being called on to revitalize a sense of community in students and, moreover, create a citizenry that cares about others. But perhaps most important, service-learning aims to develop students who are not just socially aware and active, but genuinely want to improve the world. Rhoads (1997) refers to this as the "caring self" that may develop in students through education. In terms of the current crisis in education, service-learning appears to be the medicine for what is ailing the neo-liberal culture, that is, the individualism, materialism, and competitiveness that is taking over the hearts and minds of students all over the globe.

3.3 What is Service-Learning?

At this juncture, an important point is to define clearly the fundamental traits of service-learning. This task is not easy to accomplish. Currently, there are hundreds of definitions of service-learning (Jacoby, 1996). At one point in the early 1990's 147 definitions of service-learning were identified (Eyler and Giles, 1999). Nonetheless, the base of service-learning is an idea that has not changed since the time of John Dewey. The goal is still relatively simple: service-learning connects community service directly with academia. And in this sense, the goal of service-learning is grounded in the philosophical ideal of experiential learning where real world experience is central to the acquisition of valid knowledge. Jacoby (1996) points out astutely, based on a personal communication that she had with S. Migloire in April 1995, that "The hyphen in service-learning is critical in that it symbolizes the symbiotic relationship between service and learning" (Jacoby, 1996:5).

Essentially, in the academic setting, service-learning is seen as a way "to enhance the meaning and impact of traditional course content" (Sax and Astin, 1997:25). In this sense, the thrust of service-learning is to create a community-class connection that allows for individuals to participate actively in the construction of knowledge and in the transformation of the community in a positive manner. Accordingly, service-learning may take a variety of forms in practice. Students may engage in services such as tutoring adults trying to earn a high school diploma, helping in homeless shelters, or working with local community groups to solve a pressing social problem.

For the purposes of this dissertation, the following definition of service-learning seems quite suitable and sums up the idea quite well:

Service-learning is a teaching and learning strategy that integrates meaningful community service with instruction and reflection to enrich the learning experience, teach civic responsibility, and strengthen communities (Servicelearning.org, 2007).

At this point the difference between service-learning and volunteerism should be emphasized. Since both of these concepts involve community service in one way or another, many program coordinators believe that simply having students “volunteer” in the community qualifies the program to be classified as service-learning. However, this is not the case. There are a number of differences between service-learning and volunteerism that are important.

Wade (1997) argues that curriculum integration and reflection are the two primary components that differentiate volunteerism from service-learning. First, service-learning is connected explicitly to an academic curriculum with specific goals and objectives for students and others involved in the program. In this sense, the community service is not seen as something “extra-curricular,” but a centerpiece to the academic curriculum. With this differentiation in mind, Rhoads and Howard (1998) developed the concept of “academic service-learning.” Accordingly, student activities in the community must be linked with classroom activities in ways that reinforce the experience of students including periods of reflection and writing assignments.

Second, the component of “reflection” separates volunteerism from service-learning. In this sense, the service-learning program must include a systematic and structured method of reflection for the students who perform the community service. This reflection may assume many forms such as a guided discussion or writing an essay, but the key point is that there is structured reflection that allows students to connect the

classroom to their community service, and in turn encourages them to question and possibly restructure their personal belief system.

But along with curriculum integration and structured reflection, the acts of service also separate volunteerism from service-learning. In this sense, one of the primary objectives of service-learning is to engage students in *meaningful* interaction in social service projects in order to broaden their horizons and alter their world-views to become more compassionate, caring, and understanding of others. In this way, service-learning attempts to create a curriculum for students that “fosters civic responsibility and breaks down barriers between academics and their communities” (Turnley, 2007:106). The service-learning process assists students to learn about the problems in their community, work with people in the community, and solve problems that result in the bettering the lives of people who are less fortunate. Overall, students are not just giving their time to make themselves feel good, but are contributing substantially to the community in a *meaningful* way.

Accordingly, these three elements -- curriculum integration, reflection, and meaningful service -- serve to differentiate charity from service-learning. With all three of these elements in place, a service-learning program can create an environment where students can begin to see themselves as “intimately connected to the other” and, in turn, develop a sense of community and care for the common good (Rhoads, 1997).

3.4 Service-Learning Benefits

For many who implement service-learning the goal is to create a complete transformation of a student's "world-view" (Eyler and Giles, 1999). Although this goal might seem insurmountable, service-learning has been shown to alter the consciousness

of participants in a variety of ways (Markus, Howard, and King, 1993). In particular, the literature reveals that there are three primary outcomes that can be attained from service-learning for students who participate in such programs.

First, service-learning can be an important vehicle for developing active and involved students with the skills necessary to become democratic citizens. Much of this transformation into stronger citizens is based on notions of increased civic responsibility (Sax and Astin, 1997; Astin and Sax, 1998; Reed, et al., 2005; Markus, Howard, and King, 1993; Billig and Root, 2005; Stephens, 1995). Second, service-learning courses can help to fuel the academic development and success of students. In this sense, students not only perform better academically but also are able to develop critical thinking skills (Sax and Astin, 1997; Eyler and Giles, 1999; Weiler, et al., 1998; Follman, 1998). And last, service-learning courses can have long-lasting effects on students with regard to their commitment to community service projects (Sax and Astin, 1997; Billig, 2000; Melchoir, 1999). In this regard, research has shown in a variety of ways that service-learning may lead to an increase in a student's commitment to current community service and to future involvement. In the following section, a plethora of research is reviewed based on these three transformations.

3.4.1 National Services Learn and Serve America Higher Education Program (LSAHE)

In one of the largest studies of service-learning, researchers evaluated the National Services Learn and Serve America Higher Education Program (LSAHE) to measure the impact service-learning programs had on students in a variety of ways. LSAHE is made up over 100 service-learning programs at colleges and universities where students complete social projects in the community, such as working with the

homeless. The University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) evaluated the LSAHE service-learning programs to measure their impact on student development in the areas of civic responsibility, academic development, and the growth of life skills through the administration of a survey to freshman, with several follow-up periods. Data were collected from 3,450 students attending 42 institutions. Overall, there were 2,309 responses from students engaged in service-learning, and 1,141 response from students not engaged in this process (Sax and Astin, 1997).

In the area of civic responsibility, the effects from service-learning were stronger than the other two categories (academic development and life skills). The study revealed that 60 percent of the service-learning students, compared to only 28 percent of the non service-learning students, believed that their commitment to serving the community was “stronger” or “much stronger” in the follow-up period than when they were freshmen. Furthermore, four times as many service-learning students said they planned to do volunteer work in the coming fall (Sax and Astin, 1997).

In the area of academic development, the results from the study revealed that students who participated in service-learning programs had higher educational achievement on all ten measures of academic outcomes. Most important, students who participated in service-learning courses were much more likely than students who did not to report “stronger” to “much stronger” changes during their college career in the areas of general knowledge, knowledge of a field or discipline, and preparation for graduate or professional school (Sax and Astin, 1997).

In the area of life skills, results also revealed that students who engaged in service-learning programs were much more likely to show greater positive change than

the control group. Particularly important, the largest differences between the groups appeared in the areas of understanding community problems, and knowledge of different races and cultures (along with higher levels of acceptance). Moreover, service-learning students showed a greater ability to solve problems, work cooperatively, and think critically (Sax and Astin, 1997).

3.4.2 Other Relevant Studies

A number of other research studies have revealed the same outcomes for students who participate in service-learning programs. With regard to producing better citizens with a higher sense of social responsibility and civic development, Astin and Sax (1998) found that participation in service-learning programs increased substantially college undergraduates' sense of civic responsibility. Reed, et al., (2005) had similar findings when they examined the effects of a short-term service-learning experience on college students. These researchers found that even with only 8 to 10 hours of volunteer service, students involved in the service-learning program were able to maintain their sense of social responsibility when compared to a matched control group. Markus, Howard, and King, (1993) found that students in a large undergraduate political science course that included service-learning were more likely than students in the control group to have significantly increased their awareness of societal problems. Similarly, Billig and Root (2005) discovered that students who participated in service-learning acquired higher levels of civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions than those students who did not participate. Stephens (1995) also found that middle school students who engaged in service-learning developed a greater sense of civic responsibility.

In terms of student learning, a plethora of research supports the use of service-learning as a tool to increase or enhance student performance. Eyler and Giles (1999) revealed that over the last twenty years high quality service-learning has been shown to consistently increase student learning. Weiler, et al., (1998), in their study of service-learning programs in California, found that students who participated in service-learning programs showed moderate to strong gains on achievement tests, improved engagement in school, higher educational accomplishment, and better homework completion. Furthermore, Follman (1998) revealed that a majority of schools with service-learning programs in place reported improved grade point averages for students.

With regard to student commitment to volunteerism or social activism, a number of research studies have supported the use of service-learning. In a compilation of research studies on the effect of service-learning, Billig (2000) revealed support for student commitment to service. Furthermore, Melchoir (1999) in a national evaluation of Learn and Serve America, a national organization that promotes service-learning in American schools, discovered that students who engaged in service-learning were more committed to service now and later in life.

In general, the comprehensive study of LAHSE and the other research supports Dewey and Freire's argument for the use of service-learning in the educational process. In this sense, based on these results, the "real-world" value of service-learning for students becomes obvious in a variety of ways.

3.5 Critics of Service-Learning

However, the research on service-learning has not been completely positive; indeed, a number of research studies have shown that service-learning programs do not

always produce the desired results (Payne, 2000). In fact, there are a number of studies that have found no impact at all on students who engage in service-learning. For example, Billig, et al., (2005) found no significant impact from service-learning on the civic development of students. Likewise, Billig and Furco (2002) found that social service programs do not always produce positive civic outcomes.

Furthermore, the rigor of the methodology of much of the service-learning research that has produced positive results has been called into question by a number of scholars (Billig, 2000). Accordingly, scholars have called for more rigorous methods in service-learning research (Pritzker and McBride, 2007). As Billig (2000) stated, “The field is clearly a messy one, and far more and better research is needed” (Billig, 2000:660). Acknowledging this possible problem, Pritzker and McBride (2007) published a comprehensive review of service-learning research. These authors established a rubric to evaluate the methodological rigor of studies, and found that 18 studies were able to meet these methodological qualifications. In reviewing each of these 18 studies, the authors concluded, “The comparative analysis suggests that service-learning may be less successful at impacting student civic outcomes than anticipated...” (Pritzker and McBride, 2007:31)

Chapter Four. A Service-learning Model.

4.1 The Model

In the previous chapter, a large amount of research revealed that a number of positive outcomes are associated with service-learning programs. However, a number of researchers have called these results into question, and have shown that service-learning may not produce positive results. With these ambiguous results in hand, the question becomes, “why do service-learning programs fail to achieve intended outcomes?”

Billig (2004) attributes many of the negative outcomes to the quality of the service-learning programs. In this sense, Walker (2002) argues that the failure of service-learning program often stems from emphasizing that students are simply “helpers.” Furthermore, Billig, et al., (2005) argue that the quality of service-learning has an impact on outcomes, and that high quality service-learning programs produce positive results. Essentially, the quality of the service-learning program becomes essential for producing the desired outcomes. Simply put, if service-learning programs are not high quality they are destined to fail in a variety of ways. Based on this idea, a careful review of the literature identified the following seven program components as integral to a strong service-learning program: collaboration, reciprocity, curriculum integration, preparation, action, reflection, and recognition. Essentially, programs that fail to provide any one of these major components will in all likelihood not provide the necessary support, contact, and reflection to have significant impact on students (Payne, 2000). The CNG Social Responsibility Program will be evaluated on the basis of these seven components that comprise a “theoretical model of service-learning.” Each one of these components is briefly reviewed in the following section.

4.2 Program Components

4.2.1 Collaboration

In the development of service-learning programs, all parties must be involved in creating a program that is “appropriate, flexible, and in the best interests of all the participants” (Wade, 1997:21). Accordingly, active participation in the decision-making and planning is vital for all parties involved in projects. Working together is not only crucial for student empowerment, but is extremely important for the overall success of a service-learning program (Wade, 1997). Not only should this collaboration occur in the initial phase of development, but throughout the evolution of the service-learning program in order to remain attuned to the changing needs of the community, students, and all others.

With that in mind, collaboration should insure first of all that a sense of “give and take” characterizes the service-learning program. In this way, collaboration should be “a mutually beneficial relationship between two or more parties who work toward a common goal by sharing responsibility, authority, and accountability for achieving results” (Chrislip and Larson, 1994:5).

The usual collaborators in a service-learning project include three parties: students, the school, and the community. This relationship should be equal, with no participant considered to be superior to the others. This type of relationship is easy to write about, but hard to actually implement in practice. For often, the collaborators vary in experience, skills, and wisdom, which complicate the situation tremendously. But even more important, these parties often arrive with varying levels of power in society, and many times, even in those programs that begin with good intentions, collaboration

will end with the balance of power mirroring the unequal societal relationships that exist, for example, between the rich and the poor.

What is important to note that students and the community are often in positions of less power in these programs, and thus elevating their voices should be a focus of attention. This empowerment is particularly important for promoting the effectiveness and longevity of a service-learning program, when taking into account that students must implement the service. If the students are not given a voice, they are likely to lose interest, and eventually the program will, at the least, not produce desired student learning outcomes, and most likely fail altogether.

Also important to realize is that the community should not be ignored in developing these projects. Often times, those who have more power in society feel as if they know what is best for those less privileged, and, in turn, the community is neglected and ignored. Rhoads (1997:292) points this out by stating “too often we are guilty of determining the needs of those to be served with little to no involvement on their part.” However, this approach is inappropriate for service-learning. In fact, the community should be elevated to the point where these persons have a significant amount of input into the program. Initially, carrying out a needs assessment in the community, where leaders and community members are consulted with respect to identifying their needs, can complete this change. Moreover, throughout the program, the community should be involved in some way to help evaluate progress and provide input on altering and guiding the program as they see fit.

Although collaboration with equal footing and active participation for all parties seems like a tough task, such a plan is not impossible. Accordingly, a service-learning

program must have guidelines in place to insure that there is an ongoing engagement related to sharing information, voicing opinions, and reformulating the direction of a program.

4.2.2 Reciprocity

An essential element to service-learning is what Jacoby (1996) calls reciprocity. In this sense, the students who are engaged in service-learning participate in a mutual partnership with the community. At first glance, the concept of reciprocity might seem very similar to collaboration; however, there is an important difference. Collaboration is based on developing, implementing, and carrying out a program, whereas reciprocity is rooted in the actual service that is implemented. Simply stated, the relationship of the server and the served must be “reciprocal.” Some authors use the term “mutuality.”

Jacoby (1996) argues that reciprocity allows students to develop a “greater sense of belonging and responsibility as members of a larger community” (Jacoby, 1996:7). Accordingly, reciprocity is summed up well by Kendall (1990), “Both the server and those served teach, and both learn” (Kendall, 1990:22). With respect to reciprocity, the needs of the community are not only assessed but help to define the program in various ways. Accordingly, students are not put into a community to complete projects that may be of no use to those being served.

With reciprocity in place, the students and the community are both empowered and both serve each other as teacher and learner. Accordingly, a “sense of mutual responsibility and respect” develops between the server and the served (Kendall, 1990:22). This bond results from a relationship of mutual respect is clear for everyone involved. Billig and Conrad (1997) found that students are seen as valued resources and

positive contributors to the community by community members who participate in service-learning. Moreover, Weiler, et al., (1998) illustrated that service-learning programs of high quality result in an increase in mutual respect between teachers and students, including that students feel a sense of connection with their school. And Billig (2000) discovered what Morgan and Streb (1999) found; that is, students who engaged in service-learning were more likely to develop bonds with the community they served.

There are several benefits that result from this mutuality. First, the relationship between the served and servers do not necessarily take the form of a hierarchy. Specifically, those being served are not “rescued” by those doing the serving, while program participants are seen as “colleagues” or “associates” instead of “clients” (Jacoby, 1996). In turn, the groups are working together instead of one group working for the other. As Jacoby states, “service-learning encourages students to do things *with* others rather than *for* them (Jacoby, 1996:8).

In fact, Kendall (1990) has challenged the existence of the word “service” in the concept of service-learning. This author argues that the concept implies an unequal relationship where one group is simply serving another and not necessarily working with them to solve problems. Jacoby (1996) also points out that service can be “self-righteous” in the mold of volunteerism and simply results in do-gooders who merely begin to feel better about their privileges. Although Jacoby (1996) and Kendall (1990) in the end agree that service is the best possible word to use, the point is that the service participant cannot fall into the trap of self-righteousness, and thus program planners and leaders have to insure that a mutually respectful relationship between the served and servers exists at every stage of a service-learning program.

But how does a teacher, for example, convince students that by participating in projects they are also being served and should learn from the community? This question is not easy to answer. However, there are a couple of suggestions that are important. First, before entering the community students should be guided by discussions about exactly what they can learn from these experiences and the other participants. Accordingly, students will enter the situation realizing that they are not simply serving the community but entering into an “educational partnership.” Second, emphasizing that the student is entering into an educational partnership can begin to create a culture where students do not view the community as simply a place for them to conduct activities.

4.2.3 Curriculum Integration

Research has shown that service-learning programs are often associated with a number of positive student learning outcomes. In particular, service-learning gives meaning to the classroom material, and, in turn, results in higher levels of learning and development. With that in mind, why educators are arguing for the inclusion of service-learning in the academic curriculum of schools is becoming quite clear. Accordingly, for a service-learning program to be successful, curriculum integration is an essential ingredient. Essentially, curriculum integration means that activities in the service-learning program should be connected to the classroom in some form or another. With this connection in place, “The impact of these academic experiences is often transformative for all involved...” (Meisel, 2007:53).

However, the question remains: how connected should the service-learning program be to the curriculum? For a social service project to qualify as a “service-learning” program, most researchers and evaluators agree that the curriculum has to be

connected to at least one subject in the curriculum (Furco and Billig, 2002; Tapia, 2000; Tapia, González, and EliceGUI, 2007). For example, Tapia, González, and EliceGUI (2007), while classifying community service projects in Argentina, required that the project is linked to only one subject in order to be considered service-learning. For the purpose of the model used in this dissertation, this definition seems suitable.

But at this point, the question now becomes to what extent should the curriculum of at least one subject area be connected to the service-learning? Meisel (2007) argues that the curriculum should at a minimum “be intentional in identifying, lifting up, and connecting the things we learn in the classroom with the actions we take in the world” (Meisel, 2007:57). Essentially, what Meisel (2007) and other are calling for is a level of integration into the curriculum that is connected systematically to social service projects. In other words, the activities have to be truly integrated into the class material in a variety of ways such as discussions, papers, and presentations. In particular, curriculum integration requires discussions before, during, and after completion of the service. Overall, the idea is that curriculum integration should not happen in a haphazard manner but the connection needs to be systematic, structured, and consistent.

Without the integration of service –learning into the academic curriculum of the school, the success of any program is likely to be in jeopardy. Jacoby (1996) identifies as one of the reasons for the disappearance of service-learning programs in the 1980’s, the lack of curriculum integration. Moreover, social service projects that are not connected to the curriculum are likely to be seen by students and teachers as activities existing outside the “educational process,” and often something that is more of a hassle than a part of learning and development. For example, the service-learning activities might be seen

as simply filling a mandatory requirement, such as a law that requires they have a specific number of hours to graduate. Accordingly, a culture of committed community service will not exist (Meisel, 2007). To state this issue plainly and simply, if service-learning activities are not connected to the curriculum, the activities are likely to seem “extracurricular” and unimportant.

4.2.4 Preparation

Providing sufficient preparation for students in a service-learning course is extremely important. If students step into a service-learning situation without any preparation, they will not likely gain much from the experience. Therefore, the component of preparation is crucial for a service-learning program to be effective socially and achieve desired learning outcomes.

In order to prepare the student properly for entry into service-learning, students must be aware of what to expect from a project and understand what they need to learn from the act of service. One of the best ways for students to understand what is expected from them in a service-learning project is for them to be actively involved in identifying and analyzing community problems and then selecting and planning the project in conjunction with their instructor and the members of the community. But if this specific process is not carried out, at a minimum, students should be prepared for their entry into the community through class instruction centered on developing "the sociological imagination" (Mills, 1959). In this context, using the sociological imagination, the student should be able to connect their own lives to seemingly uncontrollable and larger historical and social forces.

Wade (1997) recommends that students participate in an orientation course before beginning service-learning. In particular, the author points out that this orientation course is vital for students who are working with community members they know little to nothing about. In general, Wade (1997) recommends the following aspects be included in an orientation session(s):

1. Student's should explore the stereotypes and negative views they hold of the group they plan to work with in their projects. This reflection will allow students to overcome many concerns and apprehensions they may have with working with groups they view in a negative way, thereby allowing for a more open mind on entry into the activities.

2. Students should also be prepared for the problems they may encounter in these activities.

3. Students should be keenly aware of the manner in which they should behave during the activities, including the relevant rules, ethical issues, and behavioral expectations.

4. Students must understand the specific directions pertaining to implementing these activities. For example, if students are going to tutor young children, they need to be prepared to be patient with their pupils throughout the activity.

Adding to this list developed by Wade (1997), another aspect that is important to include in an orientation is that student's understand the goals and objectives of the service-learning activity. Accordingly, they should be aware of exactly why they are participating in this program, and the expected (desired) results of their participation (Jacoby, 1996).

4.2.5 Service

This portion of the service-learning program seems like common sense. In order for service-learning to be completed, students must participate in community service activities. However, this process is not quite that simple. There are certain requirements that must be met in order for the service-learning experience to be meaningful and have an impact on both the giver and the receiver. For instance, it is probably not a good idea to have a service-learning project to help the poor where one simply goes to a warehouse and fills boxes with cans of food and never interacts with anyone except an administrator. In this example, there is little contact with the community and no emphasis on identifying or analyzing problems or creating solutions to the challenges faced by students.

With respect to providing service, there is a significant difference between charity and service-learning based on the concept of social justice. Charity is defined as “generosity or helpfulness especially toward the needy or suffering” (Merriam-Webster’s Dictionary, 2007). However, social justice is much more than generosity and is based on the notion of social change that results in equality for all. Simple acts of charity may result in a few moments where students feel good about themselves but most likely these deeds will not alter their world-view in any significant way.

John Dewey was aware of this issue when he discussed that educational experiences should affect students for the rest of their lives (Eyler and Giles, 1999). The point is that charity and volunteerism do not necessarily contain a component of social justice, or, in other words, the necessary aspect of equitable social change. In service-learning projects, students should be involved in activities that are complex and make them aware of the possibility of systemic social change. Given this idea, a project has to

be meaningful and in-depth, so that students feel empowered and actually contribute to creating some type of social change in the community. In turn, this experience may have a lasting effect on the student.

In order to begin to create meaningful experiences for the student, Payne (2000:10) suggests that activities “provide for student ownership.” For students to grow academically, they should be involved in the planning, organization, and implementing of service-learning activities. Additionally, they should have the freedom (with some initial limits of course) to select the activities in which they desire to participate. If the activity is meaningful to students, they may gain a greater sense of community and ongoing commitment to a program (Jacoby, 1996). Accordingly, program coordinators and teachers should act merely as guides or facilitators with respect to developing activities for students. In other words, students should not be simply informed “from above” about what they will do and how they will carry out the activity. If they have a sense of control over their activities they will not only benefit from developing positive learning outcomes, but these tasks will be something that they desire to do. This aspect is often over-looked but important. If the activities are boring and mundane, students will not want to participate, and those who do participate will be looking at the clock almost every minute.

Another important facet of creating meaningful service for students is to insure that the community benefits from the activity in some “meaningful” way. This task is tricky, however, when basing the service on long-term and widespread community change. In other words, students might not see the impact of their service immediately and thus lose interest in a project. However, at this point is where the component of

curriculum integration (and reflection) comes into play, because students can be guided by discussions about the difficulties related to the creation of real social change.

4.2.6 Reflection

Reflection is quite common. Throughout the day people often think about events that happened to them and discuss these events when talking with friends, family, and colleagues. In this instance, people are participating in the practice of reflection.

However, in the education field, reflection has often been neglected in the curriculum particularly since students are seen simply as receptors of information (Dewey, 1966).

But reflection has been shown to be an extremely important part of the learning and developmental process. Kolb (1984) found that reflection is a vital element in learning. Furthermore, Conrad and Hedin (1980) discovered that systematic discussion with high school students resulted in outcomes such as an increase in students' problem-solving ability.

In the realm of service-learning reflection is a key ingredient for any program that desires to change the behavior and attitudes of students. Reflection is the crucial element in service-learning that promotes growth and development in students (Wade, 1997). In fact, Eyler, Giles, and Gray (1999) claim that reflection is the most important component of a service-learning program that produces positive outcomes for students.

With that in mind, Eyler, Giles, and Gray (1999) stress that self-reflection is not simply an add-on, but should be integrated into the service-learning course. Moreover, in virtually every definition of service-learning in the service-learning literature, the component of reflection was specifically included as an integral component. For example, in a definition of service-learning provide by Jacoby (1996), the final sentence

reads, "Reflection and reciprocity are key components of service-learning" (Jacoby, 1996:5). The Alliance for Service-Learning in Education Reform (ASLER), a group created by a number of service-learning educators, specifically states that service-learning programs must "provide structured time for a young person to think, talk, and write about what he/she did and saw during the actual service activity..." (Wade, 1997:20).

But why is reflection so important to service-learning? At this point the definition of reflection becomes very important. Viewing reflection as an integral part of the learning process, Dewey defined service-learning as "Active, consistent, and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form knowledge in the light of the grounds that support it and to the further conclusions to which it lends..." (Dewey, 1916:9). In this sense, Dewey saw reflective thinking as a systematic task that involved the act of applying and questioning one's own belief system and the beliefs of others. Eyler (2001) also defined reflection along similar lines: "...process specifically structured to help examine the frameworks that we use to interpret experience" (Eyler, Giles, and Gray, 1999:13). Furthermore, Eyler (2001:35) remarks that reflection is a "process that helps students connect what they observe and experience in the community with their academic study." Clearly, reflection may take a number of different forms in service-learning programs. But one of the most effective methods is when students have periods of oral discussion with a facilitator who guides their development and helps them work through issues and ideas. Nonetheless, reflection may take the form of writing, drawing, dancing, or developing presentations (Wade, 1997). Reflection may also be group or individual-based, depending on the prerogative of the program leaders.

In the end, there are three important elements of reflection in service-learning that create an environment that supports learning. First, the reflection has to be systematic and structured. In this sense, the reflection cannot be haphazard, but must be an integral part of a project. Also important is that reflection should be initiated as soon as possible. The more time that elapses between the onset of the activity and reflection, the less effective the process will be for the student. For example, Jacoby (1996) recommends that reflection begin “immediately” after an activity is completed.

Second, the reflection should connect service-learning to the classroom in some form. Reflection is the crucial point where students are able to make sense of their observations and relate them to what they are studying in class. Wade (1997) refers to the process of reflection as the “connective process” that results when students apply abstractions to real world situations to solve social problems. In this way, the students begin to connect the community service experiences with their academic studies, thus giving more meaning to whatever they may be studying.

And third, reflection must challenge students to question their own beliefs and the abstract philosophies and theories they learn in the classroom. For example, after participating in a service-learning activity in a low-income and predominately African-American neighborhood, students can begin to raise the question about why so many African-Americans are living in poverty. And when answering that complex question, they begin can begin to understand many of the social barriers and circumstances that African-Americans encounter everyday that they may never face in their lifetime. Moreover, students may explore their own personal biases and prejudices that they may hold against a group of people, in order to overcome a mode of thinking that has been

forced on them since birth. Eylar and Giles (1999), in “Where’s the learning in service-learning,” emphasize that reflection allows students to question their own belief system, and in turn, restructure these beliefs in various ways. Paul and Elder (2002) also posited a similar argument that service-learning aids in the restructuring of personal belief systems.

In sum, the importance of reflection in service-learning cannot be underestimated, particularly in a program that attempts to transform the perspectives of students to some degree. Without the element of reflection, service-learning will not have a strong impact on students (Rhoads, 1997). In this regard, service-learning is a type of experiential education that requires reflection or simply abstract information will be acquired (Jacoby, 1996). Periods of reflection allow the student to stand back and connect their actions and the effects of those actions to themselves, the community, and the larger social issues (Waterman, 1997). Specifically, reflection allows students to gain a deep insight into the world, particularly social and political issues. In the process of reflection, students can begin to ask tough questions that challenge the world and their own existence. As Jacoby (1996) eloquently stated, “reflection stimulates the learner to integrate observations and implications with existing knowledge and to formulate concepts and questions to deepen the learner’s understanding of the world and the root causes of the need for service” (Jacoby, 1996:10). Overall, reflection allows for the development of critical thinking skills on the part of students involved in the service-learning projects that can lead to a transformation for the student in a variety of ways (Pacheco-Pinzón and Barriga Arceo, 2007).

4.2.7 Recognition

The final component of service-learning is recognition. In this context, recognition means that students are recognized for their contributions to the community and the service-learning program. Moreover, the leaders of service-learning should emphasize the importance of the service of the students and how much they are valued by the community and, in general, society.

The implementation of the recognition component, however, is not necessarily a simple task. A balance has to be struck in the program with regard to recognizing student participation. On one hand, the student's service should not be ignored. In particular, if their contributions to the community are ignored, they might not feel their effort is valued and, in turn, will have little motivation to continue participating. But on the other, the program does not want to go overboard and create a situation where students are completing the activities solely to receive awards or prizes for their actions. Considering this possible conflict, Payne (2000) recommends several ways to reach the necessary balance: school assemblies, certificates, and joint celebration with the community.

4.3 Chapter Summary

Research on service-learning has shown a number of positive outcomes for students. However, some research has shown that desired outcomes are not always achieved. This failure has often been attributed to a lack of program quality. Accordingly, service-learning programs should include the seven aforementioned components -- collaboration, reciprocity, mutuality, preparation, service, reflection, recognition -- in order to be considered high quality and have a strong chance at

achieving desired outcomes. With any of these components missing or implemented poorly, there is a strong chance a program will not produce desired outcomes, to include the transformation of a student's consciousness. With that in mind, the service-learning model developed in this chapter will be used as the framework to evaluate the CNG Social Responsibility Program.

Chapter Five. Methodology and Research Design

5.1 The Nature of Evaluation Research

For this research project, a social program is being evaluated. Evaluation is a value-laden term. When one speaks of doing an evaluation he or she is basically talking about making a judgment of someone or something with the end goal of identifying failures and allowing for improvement. With that in mind, obviously, evaluation research can be highly subjective. However, this is not a problem unless certain established criteria for evaluation research are not met when carrying out the research. Weiss (1998), in defining evaluation research, notes that "systematic assessment" and comparing a program to a "set of explicit or implicit standards" is crucial for the validity of any program evaluation. Accordingly, Weiss (1998:4) suggests that when conducting an evaluation it is important to employ methods of social science research in order to "make the judging process more systematic and accurate."

In line with the recommendations from Weiss (1998) the goal of this study is to evaluate the CNG service-learning program in a systematic and structured manner. As this chapter will reveal, an in-depth and rigorous methodological approach was developed. In particular, this evaluation involves a two-step process. First, the program's level of influence on the students will be determined through the use of an attitudinal and behavioral assessment. Second, the program processes will be examined in-depth and compared to "explicit standards," namely the theoretical model developed in Chapter Four. Furthermore, a mixed-method approach, using three different data collection methods, was chosen to increase the rigor and the validity of the evaluation, and was deemed as the most appropriate by the school leaders for the purposes of this project.

Essentially, the goal of the research is to integrate the data from each of these methods to develop a holistic picture of the service-learning program at CNG.

5.2 Mixed-Methods

In the field of social science, a mixed-method is a relatively new approach (Creswell, 2003). Campbell and Fiske (1959) are credited with first attempting to develop a mixed-methods approach by the use of "triangulation" of methods. Essentially, the aim is to combine quantitative and qualitative methods in order to increase the validity of the research study. In this regard, these different collection methods can produce comparable or consistent findings that reveal general patterns and the most plausible explanation for results. Moreover, along with increasing the validity, a multiple method approach will also allow for ideas and themes to be captured that may emerge in some contexts but not others. For example, if only focus groups were used, the dynamic of interviews being more private, and thus being able to divulge more specific and private information, would be neglected. With that in mind, the multi-method approach is the best way to capture data from all angles, not only to improve the validity of the study, but to also insure that the total picture can be developed from a variety of different viewpoints and understandings.

According to Creswell (2003), there are several different ways mixed-methods approaches may be carried out. For the purposes of this study, "concurrent" procedures were used. A concurrent mixed-method approach is when data are collected simultaneously to "provide a comprehensive analysis of the research problem" (Creswell, 2003:16). Accordingly, both quantitative and qualitative data collection methods were

used -- questionnaire, interviews, and focus groups -- and the data were collected at the same time.

5.3 One-Shot Case Study

As mentioned in Chapter Two, this research project has two aims: (1) to assess attitudinal and behavioral change and (2) evaluate the processes of the program. In regard to the attitudinal and behavioral aim, a clarification must be made about the design of the assessment. In an ideal research situation, the attitudinal or behavioral change produced would be measured through a classical experiment with the use of a pre-and-post test administered to an experimental and control group. However, due to project limitations this design was not feasible. In particular, the CNG leaders wanted results in a relatively short period of time. Bearing this in mind, with an experimental design, the study would not have been completed within the time frame desired by the community. Hence, the most appropriate design for the attitudinal and behavioral evaluation was “one-shot case study” (Campbell and Stanley, 1963). In this regard, the evaluation contains only a post-test without a control group. Campbell and Stanley (1963) consider the design non-experimental. Furthermore, Fisher, et al., (2002) caution researchers who use this approach not to make comparisons because of the absence of a control group. In fact, Campbell and Stanley (1963:6) argued that a one-shot case study has “a total absence of control as to be of almost no scientific value.” However, taking into account the context of the evaluation, there was no possible way to create a comparison or control group, because every student at CNG participated in the social projects from the moment they enrolled at school. Taking that into account, Fisher, et al., (2002) mention that the most of the difficulties in using a one-shot case study design appear when researchers are

making a comparative analysis, but due to the limitations of the context a comparative analysis was not the aim and did not take place. Therefore, the use of the one-shot case study design seems quite appropriate.

Along with not containing a comparison or control group, this design does not have a pre-test. To overcome that challenge, students are asked directly if the program has influenced their attitudes and behavior. In this sense, although there are not direct data available on program impact, the self-reports of students reveal their perceptions of the social projects at CNG. Hence, the evaluation is not attempting to establish cause and effect but insight into the students' beliefs about what has influenced their attitudes and behavior. Goodsell (1983) argues that this type of design is enhanced by personal experience the subjects have with the program. Bearing this in mind, the seniors were over sampled in the study. In fact, the seniors make up over one-third of all respondents. The oversampling helps to overcome the lack of a pre-test because the seniors had more experiences in the program than any other grade level. Their recall of the past, therefore, should be very extensive.

5.4 The Focus and Aims of the Research Study

For this research study, the primary aim is to investigate the Social Responsibility Program at CNG in a systematic manner to ascertain if this transformation is occurring in the student body. However, this study is not limited to assessing attitudinal and behavioral outcomes, but also how well the service-learning program fits into the model discussed in Chapter Four. With that in mind, the aims of the study are as follows.

5.5 First Aim of the Study – Attitudinal and Behavioral Assessment

The first aim of the research project is to assess, from the point of view of the student, whether the social service projects have had any influence on their attitudes and behavior. The relevant research question is as follows:

❖ How have the social service projects at CNG influenced the students' consciousness and increased their sense of social responsibility?

But what is crucial at this point is to define exactly what a “transformation” in the student entails. For the purposes of this study, a transformation of consciousness includes attitudinal and behavioral change. In this sense, many studies measure attitudinal change and, based on that data, declare important findings when students have changed their attitudes in a positive direction. However, research has revealed that attitudinal change does not necessarily result in actual behavioral change. For example, race-relations scholars have introduced the “principle-implementation” gap that illustrates although Whites have increasingly positive attitudes toward Blacks, they are still unwilling to vote for programs that target racial inequality (Kinder and Sears, 1981; Kinder, 1986; Sears, 1988; Tuch and Hughes, 1996; Hetherington, 2005). Therefore, this study contains two sections to determine if a program has created not only an attitudinal but also a behavioral change in the CNG students.

5.6 Attitudinal Assessment

Based on the formal and informal goals of the Social Responsibility Program at CNG, an attitudinal change involves three categories: social awareness, social understanding of the poor (the other), and commitment to social service in the future. The combination of these categories allows for a determination to be made with regard to

the attitude of the student. Each of these three categories was measured directly in the survey questionnaire given to the students in the sample. Moreover, data were collected on each category in the interviews and focus groups. In this regard, the use of a multi-measure approach strengthens the reliability of the study (Neuman, 2007).

5.6.1 Social Awareness

In the program goals, the CNG leaders explicitly stated that they wanted students to be able to “promote proactive reactions when solving problems, especially those dealing with the country’s situation.” In order to carry this out, the students must be extremely socially aware of the important issues in society. In order to measure this outcome, the category of social awareness was developed. For this research project, social awareness was defined as the students' desire to think about social issues in general. Accordingly, the questionnaire measures whether the students think about social issues by asking the following question:

- ❖ Do you think about social issues?⁸ Yes _____ No _____

Since the aim of the evaluation is to understand the degree of influence of the CNG service-learning program, the following question was asked to assess the perceived influence of the program:

- ❖ Do you think this is because of your participation in the social service projects at CNG? Yes _____ No _____
Explain your answer.

⁸ For this question, the students were asked about "social issues" in general. In this sense, one could assume that teenagers could define social issues in a variety of ways that might not be related to the project (e.g. - dating). However, this was not a concern for three reasons. First, the questionnaire was pilot tested at Barry University on approximately 20 students who were taking a service-learning course, and no students misunderstood the meaning of this question. Second, before completing the questionnaire, the researcher spoke with each student (or group of students) about the specific context of the study and what they should be thinking about when answering these questions. Third, the next question that asked about the influence of the CNG program asked students to explain their answer. In analyzing these explanations, the students often mentioned poverty and other social issues that were directly related to the projects.

Building on the answers provided in the questionnaire, the social awareness of the students was explored in the interviews and the focus groups. This qualitative exploration allowed for an in-depth understanding of the student's social awareness and the influence of the CNG service-learning program in this development.

5.6.2 Social Understanding of the Poor

Another desired outcome for the service-learning program was that students would be able to “identify, accept, and celebrate differences.” In particular, the service-learning program aims to promote the social understanding of the poor in Colombia. Therefore, the category -- social understanding of the poor -- was created in order to ascertain the student's attitudes toward the plight of the poor in Colombia. Essentially, this category is defined as the extent to which students feel they understand the lives of poor people. In the questionnaire, this category was measured by the following question:

- ❖ Do you think you understand life in the barrio? Yes _____ No _____

Accordingly, the aim is not to understand merely if they have an understanding of the poor but to what extent the Social Responsibility Program has influenced that understanding. Therefore, in the questionnaire, the influence of CNG was assessed with the following question:

- ❖ Do you think your participation in the social service projects at CNG influenced that understanding? Yes _____ No _____
Explain your answer.

The social understanding of the poor category was also explored extensively in interviews. The exploration of this category in interviews is extremely important, because such detailed analysis will give more insight into how elaborate their understanding is of the poor. In particular, students were probed in-depth to determine if

they have a real sense of the lives of the poor. For example, students were asked, “Do you feel that you understand the challenges that poor people face in Colombia?”

5.6.3 Commitment to Community Service

One of the desired outcomes named by the CNG leaders is that students “develop a long-term commitment.” Essentially, the leaders want students to have a desire to participate in community service projects after they graduate from CNG. With that being said, the category -- commitment to community service -- was developed and defined as the students' personal commitment to continued community service in the future. Accordingly, the questionnaire measured the extent of student commitment to continued service by asking the following questions:

- ❖ Do you think you will be involved in social projects in the future? Yes _____
No _____
- ❖ In general, are you motivated to participate in social projects? Yes _____
No _____

Furthermore, the influence of the service-learning program on students' commitment to continued social service was assessed by the following questions:

- ❖ Do you think this is because of your involvement in the social service projects at CNG? Yes _____ No _____
- ❖ Do you think this is because of your participation in the social service projects at CNG? Yes _____ No _____

Along with these questions in the questionnaire, the commitment to social service category was explored in the interviews and focus groups. These methods of inquiry will be key in determining why student's desire to continue service (or not) due to their participation in the service-learning program.

Overall, these categories measure the attitudes of students in three important areas: social awareness, social understanding of the poor, and commitment to community service. More important, the influence of the CNG Social Responsibility Program is measured in each of these areas. Essentially, the combination of these three categories allows one to see if the CNG Social Responsibility Program is influencing the attitudes of the students to be more socially responsible.

5.7 Behavioral Indicators

Tapping into the attitudes of students only paints one part of the overall picture and considering the extent of the common problem of socially acceptable answers in research data today, attitudinal change only carries so much weight in making an assessment. To overcome this limitation, in Section Three of the questionnaire specific questions were asked regarding the *behavior* of the students toward the community participants in the social service projects. The idea behind asking these questions is that a true change in consciousness by students will not simply be lip service but a change in their actual behavior. Accordingly, if the program has influenced the students positively, "social learning" should have taken place and the students will have altered their previous patterns of behavior. In the context of this research, if a behavioral change has taken place, students responded positively to the following questions:

Because of your involvement in a social project, has your behavior toward the community where you worked changed in any way? Please answer each of the following:

1. Do you now spend any time with these people outside of the project?
Yes _____ No _____
2. Do you shop regularly where they shop? Yes _____ No _____
3. Do you go to the same parks? Yes _____ No _____

4. Would you now ever consider sending your kids to one of the schools in the barrio?
Yes _____ No _____
5. Have you included any of these people in your closest circle of friends?
Yes _____ No _____
6. Have you invited any of them recently to your house? Yes _____ No _____
7. Have you developed any lasting friendships with these people? Yes _____ No _____

5.8 Second Aim of the Study – Process Evaluation

The second aim of the research project was to assess if CNG has implemented and carried out service-learning according to the model presented in Chapter Four. Therefore, a process evaluation was completed. A process evaluation was undertaken in order to better understand the outcome data from the attitudinal and behavioral assessment. In other words, evaluating the processes of the program provides the ability to see “what is happening inside,” and will give keen insight into the reasons why the program had an impact (or not) on the students (Weiss, 1998:9). Furthermore, the process evaluation will provide the basis for recommendations to help the program to achieve its desired outcomes. With that in mind, the research question is as follows:

- ❖ How have the implementation and conduct of the social service projects allowed for this shift in consciousness to occur?

In order to answer this research question, the seven program components -- collaboration, reciprocity, curriculum integration, preparation, service, reflection, and recognition – were examined. The manner in which data were collected and analyzed for each of these components is discussed in this section. For each component, similar to the attitudinal and behavioral assessment, multi-measures were employed to increase reliability.

5.8.1 Collaboration

The component of collaboration is defined as the level of input the students at CNG had in developing and guiding the service-learning program. This category was primarily explored during the interviews that were conducted with the students. In this sense, students were asked about their involvement in the program, in addition to participating in service.

5.8.2 Reciprocity

The component of reciprocity is defined as how the students' perceived the community (the “served”) in terms of the level of mutual respect afforded to the community participants. This component was primarily explored in the interviews with students. Accordingly, they were asked how they perceived their role in the service activities, and also how they perceived the community and those they served.

5.8.3 Curriculum Integration

The curriculum integration component attempts to determine the degree to which the social service projects were integrated into the academic curriculum. In the questionnaire, curriculum integration was measured by the following questions:

- ❖ Do you think the social projects are well integrated into the curriculum of all of your classes? Yes _____ No _____
- ❖ Do you think the social projects are well integrated into the daily activities of the school? Yes _____ No _____
- ❖ In your classes, did you study the background that justifies including social projects as part of the CNG curriculum? Yes _____ No _____

In addition to these questions, the curriculum integration component was explored in-depth in the interviews and the focus groups.

5.8.4 Preparation

The preparation component aims to determine exactly how prepared students were to participate in these service-learning projects. To make this determination, there are several ways the component was measured. First, in the questionnaire, answers to the following question determined if the students were given any preparation regarding the community they were about to enter:

- ❖ Before entering the community, did you study in your classes about the culture of that community? Yes _____ No _____

Second, to support answers from this question, the preparation of the students was probed in the interviews and the focus groups. In particular, the interviews focused on student preparation in detail.

5.8.5 Service

The service component attempts to measure if the actual act of community service was meaningful to the students in the service-learning program. This concept was addressed in the questionnaire with the following questions:

- ❖ During your social projects, approximately how many hours in total did you actually spend IN the community where you were working? _____
- ❖ Do you believe that you had sufficient contact with the community in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the people in this neighborhood?
Yes _____ No _____
- ❖ In your opinion, did the service provided by the project you participated in really improve the community? Yes _____ No _____

Moreover, the meaning of service to the students was explored in-depth in the interviews and focus groups to determine if the acts of community service were valued by the students in some form or another.

5.8.6 Reflection

The reflection component attempted to determine if reflection was a systematic, and structured aspect of the service-learning program. The component was directly measured in the questionnaire with the following question:

- ❖ In your regular classes, did you discuss at length your involvement in a social project? Yes _____ No _____

Beyond this question, the reflect component was explored in-depth in the interviews and the focus groups.

5.8.7 Recognition

The recognition component was primarily explored in the interviews. Participants were asked directly if they have received any recognition for their service. This concept was also explored to a certain extent in the focus groups.

5.9 The Data Collection Methods

5.9.1 Questionnaire

In this study, a self-administered survey questionnaire was used. When examining questionnaires from previous service-learning research studies, vague and abstract questions appeared to be the norm. But in this context of applied research, such a general questionnaire was essentially useless. Accordingly, the questionnaire was constructed from theoretical components and based on a number of discussions with CNG officials and students in March 2007. In turn, specific and contextual questions were developed that can provide useful information to these persons to improve the social service projects.

It is important to note that the questionnaire contains a number of questions where the respondent may answer only yes or no. The decision to use a dichotomous response

set certainly deserves justification. In this regard, many researchers would argue that a Likert scale of responses (e.g. – strongly agree, agree, neutral, etc.) would be the best possible way to tap into the attitudes of the students.⁹ However, a dichotomous answer set was chosen because of the nature of the research at hand. In this sense, one of the primary principles of community-based research is that the community has a high level of input in determining the direction of analysis (Steinke and Fitch, 2007). In a nutshell, the decision was left to the school leaders at CNG. For this research project, discussions with these leaders in the preparation phase revealed that they needed “meaningful” data for evaluation and planning. Certainly, a Likert scale can provide meaningful data, but for this research project, two possible problems with this approach were discussed. First, the question became, would the “respondents (who are between the ages of 14-18) be able to discriminate meaningfully” using a Likert scale (DeVellis, 1991:65)? For example, these discussions centered on whether students would be able to distinguish between categories labeled “strongly agree” and “agree.”

Another important point that arose pertains to what White and Mackay (1973:75) refer to as the “dogmatism of the respondent.” In this regard, elite students in Colombia are influenced by a particular cognitive style and extreme answers were seen as a strong possibility; in other words, more nuanced responses were not likely to make sense. In the end, the conclusion was reached that response sets had to be as discrete as possible to avoid ambiguity.

Not only was the students’ ability to discriminate meaningfully an issue, but also another question pertained to whether a Likert scale would produce data that are relevant

⁹ For a justification for the use of Likert scales in measuring attitudes, see pages 22-39 in McIver, John P. and Edward G. Carmines. 1982. *Unidimensional scaling*. Series: Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences. Beverly Hills: Sage.

to the needs of the community. In this sense, would Likert data allow school administrators to assess properly the program? Similar to the first point, the decision was made that a dichotomous answer set was most appropriate for the needs of the community. Again, this decision was made because dichotomous answer sets present discrete and meaningful categories that reduce ambiguity or uncertainty related to interpretation. In this regard, the dichotomous response set increases the precision of the questionnaire (Blalock, 1986). Thus, again based on the needs of the community, the decision was made that responses should be as discrete and specific as possible, in order to increase the precision of the measures and give more definitive meaning to the data with respect to evaluation and future planning.

Some critics might say that a Likert scale could be used initially, and later various categories could be collapsed to create dichotomous answers. But this strategy presented other problems. For example, should new variables be invented out of thin air? Would these new variables have anything to do with the community's cognitive style? After all, categories are basically ways of classifying events. So, again, how the community carves up the world was thought to be important. And inventing entirely new variables, and assuming that they would be similar to a simple yes and no option was thought to be too far fetched.

The questionnaire was also pilot-tested on students at Barry University who were participating in a service-learning class. The students were administered the questionnaire in parts, and told the objective for each part they had just answered questions for. After revealing the intent of the section, the students were asked if they felt these questions were in line with what was being asked, and if it was well understood.

With this input, several questions needed to be reconstructed to insure that the meaning was captured that was intended for each question. The pilot testing of the questionnaire allowed for the validity of the questionnaire to be strengthened considerably.

The questionnaire is divided into four parts. The first section aims to assess the attitudes of the students. The second section attempts to assess the overall organization of the program, and address key components such as reflection and teacher involvement. The third section was designed to measure the behavioral change in the students due to the program. And the fourth section collects basic demographic data, such as race, grade point average, and the number of years a student has participated in the social service projects. In total, the questionnaire contained approximately 30 questions.

Students were administered the questionnaire in small groups (anywhere between 3-6 students) in the school library at various times throughout the school day. Before filling out the questionnaire, students were given detailed instructions. More specifically, students were reminded about the context of the questionnaire and to remain focused on their participation in the social service projects at CNG when answering the questions. Surprisingly, the students appeared to put a tremendous amount of effort and care into answering the questions, and most students took anywhere from 30 minutes to an hour to complete the questionnaire. The questionnaires were input into a Microsoft excel document in order of confidential number.

5.9.2 Interviews

Individual in-depth interviews were used in order to collect data from the students about their experiences in the service-learning activities. The goal of the interviews was to gain an in-depth understanding from the perspective of the students (which is unable to

be gained from a questionnaire). In this sense, it was important to capture how they perceived the program in detail and, equally important, how the students might improve the program. The intensive interviews tried to capture the individual's experience, and how the social projects might have influenced students in various ways.

Over the course of 5 weeks, twenty face-to-face, one-on-one, interviews were conducted with students from 9th to 12th grade. Of the students interviewed, 9 students were from 9th grade, 3 were from 10th grade, 5 were from 11th grade, and 3 were from 12th grade. For each interview, a clean printout of the interview guide was used, thereby allowing the researcher to jot down important notes and themes that emerged. The students who participated in the interviews were randomly selected from the entire high school population, regardless of grade. The interviews were audio-taped and ranged from 10-50 minutes in length. The interviews took place all over campus, on benches, steps, in the library, and outside classrooms. At the end of each day, interviews were transcribed using Microsoft Word and placed in a binder in alphabetical order by grade.

5.9.3 Focus Groups

Two focus groups were conducted to collect data from the respondents. Students who participated in the focus group were randomly selected from the entire sample, regardless of grade level. The focus groups were conducted near the end of the fieldwork. Each focus group was audio-recorded and lasted approximately 50 minutes. During the focus group, Dr. Murphy took notes and wrote down the key ideas and themes that emerged. The first focus group had 5 four participants and the second focus group, conducted the following day, had 4 participants. The research team guided the focus group discussions.

The focus groups were utilized as “supplementary” to the interviews and questionnaires, in order to provide a stronger overall understanding of the students' educational experience. In this sense, focus groups provided the ability to observe interaction between the students. The focus groups had a distinct advantage over the interviews and survey questionnaires, because these group discussions helped to illustrate similarities and differences that arose between the students. These groups, in other words, helped to bring together the overall themes of the research, which is in contrast to interviews that often times simply result in “post hoc analyses of separate statements of each interview” (Morgan, 1997:10).

5.10 Analysis

The initial focus of the analysis was to produce quantitative outcomes for the attitudinal and behavioral assessment. Hence, descriptive statistics were used and percentages were tabulated for each of the categories and indicators. These initial results gave insight into the direction of the evaluation, and based on these numbers the qualitative information in the questionnaires, interviews, and focus groups was analyzed and coded in an attempt to develop plausible explanations for the outcomes.

After completing the attitudinal and behavioral assessment, the process evaluation was undertaken. The outcomes were tabulated for each program component with specific questions included in the questionnaire. For the components that did not contain a quantitative outcome, the interviews and focus groups were reviewed to understand the general feeling behind the component to establish an initial base for further exploration. Similar to the attitudinal and behavioral assessment, these initial outcomes set the tone for the qualitative exploration. Once these outcomes were completed, the interviews and

the focus groups were examined thoroughly and coded with color tabs to indicate a response that related to each respective component. Once this coding was completed, general patterns were identified and plausible explanations for outcomes were considered.

5.10.1 Inference of the Best Explanation

With all of this information gathered and plausible explanations in hand, the inference method of abduction was used to explain the results. Abduction is not commonly used in social sciences, and therefore requires a brief explanation. Charles Peirce, commonly referred to as the father of American pragmatism, examined the logical inference of abduction in-depth and argued that logic can take the form of more than just induction or deduction (Eiter and Gottlob, 1995). In general, abduction has been commonly referred to as “the inference to the best explanation” (Harman, 1965:88). In this regard, the aim of the logic of abduction is to determine the best possible explanation based on evidence that is presented. The point is that neither deduction nor induction exist *sui generis*, but are influenced by each other. And due to this interaction, old categories can be expanded and new ones created. A back and forth relationship continues until adequate categories are achieved and appropriate understand occurs.

In this project, abduction is used in a similar fashion to make a diagnosis of the CNG program. In concrete terms, the data collection methods gathered a variety of different information and observations about the CNG program. Taking all of these data into account, an expanded search for explanations was put forth in order to explain the data. In the end, the results presented revealed the best possible explanation given the cross-fertilization of the data.

5.11 Sampling Method

The registrar office provided a list of every high school student (9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th grade) at CNG. Since every student is required to participate in the social service programs, the entire population of high school students was included in the sampling frame. One hundred students were randomly selected to participate in this research study. In order to accomplish this, and to make the sample as representative as possible of the student body, stratified random sampling was used. The list of high school students was broken into grade levels, and 25 students were randomly selected from each table using a table of random numbers.¹⁰

Once identified, these students were recruited on campus and asked to participate in the study. For students aged 17 and younger, parental consent was required along with the child's assent. For students 18 and older, only adult consent from the student was necessary. By chance, all of the 12th graders were 18 years old; however, almost all of the other students in every other grade were underage and parental consent was needed for them to participate. This need for consent forms complicated the collection of data tremendously. In fact, in the end, 13 students out of 75 from 9th to 11th grade never returned the parental consent forms, no matter how many times they were asked. Once the parental consent forms were obtained, the students were pulled out of class and administered the questionnaire. Based on direct observations, students appeared to put a lot of thought into the questionnaire, and often wrote in-depth explanations for their answers.

¹⁰ A table of random numbers was retrieved from the World Wide Web at <http://www.morris.umn.edu/~sungurea/introstat/instruction/ranbox/randomnumbers.html>.

Although the sampling did not go as smoothly as planned, 98 students participated in this study. However, the final total was 96 because 2 students were removed from the study due to the fact that they had never participated in social service projects at CNG (they had at other schools). There were 22 students from the 9th grade, 18 from the 10th, 20 from the 11th, and 36 from 12th. Clearly, of all the grade levels, 12th graders were administered the questionnaire more than any other grade, and this strategy deserves a brief explanation and justification.

Unfortunately, the day that I arrived on campus the entire senior class was released for the remainder of the academic school year. They were working in groups on their final papers to graduate, specifically their “senior thesis.” This schedule made the collection of data from seniors quite difficult, since they were never on campus. Initially, a computer survey was developed that was put on the World Wide Web that these seniors could access from their homes. However, in the initial 25 students sampled, only 8 responded even after repeated attempts at e-mail and phone calls.

At one point, it appeared that the seniors would be greatly under sampled. However, the seniors were scheduled to present their senior theses in the gym on a date during the period of data collection. Given this opportunity, the research team was able to track down many of the seniors in the original sample, thereby capturing about half the students who were scheduled to be sampled originally. However, to guarantee that seniors were well represented in the data collection, the research team used convenience sampling and asked students who were readily available during the project presentations to fill out the survey questionnaire. Convenience sampling is a technique where respondents are chosen in an unstructured manner at the convenience of the researcher

(Mutchnick and Berg, 1995). Accordingly, students were approached (without knowledge of who they were) and asked to participate in the study. In the end, 36 seniors completed the questionnaire. The overrepresentation of seniors in the sample was justified on the basis that these students have had more experience in the social service projects than any others, and thus their experience in painting a holistic picture of the program is invaluable. Moreover, if any of the students have had an attitudinal and behavioral change, the seniors would be the most likely group due to their longer participation in the projects.

5.11.1 Sample

In the sample, 58% of the students were male, and 42% were female. The data on social class affirmed the upper-class status of the school: 95% of the students indicated that they were social strata 5 or 6 with almost 80% being from the highest class in Bogotá. The race of the students was surprisingly difficult to collect because students were seemingly unaware of the concept of race. During the administration of the questionnaire, a number of students had no clue what to answer for this question and the students often asked for suggestions and help (sometimes they would talk amongst each other in Spanish so that I couldn't understand). For the race inquiry, the question simply asked, "What is your race?" with a blank line following the question. Interesting enough, 28% of the students left this question blank. Thirty-one percent of students identified themselves as White, and 28% identified themselves as Hispanic or Latin. In discussing this issue with many of the students, they indicated that race was not an issue in Colombia and they were unaware of racial categories because racial information is not

collected by the government.¹¹ The students simply did not feel that race plays much of a factor at all in anyone's life. The descriptive statistics of the sample are presented in

Table 1.

TABLE 1. DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF THE SAMPLE.

Grade	Students	Percent	Years in Program	Students	Percent
9 th	22	23%	1	18	19%
10 th	18	19%	2	21	22%
11 th	20	21%	3	22	23%
12 th	36	37%	4	17	18%
All Students	96	100%	5	10	10%
			6	2	2%
			7	2	2%
Gender	Students	Percent	8+	4	4%
Male	56	58%			
Female	40	42%	Race	Students	Percent
			Caucasian/White	29	31%
			Hispanic/Latin	27	28%
Social Class	Students	Percent	Blank	27	28%
Strata 6	76	79%	Asian	4	4%
Strata 5	15	16%	Other	4	4%
Strata 4	2	2%	Criollo	2	2%
Strata 2	1	1%	Black	1	1%
Blank	2	2%	Mestizo	1	1%
			Did not know	1	1%

¹¹ Racial data has not been collected by the Republic of Colombia since 1918.

Chapter Six. Data Analysis.

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the results from the evaluation are revealed and discussed. The chapter is divided into two sections: (1) attitudinal and behavioral change and (2) process evaluation. The attitudinal and behavioral change section focuses on the outcomes of the CNG service-learning program with the aim of determining if students believe they have changed their “consciousness” due to the influence of the CNG social program. In the process evaluation section, the seven program components are analyzed thoroughly and an assessment is made on their level of quality with regard to design and implementation. At the end of the chapter, an overall assessment of the program is given based on the results from both analyses.

6.2 First Aim of the Study -- Attitudinal and Behavioral Assessment

As discussed in Chapter Five, the first aim of the research project is to assess whether the students feel the social service projects have had an impact on their consciousness, and thus the relevant research question is as follows:

- ❖ How have the social service projects at CNG influenced the students’ consciousness and increased their sense of social responsibility?

For the purposes of this evaluation, this research question was addressed by assessing the attitudes and behaviors of the students at CNG.

6.3 Attitudes

6.3.1 Transformation of Consciousness

To determine if an attitudinal shift occurred in the students, due to the influence of the CNG service-learning program, three categories were developed in order to

measure this concept: social awareness, social understanding of the poor, and commitment to community service. As discussed in Chapter Five, these three categories were created based on the desired outcomes determined by the CNG leaders. The combination of these three categories allows a determination to be made on the influence the program has had on the students' attitudes.

6.3.2 Social Awareness

The first category – social awareness – was defined as the awareness that students' possessed about social issues. To assess the awareness of students, and the influence of the CNG program on that awareness, the following was asked in the questionnaire:

- ❖ Do you think about social issues? Yes _____ No _____
- ❖ Do you think this is because of your participation in the social service projects at CNG? Yes _____ No _____
Explain your answer.

The answers to these questions are summarized below in Table 2.

TABLE 2. SOCIAL AWARENESS.

Do you think about social issues?		
Grade	Yes	No
9 th Grade	95%	5%
10 th Grade	94%	6%
11 th Grade	100%	0%
12 th Grade	100%	0%
All Students	98%	2%
Do you think this is because of your participation in the projects at CNG?		
Grade	Yes	No
9 th Grade	40%	59%
10 th Grade	38%	61%
11 th Grade	20%	80%
12 th Grade	25%	75%
All Students	30%	70%

As shown in Table 2, almost all of the students in the sample (98%) think about social issues. In fact, every 11th and 12th grade student in the sample thinks about social issues. Although these responses reveal that the students seem to be socially aware, they do not attribute this awareness to the service-learning program at CNG. Only 30% of the students in the sample felt the CNG service-learning program was influential in their development. The open-ended responses in the questionnaire and interviews reiterated the high level of social awareness of the students. However, the CNG program had limited influence on their awareness, while their exposure came from primarily three sources: life experience, the media, and family.

Many of the students credited their awareness of social issues to their life experiences and the reality of Colombian society they face everyday. Although these students are extremely isolated from the rest of society in a number of ways, they are still unable to avoid exposure to complex social issues, particularly abject poverty. For instance, one student wrote that, “Before CNG I had already been thinking about social issues having seen a lot in my life. For example, in Bogotá and other places I have been, poverty has impacted me, making me think about it.” An 11th grader also stated that her influence was primarily “because of everything you see around you, like the people in the streets.” And another 11th grader said, “I think about social issues very often, due to the fact that I live in a country in which there’s an immense social difference between classes, and it is present everywhere in the country.” When asked about the influence of the CNG program on his social awareness, a 12th grader responded: “No, I think about social issues because of the situation of my country and the devastating amount of poverty and difference of class.” Even a 9th grader who noted that she was influenced by

the program claimed that the influence is “not only because of CNG. It's because I live in Colombia, a place, in which, just by the corner of your house, you can find people who have no homes asking you for a coin. After seeing that so much, it's impossible not to think about it.” But perhaps a 10th grader summed up this influence best when asked about the influence of the CNG program on her social awareness:

It's not only because of CNG. It's because I live in Colombia, a place, in which, just by the corner of your house, you can find people who have no homes asking you for a coin. After seeing that so much it's impossible not to think about it.

Clearly, the life experiences of students' have had a tremendous impact on their awareness of the social problems in Colombia.

A second important influence on students' awareness of social issues was the media. A number of students mentioned they learned about the social ills of society primarily from the news media. A 9th grade student wrote in the questionnaire: “I watch the news, and I'm not necessarily aware of society's conditions not only by the Hogar or Alianza.” An 11th grader stated, “I think about them because I see the news not because of the social projects.” A senior also reiterated this idea: “I think about social issues because they are all over TV.” Another 12th grader wrote in the questionnaire: “It [the CNG program] influences me but my main concerns come from things I see on TV, the news, and the Internet.” In fact, one student trusted the news media for a true depiction of reality, rather than the social service projects, and stated that, “CNG does not present social issues that represent true reality of the majority of people in Colombia. I have been presented social issues through the news and other media.”

A final source of influence on students' awareness of social issues was their family, in particular their parents. For instance one student wrote, “My family has

instilled many values in me, which have made me worry about social issues. School community service has not really shown me anything new in this topic.” A 10th grade student cited the influence of his parent as influencing his social awareness: “Both my parents have always been very socially aware.” An 11th grader attributed his awareness solely to the influence of his mother by writing, “My concern for social issues has its’ roots with my mother.” One 12th grader attributed his awareness to his father and wrote: “I was taught from my father to know many things around me.” Another senior made an important statement by revealing exactly how strong family influence may be:

Although the social service projects allow us to be involved in different activities, my social awareness is a result of what I have been taught by my parents since I was little.

In this sense, the family has had the opportunity to influence and impact students from the beginning, whereas, the social service projects have a minimal amount of time to reach students. Clearly, this long-term influence is not limited to the family but also to two other influences (media, and life experience). Accordingly, and this is an important consideration, with the amount and length of influence these three sources have on these students, the CNG social service projects must be able to overcome negative influences in a relatively short period of time. Therefore, these projects must be extremely well implemented and carried out. Unfortunately, that does not appear to be happening from these results.

Overall, students often discussed that the CNG service-learning program did not provide much insight beyond what they already knew from life experiences, the media, and their parents. This insight is extremely important and is not necessarily a positive theme. If students are learning about social issues from these sources, there is a good

chance they are being provided with stereotypical and simplistic explanations for complex social issues such as poverty. For example, the media does not typically portray the poor and those less fortunate in positive ways and is often accused of perpetuating stereotypes and blaming the poor for their own problems (Kendall, 2005; Mantsios, 2003). Accordingly, if students are being influenced significantly by the news media in their understanding of the poor, such a finding can be problematic and may build and perpetuate a world-view that negatively depicts those of lower class standing.

In sum, almost every single student at CNG considers himself or herself socially aware; however, they do not believe the CNG social projects are the reason for their awareness. Clearly, the results in this category reveal that the students believe the CNG social projects are having minimal influence on their social awareness. But what is more alarming is the students believe they are influenced heavily by sources that could be promoting negative depictions of low-income individuals, such as the mass media.

6.3.3 Social Understanding of the Poor

One of the primary aims of service-learning is to provide students with complex answers for important social issues such as poverty. In the previous category, the data revealed that students were aware of social issues such as poverty in Colombia. However, much of this awareness stemmed from sources such as the media instead of the CNG social service projects. With that in mind, one must begin to wonder exactly what level and quality of understanding do students have of poverty, given their source of information. One might suspect that these students have an understanding that is not positive in nature. The category – social understanding of the poor – aims to assess the

level of understanding students' possess and if the CNG program has influenced this understanding by asking the following questions in the questionnaire:

- ❖ Do you think you understand life in the barrio? Yes _____ No _____
- ❖ Do you think your participation in the social service projects at CNG influenced that understanding? Yes _____ No _____
Explain your answer.

The answers to these questions are summarized in Table 3.

TABLE 3. SOCIAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE POOR.

Do you think that you understand life in the barrio?		
Grade	Yes	No
9 th Grade	68%	32%
10 th Grade	50%	50%
11 th Grade	40%	60%
12 th Grade	47%	53%
All Students	51%	49%
Do you think this is because of your participation in the projects at CNG?		
Grade	Yes	No
9 th Grade	41%	59%
10 th Grade	56%	44%
11 th Grade	42%	58%
12 th Grade	41%	59%
All Students	44%	56%

As shown in Table 3, 51% of the students feel they understand the lives of poor people. Interesting enough, 68% of 9th graders feel they understand the lives of poor people, while this figure is considerably lower for every other grade level. Another interesting observation is that the 10th graders had the highest proportion of students who felt the social service projects were influential in their understanding of the poor. However, the behavioral indicators (shown next) reveal that not a single 10th grader spent time with participants outside of the project or invited participants to their homes. This finding could be noteworthy because 10th graders are required to take a class called

"Sociales," which is essentially a study of the social world. In this class, the 10th graders may be receiving enough instruction and reflecting sufficiently to increase their understanding of the poor.

Overall, 44% of the students felt their understanding of the poor stemmed from their participation in the CNG service-learning program. However, this number actually may be misleading because ten (10) of these students reported that they did *not* understand life in the barrio. These ten students claimed that CNG has helped them understand certain aspects of the poor better, but believed they could never truly understand the barrio from the activities put forth by the CNG. One student stated, "I don't understand life in the barrio, that's totally the opposite lifestyle I have, but participating in social activities has help me understand more about that type of life." Another student added, "Even though I don't understand it fully because I haven't lived there, the school has provided me to understand at least a little about how they really live. Well we all kind of know but we are not totally aware." Perhaps an 11th grader summed it up best:

Even though the social projects help, we are only in the activities for a while and then go back to school and our homes and we don't really know or understand how they live and what they go through because most of the activities are mostly about playing with the kids.

Clearly, these ten students do not believe that the social service projects have allowed for an in-depth understanding of the lives of poor people. With those ten students removed from the "yes" category, the influence of the CNG programs drops to only 32.98%.

Interestingly enough, of the 48 students who claimed they understood the lives of the barrio, 17 of these students stated this understanding was not influenced at all by the CNG social service projects. Similar to the social awareness category, these students

stated that they received their understanding of the lives of poor people through life experiences, the media, and their family. The media was particularly influential in this category. A 9th grade student stated, “CNG has nothing to do with this (understanding the lives of the poor), it’s mainly TV and newspaper that make you see the truth.”

Another 9th grader wrote that “CNG didn’t influence my understanding of life in Barrios. News, TV’s, Books...made me understand.” Even a 9th grader who responded that his understanding was influenced by the program wrote: “Participating in these projects makes me realize their social conditions, although I also see news and I’m aware of how they live and their conditions.” One 11th grader declared, “I think about them because I see the news not because of the social projects.”

Students also made references to their life experiences, which appeared to be highly influential in their understanding of the poor. One of these students stated in the questionnaire, “I have lived most of my weekends in the farm and I think that my life experience has shown me what is really Colombia.” A 9th grade student wrote: “We have never seen life in the barrio during school activities. I know the barrio because I live and travel through Colombia.” A 12th grader who did not believe the program influenced his understanding of the poor stated: “Because on my own I’ve seen the conditions.”

A number of students also referred to their family as the primary source of their social understanding. One student wrote, “My dad is a diplomat and I’ve traveled around the world. My parents are motivated in helping those who need help and I’ve seen the struggle they go through.” A senior who was born and raised in South Africa for most of her life, wrote in the questionnaire repeatedly about the influence of her mother. In

response to the question regarding the influence of the CNG program on her understanding of the poor, she stated that her understanding came mainly from the influence of her mom and not CNG: “Once again helping in South Africa looking at the work my mother did.”

Although servants and maids are not technically part of their family, many students in Colombia believe they are and wrote that they received more meaningful interaction from these persons, rather than from participation in the CNG social service projects, that led to a better understanding of the poor. One 11th grader wrote, “I speak daily with my house maid and driver, both of which have given me insight into the life in a barrio. CNG service projects don't exactly promote this kind of conversation and inquiry.” With the lack of first hand experience in the community, students are unable to see how low-income people live, and thus they simply piece together their images of the low-income neighborhoods from other sources. Certainly the lack of a presence in the community severely limits the amount of understanding one may have of the people who actually live in poor neighborhoods.

Not surprisingly, students attributed their understanding of the poor primarily to the media, family, and life experience. Again, this influence may not necessarily be positive. Overall, the data in this category suggest that the CNG social projects are having little influence on the students and are unable to overcome the effect of the media, family, and life experiences on the belief system of students.

Although the results reveal that most of the students do not believe the program has been influential, what about the students who claim to understand the poor? What level of understanding do they possess? When analyzing the interviews of students who

responded they were influenced by the program, their understanding seemed far from strong (and many of them willingly admitted this). For instance, a 9th grade student stated: “We only understand life in the barrio superficially in my opinion, because life in the barrio is probably more complicated than we think. I have to say though, we understand to some extent.” A senior wrote the following when asked about his social understanding of the poor: “We understand these lifestyles to a certain extent thanks to our visits to the Alianza schools and integration with their students but it’s still a superficial understanding.” Another senior added, “We see it but hardly feel it. It helped me understand, but it was not to a full extent. The visits only help you understand to a certain point and not to a full extent.” In this sense, students are able to pick up some knowledge about “the other;” however, the program has not gone far enough to bring about a true understanding of the lives of the poor. For example, a 9th grade male student stated:

I think that they are really are helpful thing for those kids and for us to communicate this different people but these activities don't help what we are trying to accomplish, like, eh, talk about a subject that we are living in. It's like interacting, helping them with Math or English or something but it doesn't really help the subject and the differences the way they live and to understand to have better knowledge about how they live.

Another 9th grade male student who also claimed he understood the lives of the poor, and was influenced heavily by the program, reiterated this point in the interview when asked if he understands the lives of poor people better due to his experiences in the CNG service-learning program:

No, it's (CNG service-learning program) failed to bring that (understanding) across to several of us, I think that if they wanted us to, to like learn, we should have, I don't know, a week away from school somewhere where the uh, Alianza and the Hogar kids live to feel it first hand, and understand it.

A female student who claimed she understood the lives of the poor responded with the following when she was asked if the program helped her to understand their lives better:

Like kind of. Because, like for me, it's already like well for me, it's like common knowledge how they live and stuff. But like, eh, some of the things are no, like, like I never knew would happen, like reach into you and grab your food and stuff, or like I would think they would be more grateful when you buy them stuff, and they would be like, I don't know, they weren't even that grateful, they didn't even say thanks. They just started eating the popcorn, or when they gave them the candy they were just like yeah. But they are not like thank you or anything. They took it for granted basically.

In the questionnaire, all of these students noted that they understood the lives of the poor and were influenced by the CNG service-learning program. However, these answers tell a different story. These students clearly do not possess a strong understanding of the lives of the poor and some of them admitted this openly.

Another problematic theme that appeared was that several of the students gained an understanding of the poor that was based purely on the strength of the differences between the two groups. In this sense, students learned primarily how much different low-income people are from them, and, in turn, this helped to solidify the idea that these two groups are not the same at all and live in completely separate worlds. In this sense, this understanding of their lives only helped to fuel the common claim that the class and cultural barriers between these two groups are strong and can never truly be overcome. For example, a 9th grade student stated the following when asked if the program has promoted a better understanding what poor people go through:

Well. Eh, about understanding what they go through, no. It shows us you can find a lot of differences between their way of talking, their way of acting, but you really I mean you can imagine what their life is, but you really can't talk about it, you can't know about it, because they don't talk about it, they just ask you questions, you don't ask them. So, about the subject, I don't think.

In this response, the student makes clear that the program does not allow for a better understanding of poor people, but only reinforces the idea that these groups are drastically different. In the end, this type of reinforcement is not helpful to breaking down cultural or social barriers, but only makes them stronger.

Overall, a majority of students do not possess a strong understanding of the lives of poor people, and many of those who do have a weak sense of their daily struggles. One of the primary reasons behind the inability to achieve this outcome is that the program is not allowing students to spend much time in the communities they are serving. For example, one tenth grader who was not influenced by the program wrote, "we don't visit them in our homes instead we encounter them at our school." Another 10th grader wrote that "In social service we only teach English to some kids and we don't really see how they are living or where." A 12th grader who participated in the program for four years reiterated this idea and wrote that "We didn't actually go to barrios, at least not me. I came to school to teach them how to read and write in English." Another senior who had participated in the program for three years stated, when asked about his understanding of the poor, "I never went to the barrio so I don't know."

But what set apart the students who were influenced by the program and had a relatively strong understanding of the lives of the poor? First and foremost, many of these students discussed the positive interaction they had with the participants, and how this contact provided them significant insight into the lives of the poor. For instance, a

9th grader wrote that "...the interaction with little children of the Hogar has informed me on how do they live, what do they do at home and how life for them is tougher." Another 9th grader stated, "It [the CNG program] let me know how people in those barrios live and act by letting me talk to them." Another freshman added: "We have heard the stories many kids have of their houses and this makes us understand even more." And another 9th grader wrote: "Because the kids always end up telling us about their personal lives, so you get a sense of what it's like." A 10th grader also cited this interaction as influential by writing: "I think that by sharing time with other people like the Alianza and Hogar you realize and understand how hard life in the barrio is." Another 10th grader wrote: "Each year we go to schools called the Alianza. This kids belong to a low class when we get to talk to them they tells us pretty much how are their way of life." In this regard, a senior noted that "When we played with the kids from the barrio has helped me learn more about them."

And a number of these students did seem to be extremely knowledgeable (and compassionate) about the lives of the poor. These students stood apart from others because they were more willing to interact and connect with the low-income participants (and in some instances were able to make connections in the projects). This openness was possibly due to the fact that many of them admitted being raised in a household with liberal, open-minded parents. Given this willingness to connect in hand, these students often talked with the low-income participants about their homes and families. These conversations provided insight into how poor people live on a daily basis. For example, a 9th grade female student stated the following when asked about how CNG has influenced her understanding of the poor:

Yes, because I have talked to them and I have, I have taught kids that would like come to you, and they do want to talk to you about their problems. So, I have had the experience that like they sit next to me and they're like look, today with my dad, this happened, and like you are really getting into their shoes. So, well, I have learned a lot from that. It would really be different if you wouldn't talk to them and actually lived the experience of being with them.

Interesting enough, there was one student who became good friends with a low-income participant in the social projects. This CNG student and the low-income student often discussed their lives and the challenges they face, and, in turn, this student seemed to have a very strong understanding of the lives of poor people. Overall, this student was perhaps one of the most understanding and empathetic toward poor people. This finding was actually surprising, considering this that student was seen as a “troublemaker” and a “rebel” by many of the faculty and staff. But the student also mentioned that his mom was very "spiritual", open, and accepts a wide range of other persons.

This finding reveals that, once again, parents are having a very strong impact on the students, and, in turn, their desire to connect with those who are different from them. This finding is consistent with the first category -- social awareness -- which also revealed that students' social awareness was highly influenced by their families. With that in mind, a number of students who revealed a negative influence from their parent's never made any real connections with low-income participants. For example, a 9th grader who was interviewed expressed that he was highly influenced by his father. His father was an entrepreneur and provided him with many economic reasons for the plight of the poor that essentially boiled down to individual and personal choice. When asked about social justice, this 9th grade student responded with the following:

Well, uh, that's uh, I talk about that like in my house well we don't like communism very much, it's uh, I know it would be a lot better if it was equal, but that's practically utopian, it's practically impossible, because there is always going to be, for me to be rich, there has to be someone poor, there has to be someone rich.

This student is clearly influenced by his family, and in particular his father, when trying to explain poverty. In turn, when answering a question about the goals of the social service projects, he stated the following that basically echoes the opinions of his father:

Well, to give them a very good opportunity for when they grow up, if they become serious people, I think that depends on the attitude of the boy, if the boy wants to move on, eh, make some money or something like that, it's all in his attitudes, but we teach him English, so he has some basics for English, it's a very good opportunity, being able to speak it in this country, it is the international language, it's uh, for a job here in Colombia, if he knows English and he is going to be a secretary or something, it's already a step forward for him, it's ok, yeah, I know English, so it's all a good opportunity for them.

Based on these interviews, and in examining this student's questionnaire, he was clearly not influenced by the CNG social service projects and never made a connection with any low-income participants. This example shows how parents are able to have a very strong influence on their children, and unfortunately the social service projects are doing little to overcome or counteract this negative impact. Students who enter into the projects with an open-mind that has been implanted by their parents seem to take a number of things from the CNG program, but the vast majority of students seem to be influenced by their parents in ways similar to this 9th grader. Pervaded by a sense of functionalism, realism, and negative attitudes toward the poor, these students are not likely to change appreciably their attitudes. And because CNG does not identify this influence, and have specific mechanisms to counteract such attitudes, these students are not affected in a positive manner.

Overall, the analysis showed that the CNG program has had a minimal influence on the majority of students with regard to their social understanding of the poor. Furthermore, those CNG students who do claim they understand the lives of the poor and were influenced by the program have a very superficial understanding. Moreover, similar to the first category, the family, media, and life experiences were noted as being much more influential than the social projects at CNG. Clearly, at this point, this pattern suggests that the CNG program is failing to reach students in an appreciable manner.

6.3.4 Commitment to Community Service

Along with social awareness and an understanding of others, the CNG service-learning program aimed to create a life-long sense of commitment to community service in students. Therefore, the third category – commitment to community service – assessed the level of commitment students' possessed and the level of influence the CNG program had on this commitment by first asking the following in the questionnaire:

- ❖ Do you think you will be involved in social projects in the future? Yes _____
No _____
- ❖ In general, are you motivated to participate in social projects? Yes _____
No _____
- ❖ Do you think this is because of your involvement in the social service projects at CNG? Yes _____ No _____
Explain your answer.

The answers to these questions are presented below in Tables 4.A and 4.B.

TABLE 4.A. COMMITMENT TO COMMUNITY SERVICE (FIRST SET OF QUESTIONS).

In general, are you motivated to participate in social projects?		
Grade	Yes	No
9 th Grade	82%	18%
10 th Grade	83%	17%
11 th Grade	85%	15%
12 th Grade	81%	19%
All Students	82%	18%
Do you think this is because of your participation in the social service projects at CNG?		
Grade	Yes	No
9 th Grade	41%	59%
10 th Grade	56%	44%
11 th Grade	42%	58%
12 th Grade	41%	59%
All Students	44%	56%

As shown in Table 4.A, a large proportion of the students are motivated to participate in social service projects. However, only 37% of the students actually believe their motivation stems from participation in the CNG social service projects.

TABLE 4.B. COMMITMENT TO COMMUNITY SERVICE (SECOND SET OF QUESTIONS).

Do you think you will be involved in social projects in the future?		
Grade	Yes	No
9 th Grade	86%	14%
10 th Grade	83%	17%
11 th Grade	95%	5%
12 th Grade	92%	8%
All Students	90%	10%
Do you think this is because of your involvement in the social service projects at CNG?		
Grade	Yes	No
9 th Grade	27%	3%
10 th Grade	67%	33%
11 th Grade	26%	74%
12 th Grade	33%	67%
All Students	37%	63%

As shown in Table 4.B, almost 90% of the students believed they will be involved in social projects in the future. However, only 37% feel that their desire to continue was due to their participation in social service projects at CNG. These answers reveal clearly that the service-learning program at CNG has not influenced the students' desire to continue community service.

In terms of the category of commitment to community service, the results show that students are extremely motivated to participate in social projects now and in the future. However, their motivation is not due to the service-learning program at CNG. In fact, on the questionnaire, six students wrote about negative experiences in the CNG service-learning program that reduced any motivation they might have had for participating in social projects at CNG and in the future. The reasons for these negative responses are varied. One student pointed to a lack of organization by stating, "When we go to CNG, it doesn't work out. Sometimes it's unorganized." Three of the students related their lack of motivation to the absence of social justice in the social service projects at CNG. One student wrote that "Some of the projects don't seem to be helping them in anyway..." Another wrote: "...you feel that is a waste of time the children are not learning and we are wasting our time (social service)." And the third student also wrote, "I would if the school did things to really help people." The other two students who wrote about negative experiences stated that the projects were boring and pointless and, hence, gave them little motivation to participate.

A similar theme appeared in the interviews where students consistently labeled the service-learning activities as "boring" and "pointless." As one 9th grade student stated, "some like didn't like them because they are classist and think like that they are

like, ah, bored." Another student reiterated this point, when asked if activities were ever a waste of time, by saying that "there were a couple of activities that I said like, OK, this wasn't an activity that taught them or anything." Another 9th grader noted that students "don't like having to go to the Hogar," and the enjoyment of the experience depends on the kid with whom they were matched. One female 9th grader actually discussed how she "traded" her child for another, because she was displeased with her original assignment.

But the responses of those students who did note that they were motivated to participate in the service-learning program could be misleading. The interviews also revealed that a large number of students who were motivated to participate in the projects might have become interested due to reasons other than social justice and a genuine concern for the welfare of others. In a number of interviews, students mentioned that other students liked the projects because they could skip class. For example, one 9th grade student stated: "Most of them like it because they can skip class." Another 9th grader said, "Well, some like them because they can skip class." When asked about student motivation, a male 9th grade student claimed that "Some of them do it, but they don't even care when they are doing it. They don't pay attention they are thinking about other things instead of that thing." When an 11th grader was asked about the attitudes of other students toward an Alianza project he stated: "...none of them wanted to do it. They only went because we were obliged to, it's obligatory." A senior added: "...they really don't care. They just go there, they go because they have to, that's it."

Fortunately, while collecting data, I was able to undertake some participant observation during one of the social service projects, which consisted of a trip to a local

amusement park, Mundo Aventura. On this outing, there seemed to be little desire to interact and participate on the part of the CNG students. Most often, CNG students talked among themselves, slept, or listened to their headphones. In fact, a student who was identified to me as one of the school "leaders" listened to music the entire bus ride when returning to the school.

In another instance, I was allowed to observe the end of the year party for 8th graders who had been working with Hogar students all year. In a majority of the classrooms, the CNG students again seemed disinterested in interacting with the Hogar students. In fact, many of the CNG students simply talked among themselves and ignored the Hogar kids.

Overall, this category reveals that students are motivated to participate in social service projects, but not the ones at CNG. With that in mind, why then are students motivated to participate? One of the most prominent answers was the influence of family. Students cited consistently their family as the prime influence for their motivation to participate in social projects in the future. For example, a 9th grader wrote, "I think that most of this influence comes from my parents. They like to help a lot needed people." When explaining his motivation for participating in social projects, a 10th grader answered that, "My fathers example, his work helps lots of people." Another 10th grader noted that, "...my family motivates me so I feel I will participate in social service projects." Another 10th grader was even more specific by stating, "...because of the values I was taught at home: that we have a social responsibility." An 11th grader wrote, "My family has been involved in several social projects throughout my life so

CNG is not the only one that would influence my involvement in the future.” Clearly, family is once again highly influential in this category.

6.3.5 Summary of Attitudinal Change

In general, the CNG social projects are not influencing students. For each category above, the influence of the social service projects was minimal at best. For the most part, students attributed their attitudes to their exposure to the mass media, their parents, and life experiences. In each of the categories, the family was a prominent influence that students spoke and wrote about time and time again. In this sense, these sources are an uncontrolled component that influences the students’ world-view in a number of unpredictable (and likely negative) ways. Accordingly, the CNG programs must be able to reach students on a level that can overcome these influences.

6.4 Behavioral Indicators

Behavioral indicators were included in this evaluation in conjunction with the attitudinal assessment, in order to determine the extent to which behavioral change was related to the social service projects. A series of these indicators was used in the questionnaire, and although there were no open-ended responses for these indicators, these questions were investigated in-depth in the interviews and the focus groups. For each indicator in the questionnaire, the students were asked: "Because of your involvement in a social project, has your behavior toward the community where you worked changed in any way?" Following this question, specific behaviors were listed. The indicators were grouped into three categories: social interaction outside of the project, sending kids to public school, and friendship development.

6.4.1 Social Interaction Outside of the Project

Four of the behavioral indicators related to interaction outside of the social service projects, and thus they were combined to measure the level of social involvement CNG students had with low-income participants beyond the projects. The idea behind asking these questions is to determine if CNG students were putting forth any effort to interact with low-income participants outside of the confines of the social projects. In this sense, if they changed their behavioral patterns, this would reinforce positive attitudinal change. The CNG students were asked a general question about interaction, and then three specific questions about behavior outside of the project. The questions are as follows:

- ❖ Do you now spend any time with these people outside of the project? Yes _____
No _____
- ❖ Do you shop regularly where they shop? Yes _____ No _____
- ❖ Do you go to the same parks? Yes _____ No _____
- ❖ Have you invited any of them recently to your house? Yes _____ No _____

The results from these questions are shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5. INTERACTION OUTSIDE OF THE PROJECT.

Do you now spend any time with these people outside of the project?		
Grade	Yes	No
9 th Grade	9%	91%
10 th Grade	0%	100%
11 th Grade	15%	85%
12 th Grade	9%	91%
All Students	8%	92%
Do you shop regularly where they shop?		
Grade	Yes	No
9 th Grade	23%	77%
10 th Grade	6%	94%
11 th Grade	5%	95%
12 th Grade	9%	91%
All Students	11%	89%
Do you go to the same parks?		
Grade	Yes	No
9 th Grade	23%	77%
10 th Grade	6%	94%
11 th Grade	26%	74%
12 th Grade	11%	89%
All Students	16%	84%
Have you invited any of them to your house recently?		
Grade	Yes	No
9 th Grade	5%	95%
10 th Grade	0%	100%
11 th Grade	15%	85%
12 th Grade	6%	94%
All Students	6%	94%

As shown in Table 5, very few CNG students spent any time at all with the participants in the social service projects from the local barrios outside of the programs at CNG. In general, only 8% of the students spent time with any of the participants beyond these projects. Indeed, not a single 10th grader spent time with any of the participants. This finding is problematic considering that 56% of 10th graders stated they understood life in the barrio, which was by far the highest of all grade levels. Building on the

general query about social interaction, specific questions indicate that only a small number of CNG students (11%) regularly frequent where low-income participants shop. Furthermore, only 16% of CNG students go to the same parks as low-income participants, and only 6% recently invited low-income participants to their houses. Clearly, students are not interacting very much with students outside of the program. Traditional social barriers, accordingly, seem to be well established.

In the interviews, the students were asked similar questions about interaction beyond the requirements of the project, and basically they evaded this question or blamed their inability to interact regularly with low-income participants on their parents, friends, or the nature of Colombian society. For example, a common theme when students were asked about inviting a low-income person to their home was that although they would like such interaction, their parents would not approve of such an invitation. For instance, when asked what would happen if she brought home a low-income friend, a female 9th grade student responded by saying, "I don't think they (my parents) would let me."

Another male student stated initially that his parents would welcome a person of low-income, but then changed his mind after thinking things over.

Interviewer: What if you did make friends with someone who was really poor, and you brought him home? What would your parents think?

Student: To stay at my house?

Interviewer: Yeah, like to stay overnight.

Student: No, they wouldn't care. If he stayed, Uh, well, I don't know. It's very difficult. Because they are normally very, eh, disorganized, and don't eat well like manners and my father's agree and my parents agree with helping him like economically but I don't know if they would like me to bring him home.

Although many students did not admit that their parents would care, many others deflected blame and referred to "other" students and their parents. In this sense, they were able to assuage the guilt of not wanting to or ever inviting poor people to their house. For example, one 9th grade student stated the following:

Interviewer: Let's say you became friends with one of the poor kids from the barrio and you brought him or her home, how would your parents react?

Student: Pause for 3 seconds. My parents are very open-minded. Yeah, so I think they wouldn't say anything.

Interviewer: They wouldn't?

Student: Yes. Pause for 3 seconds. But I am sure that many, many of the parents in this school wouldn't allow that (with emphasis).

Clearly, this student had never planned and never plans on inviting a poor person to her house (and does admit she has never done this). Moreover, she deflects the blame by saying that she would do so, and her parents would approve, but that many other students' parents are not as open-minded as hers. With the influence of the family that has been revealed to this point, this negative message from the parents is important to note. If these students are unable to invite poor people to their houses, the idea being conveyed from the parents is likely rooted in stereotypes with the ultimate aim of insuring that proper social distance is maintained.

Beyond family influence, the most important reason (and most cited) for the limited interaction outside of the social projects stems primarily from the class divide in Colombia. In short, the class division is seen as a "reality sui generis" to many of the students (Durkheim, 1951).¹² In this sense, the line between the poor and rich is firmly

¹² Emile Durkheim used the term reality sui generis to describe his image of society. In this sense, Durkheim argued that the individual existed independently of society. Essentially, society and the

drawn and the students do not believe they can cross or challenge this boundary. For example, a 10th grader who was interviewed stated the following:

Interviewer: So, you learn how to deal with them [poor people], but never bring them into a close circle of friends or anything?

10th Grader: Yes.

Interviewer: You can never break that line?

10th Grader: Yes.

This class division is certainly something that is real, for the elites in Colombia live in a completely separate world from the rest of society, particularly the poor, and do their best to maintain this division. In point of fact, one student actually thought low-income people were not allowed to shop in the same places as the CNG students. When asked if she saw low income people where she shopped, she simply responded: "They're like around it outside, but they are not inside, I don't think they let them go in."

A number of other students repeated the idea that the class line was impossible to challenge in society. When asked about the possibility of changing the class division in society, a 9th grade male responded by saying, "No, I don't think that can be changed. It's too, eh, the gap between the two cultures, it's too different." Another 9th grader responded to the same question by saying, "No, I don't think it will ever be changed."

An interview with a senior was particularly revealing:

Interviewer: If you had a friend that was like a [social class] 1, 2, or 3, would people make fun of you?

Senior: Probably. They would look at you differently, and you would look at them differently. It's just the way it is, it is never going to be solved. Unless, they get better pay and there's more of a middle class than a lower class.

structures that make up the whole operate out of the control of people, and, in turn, there is little to nothing one can do to alter or change society but individuals can only hope to fit into the existing social framework.

Interviewer: So the divide between rich and poor is really strong here?

Senior: Really, really strong.

Interviewer: And it's going to be almost impossible to change unless...?

Senior: Unless a miracle happens. Pretty much, yeah.

With this divide in place, the perpetuation of stereotypes is a concern, and is a major reason why the students do not interact regularly with low-income participants. The interviews showed that CNG students do not have the courage to challenge the class division because of the negative social repercussions they expected from their friends, and these negative reactions were rooted in stereotypes of the poor. In this sense, they felt their friends would make fun of them for having a friend of such "low class," as the interview with the senior mentioned in the previous paragraph revealed. For example, when one 9th grader was asked if CNG students would make fun of him if he had a poor person as a friend, this student responded that "maybe they would bother me like in saying that eh, just bother me, like saying "como que indio." Another 9th grader remarked that "They would laugh at me, and make jokes, but they wouldn't insult the other person. At least my friends! Other people's friends are meaner people." In another interview, a student made similar comments when asked about having friends belonging to a lower strata:

Interviewer: They would make fun of you?

Student: Well, not fun about me, but they would think things that they shouldn't have. So let's say, I build a relation and people say ay, he build a relation, things like that, people here are very like that.

Interviewer: Como que indio or something?

Student: Si, that's right. Que indio, yes.

In one interview, a female 9th grade student discussed her face-to-face confrontation with the classist aspect of Colombian society. She stated that she goes to concerts and other places and intentionally tries to hang out with the low-income people, because she feels they are nicer than her elite friends and more accepting. The student stated, "I have like for example, when I go to concerts, I will not play so much in front because it's I like to play in the back where it's all that type of people because I like their style, I like how they are, I think they are more nice really..." However, by trying to make this attempt she then revealed that her friends and classmates ridicule her in various ways. For example, they often tell her that she cannot befriend these individuals because she has money, and, in turn, call her a myriad of derogatory names.

In each interview, CNG students brought up consistently stereotypes of low-income people implicitly and explicitly, and these students listed a wide-variety of stereotypical traits of the low-income participants in the social service projects. The most common stereotypes held by CNG students were that they are "violent and dirty." The violent stereotype made the students feel that entering into any areas where poor people live, or even where poor people might be congregating, would provide the opportunity for them to be robbed or killed. For example, a 9th grader stated that "well, they like, they steal a lot and they are like, eh, they have knives and they pull them out at you." Others reiterated this fear. One student, when asked how he acts around poor people, stated that "when I have passed like near to them, it's like, like, I am careful because they might do something to us." A 10th grader made a similar statement in his interview:

Interviewer: So, what kind of, do students hold stereotypes about the Hogar kids?

10th grader: Yeah.

Interviewer: Like what?

10th grader: All of us. Like they always think that they are going to kill you or something. Like pull a blade on you all the time.

The dirty stereotype was also a common response from students. Stated simply, they felt the low-income participants had bad hygiene, smelled, and were all together dirty people. For example, one student made the following remark in an interview when asked about stereotypes: "Like everyone is like, oh my God, eewww, like aw, that kid is touching me, like on the trip, my friend like oh my God, what do I do, she is touching me, I don't know. And they think like they are superior and stuff." Clearly, she believes that these children are all dirty and should be kept at a certain distance. In fact, later in the interview, this same student remarked that she also feared getting lice if she became friends with any of these people. A 9th grader who often referred to poor people as drug addicts responded to a question about how poor people in Colombia are stereotyped by stating: "Well, not all are drug addicts. The stereotype would be more like uh, not a dumb person, but uh, an ignorant person, a dirty, lazy, that's kind of."

Another student who was interviewed was by far the most well-mannered. This student was from the United States and his mother worked for a large charitable organization. His mannerisms were extremely proper and he always addressed teachers and others in power as "sir" or "ma'am." However, even this student allowed the stereotype of poor people to slip into his interview. When this student was asked about how his parents would react if he brought home a friend that was poor, he cited the following likely reaction of his mother:

...She would have been stunned about it. She would have...(pause for 3 seconds)...she would have been nice to the kid and polite, feed him, give him a fresh pair of clothes and take a shower...

This student clearly feels that any poor friend he might bring home would be dirty and hungry. Although this student was very politically correct, and his mother worked for a liberal charity agency in Colombia, his political correctness masks the traditional stereotypes of poor persons.

In a nutshell, the class divide has created two separate worlds, and this separation seems so powerful that it is unable to be compromised. These separate worlds only serve to perpetuate stereotypes of both groups, and, in turn, these stereotypes greatly limit the interaction that CNG students may have with low-income participants outside of the social projects. Essentially, the social service projects are not providing a way for these worlds to intermingle and for stereotypes to be identified, discussed, and debunked. The combination of the class structure, the inability of students to challenge the class lines for various reasons, and the failure of the social projects to bring students together in a manner that can break down stereotypes results in almost no interaction outside of the projects between the groups.

6.4.2 Public Schools

In the questionnaire, CNG students were asked if the CNG service-learning program made them more aware of their biases and prejudices -- 77.89% of the students believed the program accomplished this aim. Nonetheless, the important question becomes whether students were actually able to overcome these biases once they became aware of them. This issue was addressed by the inclusion of a question about public schools in the behavioral indicators. In this regard, the students were asked if they would

send their own children to a public school. Theoretically, if students were able to overcome their biases and prejudices against poor people, they should not object to sending their kids to a public school. The results are shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6. WILLINGNESS TO SEND KIDS TO PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Would you now ever consider sending your kids to one of the schools in the barrio?		
Grade	Yes	No
9 th Grade	5%	95%
10 th Grade	0%	100%
11 th Grade	0%	100%
12 th Grade	3%	97%
All Students	2%	98%

As shown in Table 6, hardly any CNG students would send their children to public schools. Only 2% of students said they would, and not a single 10th or 11th grader would entertain this idea. On the surface such a response makes sense because public schools may offer an inferior education. But their rejection of these schools does not appear to be because of the conditions of these schools or the learning that takes place. In fact, during the interviews CNG students praised the conditions of the public schools they visited in low-income neighborhoods. For example, a male 9th grade student stated when talking about public schools, "...they got perfect place, they got the perfect education." Another student stated, "...they have a really nice school in the Alianza. It's very big, it has good installations."

The data revealed that the real reason for avoiding public schools were the stereotypes the CNG students held about public school students. As mentioned earlier, CNG students hold strong stereotypes against the poor, and these views extend to the public school kids who they believe are generally violent, aggressive, and dirty. In an

interview with a female 9th grade student, she highlighted the main reason behind avoiding public schools:

But like, here (as compared to the U.S.), I wouldn't go to a public school, the people, it's like a huge difference between this person and this person, like there are like strato, like class 1 class 2. So that makes a big difference and they say like that the public schools teach like many kids learn a lot more than we learn but it's just like I don't know and they are not really like clean or organized.

In this statement, the student initially claims that the public school kids may actually learn more than private school students, such as herself, but then goes on to say that they are not clean or organized. From this statement, the lack of desire to attend a public school is clearly due to the stereotypes of the students who attend these schools.

Although the CNG students may have become more "aware" of their biases and prejudices, they certainly did not change their behavior because of this awareness.

Again, the stereotypes that CNG students hold are not being minimized by the social service projects. Accordingly, the CNG program is certainly not creating an environment where stereotypes can be broken down between these groups. In fact, in some regards, the program actually reinforces these negative images.

6.4.3 Friendship

The ultimate test to determine if a real change took place in the consciousness of the CNG students is to measure friendship development with low-income participants.

The questionnaire asked a series of questions to determine if students developed any type of meaningful relationship with the low-income participants. The results are shown in Table 7.A and 7.B.

TABLE 7.A. CLOSEST CIRCLE OF FRIENDS.

Have you included any of these people in your closest circle of friends?		
Grade	Yes	No
9 th Grade	5%	95%
10 th Grade	11%	89%
11 th Grade	10%	90%
12 th Grade	6%	94%
All Students	10%	90%

TABLE 7.B. DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDSHIP.

Have you developed any lasting friendships with these people?		
Grade	Yes	No
9 th Grade	9%	91%
10 th Grade	17%	83%
11 th Grade	10%	90%
12 th Grade	8%	92%
All Students	10%	90%

As is shown in Table 7.A, only 7% of CNG students have included any of the barrio participants in their closest circle of friends. And as shown in Table 7.B, only 10% felt they developed a lasting relationship with these persons. And although not a single 10th grader said he or she spent time with these people outside of the project, 11% stated that they have included them in their closest circle of friends, and 17% believed they developed a life-long friendship. Clearly, these 10th graders do not understand what friendship actually entails, and that this figure should probably be closer to 0% for 10th graders. Overall, these answers from CNG students reveal that the CNG service-learning program is not creating meaningful relationships.

The interviews reiterated the lack of friendships between the groups. There were essentially two justifications for this failure to make a friend with any of the barrio participants: culture and class. With regard to culture, CNG students believed firmly that

the barrio participants have a culture very different from theirs and this barrier was impossible to overcome. Moreover, statements made by CNG students indicate clearly that the culture of the elite class is superior and civilized. For example, a female 9th grade student stated that "first of all, I don't think I can get close to them, because their culture is like really different." When probed further, and after a vague answer, this student provided the reasons why these cultures are so different:

Like I don't know like, obviously they entertain themselves really differently as us, and they eat differently than us. Like their manners, so my parents are gonna be like...hey...uh...and they are like kind of dirty (laughing). And I don't know, eh, many of them are like, they are bad, because like they want to steal and stuff because they don't have money and stuff.

In an interview with a 10th grader, the same idea emerged. The cultures were drastically different, but a simple explanation was given:

Interviewer: Do you think that the culture of lower class people of a 0, 1 or 2 is really different from the culture of CNG kids or people of higher classes?

Student: Maybe. Yes. Maybe like, the things we do were different from what they do. Like, they come, go to like for example, to the same places. Or things like that, and there is a culture, there is a different.

Interviewer: What's the difference?

Student: Uh, pause, I don't know. The different is that we are used to have some things and that they don't have some, it's different.

Interviewer: Uh huh. You don't think they have different customs or rituals?

Student: No.

In addition to the cultural issue, social class became relevant as a barrier for developing friendships. Certainly, the cultural explanation is an outgrowth of the social division in Colombia. In this sense, the cultures seem drastically different because of the extreme segregation that exists in society.

As mentioned and discussed in the previous section on interaction, many of the students implied that the class division was too strong to create the opportunity to have an inter-class friendship. For example, a 9th grade female student lamented, "...I know people because maybe because they are black or maybe because they are from a lower strata they wouldn't talk to that person."

Another student repeated this idea:

Interviewer: Is that (avoiding the lower class) the general feeling in Colombia, you just don't mix classes like lower and upper class?

Student: Not only the general feeling in Colombia, but it's like in this school. And I don't know. Like, I am sure about many, 95 percent of my grade, would say that they would never become friends with a Hogar kid.

Clearly, at the heart of this inability to bridge the gap between these two groups and develop friendship (or even positive interaction) are stereotypes. In this sense, the segregation in society helps to maintain and fuel these stereotypes about others. Bearing that in mind, the CNG program must be able to bring students together in a manner that could break down stereotypes. But this has not occurred! In fact, a troubling theme emerged that revealed the social projects seemed to be teaching CNG students how "to deal" with the poor people in Colombia in a manner that only perpetuates inequality. A 9th grade student made this point initially in an interview when asked if the social service projects could ever really change the consciousness of CNG students:

Maybe, they, we learn to interact with people that are not like the same, to us, but I think that they really never change them, that, eh, we learn to interact with them, but we don't really change.

Another 9th grade student conveyed a similar theme when discussing the idea of associating with poor people:

Interviewer: Is there a really strong sense that you are not supposed to associate or be friends with people from a lower class?

9th Grader: No, no. There's a sense that that's ok, and that it's not wrong. It makes you look good in society, if you are not really friends, but if you help someone and you, let's say the garbage man, everyday you go by and like say hi to him and give him food or chocolate or something, that's considered to be something good."

Interviewer: But if he was your buddy and he came over and hung out and stuff that would be bad?

9th Grader: Yes. (laugh). Uh huh.

This theme appeared in several other interviews and shows that many students in these projects are only being taught how to keep the poor people at bay by charitable means. In other words, the projects are simply teaching how to replicate and perpetuate inequality, instead of focusing on how to change society and eliminate barriers for the less privileged.

Overall, considering that very little interaction takes place outside of the program, the lack of friendship development is no surprise. Essentially, the reason for the failure in this category seems to be quite redundant: the class structure that exists as a reality sui generis.

6.4.4 Summary of Behavioral Indicators

Overall, the behavioral indicators revealed that students have not altered their behavior in any way due to the influence of the CNG service-learning program. They have not interacted with participants, developed friendships, or even begun to consider integrating with them in any manner (e.g., sending kids to public school). Of course, these results are not surprising considering the program has had a minimal impact on the attitudes of the students. There is little doubt that the key reason why students' behavior is difficult to change stems primarily from the class structure that exists in Colombia.

This structure creates separate worlds where these groups live in isolation from one another. In turn, a number of negative outcomes result from this segregation, such as class barriers and negative stereotypes. Although these barriers are a social construction that can be dismantled, the students believe the class structure exists as sui generis. As long as students continue this way of thinking, nothing will ever change. Accordingly, the CNG program must begin to create the belief in students that these barriers can be overcome, but clearly this has not occurred. In fact, the social programs only seem to be reinforcing the social schism in Colombia.

6.4.5 Summary of Assessment of Attitudinal and Behavioral Change

When examining the data from the previous sections on attitudes and behavior, a clear picture is painted. The CNG social projects are not influencing the students in any significant manner, and certainly the program is not resulting in a “transformation” of attitudes or behavior. In fact, the program seems to have a very minimal influence on the students.

With regard to the assessment of attitudes, although the students do exhibit positive attitudes in certain instances (i.e. – social awareness), the majority do not attribute any of their views to the influence of the program. The data further revealed that in each of the categories, the family, media, and life experiences influenced students much more than the CNG program. Although one might feel these influences will always exert more sway, the aim of service-learning is to overcome many of these negative influences, particularly the media, in order to expose students to new ideas and possibilities. However, clearly the CNG program is not creating this type of environment.

With regard to the behavioral assessment, the CNG program has not resulted in students changing their behavior. Specifically, they are not interacting with participants outside of the project and certainly are not developing friendships with participants. As the data further revealed, these outcomes are primarily an outgrowth of the seemingly insurmountable class structure that exists in Colombia which has created segregation that produces negative stereotypes and other beliefs being held by the CNG students. Nonetheless, the aim of service-learning programs is to create a context where these barriers do not exist and can be overcome. However, these results suggest that the CNG program is simply reproducing societal inequalities in various ways.

6.5 Second Aim of the Study -- Process Evaluation

With the results from the previous section in mind, this investigation now turns to the program itself to determine exactly where the failure occurred. Hence, the second aim of this research project is to assess whether CNG has implemented and carried out service-learning according to the theoretical model that was developed in Chapter Four. This analysis is vitally important because now the failures of the program may be pinpointed and recommendations can be made that may result in positive outcomes in the future.

The research question is as follows:

- ❖ How have the implementation and conduct of the social service projects allowed for this shift in consciousness to occur?

In order to answer this research question, the seven program components -- collaboration, reciprocity, curriculum integration, preparation, service, reflection, and recognition -- were thoroughly analyzed by a mixture of information derived from the questionnaire, interviews, and focus groups.

6.5.1 Collaboration

The component of collaboration is an essential element for any service-learning program. For a program to be successful, all parties have to be intimately involved in the decision-making process from beginning to end. For the purposes of this project, collaboration is defined as the level of input CNG students and the community has in developing and guiding the service-learning program. This component was explored primarily during the interviews and focus groups. Accordingly, students were asked about their involvement in the development and implementation of the social projects.

The data from the interviews revealed that students have little or no input into the planning and development of the social service projects. In some instances, a select few of the “student leaders” are put into positions to carry out a social service project, but, in general, the majority of the student body is simply told where and how to participate. Most often, the students are informed a couple days in advance with an announcement about what they need to bring to a project (candy, permission slip, etc.). They have had no input in defining where they would go, when, what activities they would undertake, or anything of that nature. A 9th grade student was asked about his input in preparing the activities, and he stated that “yes, they always told us what to do. Maybe one time, maybe once, they, our teacher prepared an activity, but we never, we ourselves never prepared it.” In this sense, the students were not involved at all in the planning, preparation, development, or evaluation of the program.

In fact, an 11th grader argued that the lack of student collaboration was a significant problem. According to this student, the lack of involvement resulted in a student body that cared little about the projects. The student stated:

...you know if we do it as a school, then maybe we can get to care. It's exactly the same with the bizarre, the bizarre is organized by the PTA, kids, most of the kids come for a while then they leave, because they don't care, because they didn't work for it. If they did work for it, if they had prepared anything, they would have the food, the activities, the concert, if they would have worked, they would have been here that day.

The community was also absent from collaborating on the project. The program coordinator did mention that a "needs assessment" was initially carried out in the community and a number of community needs were identified. However, this investigation was not documented, and certainly was never applied systematically to the social service projects that were developed. Indeed, the community should have been involved throughout the entire community service project.

Overall, the results show that there is a minimal amount of collaboration on the part of the students and the community in designing or implementing the social service projects. In the previous section, a recurring theme that was presented was that students thought the projects were boring, useless, and pointless. The reasoning for this belief is clear when one understands that students had little to no input into the projects. In turn, the outcomes that showed students were not motivated to participate in the CNG social service projects should be of no surprise. Clearly, this lack of collaboration represents a serious shortcoming for the program.

6.5.2 Reciprocity

The component of reciprocity is vital for service-learning, because students and participants must be on the same level during the service activities. In this sense, all parties should be "status equals" during the course of these projects. In other words, students should be working *with* the community and not *for* them. This component was primarily explored in the interviews. For the purposes of this project, reciprocity is

defined as how the students' perceived the community (the “served”) in terms of the level of mutual respect afforded to the community participants. Accordingly, students were asked how they perceived their role in the service activities, and also how they perceived the community.

The data from the interviews revealed that students and the community were not on the same level in the eyes of students. In fact, the CNG program seemed to reinforce a distinction between those being “served” and the “server.” For instance, one student stated the following when asked if students discuss the goals of the program with teachers: “No. As far as I know, they have always told us, we have to work *for* the community, same drill you know, they are the same as us, you have to do it, but it’s not like do it because of this, this, and this.” In this passage, the student is specifically stating that they are required to work for the community and not with them. Certainly this sort of guidance does not promote the idea that these communities are on the same level as the students.

A prominent theme in the interviews that implied a lack of reciprocity was that the CNG students were instructed to “take care of” the low-income participants, and that this task was essentially their “job.” Repeatedly students reiterated the idea that they felt their primary concern was simply to watch over the kids and make sure they did not get in trouble or injured. The assumption seems to be that one group must take care of the other in a charitable way, thereby recreating the inequality of the social relationships found throughout Colombia. Another theme intertwined with this idea was that students often felt that it was their “job” to help the participants from communities. For example, when confronted with some hostility from the community participants, one 11th grader

stated the following: “It was not comfortable, you going there and a kid like from 18, 17, or 16, I’m trying to help you, it’s my job if you can say, and they didn’t let us they felt bad by it.” Entering a community service with such an attitude certainly implies the absence of any reciprocity.

Another troubling example of unequal status was when one 9th grade student talked about how she “traded” her kid during one social service project. The student stated, “Well, we got on the bus, they (the Hogar kids) were like all sitting there and they were like pick a kid, they just gave us whatever kid. And like I traded my kid with another.” Clearly, this behavior reveals a number of problems, but in terms of reciprocity, treating a Hogar student as if he or she was a commodity to be traded among CNG students is not indicative of equality in status and interaction.

Furthermore, the social status granted to these students in society was carried into the interaction and constantly reinforced through the actions of both CNG students and community participants. In this sense, CNG students were often accused of using IPODS and other means of establishing their higher social class during these projects. Moreover, the community participants reinforced this inequality by asking constantly about the wealth and privilege the students enjoy. For example, an interview with a senior highlighted this idea:

Interviewer: Did you talk about your family [with them]?

Student: They never asked. The only kids that really asked about my family were from Alianza. And like the uncomfortable questions.

Interviewer: Like what?

Student: Like how much do you pay for your school a month?

Interviewer: It’s always about money?

Student: Yeah, it's always about money and social class. It's really uncomfortable and you don't really know what to say.

Interviewer: How do you answer it?

Student: I usually just ignore the question. I would say like I have no idea how much money my parents make I don't know, I wouldn't want to tell them how much, because that's probably what their family gets in 2 years in what we get paid in a month.

Interviewer: Why do you think they ask that?

Student: I guess because, not because they think I am superior, it's really, you can really tell by the clothing and the way you speak and the way you handle yourself in public and situations.

Overall, there is clearly a lack of reciprocity in the social service projects. CNG students are not working with the community in these projects, but simply working for them. They enter these situations as the “knower” with the kind heart who gives their knowledge to the “unknowing.” In this sense, the programs are failing to overcome the inequality of Colombian society, offering a different vision of how relationships can be established. This lack of reciprocity is clearly a major failure in the program.

6.5.3 Curriculum Integration

With the component of curriculum integration in place, real world meaning is given to abstract classroom material; therefore, increases in student performance has been shown to be derived from participation in service-learning programs. For the purposes of this project, the curriculum integration component is defined as the degree to which the social service projects were integrated into the academic curriculum. This component was measured in all three of the data collection methods. More specifically, in the questionnaire curriculum integration was measured by the following questions:

- ❖ Do you think the social projects are well integrated into the curriculum of all of your classes? Yes _____ No _____

- ❖ Do you think the social projects are well integrated into the daily activities of the school? Yes _____ No _____
- ❖ In your classes, did you study the background that justifies including social projects as part of the CNG curriculum? Yes _____ No _____

The results to these questions are presented in Table 8 below.

TABLE 8. CURRICULUM INTEGRATION WITH SOCIAL PROJECTS.

Do you now think the social projects are well integrated into the curriculum of the school?		
Grade	Yes	No
9 th Grade	36%	64%
10 th Grade	39%	61%
11 th Grade	40%	60%
12 th Grade	14%	86%
All Students	29%	71%
Do you think the social projects are well integrated into the daily activities of the school?		
Grade	Yes	No
9 th Grade	23%	77%
10 th Grade	44%	56%
11 th Grade	20%	80%
12 th Grade	14%	86%
All Students	23%	77%
In your classes, did you study the background that justifies including social projects as part of the CNG curriculum?		
Grade	Yes	No
9 th Grade	23%	77%
10 th Grade	44%	56%
11 th Grade	20%	80%
12 th Grade	14%	86%
All Students	23%	77%

As shown in Table 8, 29% of the students believed the social projects are well integrated into the curriculum. Furthermore, only 23% of the students believed the social projects were well integrated into the daily activities of the school. More specifically, only 23% of students stated that they studied the philosophical background of social projects that justifies their inclusion into the curriculum. These results reveal that there is

little integration of the social service projects into the academic curriculum and daily activities of the school. Some students mentioned that the social service projects were discussed in class from time to time. However, there was no real integration effort at all on behalf of the teachers. When asked if the curriculum was linked at all with the social projects, one 11th grade student responded: “Um, well, not really. It’s more of an outside school activity, right? So it’s that day to go there. Normally we don’t even go the whole day, so we go there just go about 3 hours. Maximum, tops. Sometimes we get back and we say, how did we like it.” A 10th grader wrote in the questionnaire, “Most of the social projects are not part of the curriculum. Social service is after school which is like the main part of social projects at CNG.” An 11th grader stated very simply: “It [the CNG program] has nothing to do with curriculum.”

One 9th grade student was able to discuss how there was a small connection between one of her classes and the social projects.

Interviewer: Do you see any connection between your classes and these projects?

Student: My classes?

Interviewer: Yeah, like anything you do in class?

Student: In some classes. Like math nothing to do with it. Almost like PDR helps us a lot to interact.

Interviewer: How so?

Student: Maybe like sometimes she gives us papers like how did you feel about this, what would you improve something like that. She makes us like get into the topic, but I think it’s like the only class.

Interviewer: Do you have class discussions?

Student: Eh, with her in PDR but not in other classes.

Interviewer: And it’s just about things you would improve?

Student: Like eh, what do you think is good what do you think is bad what would you improve do you felt the kids liked it did you like it, stuff like that.

This student does note that some of the curriculum is based on these service projects and, in this case, her Personal Development and Relationships class does have some assignments and discussion related to the project. However, this type of integration is certainly not systematic for most of the students.

Unfortunately, there are not too many interesting quotes from the interviews to put into this section. The students simply responded “no” to this question. Most of the responses were similar to the following discussions. A 10th grader responded:

Interviewer: Do you find that there’s any connection with these projects to your class work?

Student: Not really.

And a 9th grader stated simply:

Interviewer: So, basically there is no real connection between what you do there and in your classes at all?

Student: No.

But as one can see from Table 8, the students who believe the daily activities are well integrated with the social service projects are the 10th graders. Furthermore, more than any other grade level, 44% of the 10th graders also believed that they studied the philosophy that justified the inclusion of social projects into the curriculum.

Additionally, these 10th graders also had the second highest percentage for believing that the projects were well integrated into the curriculum. This finding is quite similar to the finding from the category of social understanding of the poor, in which the 10th graders had the highest proportion of students who felt the social service projects were influential

in their understanding of poverty. Both of these findings could be related to the fact that 10th graders are required to take the “Sociales” class – a study of the social world. In taking this class, these students may feel as if the social programs are well integrated into the curriculum, because they discuss these projects and other related issues, and, in turn, this discussion provides them with a stronger, and more in-depth understanding, of the lives of the poor.

Although the curriculum and daily activities of the school do not appear well integrated with the social project, this finding does present a ray of hope. Clearly, if classes such as “Sociales” this can be created and required at every grade level, there is a possibility that students will benefit much more from their participation in social programs.

6.5.4 Preparation

Students in service-learning programs must be prepared to enter into community service in a number of ways. Without preparation students may enter situations without knowing what to do, what to expect, or what they are supposed to gain. With that in mind, student preparation becomes a vital aspect to any service-learning program. For the purposes of this project, the preparation component aims to measure how prepared students are to participate in these service-learning projects. To make this evaluation, this component was measured in all three data collection methods. More specifically, in the questionnaire, answers to the following question determined if the students were given any preparation regarding the community they were about to enter:

- ❖ Before entering the community, did you study in your classes about the culture of that community? Yes _____ No _____

TABLE 9. STUDENT PREPARATION.

Before entering the community, did you study in your classes about the culture of that community?		
Grade	Yes	No
9 th Grade	27%	73%
10 th Grade	11%	89%
11 th Grade	15%	85%
12 th Grade	22%	78%
All Students	20%	80%

As is revealed in Table 9, the students did not study the culture of the community before they entered into service. This finding illustrates clearly that students were unprepared to enter into the community. In this sense, they were unclear about the goals and objectives of the social programs. When asked specifically about these goals, many students used the term “integration” but, in fact, had little idea about what this actually meant. For example, an 11th grade student stated when asked about the goals of the Alianza program, “yes, it has a purpose, integration, education, fun, I don’t know. But it’s never you know that clear, yes, let’s go to Mundo Aventura. Integration. And?”

Furthermore, the overall preparation for students was very limited. When asked in general about their preparation, an 11th grader stated that “no, they gave us the permission slip, they tell us what the activity is going to be about...the kids are gonna take care of kids, that’s it. Or planting trees at the Alianza, kids are gonna be um, planting trees with the kids at the Alianza.” When asked a similar question, a male 9th grader said, “Like two weeks before, we didn’t really know what they had planned. They just told us, eh, we were to have 1 kid designated to us. And we had to do whatever he wanted.” A female 9th grade student reiterated this idea by saying that “no, they didn’t tell us anything, they were just like take care of them, we didn’t what like we could talk about to them or anything or how we should behave...” Another 9th grader stated, “It’s

like, it's like...we know...it's not needed." Another student declared in an interview:

"So, then they just say, OK today is Hogar day. Eh, 9:15 we'll go. They prepared us in 5th grade let's say, we all know now what we should do."

A number of students also discussed preparation as their primary recommendation for improving the program. For instance, a 9th grader, who was quite frank, recommended that preparation should be an important focus: "Plan it [the projects] more carefully, with more time and dedication (currently it's a half assed raw bacon)."

Another student added: "I would give the CNG students more preparation and a good explanation of what the purpose is." An 11th grader reiterated this point and wrote:

"First of all, I would start off by explaining to the students exactly what will happen, and precisely what they will have to do."

Although a number of students understood the importance of preparation, sometimes this lack of preparation was dismissed as unimportant by the students, because they felt the teachers already believed they knew how to act and treat the low-income participants. A 9th grader who was asked how teachers prepared them for service declared, "Well, we, we know our ethic rules, being with people and everything, they [the teachers] already know that, so they know that we will do well." Clearly, this false assumption has some serious implications with respect to the influence of service.

As mentioned in the reciprocity component, the preparation that did take place contained a consistent theme that students were expected to "take care of them." In point of fact, preparation seems to have consisted of getting the students to believe that community service is simply their duty because they are wealthy, and that part of being a good citizen is giving something back to the community. This approach seems nice, but

in the end only reinforces the idea of charity and maintains the traditional class boundaries. With that in mind, any preparation clearly needs to include a discussion of the difference between social change and charity. In this case, the students are being prepared for charity, and not for creating sustainable social change in these communities.

In the interviews students discussed the preparation process, or more specifically the lack of preparation. When asked about preparation, one 9th grade student responded by saying:

...No, no preparation. Like, I mean, they just told us, when you go, em, be nice don't talk about money, don't show your cell phones, IPODS, don't ask them questions about their family. Actually they do put some barriers, don't let us interact with them the way that these things are meant to be, yes? These things are meant to be to connect with them to see that they are not so different like us, like I mean money and way of life it's obviously different, but like the way of being of these people, the school just breaks that and stops that.

The 9th grader in this interview is arguing that the students are prepared but in a very negative way. In fact, the students are told not to interact in any way (talk about personal issues such as family) that might facilitate a connection with the project participants. Once this theme emerged in the interviews, a number of students were asked about this issue. Only one of the other students was told not to talk about his family, and specifically what his parents do for a living. However, several other students said that this preparation was never given. This confusion is a problem because there is no systematic or structured type of preparation and, in turn, students have varying ideas of how they are supposed to act in the community.

Building on this, the interviews and focus groups revealed that students are not prepared properly to interact with the project participants in terms of the class divide that exists between them. Low-income participants often asked them questions about their

class status, including how much their house costs, and how much money their parents make. The CNG students found these questions very uncomfortable. Moreover, they find these questions extremely hard to answer. For example, one 11th grade student was asked why CNG students were so rich. The student responded by simply stating that most of the kids are not “that rich anyways.” This 11th grader went on to remark, “...it’s hard to answer those questions but we do what we can.” Clearly, the students are not prepared in any way to answer these challenging and tough questions. Moreover, they are not aware of the complexity of poverty. In fact, they often provide simple answers like this 11th grader. Although one of the major aims of service-learning is to provide students with more complex answers to social problems such as poverty, this side of service-learning is not occurring.

As discussed earlier, throughout the interviews the students revealed that they believed the low-income community had a culture different from their own. However, not a single student was able to provide a complex or sufficient example beyond different eating habits and ways of talking. Specifically interesting, the focus groups revealed that these students did believe these cultural differences were due to social conditions, but they were unable to articulate a complex and sufficient explanation for these conditions being developed and maintained. Accordingly, without understanding the social complexities that create and perpetuate poverty, this talk about cultural differences only contribute to maintaining the bubble at CNG, and in Colombia in general, and that these people come from entirely different and irreconcilable worlds. In this sense, the cultural barriers that might be real are not being identified and broken down. In fact, apparently the real cultural barrier is the inability of one group to open up and understand the other

in a sufficient manner. The preparation phase of service-learning must include a discussion of the culture of the low-income community. In fact, one student recommended the following idea when asked about how the Alianza program could be improved:

...ah, ok, I got an idea, they could give them a questionnaire to them and to us, the same questionnaire, asking what do you think about these people, what do you know about these people, something like that and I don't know, compare the two or see if the ideas are totally different or there are similarities between the answers, well that would be interesting to see what they think about us.

This student is suggesting that culture should be discussed and explored at the beginning of the program. In turn, the students can learn about each other, and their differences, and attempt to understand why they might be very different in some respects and quite similar in others.

Often, part of this different culture is the use of different body and verbal language that is deemed to be offensive by the CNG students. A number of CNG students noted that their language was “harsh” and “not polite.” Clearly, this visible and strong difference between these groups needs to be explored and understood by the students at CNG. If this learning does not take place, CNG students will only feel hostility and will not understand why the low-income participants talk and carry themselves in a particular manner.

Overall, the lack of student preparation is highly problematic. If students are unaware of the goals and objectives of the social programs, they will enter into service without any appreciation of what they are supposed to gain. Moreover, without preliminary discussions about topics such as culture, students will be unprepared for what they will encounter and, in turn, their experiences may only reinforce stereotypes. This

appears to be a major reason why students are unable to overcome the negative influence, for example, of parents and the media, and unwilling to enter into meaningful relationships with low-income participants.

6.5.5 Service

Creating meaningful service is crucial for generating positive outcomes for any service-learning program. Meaningful projects not only motivate students to participate but also contribute to the improvement of the communities, because there is an element of social justice that characterizes the service. For the purposes of this project, the service component attempts to measure if the actual act of community service was meaningful to the students. Accordingly, one has to ask what is meant by the term “meaningful.” For the purposes of this study, meaningful is determined by the quality of contact students had with community members, and whether the projects improved the community in any appreciable manner in the minds of the students. This concept was measured in all three data collection methods, and was addressed in the questionnaire by the following questions:

- ❖ During your social projects, approximately how many hours in total did you actually spend IN the community where you were working? _____
- ❖ Do you believe that you had sufficient contact with the community in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the people in this neighborhood? Yes _____
No _____
- ❖ In your opinion, did the service provided by the project you participated in really improve the community? Yes _____ No _____

The results are presented in Tables 10.A, 10.B, and 10.C.

TABLE 10.A. TIME SPENT IN THE COMMUNITY.

During your social projects, approximately how many hours did you actually spend IN the community where you were working?		
Grade	Avg. years in project per student	Avg. time in community per year
9 th Grade	3.23	1 hour 17 min.
10 th Grade	2.47	3 hours 33 min.
11 th Grade	2.89	2 hours 13 min.
12 th Grade	3.92	8 hours 2 min.
All Students	3.24	4 hours 37 min.

TABLE 10.B. SUFFICIENT CONTACT.

Do you believe you had sufficient contact with the community in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the people in this neighborhood?		
Grade	Yes	No
9 th Grade	27%	73%
10 th Grade	11%	89%
11 th Grade	15%	85%
12 th Grade	24%	76%
All Students	20%	80%

TABLE 10.C. IMPROVING THE COMMUNITY.

In your opinion, did the service provided by the project you participated in really improve the community?		
Grade	Yes	No
9 th Grade	50%	35%
10 th Grade	83%	50%
11 th Grade	68%	17%
12 th Grade	62%	32%
All Students	65%	38%

Table 10.A reveals how much time students spent in the community. Although these numbers are extremely low, there is reason to believe that they are misleading. Particularly noteworthy is that students were unaware of what was actually meant by “time spent in the community.” Apparently, some students believed that this meant time spent in the program overall and students who made this mistake could have greatly

skewed the numbers. For example, six seniors put a total of a total of 480 hours (60, 80, 80, 80, 80 and 100) spent in the community. Clearly, these students did not spend this many hours actually in the community. Nonetheless, these six seniors accounted for more than half of the 945 hours for the entire senior sample. If these individuals are removed from the analysis, the average drops from 8 hours and 2 minutes to only 5 hours and 21 minutes for each senior. Although there were definitely some difficulties with this question, even with these six students included, the average number of hours spent in the community every year is still extremely low. Students should be spending at least 20 hours a year in the community.

Not only do these numbers reveal that students spent little time in the community they were serving, but according to the answers provided in Table 10.B 80% of them believed they did not have sufficient contact with the community. Clearly, these students believed they were not provided with enough time to develop any real understanding of poor people, and this design flaw is highly problematic when the aim is to create socially conscious students who understand the plight of the poor.

During the interviews and the focus groups, students reiterated consistently the idea that they had very limited contact with the community. In general, students noted that the service was not consistent, or long enough to develop any real connection and make the service meaningful for the students. A senior discussed this issue in an interview:

Interviewer: Did you make any connection with any of these kids? Do you feel like you connected with any kid?

Student: Well, I, not really, plus, I think of lot it is like, I'll probably never see them again, so that I mean I'm sure there was a short connection but you get close just talk, do a project together then I don't see like anything, not a connection.

A 9th grade student added:

Well, I mean because it's not so often, it's once in a while, each time you go you do feel something different, it does make an impact on you but you forget it, you go, ok, you felt those kids, you had a connection with those kids, but after 3 months you just stay at school, see your friends, and forget about them, never talk about that again.

In fact, a significant number of students at each grade level repeatedly recommended that more contact was necessary. A 9th grader wrote as a recommendation in the questionnaire: "I would plan more visits to the Alianza and always activities with the same group and the same children so that we can establish a deeper relationship." A 10th grader student wrote a similar response: "I would insist on the increase of the frequency which we do them. I think it is too seldom that we are involved in these activities." An 11th grader wrote: "I would make the visits more often. Also I would make activities in which the bonding could be more significant like trust experiences." A senior added, "I would change some of the social projects like teaching kids how to read (which students can do but not so well) and instead giving them more field days and interactive activities such as CNG students are more able to do." And when another senior was asked the one way in which he would improve the program, he stated:

Probably consistency, because you know, there's so, the projects are spaced so far apart that you can't you know you can't really plant that seed of caring and community service in the high school kids if you don't do it with consistency, and if you do it more often, then you get more chances to do it and I guess you get a feel for it.

As these selected quotes revealed, there are three aspects where the program has failed to provide the opportunity for meaningful contact. First, the activities themselves are many times not long enough. For example, with respect to the Hogar,

the activities last less than an hour and usually around 30 minutes. And as noted by one student, much of the 30 minutes is spent getting organized.

Second, the projects are not consistent—that is, the students participate in these projects rarely. When asked how often they participated in projects, students named a variety of times from once a month to once every six months. In fact, a 12th grader summed up this feeling well when discussing how she would improve the social projects:

Make them more diverse and consistent -- the only set "social service" activity is the Alianza thing. Other than that we do something whenever someone gets a strike of "good feeling" and we go.

Accordingly, the activities are too spread out, and even if a magical moment happens during one project, by the time the next one arrives this moment will be a distant memory.

Third, the students are not matched with the same student for every activity. Each time CNG students participate in the social projects they are matched with a different child. One 9th grade student stated that "...it was different every time." In order to form real, lasting relationships, students should be matched regularly with the same participant. Clearly, there is no consistent delivery of community service. With that in mind, even if the students were matched with the same low-income participant for every project, performing these projects intermittently and inconsistently, and in short periods of time, seriously limits the ability to create a true connection.

As shown in Table 10.C, almost two-thirds of the students believed the project they participated in really improved the community. In this sense, the projects would seem to be quite meaningful to the students; however, the interviews revealed that the students had little sense of the difference between social justice and charity. With that in

mind, students were unaware of the difference between real social change and simply creating a few magical moments. In fact, when the students were asked about social justice, often they had no idea how to respond. Ironically, three of the students in the interviews responded with answers equating communism with social justice (although they did not believe in it), including indirect quotes from Karl Marx (teach a man to fish...). For example, an 11th grader who said he discussed social justice in his classes, referred to Cuba when asked directly what social justice meant:

Interviewer: So, what does social justice mean to you?

Student: Well, I believe that social justice, um, well, be, is, is, when everyone has opportunities, an opportunity to exist and opportunity to live, an opportunity to be fed, and I am not those people that believe in a communist utopia or anything that everything will be the same but I do believe there will be social structure but in a way where everyone may have the chance to exist. Lower the standards of living for everyone so that uh, standards of living for people who don't have any would increase. For example, Cuba, you say that there is no liberty, but no one dies there, no one of hunger, or starvation, and before that how many kids die of starvation everyday around the world? So, it's that kind of social justice I am inclined to believe or in Canada, other places, Switzerland.

Moreover, in the interviews, students were asked what they would do to help poor persons if they could do anything without any limitations. Almost every student answered that question with a response that was primarily focused on charity, such as giving money, food, or clothes. For instance, an interview with a 10th grader revealed the following:

Interviewer: So, how would you go about helping poor people if you had a chance?

Student: Yes, I would. I would give money. Eh, to them. Or like, for example, give food to them.

A 9th grader responded to a similar question with the following:

Interviewer: If right now you had an opportunity to help these people in the community and you could do anything you wanted. What would you do?

Student: I would host charity funds like every single Friday, in which anyone could drop money for them.

One 9th grade student did seem to understand that charity was not the way to create real change, and stated that he would not give any money but rather the ability to achieve whatever they could dream. She declared in the interview, "...they should do like more like service programs like help them actually like taking them to a park is not helping them. Like it's making them happy for a day and that's it." However, when probed further, this student had no idea how to carry this out. With that being said, the students do not understand what real social change entails, and this lack of understanding reveals that the social program are unable to differentiate between social change and charity.

In the interviews, students also noted that not only would service not be meaningful but sometimes it could be a complete disaster, particularly the after school programs. In fact, one 9th grader was very frank about her experience in the project involving Mundo Aventura:

Like seriously it sucked, I didn't like it, the Mundo Aventura trip. Me and my sister are like, we are not going back. It wasn't worth it.

Two students who participated in the social service after school hours program noted that they also had bad experiences. In this case, an 11th grader remarked that sometimes there are many low-income participants, and that the small amount of CNG students that show up are unable to handle the situation. A 10th grade student discussed how he got into a fight with the low-income participants, and they were all jumping on him for a while.

This event was unsupervised. Accordingly, the interviews revealed that the after school service hours were not being properly carried out.

What was also discovered in the interviews is that sometimes community service did not even need to be completed in order to receive credit for community service hours! Several students revealed that students are able to receive “extra hours” for their service. For example, an 11th grader stated that students receive more hours for their service than they actually complete. The student stated, “the party is 3 hours. Well, Ms. Russi, gives them 15 hours. That’s the deal. You come for 3 hours and I’ll give you 15. And so they come for 3, 4, 5 parties, depending on how many hours they need, and that’s it.” Obviously, this is not creating an environment that encourages real community service, but simply fulfills a requirement. Additionally, another senior was on his way to “donate” an atlas, and received 20 service hours for the donation. As this student was relaying this information, a number of other students reiterated this idea. In fact, there were at least a half dozen seniors who were on campus the day before graduation to complete as much as 20 hours of community service, which clearly they would not be able to complete in the next 12 hours.

Another insight into how meaningless the service was to students is that they often described, as noted earlier, the service as boring and pointless. In fact, one 11th grader indicated that the people he knows actually would prefer to stay in school than participate in these projects.

Interviewer: What kind of attitude did most of the CNG students have toward doing these projects?

11th grader: Of course, none of them wanted to do it. They only went because we were obliged to, it’s obligatory.

Interviewer: Right. And getting out of school is ok too?

11th grader: Yeah, I guess in a way, but actually most, most people actually want to stay in school rather than go to that.

A 9th grade student added:

Interviewer: Was there any one time that you felt you were wasting time, or the activities you were doing were kind of useless?

Student: Several times. They put us up to some activities that were useless. But, still I found it polite to hang out with them.

Interviewer: Can you think of an activity where you were thinking, man this is stupid?

Student: They made us make cards to each other while we were right next to each other.

A senior added in the questionnaire: "Sometimes we did things like bring in food but most of the things I got hours for was just showing up on a Saturday and doing nothing."

Building on that point, one of the primary recommendations students made was that the projects should be much more diverse, thus reducing the likelihood of boredom. For instance, a 10th grader made this exact point by stating: "Perhaps not always the same activities every year, diversify them a little bit." An 11th grader also recommended: "I think it would be pretty cool to have sports competitions with them or work with them on something like a science fair project." Another 11th grader made a similar recommendation about the projects: "...More projects. Some kids may enjoy spending time with children more than teaching, etc." And a 9th grader suggested that projects be much more interesting: "More time, more activities, dynamic activities. Games/competitions. Something that would integrate us more."

Overall, the data revealed that the community service is not particularly meaningful to students. More specifically, the quality of contact with participants is lacking in time, consistency, and structure. Furthermore, the students do not feel as if

their service is really a “service” to the community, and thus is doing very little to create real social change. In some instances, the social projects are able to create a few “magical moments” for students, and, in turn, this makes them feel very good about themselves and their service. But this outcome is not the aim of service-learning; the aim is to transform individuals, break down barriers, create meaningful ties, and ultimately instill a sense of social justice.

6.5.6 Reflection

The component of reflection is perhaps the most important aspect of any service-learning program that aims to create a change in the behavior and attitudes of students. Essentially, reflection is the vehicle that connects service to the classroom and allows students to discuss their service activities in-depth to promote growth. Accordingly, reflection has to be provided either on the spot or shortly after service, and must be structured and systematic. Without the component of reflection in place, students will most likely not change their attitudes or behavior.

For the purposes of this project, the reflection component is defined as the level of discussion that was in place. In this sense, the quality of the reflection, including the type, length, and structure, will be analyzed. All three data collection methods were used to analyze this component, and is measured directly in the questionnaire with the following question:

- ❖ In your regular classes, did you discuss at length your involvement in a social project? Yes _____ No _____

TABLE 11. REFLECTION.

In your class, did you discuss at length your involvement in a social project?		
Grade	Yes	No
9 th Grade	18%	82%
10 th Grade	28%	72%
11 th Grade	5%	95%
12 th Grade	20%	80%
All Students	18%	82%

As shown in Table 11, only 18% of students discussed social service projects at length in their classes. These results show that students did not self-reflect on their community service. The interviews gave further support to this conclusion. The lack of self-reflection on service is perhaps the most important failure of the program to this point.

Students revealed that they did participate in class discussions from time to time, such as in Personal Development and Relationships or in homeroom, but such activity was irregular. Clearly there was no structured or systematic reflection built into the community service. And most often, students never participated in reflection of any sort. A 9th grade student stated that they “just jumped back into class,” when asked if they discussed the community service after their service was finished. In fact, one 11th grader believed that teachers did not even know if a student participated in the social projects by stating, “I bet the teacher doesn’t even know if I even went. I really doubt it.” In one of the focus groups, the students came to the conclusion that the teachers essentially did not know or do anything with regard to these projects, and definitely did not lead an in-depth class discussion or reflection of any sort.

Furthermore, noting this lack of reflection, students often cited this component as a recommendation for improvement. A 10th grade student wrote in the questionnaire:

“We only see the Alianza kids two times a year, three if we’re lucky. If I could, I’d have more days that the Alianza and CNG are together and be able to reflect how it went in each class.” A 9th grader also wrote: “I really would just like to talk about these in classes where we can discuss, classes where we are seeing poverty and related subjects.”

Some students did reveal that they discussed the activities with their friends, but this reflection was weak at best. Primarily they would discuss what was fun, or who had the cutest kid, but never anything deep or important with regard to social change or social justice. An 11th grader summarized this point by stating, “You just talk about what things, you know fun things, memories you had of activities, whatever.”

However, there was one instance identified in an interview where some amount of reflection took place and a transformation seemed to occur in a student. An 11th grade student was asked if she understood life in the barrio, and if she could explain what life was like for the low-income participants. This student provided an insightful, detailed, and thoughtful answer, and seemed to really understand what social existence was like for poor people. When asked how she came to this understanding, she attributed this development to discussions that she had with Ms. Russi. This 11th grader encountered a person who was very hostile towards her and she went to Ms. Russi for help. Through their discussions, Ms. Russi helped the student to understand why the low-income participant was so hostile. In turn, the 11th grader was able eventually to make a connection with this person. Overall, this experience seemed to really create a true understanding of what poor people go through for the 11th grader, which seemed to make her much more understanding and empathetic toward others. This experience only

reinforces the idea that reflection is an essential and crucial element in transforming a student's consciousness.

However, there does seem to be a positive result in this component. Similar to the previous findings, the 10th graders had the highest percentage and this might be the result of the required "Sociales" class. In this class, 10th grade students are able to reflect and have discussions that are directly related to the community service. The somewhat structured reflection that 10th graders received certainly reveals the importance of this component, when considering that almost 50% of students believe that they understand the lives of the poor. This finding is particularly noteworthy, since not a single 10th grader noted that he or she spent time outside of the project with the participants!

6.5.7 Recognition

Students should be recognized for their contribution to the community and the service-learning program. As discussed previously, this can be a tricky task. Students must be recognized in a way that shows their contributions are valued, but the recognition should not create a context where students complete activities solely based on material gain (awards, prizes, etc.). With this difference in mind, recognition should be community-based and not focused on selfish ends. For the purposes of this project, the component of recognition is defined as the level of recognition the students received, and the quality of that recognition (in regard to being community-based). The recognition component was primarily explored in the interviews.

From the interviews, the students revealed that there was not any significant recognition for their community service. In fact, none of the twenty students interviewed stated they received any type of recognition that was worthwhile. Some students did

mention receiving a “pat on the back” or some other type of small reinforcement, but primarily there was little to no recognition. In fact, the community service was essentially seen as a requirement that had to be done as part of their duty, but nothing that should actually be rewarded in any way.

A 9th grade student stated that “...people don’t do it because they like it, because they are told to do it.” An 11th grader stated, “In the end of 12th grade, they give you a diploma saying you completed 80 hours and that makes you eligible for graduation.” This student clearly falls in line with the thinking that service is simply a “requirement” for graduation and not much more. In fact, this student went on to say that she was never even patted on the back, and felt distaste for all of the hard work that she had done for the projects. She stated, “I work my ass out, and she’s (Ms. Russi) like you didn’t do anything. Hello, I organized the entire party all by myself.” When asked about teachers recognizing their service informally, one 9th grader stated, “My teachers? They tell us it was good, because they tell us to do it. They didn’t tell us it was good after.” In this sense, apparently the culture of the school is so negative that the only way to convince students to participate in these projects is to pressure them beforehand by stating that it is their duty or obligation. An 11th grade student elaborated on this issue, and summed up the general feeling quite well:

...the teachers well, they’re there and they have a stereotype on us, that we goof off and we don’t pay attention and that...we are not interested. So, I believe most of the teachers primary goal is to make sure that we don’t go and mess around...just stay there and be with him, yeah you know, don’t do anything stupid, instead of doing something positive, in my point of view.

This stereotype of the students held by the teachers, and their emphasis on simply ensuring that students do not “goof off,” only helps to fuel this negative culture because

of the assumption that these community service activities are unfulfilling and merely a useless requirement. On the other hand, many of the students hold the same stereotype about their teachers. In one of the focus groups, the students clearly agreed that the teachers were not motivated at all, had little interest in completing these projects, and essentially “just hung out” during the activities.

Overall, there is no recognition of student participation. This lack of recognition for their efforts only reinforces the idea that service is only a requirement and inessential to personal development or a worthwhile education.

6.5.8 Summary of Process Evaluation

Clearly, the CNG service-learning program contains a number of serious failures with regard to design and implementation. Not one of the seven program components fulfills the expectations of the theoretical model of service-learning developed in Chapter Four. Essentially, the students were not involved in the design and implementation of projects, were unprepared to enter into service, did not treat the community as status equals, did not reflect on their service, and were not recognized for their participation. With that in mind, how can anyone expect positive outcomes? However, there were some results that give a glimmer of hope to the projects. In particular, the required “Sociales” class seemed to set the 10th graders apart from the other grade levels. In this instance, the curriculum was somewhat integrated with the service, while the students participated in a modicum of reflection and discussion. Even this minimal amount of positive change seemed to have some influence on the students.

6.6 Overall Assessment of the Program

In general, the CNG service-learning program has been unable to achieve the desired outcomes. According to the students, the program is not influencing them in important ways, such as in their social awareness and their understanding of the poor. In fact, other sources such as the family and the media are given much more credit in the development of their world-view. Furthermore, the program has had little influence on the students' behavior, and the division between the rich and poor in Colombia is certainly in no threat due to the effects of the social projects.

With these outcomes in hand, the results from the process evaluation should come as no surprise. The program design and implementation is seriously flawed and is not creating a context that allows for the desired outcomes to be achieved. The design has major failures in every single component that is vital to a successful service-learning program. As mentioned throughout this research, failing in simply one of the areas can result in program failure!

One of the main reasons that students are unable to undergo a change in their attitudes and behavior is because the program does not overcome the class division in society. Instead of creating a context where the class division is left at the door, thereby allowing for traditional barriers to be broken down and friendships created, the program only helps to re-establish and perpetuate the existing hierarchy in Colombia. Furthermore, the CNG program appears to be instilling in students the belief that another world without a well-entrenched class division is not possible, when the program should be making students believe they can change the world for the better. In the next section, the results of this analysis will be framed within a theoretical context. The base of this

theoretical context is the contact hypothesis, which argues that contact between groups, under certain conditions, will reduce intergroup bias.

Chapter Seven. Discussion.

7.1 Introduction

In Colombia, two worlds exist. One is filled with privilege, wealth, and luxury, and the other with social barriers, struggle, and oppression. Most Colombians live in the latter rather than the former. In this sense, the elite and the poor in Bogotá may “share a city, but not a community” (Kennedy, 1968).

As Massey and Denton (1993) argued, extreme segregation (in any society) has a number of negative implications. For example, segregation in Colombia has resulted in the rich, and the poor, knowing little to nothing about each other, except what they hear from various sources such as the news and their parents. In turn, stereotypes have become well entrenched in the minds of everyone. Allport (1954:9) defined stereotypes as an “antipathy based on a faulty and inflexible generalization.” And although these generalizations might be incorrect, their consequences are real and, unlike the rich, the poor pay a particularly high price for these stereotypes. Depicted as violent, aggressive, dirty, and uneducated, the elite want nothing to do with the poor, except to use them as their personal moral compass. These stereotypical depictions of the poor dance in the minds of the elites, and they are particularly prominent with the students at CNG. As Bonilla-Silva (2003) stated, at the heart of modern day discrimination is stereotypes, and in this case nothing could be further from the truth.

The main objective of the CNG service-learning program is to transform the consciousness of students and instill a sense of social responsibility. But as the analysis in Chapter Six revealed, students at CNG view the poor in Colombia stereotypically. And with these stereotypes prevalent in the students’ mindset, they will never see the

poor as equals who deserve the same treatment, rights, and privileges as the rich enjoy. Accordingly, instilling a sense of social responsibility in students can never be achieved unless the stereotypes that CNG students hold about the poor are overcome. Unfortunately, the CNG program is not creating an environment that allows this to happen. In fact, this program appears to be only reinforcing stereotypes of the poor in a variety of ways.

Knowing this information, one of the main objectives of the CNG program must be to create a context where these stereotypes can be challenged, discussed, and ultimately debunked. Moreover, this context has to encourage meaningful relationships to develop between the rich and poor. Not only will this type of contact minimize stereotypes, but other outcomes will be realized such as a better understanding between persons. Although service-learning programs often attempt to create this type of environment, the literature reveals that they lack a fundamental theoretical base for proper development. Therefore, many service-learning programs fail in this regard, including the one at CNG. Nonetheless, the entire service-learning projects rests on persons coming together in a particular and fruitful manner, so that they learn more about one another. As a result of this interaction, stereotypes are expected to diminish. But the theoretical justification for this process is not well understood in service-learning programs.

The contact theory, proposed by Gordon W. Allport provides a theoretical base for creating an environment that is conducive to challenging stereotypes.¹³ In fact, Schofield (1995) argues that the contact theory is the most influential social

¹³ Essentially, the contact theory sets the foundation for this entire approach. However, no one discusses this thesis in the service-learning literature. The result is often a lack of theoretical sophistication on behalf of practitioners that may lead to program failure.

psychological approach to race relations. And as research reveals, the contact theory can be easily adapted to other domains such as class relations. In this chapter, the contact theory is explored in-depth to include a comprehensive review of the empirical literature. Furthermore, a model is developed that links service-learning to the contact theory, thus suggesting how CNG may create a context that fosters productive relationships between its students and the community.

7.2 Contact Theory

Immediately after the desegregation of the armed forces in WWII, researchers began to examine the effect of interracial contact on race relations (Watson, 1947; Williams, 1947). In 1954, Gordon W. Allport introduced into the social sciences the contact theory in an attempt to explain anti-black prejudice held by whites. Accordingly, Allport (1954) argued, “interracial contact tends to produce negative outcomes and the negative outcomes occur because of the prevalence of prejudice and stereotyping in the general population” (Goldsmith, 2004:590). Although the contact theory argued that contact leads to negative outcomes in many instances, Allport (1954) offered a solution and argued that contact established “under certain specified conditions” may result in outcomes that are positive and can change “intergroup attitudes and interaction patterns” (Braddock, 1980:179). In this sense, positive contact between groups may provide “direct information regarding the values, life-styles, behaviors, and experiences of other racial groups” that promotes a re-assessment of the negative generalizations that were previously held (Ellison and Powers, 1994:385). In the long run, the first-hand information that is gathered is likely to break down commonly held stereotypes, and, in turn, result in positive relations between the groups.

Clearly, the main ingredient in contact theory is the presence of intergroup contact. But Allport (1954) stressed that although contact is essential, the outcomes depend on the quality of such contact. In other words, contact between groups must be close, personal, and repetitive. A major failure of the CNG program, and many other service-learning programs, is that students from different groups are simply thrown together into these projects with the expectation that bias will simply disappear. However, research has shown that interaction without a theoretical base that specifies crucial conditions do not lead to decreased bias, and in fact might actually reinforce stereotypes (Reinke, et al., 2004). For example, Brooks (1975) found that white workers became more hostile toward black workers when the entry of black workers into the labor market was poorly arranged. And as the results from the last chapter showed, the social projects at CNG are producing the similar outcomes.

Accordingly, Allport (1954) put forth four conditions that are necessary to establish a context where positive interaction can occur: equal status, common goals, cooperation, and authority approval. The first condition is that of equal status among individuals. In this sense, members from one group should not be viewed as superior or inferior to the other. The key aspect is that both groups must “expect and perceive” equal status within the interaction (Pettigrew, 1998). As Riordan (1978) revealed, when contact is based on unequal status, particularly socioeconomic status, unfavorable outcomes are likely. As was shown in the last chapter, the CNG projects did not contain the element of status equals, and negative outcomes were evident.

However, equal status has been difficult to conceptualize. In this sense, some scholars argue that being status equals is not a necessary condition for positive outcomes

(Riordan, 1978; Amir, 1969) while others argue that the larger context defines any planned interaction. For instance, Cohen and Roper (1972) have argued that statuses such as race and social class are powerful enough to destroy equal status interaction, even if participants are given equal status within the situation. In this sense, equal status interaction “may need to be treated prior to interaction” (Riordan, 1978:166).

Nonetheless, the lessening of stereotypes held by groups who interact in equal status situations has received a tremendous amount of support in the literature. Therefore, despite the conceptualization concerns, status equality remains an important condition for creating positive intergroup contact (Mullen, Brown, and Smith 1992; Brophy, 1946; Amir, 1969; Mann, 1959; Robinson and Preston, 1976; Hewstone and Brown, 1986).

The second and third conditions necessary for positive interaction are somewhat intertwined. The second condition requires that groups share common goals and actively participate in achieving these goals. For example, students working with community members on a recycling project may define a common goal as getting a recycling bin in every household and collecting 100 pounds of recyclables a week. With common goals in place, the third condition, cooperation, comes into play. In order to achieve these common goals, groups must cooperate with one another. With that being said, groups are not in competition, but are actively working together to achieve their shared goals. Continuing the recycling example, community members and students might work together to distribute recycling bins, and collect, sort, and deliver recyclables. Clearly, the results from the analysis showed that students are unaware of any common goals, and, in turn, they are not cooperating with them in any manner to achieve a collective aim.

The final necessary condition for positive interaction is that this contact has the support of authorities, law, or custom. Basically, the contact between groups must be sanctioned from above, and this support must be “explicit” in some form or another in order to establish the “norms of acceptance” for this type of behavior (Pettigrew, 1998:67). Certainly, this condition relates to the environment that surrounds the interaction. For example, in a school where interracial contact occurs, positive interaction must be promoted and encouraged between racial groups. In this sense, the organization must provide a general context that encourages and motivates different students to interact before a project, such as service-learning, ever begins. CNG is not providing this context for their social projects. In particular, as will be discussed in the recommendations chapter, teachers are the key element in creating this context and they are not motivated or interested in participating in these projects.

7.2.1 Robbers Cave and the Optimal Conditions

A good example of all four conditions being created in order to study prejudice is found in the “Robbers Cave” research completed by Muzafer Sherif (1966). In this study, the aim was to create extreme bias between two groups. In turn, various means, based on contact theory, were tested to determine if bias could be minimized.

The project was carried out in Robbers Cave State Park in Oklahoma where twenty-two eleven-year-old white boys were sent for a special summer camp. On arrival, the boys were divided randomly into two groups and lodged on opposite sides of the campground. In the first phase of the study, the boys completed activities with their respective groups that created and strengthened solidarity and loyalty.

In the second stage of the experiment, the two groups competed in a series of competitions and winners were awarded various trophies and prizes. During this competition, prejudice between the groups became quite prevalent. Initially, the prejudice took a somewhat benign form such as name-calling. But over time, the expression of bias became stronger. For example, one group burned the other's flag, cabins were ransacked, and private property was stolen.

After the competition concluded, prejudice between the groups was at an all-time high and the groups were afforded a two-day period to "cool off." During this time, the boys were questioned about their feelings toward their own and the opposing group. Not surprisingly, the boys identified their own group in very favorable terms and the out-group negatively.

With extreme prejudice and borderline hatred established, the research study entered the third stage that aimed to reduce the prejudice between groups. Initially, contact was created that allowed the groups simply to get to know one another and interact in certain ways. However, these interactions ended in disaster, and in one instance there was a food fight.

The next step was to attempt to establish a context that included the four necessary conditions for positive intergroup contact established by Allport (1954). Essentially, problems were presented to the groups that would require that they work together. For example, in one of the scenarios the counselors blocked the water line and shut down the water supply to the camp. Separately, the groups investigated the situation and simultaneously they both found the obstruction and worked together over

the next hour as a team to remove the blockage and restore the flow of water. After success, the groups rejoiced together.

Throughout the day, the groups were presented with a number of other similar problems that resulted in the same type of interaction. By nighttime, group bias had minimized tremendously, and at dinner the groups ate together with only minor problems. Sherif (1966) attributed this reduction in bias to the quality of the contact produced by the problem-solving scenarios. In this example, all four of Allport's conditions were satisfied as the boys shared common goals (to solve the problems), and in achieving these goals they cooperated (they were no longer competing) and were status equals (the distinction between groups disappeared) with support from authority (the camp counselors). In a nutshell, this research has been instrumental in showing that when these four conditions are met, even a high degree of intergroup bias can be minimized in a relatively short period of time.

7.3 The Research on Contact Theory

The results produced by Sherif (1966) at Robbers Cave reveal that if Allport's four conditions are present, the breakdown of stereotypes and minimization of bias can be drastically reduced. But the support for contact theory does not end there; in fact, over the last 50 years empirical research has supported the theory extensively (with a few exceptions here and there). Few theories in the social sciences have such an impressive list of research support in a wide variety of domains. For the purposes of this chapter, the research review has been divided into three time periods: Early support, challenges, and recent trends.

7.3.1 Early Support

Before Allport introduced the contact theory in 1954, a number of studies revealed support for the idea that interracial contact reduced prejudice by Whites (Watson, 1947; Williams, 1947). After the release of the theory, research completed over the next decade was extremely supportive. The vast majority of the research was focused on housing. For instance, in analyzing public housing, Wilner, Walkley, and Cook (1955) found that whites who had multiple contacts with blacks had positive racial views. In a study conducted on urban police officers, Kephart (1957) found that white officers who worked with black officers were less likely to object to coming partners with black officers. With respect to the effect of contact on Blacks, Works (1961) found that Blacks who live in a desegregated housing project were more likely than those who live in segregated housing to have favorable views of Whites. And of course, the aforementioned study by Sherif (1966) is considered one of the most important early studies that support the contact theory.

7.3.2 Challenges

Although the early research supported contact theory, by the mid 1960's challenges began to surface, and from the mid 1960's to the late 1970's this theory came under fire on several fronts. Most important, a number of studies were published that claimed to disprove the theory (Bradburn, et al., 1971; Meer and Freedman, 1966; Zuel and Humphrey 1971). For example, Zuel and Humphrey (1971) examined the contact theory in integrated suburban neighborhoods. They argued that in this setting the contact theory is not applicable and is drastically different from previous studies of urban housing projects that found support for this theory. The results of their study led the

researchers to conclude that “initial and subsequent attitudes of white neighbors toward black neighbors are largely unaffected by contact” in these neighborhoods (Zuel and Humphrey, 1971:462). However, researchers now refute these findings because the contact did not possess the qualifying four conditions proposed by Allport (Pettigrew, 1998). Nevertheless, these studies resulted in the contact theory losing some favor in the social sciences.

During this same period, the lack of popularity of contact theory was also the result of studies that argued for reverse causality. In this sense, a number of studies were released that revealed that contact with minority groups actually increased prejudice among dominant group members (Butler and Stokes, 1969; Hiro, 1971; Mitchell, 1968). Not surprisingly British, Australian, and South African researchers who were in the midst of a serious racial dilemma completed these studies. Ray (1983) argued that these researchers were simply finding results that would support their “group values,” and, in turn, their findings have been all but dismissed.

7.3.3 The Recent Era

Despite all of the published research that argued against the contact theory from the mid 1960’s to late 1970’s, the theory made a resurgence in the early 1980’s and has been a mainstay in the social sciences ever since. Once again, as in the first period, the research on contact theory was highly supportive. Similar to the first period the bulk of empirical research was focused on racial issues in the areas of education and housing, but in this recent era the theory has been applied in a number of different realms that revealed the theory’s strength and versatility. For instance, Herek and Capitanio (1996) found that positive contact reduced bias against homosexuals. Caspi (1984) also produced the same

findings when studying bias against the elderly. And in a study of the mentally ill by Desforges, et al., (1991), they found that contact can minimize bias against these persons. Furthermore, the effect of contact on Black racial attitudes continued to be supportive, as researchers such as Ellison and Powers (1994) found that when Blacks have interracial contact in their childhood, they are much more likely to develop close friendships with Whites. Essentially, research has revealed that contact theory is applicable to the study of intergroup behavior in virtually any setting.

Along with the diverse focus of the research in the current era, the sophistication has also improved drastically. For instance, a unique study was undertaken by Dixon and Rosenbaum (2004) to test the predictive power of contact theory with respect to two popular competing approaches to explain prejudice: group threat theory and cultural theory. In this study, the researchers developed a multi-level model that linked General Survey Data to Census Data in the year 2000. They found strong support for the contact theory. Dixon and Rosenbaum (2004:276) stated that their “findings lend qualified support to contact theory’s general proposition that contact helps to disconfirm stereotypes.” More specifically, the researchers found that Whites were less likely to express anti-black and anti-Hispanic stereotypes in a variety of situations. Perhaps the most important finding was that “even relatively superficial contact helps to counteract some of the effects of other sources of stereotypes” (Dixon and Rosenbaum, 2004:277). Overall, the authors believed the findings for the contact theory were much more significant than the other two theories.

In the most recent era, researchers have also added a number of qualifying conditions to the contact theory that were considered necessary to create optimal

conditions for intergroup contact. For example, Wagner and Machleit (1986) argued that a common language, voluntary contact, and a strong economy are required. However, scholars have argued that contact theory has been too “narrowed” and “overburdened” by these conditions, and the essence of the theory has been lost (Pettigrew, 1998).

Overall, the research during this period has been extremely supportive for contact theory. Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) made this clear in their extensive meta-analyses. In reviewing hundreds of research studies, the researchers revealed the effects of contact hypothesis are robust even in non-optimal conditions and irrespective of the data collection method.

7.3.4 Education and Contact

Although contact theory was applied in a number of different realms during this period, the main reason for the resurgence was due to the racial integration controversies that surfaced in education. Therefore, much of the recent research has focused on interracial contact in schools. Obviously, this research on contact theory that focuses on the educational setting is particularly relevant for this research project and will be examined in-depth.

Much of the research has revealed the positive effect of racial contact in various school environments. For example, Braddock (1980) examined the impact of racial contact in desegregated schools. In this study, the author surveyed 253 black students from two predominately black and white colleges in the South. The study found that black students who attended desegregated high schools were much more likely to attend desegregated colleges, and in this instance majority white colleges. The effect of high school desegregation was stronger than any other component, including social class and

college cost. Overall, the author attributes this finding to the positive contact that developed between the two racial groups.

But the question still remains, what elements must be present in a school environment for positive contact to occur? This question is particularly relevant for this research project, and in this regard researchers have examined how the policies and culture of a school are intertwined to create a context that may or may not support positive contact between groups. Pettigrew (1998:78) discussed the issue of organizational structure in defining race relations in schools and argued that “institutional...norms structure the form and effects of contact situations.”

In particular, research has shown this claim to be true. For example, Goldsmith (2004) examined how the organizational structure of schools may influence interracial conflict and friendship, and argues that the four conditions named by Allport are hardly ever present in a school environment. In fact, contact is often times based on unequal status and is highly competitive. Moreover, conditions may vary from school to school and are never the same in every setting. And in this sense, the outcomes of interracial contact can vary based on the organizational policies and culture. For instance, Goldsmith (2004) found that the hiring practices of schools help to shape the racial culture that exists. More specifically, schools with a higher percentages of minority teachers decreased the likelihood of conflict. The authors attributes this finding to the fact that minority teachers are more tolerant of others and are better able to resolve conflict through peaceful mediation due to their life experiences. With that in mind, this research reveals that organizational policies, such as the hiring of minority teachers can be instrumental in shaping the contact between races.

To further delve into this important argument, another relevant study by Braddock and Slavin (1992) revealed that school tracking heavily influences student status and that students in the “college preparatory track” are afforded a much higher status than others. Furthermore, Goldsmith (2004) argued that the students who are placed in higher-level tracks are given more awards and have better access to resources within the school, thus resulting in an unequal distribution among groups. This finding is particularly important when historical research on tracking has concluded that poor and minority students are disproportionately placed in lower level tracks (Oakes, 1985, 87, 90; Gamoran, 1987; Labaree, 1986; Wells and Oakes, 1996; Ferrante, 2006). Clearly, a school’s policy on tracking may violate the first condition necessary for optimal contact between groups, status equals, and, in turn, create conflict between groups of differing color and social class. In fact, research has supported this argument (Braddock and Slavin, 1992; Grant, 1996; Schofield, 1982; Goldsmith, 2004). Accordingly, the evidence clearly shows that a school organization and policies can greatly affect the presence of intergroup conflict by the outcomes of the policies and the climate that is established within the school.

7.3.5 Summary of Research

Overall, empirical research on contact theory has revealed that interaction under optimal conditions can drastically minimize of intergroup bias in a variety of situations. But not only must these conditions be present to a certain degree, the larger context that surrounds the interaction is vital to positive outcomes. In this sense, institutions, such as CNG, need to establish an environment that specifically and outwardly promotes and encourages positive group interaction. Fortunately, the implementation of a high-quality service-learning program can create the necessary conditions for optimal contact, and

thus establish an environment that is conducive to group interaction that may ultimately lead to an attitudinal change and the minimization of bias. Later in this chapter, a model will be presented to reveal exactly how schools like CNG can carry this out.

7.4 Processes of Contact

Allport's conditions establish the proper context for interaction to occur, but once contact is made in this situation, what processes promote the breakdown of stereotypes? Over the years, research has identified four "interrelated processes" that need to unfold to minimize bias between groups (Pettigrew, 1998). The first and most obvious is that the contact between groups facilitates learning about the other that "corrects negative views of the group" (Pettigrew, 1998:70). Although this process is the base of the contact theory, learning about the out-group alone does not necessarily guarantee positive results and the other three processes must take place (Pettigrew, 1998; Rothbart and John, 1985). Along with learning about the out-group, the second process -- behavioral change -- must also occur. In this sense, by interacting with the out-group *repeatedly* in positive ways, people begin to change their outward behavior toward the out-group (in some instance without even realizing this is happening). As Pettigrew (1998:71) states, "behavior change is often the precursor to attitude change."

With positive, continual contact occurring, the third and interrelated process of "generating affective ties" may occur. Specifically, a variety of emotions and feelings can develop between groups from friendship to empathy. In particular, groups such as the CNG students who fear the poor because of violent and aggressive stereotypes may lessen their anxiety toward the poor due to "continued contact" Pettigrew (1998:71). Unfortunately, the program at CNG is not creating continuous contact, but irregular and

inconsistent interaction. Of course, the most influential development that may occur in this process is the development of friendship between groups. Research has shown continually that individuals who have friends in an out-group are much less prejudiced toward those persons (Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew and Meertens, 1995; Powers and Ellison, 1995). However, the CNG projects are not allowing for friendship to develop, due to the limited amount of time the groups spend together and the context in which that time is spent.

The final process that must occur is “in-group reappraisal” (Pettigrew, 1998). In this sense, the contact between groups not only results in learning about the out-group, but the perception of the in-group held by its members also changes. In other words, individuals begin to feel less loyalty and allegiance to their own group. Accordingly, Pettigrew (1998) argues that in-group favoritism is minimized because of extensive contact with the out-group and far less contact with the in-group members.

Essentially, when these four interrelated processes occur bias can be minimized greatly. Clearly, these processes are difficult to create in a real-world situation. However, they can be quite easily carried out in a school context such as CNG. But as the service-learning program is currently being carried out, these processes are not occurring. More specifically, the component of reflection in the service-learning model is crucial to success, yet as the results revealed systematic and structured reflection is not happening at CNG. Bearing that in mind, the first and fourth process (learning about the out-group, and re-appraisal of the in-group) can never be produced without the presence of high quality reflection.

7.5 How Service-Learning May Minimize Bias

As mentioned in the analysis, students at CNG are extremely biased against the poor and hold a variety of negative stereotypes that limit their desire to interact and develop friendships. Moreover, the results revealed that students are highly influenced by other sources of information such as the mass media. And as Lee, Farrell, and Link (2004:67) stated, “media consumption without any concomitant close-range exposure appears to have a negative impact on the attitudes of those few persons who remain far removed from the problem.” With this in mind, how can service-learning create the necessary contact between groups to minimize the bias in CNG students? Fortunately, as this section will show, service-learning can create a context where reducing bias against the poor can be accomplished. Model 1, in appendix A, reveals how, in general, service-learning can create the possibility for meaningful relationships to develop that minimize bias against a stigmatized group such as the poor in Colombia. As this model shows, the process of attitudinal change in the students involves three stages.

7.5.1 Stage 1 – A Service-Learning Model

In the first stage, CNG must adopt a service-learning model. As the results from the analysis in Chapter Six showed, the program at CNG is lacking in a number of important areas. In this regard, the school leaders must develop service programs that fulfill the requirements of the seven components identified in the theoretical model of service-learning outline in Chapter Four. Without a high-quality service-learning model, the optimal conditions that are required for contact will never be met, and thus stage two can never be reached.

7.5.2 Stage 2 – Optimal Contact

Once these program components are implemented according to the theoretical model, optimal contact may occur between the groups. Essentially, proper implementation of the service-learning program will create a context where the four conditions for optimal contact specified by Allport (equal status, common goals, cooperation, and support from authorities) can be established. How each one of these conditions may be established through a high quality service-learning program is discussed below.

7.5.3 Equal Status

Equal status between the two groups -- the students and the community -- may be achieved if the CNG program includes collaboration and reciprocity. In this sense, the component of collaboration insures that both groups are working together to develop the projects in an environment that affords both of them equal status and participation. Furthermore, the component of reciprocity labors to guarantee that both groups have equal status within the projects as they are being carried out. Essentially, with these two components properly implemented, the first requirement of equal status can be established in every aspect of the program. Unfortunately, the results revealed that both of these components are absent in the CNG program.

7.5.4 Common Goals and Cooperation

The second condition put forth by Allport, i.e., common goals, may also be achieved if the program has the element of collaboration. In this case, the students must collaborate with the community to devise common goals to promote the aims of the community. Along with the component of collaboration, the preparation component also

aids in creating common goals. As part of preparation a “needs assessment” or other ideas carried out by the students to understand the community and what its members desire. In turn, the groups will share goals that will allow them to work together to achieve something in common. But the analysis showed that common goals have not been developed in the CNG social projects.

With these first two conditions established, the third condition of cooperation should fall into place. In this sense, from the outset students are not competing against one another, but working together with the community to realize common aims. With the lack of collaboration and preparation in the CNG projects, students are not being prepared to cooperate with the community in the manner proscribed by service-learning projects.

7.5.5 Support from authorities

The final condition -- support from authorities -- is crucial to the overall success of the program and vital for achieving positive outcomes for students. Support from authorities can be established through proper implementation of the components of curriculum integration, recognition, and reflection. Accordingly, support from authorities should be established in two areas: organizational policies and culture. Indeed, organizational policies can be instrumental in developing the proper culture for service-learning to produce positive outcomes.

The first way that organizational policies can create a culture where the importance of service is emphasized is by integrating the curriculum with the service-learning program. Essentially, curriculum integration brings these projects into the daily lives of students. Furthermore, the teachers and administrators are brought into the

program, and, in turn, this shows students exactly how important these projects are to their development. Built into curriculum integration is the component of reflection, where discussions and other techniques are introduced into the classroom to challenge students to think and talk about their service. Curriculum integration is crucial to creating a culture that emphasizes and encourages participation in the service-learning projects, since the student's academic and daily activities are directly related to their service. The component of recognition also contributes to a culture that promotes service by positively rewarding the students by important authority figures. Overall, this condition refers to the organizational culture that exists within the organization. The culture of the school must encourage and emphasize the importance of participation in these programs with explicit sanction. As Pettigrew (1998:67) stated, "With explicit sanction, intergroup contact is more readily accepted and has more positive effects." Furthermore, Wilner, Walkley, and Cook (1955:106) recognized the importance of the environment early on by stating, "Contact and perceived social climate tend to reinforce each other when their influence works in the opposite direction." The results from the analysis showed that none of this is occurring at CNG, and the overall context for these projects is not conducive to friendship development or the minimization of bias.

7.5.6 Stage 3 – Processes for minimizing bias

With contact in this context between groups, the four processes that minimize bias will begin to unfold. But, as with the optimal conditions for contact, these processes hinge on the successful implementation of the service-learning model. For example, the component of reflection must insure that students are not only learning about the out-group, but also re-assessing their own in-group in various ways. Without reflection, these

processes might not take place and the students will not gain new insight toward the out-group. Another example relevant to the CNG program is that behavior is changed through the program. However, as the program is currently established, the students are not treating the community as status equals, and therefore their behavior has not been altered at all. But with a service-learning program that insures equal status between groups their behavior will change, and, in turn, the possibility of friendship development will increase.

7.5.7 Final Outcome – Attitudinal Change

The development of this model rests on creating and implementing a high-quality service-learning program. Once a high-quality program is in place, the second and third stages all but take care of themselves. Overall, if these three stages can be carried out, students should experience attitudinal and behavioral change toward the poor, due to the development of meaningful relationships between the groups. As recent research has revealed, “the contact situation must have friendship potential” in order to eliminate or minimize stereotypes (Pettigrew, 1998:80). And as a CNG student stated: “If we could develop like a personal relationship with the people then we could actually understand their problems and care for them personally.” Currently, as the analysis in Chapter Six revealed, the service-learning program at CNG has limited potential for developing friendships in its current state, and thus attitudinal change is not taking place.

7.6 Chapter Summary and Conclusion

In the last chapter, the results of the analysis revealed that students hold very strong negative stereotypes against those of lower-income in Colombia. These stereotypes are inhibiting the effectiveness of the CNG program. In particular, students

are apprehensive about interacting with the low-income participants. Much of this failure is due to the fact that the program has not been implemented properly, and thus has not created a context that allows for meaningful relationships to develop.

In this chapter, these results were placed within the theoretical framework of the contact theory. Accordingly, contact theory provides a theoretical base necessary to justify creating an environment where participants have the real opportunity to develop connections with other groups. In linking the contact theory with service-learning, a three stage theoretical model was developed that details how attitudinal change toward out-groups may be accomplished at schools such as CNG.

In the first and most pivotal stage, the school must develop and implement a high-quality service-learning model. With a high-quality program in place, the conditions set forth by Allport (1954) for optimal contact between groups can be established for the project projects that are carried out. In turn, the combination of the program components (such as reflection) and optimal contact interaction allows for the processes of stereotype reduction to occur in CNG students. Overall, the model may be successful in minimizing bias because the possibility for developing meaningful relationships between groups is extremely high, and as recent research has revealed this outcome often results in attitudinal and behavioral change.

Although Colombian society is highly segregated along the lines of social class, that division does not have to be present within the service-learning program at CNG. In fact, CNG needs to create an environment where students believe that another world is possible. In this sense, the social programs can begin to transform the consciousness of students if they follow the model set forth in this chapter. In turn, as these stereotypes are

being debunked, students will begin to develop meaningful relationships with the poor. And in the end, CNG students will no longer fear interacting with the poor, but see them as equals who deserve of the same opportunities and rights that they enjoy. Ultimately, with these new friendships in hand, students will begin to embody the characteristics desired by John Dewey, but specifically a sense of social responsibility to all of the communities to which they are connected.

Chapter Eight. Recommendations.

8.1 Introduction

A recommendations chapter is not often included in a dissertation, but the motivation behind completing this research project was much more than simply to receive a degree. In fact, this research has a purpose: to facilitate social change in Colombia. Although the situation in Colombia is quite bleak, and many believe social change is impossible, the aim of this research is to improve the service-learning program at CNG and perhaps help future leaders to develop a strong sense of social responsibility. Although this chapter is unique for a dissertation, in the long run the recommendations are possibly the most important aspect of this project.

The analysis presented in Chapter Six revealed that the social service projects at CNG are not influencing students in a positive manner. Moreover, many students hold strong biases about the low-income participants, including stereotypical beliefs about their characteristics and lifestyle. This conclusion is, however, consistent with the analysis of the program components that pointed out a number of key failures. Perhaps the most important failure of the social service projects is that they do not provide meaningful contact between the groups, and, in turn, there is little opportunity for relationships to develop. As research on contact between groups has revealed, the potential for friendship is the key to breaking down barriers and minimizing bias.

In order to correct these deficiencies, and develop a context where the possibility of relationship development exists, six recommendations for improving the CNG program are provided in this chapter. These recommendations are based on the model presented in the last chapter, and in that sense they are focused primarily on the service-

learning model in Chapter Four. As the model revealed, if a high-quality service-learning program can be developed at CNG, contact may be created that is meaningful, has potential for the development of relationships, and minimizes the biases of CNG students.

8.2 The Culture at CNG

Before getting to specific recommendations, the culture of the school must be discussed as a major source of concern. Contact theory research has shown that the larger context can strongly influence the quality of interaction that takes place between groups. Allport (1954) discussed originally this idea with regard to his fourth condition, or support from authorities, law, or custom, and researchers have expanded on this theme since its introduction. Specifically, researchers have shown that managerial or other policies may determine to a large degree the culture of any organization. In this sense, organizational policies may create a culture that does not provide a context that is friendly to service-learning.

But organizational culture is not simply a structural issue per se. Not only do organizational policies affect the climate of service-learning, the administrators, teachers, and other leaders of the school help to create and define those policies and reinforce them continually through their actions. Bearing this in mind, the culture of organizations is not only determined by policy but the people who enact and carry them out.

After spending a month at CNG immersed in the student population and reviewing in detail all of the data collected, the organizational culture of CNG clearly does not create an environment that strongly promotes positive participation in the social service projects. Although at first glance it may appear that the policies of the school

support a culture of community service, they do not. A 10th grader summed up this point quite well:

I think that the only thing that needs to change is our attitude towards the social projects. Most of us see them as something that's boring and mandatory if we could change that, everything would be so much more productive.

Moreover, general patterns appeared that gave the impression of a lack of encouragement, participation, and concern on the part of many of the school's leaders. For example, although students are required to complete 80 hours of social service, they are often given extra hours for not actually completing service but for purchasing items the school needs. But this negative culture is bigger than simply one person and is promoted and perpetuated primarily by the teachers, who seem to have little to no enthusiasm for these projects and do not integrate them into the curriculum. Of course, this lack of integration is an organizational policy. Essentially, the combination of a failure on the part of school policy and the example set by leaders creates the idea that community service is an "extra-curricular" activity and, these projects represent a requirement that must be fulfilled in order to graduate.

In turn, the culture that exists creates an environment where students see very little reason to enter into and participate in these projects with any real enthusiasm. The organizational culture is hostile toward these projects, in part because they have been poorly implemented and do not live up to the expectations of service-learning. But with that in mind, the aim of these recommendations is to strengthen the theory and practice of service-learning in a number of ways, which in turn should alter significantly the organizational culture at CNG.

8.3 Recommendations

The following recommendations are provided in order to create a service-learning program at CNG where there is a possibility of developing a meaningful relationship between two seemingly irreconcilable groups. As the model in the last chapter showed, a service-learning program can make this happen, but proper implementation is essential. Accordingly, six recommendations are presented that should strengthen the service-learning program at CNG and create a context where meaningful connections can be established between the students and the communities where service is undertaken.

8.3.1 Community-Based Projects and Collaboration

Although these projects may appear to be community-based, they are not. This failure is of extreme importance. An important element of community-based projects is that they involve the component of collaboration where groups work together as status equals toward achieving common goals. However, the CNG program is not community-based, and, in turn, is clearly lacking the component of collaboration. In the model, collaboration is one of the most important elements to creating a context where group friendships may develop. In fact, the collaboration component can help to establish three of the four conditions set forth by Allport (1954): status equals, common goals, and cooperation. Clearly, the proper implementation of the collaboration component is vital. Therefore, this is the first recommendation for improvement.

The failure of the projects to include proper collaboration, and thus be community-based, has several explanations. First, the local barrios that are receiving the community service seem to be involved little in the planning, development, and evaluation of any activities. A needs assessment was apparently conducted in these

neighborhoods at one time, but this study was not formalized and no data are available. But even if these communities were consulted initially, they are no longer involved in the process to any significant degree.

This lack of input from the community is a major concern on two fronts. First, the community is not collaborating with the students in the direct manner that is crucial to developing relationships. And second, the community has been made a passive element in these projects, simply waiting for handouts from CNG. Clearly, the community must be incorporated actively into the social service projects. Specifically, the community should, at a minimum, have several designated leaders who are allowed to participate in the planning of the projects.

Second, the students themselves, who are the heart of these projects, are only involved in the planning process to a limited degree, and those students who are usually involved are part of the honors program. To make these truly collaborative projects, the students and community should actually lead all activities from the beginning to end, and thus the planning strategy should be “from below” instead of “from above.” In this regard, the program coordinators and the teachers should simply act as facilitators and guides to the students and community leaders. Accordingly, the students should be working side-by-side with members of the communities to understand their needs and design socially relevant projects. Instead of the students working for the community, they need to help solve various social ills that these persons identify to be important. Indeed, the contact hypothesis stipulates that participants should be “committed to an active, goal-oriented effort” if social change is going to occur (Merrill and Pusch, 2007:36). With this type of strategy in place, the interaction between the community and

students can be cooperative, of “equal status”, and involve “common goals” defined by the community and the students working together.

The third failure of these projects to be community-based is that the students never actually enter the community. In one of the focus groups, the lack of entry into the community was seen as a major failure and the students believed that entering the community would be a "good thing." But in the current state of the program, the community is simply transported into the CNG “bubble.” Although students did visit the public schools at Alianza, this entrance provided only a superficial introduction to the community. Students need to actually work within the community. For example, the local barrio, Juan XXIII, is located across the street from the school and is literally walking distance away. In this barrio, there is a town meeting hall where students could work with their neighbors. Certainly, entering this community is not a great idea at nighttime, but during the day, with supervision, entrance does not seem to be difficult or especially dangerous, particularly if community leaders accompany them. Moreover, as contact theory argues, once students have entered the community and actually created a bond between the two communities, the fear of the “unknown” and the “other” from both sides should be diminished, particularly if the community knows that the CNG students are there to collaborate and supply needed services.

Overall, the social service projects are not community-based and this must be corrected in order to implement the component of collaboration properly. Essentially, working side-by-side as equal status partners accomplishes two aims. First, students will begin to question their stereotypes about the poor being, for example, inherently aggressive, violent, lazy, or dirty and understand that poor people are very much like

them, fostering the breakdown of these stereotypes. Second, working with members of the community might actually create meaningful relationships that leave a lasting impression on the students. In the end, the collaborative environment provided by the projects will empower both the students and community in a way that can, ultimately, be transformative for everyone.

8.3.2 Student Preparation

The students are simply not being prepared to enter these projects. Basically, they are basically thrown into the projects and expected to gain something. As a result, the students have little to no idea about the communities they are about to enter, except for what they have heard from the media and their parents, which is most likely stereotypical and negative. In turn, many enter these projects lacking the willingness to connect with community members and develop meaningful relationships. Given this lack of preparation, community service tends to only reinforce the “bubble” these students live in everyday at home and CNG.

In order to prepare students properly, there are several possible correctives. Essentially, preparation could be a three-phase process involving classes, discussions, and other group activities. The first phase involves the students beginning to learn about the community they are about to enter. Clearly, they should be aware of the cultural differences that are present in these neighborhoods. But currently, students *only* feel as if their culture is drastically different from the poor, and when thrown into these projects without preparation this belief is reinforced in various ways. However, with proper preparation they can begin to appreciate not only the differences but also the *similarities* with their culture. Furthermore, these differences can be explained in a manner that is

constructive and academic, rather than based on stereotypes and negative ideas that are presented by various sources such as the mass media.

With this type of preparation in place, students will enter the situation looking for cultural similarities, instead of always focusing on the differences that appear immediately in terms of clothing, material goods, and ways of communicating. In this regard, classes can be creative and bring across these ideas in a variety of ways. For example, initiating student led discussions about culture can help to prepare the students. Moreover, the recommendation made by one student (see page 137) to bring the two groups together, administer a questionnaire designed to assess their respective lifestyles, values, and behaviors, and then discuss differences and similarities, seems to be an excellent way to begin a dialogue. Essentially, the aim of the first stage of student preparation is to develop some way that students can enter the community with knowledge in hand that allows for them to feel comfortable, and see that these people are not much different from them.

In the second stage, students need to understand that the point of service-learning is not simply charity, and thus they must understand how this idea differs from social justice. From the interviews, students clearly were not able to differentiate between the two. In fact, most had no idea what social justice entailed. This confusion is a recipe for failure! In this sense, a program built on a charity model only creates a context where students learn how to be nice and charitable in order to keep poor people in their place. In turn, these programs only serve to perpetuate inequality.

In their discussions and activities about the general nature and focus of social justice, students should also begin to comprehend that treating community members as

less than equals is unproductive. In fact, one of the main differences between charity and social justice is that they must treat the community members as equals. A great way to bring this point across might be to set up “mock” interactions between students and community members to illustrate first-hand how these differences play out in everyday discourse. Regardless of what activity or technique is used, students must believe and feel that community members should be treated, as status equals before they ever even enter into these social projects.

The final stage of the preparation phase should involve the students beginning to actually work with the community. In this sense, students and community leaders begin to collaborate with one another in order to develop ideas for improving the community. After completing the first two stages, students can now enter into this sort of collaboration, guided and facilitated by an instructor, with the necessary skills they need to interact in a truly collaborative manner.

Overall, the three stages of student preparation is a good way to not only prepare students for participation but to begin to create a context for friendship development. Currently, students are not being prepared for their service at all, and are only being told to take care of the community members. But armed with this new information gained from preparation, students will be able to enter into an “educational partnership” with the community, and in the end both parties will gain much more from their service.

8.3.3 Systematic and Structured Reflection and Curriculum Integration

One of the biggest failures of the program is the lack of systematic reflection, particularly since the primary goal of the social projects is to alter the world-view of the students. And reflection has been identified in the service-learning literature as the most

crucial element in creating a “transformation of consciousness” in students. But how can the students' mindset be changed when they are not challenged to discuss or think critically about their participation? In this sense, students must be provided time to reflect, think, and challenge ideas and beliefs that relate to the community service. The results in Chapter Six revealed that the “Sociales” class required for all 10th graders might have been relevant in students understanding the plight of the poor. These results only reinforced the idea of how important reflection may be on changing a student’s world-view. However, although 10th graders were required to take the Sociales class, and some other students noted that a couple of teachers brought this reflection into their class discussions from time to time, there was no systematic and structured reflection in the curriculum. With that being said, the failure of the CNG social service projects to impact these students in any significant manner is clear.

Realizing the importance of reflection in student development, scholars recommend that reflection should occur almost immediately after the service is completed (Jacoby, 1996). In fact, some experts recommend that reflection should occur simultaneously, and this should take place at various “teaching moments” throughout a service project (Freire, 1990). However, in the current state of the program, teachers are seen basically as the organizers and disciplinarians, and have little to no real involvement in service-learning.

Clearly, systematic and structured reflection is not occurring at CNG, and, as mentioned previously, at best students receive reflection periodically and randomly in a couple classes. Furthermore, students stated generally that after the community service was completed, they returned to the coursework as if the service never happened. This

modus operandi is unacceptable, and a systematic and structured reflection component must be implemented.

With this in mind, CNG should institute a reflection component that should have two primary foci. First, students need to carry out reflection on the spot as service is being completed. In this regard, teachers must be able to identify moments that require a discussion or reflection. And once these moments are identified, teachers should be able to step in immediately and discuss critical issues with the students. However, if teachers are unable to interrupt, they should note this moment in writing and discuss the relevant point with students after completion of the activity.

Second, reflection must be integrated into the curriculum. In this sense, not only should reflection discussions happen but also they should be supplemented with specifically designed techniques, such as group projects and writing assignments. Some scholars also recommend that students self-reflect along with community members (Wade, 1997). In this case, students and community members discuss the impact of the social projects, for example, in order to increase their efficacy, not to mention strengthening the bonds between these two groups.

Reflection can allow for a variety of important points to be brought across to students. In effect, reflection allows for teachers to discuss issues that might not be emphasized to the extent necessary in the social projects. For example, a teacher might observe an interaction where a CNG student is clearly not treating a community member as a status equal. Accordingly, the teacher will discuss this issue with students, and hopefully they will begin to change this behavior in future projects.

As the model discussed in the last chapter revealed, reflection is also crucial for the process of stereotype breakdown identified in the contact theory literature.

Accordingly, reflection helps the students to both learn about the out-group and demystify their in-group. For example, students could be challenged directly about the stereotypes that are commonly held of poor people. In this sense, they will begin to see that not all poor people are lazy, and also realize that some rich people are lazy.

Furthermore, the students can begin to delve into issues such as why the children from the barrio seem to talk and carry themselves in an aggressive and intimidating manner. Regardless of the approach, students' beliefs should be challenged through systematic reflection.

Overall, the lack of self-reflection is very problematic. Without this component, the weak influence of the service-learning program on the students' consciousness is likely to continue. With structured and systematic reflection in place, the social programs might change students much more, as is indicated by the literature on this topic.

8.3.4 Teacher Training, Preparation, and Roles

A large portion of the success of the reflection component rests on the teachers, since they should integrate these ideas into their curriculum and, more specifically, guide and lead pertinent discussions. But the teacher's role is much more important than their duties within the reflection component; the teachers are the *key* to the organizational culture of the school and the general attitude of the student body toward these social projects. Essentially, teachers are the lifelines of the school, and their attitudes and behavior shape the school culture toward these projects. If the teachers are actively

involved, motivated, and encourage students to participate, the culture may change dramatically.

Keeping that in mind, teacher motivation and interest is very important and their attitudes have a tremendous affect on the students. Unfortunately, as mentioned in the results chapter, some of the teachers were motivated and excited about these projects, but many were not. According to the questionnaire, over one-third of the students believed the teachers were disinterested. But more important, only 42% of the students felt their teachers encouraged them to participate.

The lack of interest exhibited by the teachers is often translated into apathy on the part of the students (Wilmore, 2007; Barth, 1990). Although teachers may not realize their influence, they play a major role in defining the culture of the school and setting the tone and context for these social service projects. For example, while observing an activity involving 3rd graders from CNG and the Hogar, the influence of the teacher on the students' motivation and participation was evident. In a number of the classrooms, the teachers primarily stood around and watched the kids, and acted solely as disciplinarians. In another event that I was able to observe, the influence of teachers was even more evident. During the end of the year party that the 8th graders threw for Hogar students, I was able to walk from classroom to classroom. Immediately after I entered each classroom, I could tell if the teacher was motivated or involved by the mood and actions of the students. In most of the classrooms, the teachers were simply standing around or goofing off. And in turn, the CNG students were standing around, talking amongst themselves, and not interacting with the Hogar children. However, in one classroom, the teacher was highly involved and motivated, and, not surprisingly, the

students were also. In fact, the program administrator who was leading me around noted that this teacher was especially interested in these social projects. Unfortunately, this teacher appears to be the exception.

Taking into account the lack of motivation and interest of the teachers, the hostile organizational culture that exists at CNG toward service-learning is no surprise. But the question remains, how can teachers become motivated and interested in these social projects, and, in turn, begin to re-define the culture of the school? This is not an easy question to answer, but there are several ways this aim may be achieved.

There are three recommendations to improve teacher involvement and motivation. Two of these pertain to involving and motivating teachers in a very direct manner by expanding their role and providing sufficient training. The third recommendation relates to the future hiring practices, in order to insure that teachers are brought in who are interested in participating in the social projects.

The Role of the Teacher

A theme that appeared with regard to the teachers was that they had little knowledge about the projects, and were simply there to insure that there was proper organization, discipline, and that everything was in place. While observing the projects, in many situations teachers were simply baby-sitters. Simply put, as one 9th grader wrote in the questionnaire, “Teachers...have to get more involved in this.” Clearly, the teacher’s role needs to be greatly expanded, and in the focus groups various students made this recommendation. Although students are the heart of the program, the teachers keep this organ running.

The teacher's role must be expanded in two primary ways. First, the teachers need to be directly involved in the project as facilitators and guides. Although teachers should not dominate the discourse, they should intervene when necessary. For example, teachers should introduce the community leaders to the students, and thus open up a dialogue by creating a connection in some manner. Second, teachers must provide students with crucial moments for reflection. As mentioned earlier, teachers should be able provide reflection "on the spot" and in the classroom. For example, if a meeting between community organizers and students does not go as planned, and there is an argument or some other problem, the teacher should be able to initiate a discussion in class or after the meeting is completed, so that students may better understand the community and its desires.

Teacher Training and Preparation

Students who participated in the focus groups agreed that teachers seem to have little or no training and preparation for these projects. In the questionnaire, only 40% of the students felt that teachers were trained enough to be helpful in the social projects. Although the teachers were not interviewed, when observing the program first-hand during several activities, the teachers appeared to have little training or preparation with respect to the project at hand or service-learning in general. This lack of training and preparation not only removes the teacher from the process, but also sends the message to everyone that these projects are not very important, and, in the end, is harmful to the projects. An 11th grader noted this negative effect the teachers have without any preparation:

Most of the teachers aren't really prepared because I've heard stories of them actually harming the community service projects because they are not cooperative, and they don't want to be there and I don't know if you have to I guess introduce them to you know the whole thing, the whole ambience of community service, but many of the teachers for some reason don't quite appreciate leaving the school to help other people.

If the teachers are going to assume an expanded role, they need to be provided with training and preparation, and should be prepared at least as well as the students. In many ways, the teachers are the first direct source of contact for the students in these projects, and they are crucial in the process of self-reflection. As a result, they need to be strong facilitators and guides, and understand the goals and objectives of the social programs.

In order to develop teachers that can be more effective in these social service projects, they need to go through a series of training programs. Specifically, teachers must be well schooled in the objectives of the social programs, and their role in transforming the consciousness of the students. Furthermore, given the importance of self-reflection, teachers must be able to carry out effective self-reflection. In this regard, they need to understand the philosophy and practice of service-learning.

Hiring practices

As mentioned before, a vast number of students felt that the teachers were not motivated to participate in these projects, and certainly did not motivate students in this regard. Although much of this might be related to the first two suggestions, and how the program is carried out, another reason for the lack of teacher motivation could simply be that they do not see the utility of these projects. Therefore, the hiring practices of the school should be examined, and in the future the focus should be on hiring individuals who are willing and able to teach at a school with community-based projects. Hiring

teachers with this orientation is extremely important, particularly since implementing service-learning programs of this nature is not easy and requires a tremendous amount of patience and cooperation on the part of everyone. Teachers who are not interested in these projects will in all likelihood perform at a low level, and, in turn, even a good program will fail.

Overall, the lack of participation on behalf of the teachers, and their accompanying low motivation toward these social projects, is a primary determinant of the negative culture toward the social projects at CNG. In this regard, students adopt the same attitude and feel as if it is acceptable to disregard these projects. However, with an expanded role for teachers, proper preparation and training could result in them understanding the importance of these projects to the development of students and promoting a school culture that reduces animosity toward these projects.

8.3.5 Recognition

Students are not being recognized for their service. This omission only reinforces the unpleasant nature of doing something that is “required” and “mandatory.” Furthermore, they also have no real reason or idea why their community service is so important, except for the fact that they receive their diploma when they graduate. For the younger students, in middle and elementary school, end of the year parties were held to celebrate these activities. I was able to observe some of these parties, and they appeared to be a good start for recognizing the service of students. But such recognition appeared to be haphazard.

Students must be recognized for their service along with the community in some type of formal ceremony. Particularly important, the ceremony should be community-

based. For example, this ceremony might include these two groups sharing stories of how students and community members have come together to build connections and create real social change. Prizes, awards, or money should not be given but only a heightened sense of community, trust, and friendship. Perhaps an official day reserved for community presentations related to community service could be instituted.

Accordingly, they can have a special day where they present their projects to other students, the community, teachers, faculty, and families in the auditorium.

8.3.6. Meaningful Service

As every practitioner knows, the heart of any community service is the service itself. Not surprisingly, the final recommendation for the CNG program focuses on the service. But putting service as the final recommendation is not a subtle message; there is an important point. The point is that too many programs focus solely on the community service, and neglect the components that lead to and establish the context for this activity to be carried out in a manner that results in positive outcomes. Although some people might recommend certain activities for community service, there are no recommendations for projects, games, or anything else in this section, because the proper implementation of the planning and collaboration elements insures that the participants are defining the service based on the needs of the community. Therefore, this recommendation might not be extremely “jazzy,” but is vital to establishing the right context for service and how this activity should be carried out.

As mentioned throughout this dissertation, students must participate in meaningful service. Accordingly, for the purposes of this project meaningful was defined as the quality of service and its overall impact on the community. The results revealed

that the projects are not particularly meaningful to the students. Essentially, they are not spending much time in the community, and certainly not enough to develop any meaningful relationships. Furthermore, in general, the students felt the projects were having little to no impact on the community.

Adding to these results, the theoretical work in the last chapter added another dimension to meaningful service. The service must be able to provide the context for relationships to develop in order to minimize bias between groups. As a 9th grader recommended: “I would plan more visits to the Alianza and always activities with the same group and the same children so that we can establish a deeper relationship.” Accordingly, to make this happen, service projects must meet the four conditions set forth by Allport.

More specifically, CNG must insure the component of collaboration is properly implemented. As discussed earlier, creating a true community-based, collaborative program helps to establish three of the four conditions (status equals, cooperation, and common goals) for optimal contact. Furthermore, the preparation component aids in fulfilling these three conditions. Not only will these recommendations help to create the proper context, the students should certainly be more excited and interested in the projects if they are able to play a large role in creating and developing them. As the results in Chapter Six revealed, students were bored with the projects and constantly recommended that they be made more exciting and diversified. But with collaboration in place, this recommendation from the students can come to fruition, for they will have a sense of “ownership” of these projects, instead of simply being told how to fulfill the

graduation “obligation.” And as a senior noted when making a similar recommendation, this approach would “make the social service project more dynamic.”

The fourth condition -- support of authorities -- is essentially a direct or indirect outcome of every single recommendation. For example, the recommendation to reward students creates a sense that the service is important to the school and community and sanctioned from above. Although each of these recommendations reveals varying levels of support by authorities, expanding teachers' roles and the implementing curriculum integration are excellent ways to legitimize service-learning.

But along with establishing the right conditions for contact, there are a couple of recommendations to insure that relationships have a real opportunity to develop. First, students should be matched with the same student from activity to activity. As the interviews revealed, students were rarely matched with the same participant from one project to the next, thereby greatly inhibiting the possibility of making a meaningful connection. Second, activities should last more than an hour, and should occur more often than once every couple of months. In the interviews the students stated repeatedly that the lack of time spent with the children was a serious roadblock to developing a meaningful relationship with these persons. At a minimum, these activities should last for a couple of hours and occur at least once a month. In an optimal situation, activities should be initiated once a week and last at least an hour. Overall, the matching of students to participants from project to project and the continuous interaction will help to promote the context necessary for developing a more genuine bond between the students and their respective service communities.

A final recommendation for meaningful service is that the projects contain an element of social justice. In the questionnaire, students noted that they felt the projects had little long-term impact on the community. Of course, for students to develop and understand the point of social justice, the preparation component is vital. With students receiving classes specifically on this topic, they should begin to understand the differences between charity and social justice. Particularly important, they might begin to realize that having Hogar children or Juan XXIII students learn a few English words will do little to nothing to change the community in any significant manner, and thus might begin to think about the larger changes that are necessary if social justice if social justice is to exist in Colombia.

With the focus now on social justice, the social projects should focus on creating change within the community. For example, students could work with community members to help create a recycling program in the neighborhood that not only helps to clean up these areas, but also educates both sides on the importance of environmental health. Accordingly, as the program begins to focus more on systemic and lasting social change, the students will begin to feel as if their efforts are having some impact in the community.

8.4 Summary of Recommendations

The six recommendations provided in this chapter focus on creating a service-learning program that has the potential to transform the minds of the CNG students. In this sense, implementing all of these recommendations can create a culture at CNG that promotes and encourages active participation in social service. With a positive culture in place, the social projects at CNG will have the potential for developing intimate and

meaningful relationships between students and community members. And with these personal connections established, students will begin to see these communities and the people who live within them in a new light. No longer will they have little concern for a community without a face, but will know the lives of the people who actually endure struggles everyday in these poor communities, that they often ignore. In turn, students will possess a high degree of social responsibility for these communities, and will no longer be able to turn their back on these persons. Through these relationships, social justice may finally come about in Colombia.

8.5 Conclusion

The aim of this evaluation was to answer two research questions:

1. How have the social service projects at CNG influenced the students' consciousness and increased their sense of social responsibility?
2. How have the implementation and conduct of the social service projects allowed for this shift in consciousness to occur?

Students have not been influenced in positive ways by the program; in fact, a number of students were being influenced negatively as a result of reinforcing the CNG “bubble.” Moreover, students are extremely biased against the poor in Colombia, and their stereotypical ideas of the poor inhibit their enthusiasm for and participation in these programs significantly. In the end, the service-learning program is not creating an environment where these stereotypes can be minimized and, hopefully, eliminated.

The primary reason for the lack of impact, and the inability for bias against the poor to be minimized, is that the service-learning program has not been implemented properly. The program does not fulfill the necessary requirements set forth by the

theoretical model developed in Chapter Four, and, in turn, a context where meaningful relationships may be developed between groups is not being provided. With that in mind, a number of recommendations were offered to improve the program and create the possibility of changing the students at CNG in positive ways that reflect the desired outcomes of service-learning projects. Moreover, a model was developed in Chapter Seven based on the contact theory, which underpins much of service-learning. The model reveals how service-learning can create a context where the reduction of bias can be drastically reduced and meaningful relationships established. But certain conditions must be met for these changes to occur, as originally created by Allport, which does not exist at CNG.

In general, the service-learning program at CNG must be radically altered. Essentially, the program, which is based on a model of charity, seems to be reinforcing the class division in Colombia by promoting the idea that the only obligation the rich have to the poor is an occasional handout. If elite schools such as CNG want to generate leaders who are more sensitive to the plight of the poor in Colombia, more contact between the rich and poor classes is necessary. Service-learning can help, in this regard, to break "the bubble" that exists at CNG. But this approach to learning will have to be taken much more seriously and implemented correctly.

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APPENDIX A

HOW SERVICE-LEARNING MAY MINIMIZE BIAS

