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Training for peace, conscientization through university simulation

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ABSTRACT

Incomplete and insufficient university programmes in the field of Peace and Conflict Resolution have led to an important gap in knowledge, skills and abilities (KSA) among peacebuilders and peacekeepers. In theory, experiential learning through problem-based learning (PBL) and simulations should be able to address this gap. This article explores the opportunities and limits of this pedagogical approach to educating peace actors using the case of the Carana simulation delivered at Linné University (LNU), Sweden. Using mixed-methods, this article confirms the added- value of PBL in the development of KSAs but identifies challenges peculiar to the field of Peace and Conflict Studies that limit its effects. PBL has a clear added-value for the development of skills in learners with a consistent development of professional skills. It can be used to foster conscientization as a precursor to transforming societies towards nonviolence and justice.

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Introduction

In 2012–2013, the United Nations (UN) conducted a comprehensive Training Needs Assessment (TNA) of its personnel deployed in multi-dimensional missions around the world. It identified clear training needs throughout all components, covering military, police and civilian personnel (UN (United Nations) 2013). Faced with important gaps in the knowledge, skills and abilities (KSAs) of the staff deployed under its banner, the international organisation called for a strategic investment in training. Indeed, addressing the training gaps identified by the TNA was assessed to be 'critical to effective mandate implementation' (UN (United Nations) 2013, 39). In a 2010 report, the United States Institute for Peace (USIP) compared the KSAs provided by postgraduate university programmes in the USA in the field of peace studies and conflict resolution with the needs of the agencies and organisations that hire their students afterwards (Carstarphen et al. 2010). Similarly, they identified an important gap between university curricula that tend to focus primarily on

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theories and the needs of employers who search for candidates with field experience and professional skills. Many of the KSAs needed by employers and UN missions can be imparted in classroom-like settings and can thus be provided by universities using advanced forms of experiential learning methodologies such as problem-based or simulation-based learning (Goon 2011).

Experiential learning developed rapidly in the second half of the 20th century when the traditional teaching-and-learning model of education was found wanting. Researchers began to question the assumption that teaching was a precondition for learning and demonstrated the lack of translation of such knowledge into skills and behaviours (Ruben 1999, 499; Wells, Warelow, and Jackson 2009, 193–194; Ramsden 2003, 32). Instead, they pointed to the need for 'reinforcement, application, repetition and often practice in a variety of settings and contexts in order for [knowledge] to become fully understood, integrated and accessible in future situations' (Ruben 1999, 499; Strobel and van Barneveld 2009). The emerging paradigm offered to move away from learning as an individual process to learning as a social and collaborative endeavour covering 'cognitive, affective, and behavioural domains' (Ruben 1999, 500; Moon 2004). As a result, simulations, games and role-plays spread in many academic disciplines to fill in the gaps of the teaching-and-learning model and to ensure the development of KSAs in students. A literature review on the comparative advantage of PBL over more traditional methodologies comes to mixed conclusions. While Vernon and Blake (1993) or Albanese and Mitchell (1993) find PBL to be superior, Berkson (1993) finds no difference. Newman (2003, 5) states: 'existing overviews of the field do not provide high quality evidence with which to provide robust answers to questions about the effectiveness of PBL.'

This article explores the opportunities and limits of meeting the aforementioned gap in KSAs through experiential learning and PBL within a university setting, focusing on the case of the Carana simulation delivered as part of the Peace and Development Studies program at Linné University (LNU) in Växjö, Sweden. The purpose is to assess the effectiveness of PBL to address the gap in KSAs identified by the UN and USIP. In particular, it focuses on PBL's suitability to address gaps in KSAs where the methodology is supposed to increase learners' performance, namely, (1) professional skills (i.e. problem-solving, communication, teamwork); (2) the practical application of theories; and (3) awareness of power relations. As part of this research, the article will consider if the findings of research on PBL in other disciplines apply to Peace Studies and it will recommend solutions to mitigate the shortcomings of the approach and increase its effectiveness. In the first part of the paper, I define the gap in KSAs related to UN peace operations and the field of peace and conflict resolution. In the second part, I review the assumed advantages of PBL and discuss its use to support

Peace and Conflict Studies' commitment to transform societies towards justice and non-violence. In the third part, I outline the Carana simulation developed at LNU. In the fourth part, I describe the mixed methods used to evaluate the learning of students who partake in the simulation. In the fifth part, I discuss the results and finally I conclude with reflections on the effectiveness, opportunities and limits of PBL.

The gap in knowledge, skills and abilities

In its Training Needs Assessment, the United Nations has identified a long list of training needs for its personnel. Besides knowledge of the UN, peacekeeping, mission mandates and general rules and regulations, the report pointed to the need to enhance the following skills: knowledge/skill transfer, mentoring and advising; analytical skills and problem solving; conflict management; communication skills, both oral and written; and performance management (UN (United Nations) 2013, 18–19).[1] In a USIP Special Report, Carstarphen et al. (2010) has identified a mismatch between the expectations of employers in the field of peace and conflict resolution and the profile of students who completed their postgraduate education in that field. Academic institutions and employers tend to identify different sets of KSAs and to assess differently their relative importance in the education of students. As a result, a gap has emerged between the KSAs provided by universities and the actual needs of employers.

Universities rank the knowledge of theories of conflict analysis and conflict resolution at the top while employers prioritise field experience and applied professional skills such as management, planning and reporting (Carstarphen et al. 2010, 4). The KSAs valued by employers include: project management; writing and reporting skills; 'political savvy' and awareness of power relations; networking and collaboration skills with a wide range of stakeholders; the ability to mainstream a conflict perspective in related areas such as development, governance, rule of law and democratisation; and knowledge of the concepts, language, jargon and terminology used in the field (Carstarphen et al. 2010, 7). The gap identified is in part due to the limited number of opportunities to work in the field as part of academic programmes as well as the lack of time and resources to foster the required skills (Carstarphen et al. 2010, 10). This problem is accentuated by the general re-orientation of academic institutions towards the production of degree-holders in a cost-effective way (Apple 1993, 1995; Ramsden 2003). At a deeper level, the gap emerges also as a result of a specific pedagogical system that limits experiential learning and hence the development of the KSAs sought after by employers. Experiential learning based on alternative methodologies such as problem-based learning, simulations and games

have been used successfully to develop KSAs in the past and they may well provide a solution to address the gap described above.

PBL and its use for peace

Experiential learning has historical roots in the writings of Socrates and Aristotle but it is in the 20th century that it experienced a rapid expansion thanks to the writings of scholars such as Dewey (1966), Schön (1987), Vygotsky (1987) Bruner (1961), Freire (2005), Goodman (1962), and Postman and Weingartner (1969). Today, the approach is used across universities around the world, including in Sweden (Pettersen 2011). Experiential learning identifies a 'traditional' paradigm that is supposedly ill adapted to the learning process of children and adults and that henceforth limits the acquisition of KSAs. It posits in its place an alternative model that is supposed to be better adapted to the task (Barrows 1996).

For example, in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire (2005, 71) criticises the traditional 'banking' pedagogical system which is based on a distinction between teachers as 'subjects' and students as 'listening objects' whereby the latter are supposed to be filled with content (72). Such teaching only requires students to passively absorb and memorize information given by a teacher but not to engage to the point of critical self-reflection. This pedagogical approach encourages the teaching of theories and discourages their practical implementation, translation and testing. It rarely fosters collaboration and networking or the development of higher-order thinking (Weiss 2003). In its place, Freire (2005, 87) develops a dialogical approach to teaching whereby students are turned into co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher. Through problem-posing, the teacher provides the framework in which participants can consider a shared problem and creatively develop joint solutions through a process of action and reflection called 'praxis' (Freire 2005, 51).

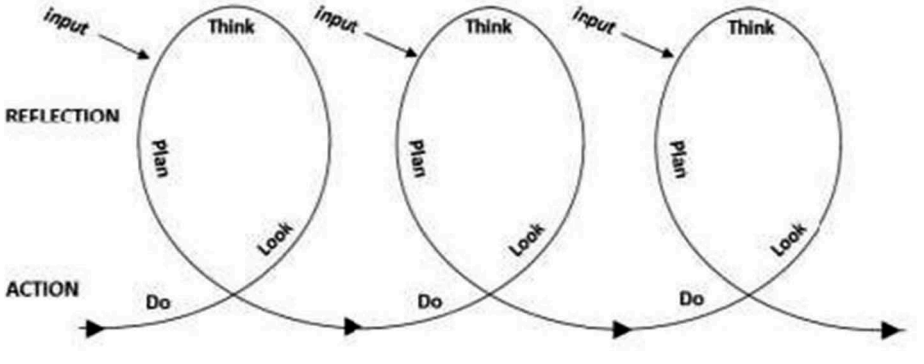

Figure 1. Representation of the praxis cycle of action and reflection.

As part of this move towards experiential learning, problem-based learning (PBL) emerged over the last few decades. It was first used in medical studies to increase preparedness for professional practice and it has since spread to other disciplines (Barrows 1996). Savery (2006) defines PBL as

> an instructional (and curricular) learner-centered approach that empowers learners to conduct research, integrate theory and practice, and apply knowledge and skills to develop a viable solution to a defined problem. Critical to the success of the approach is the selection of ill-structured problems (often interdisciplinary) and a tutor who guides the learning process and conducts a thorough debriefing at the conclusion of the learning experience.

Its focus on active and experiential learning by the students enables the retention of knowledge and the learning of new skills including communication, problem-solving, teamwork, autonomy, self-direction and critical reflection (Wood 2003; Wells, Warelow, and Jackson 2009; Rideout et al. 2002). As such, it fosters a 'deep' form of learning – as opposed to the more 'superficial' nature of traditional pedagogies – whereby students are required to relate theory to practice reflectively and to make sense of the task in relation to previous knowledge (Ramsden 2003, 47). PBL requires students to not only approach a task by focusing on the facts as separate components (atomistic approach) but to maintain the overall coherence and structure by integrating the parts and the whole (holistic approach) (Ramsden 2003, 43). Overall, PBL is assumed to increase learners' performance in terms of problem-solving, communication and presentation skills, professional skills, critical and creative thinking, appreciating the variety of perspectives, teamwork and collaboration, self-directed learning, practical implementation of theories, holistic thinking and dealing/fostering change (Newman 2003, 15; Savery 2006).

Andresen, Boud and Cohen (1995) have noted links between experiential learning and socio-political transformation in post-conflict and developing countries. In this article, it is suggested that PBL may be used in support of the normative commitment of Peace and Conflict Studies to transform violent, oppressive and unjust societies (Barash and Webel 2009, xiii; Miall, Ramsbotham, and Woodhouse 2016). In the 1990s, a 'shift' towards transformation was identified by Lederach (1995, 201) and it was then crystallised in the writings of Galtung, Burton, Curle and Kriesberg among others (Botes 2003). The term came to refer to a more or less profound and open-ended process of change in inter alia individuals, relations, structures and cultures (Burgess and Burgess 1997, 285–286). In particular, transformation came to refer to 'fundamental social and political changes [. . .] made to correct inequities and injustice to provide all groups with their fundamental human needs' (285–286).

In this study, it is hypothesised that PBL can be fine-tuned to foster critical enquiry and a greater awareness of power relations with a view to subsequently transforming violent and unjust societies. PBL can be used to

'conscientize' students, that is, to make them 'aware of social and political conditions, esp. as a precursor to challenging inequalities of treatment or opportunity' (OED (Oxford English Dictionary) 2018). The pedagogy may be used to guide students to uncover patterns of domination and privileges, identify frustration and recognise solutions to meet their actual needs. More specifically, PBL can be fine-tuned to foster:

- Awareness of power relations: students become aware of the fact that power relations are legitimated by oppressive myths, values and learnt behaviours that affect groups and individuals (e.g. tendency to compete, learnt respect for powerful individuals, etc.).
- Critical enquiry: students become aware of the effects of the political processes at play in society and become aware of their role and responsibility in perpetuating/transforming them. They develop a higher degree of self-awareness and a better ability to think outside the box.
- Collaborative problem-solving: students take initiatives to solve the problems that they face through collaboration and networking with relevant stakeholders.

The concept of conscientization was originally developed by Paulo Freire (2005, 104) but it is here used as a precursor to the type of transformation defined above. This fine-tuning of PBL to promote conscientization is based on a selective reading of Freire for the sole purpose of addressing a given gap in KSAs. The focus does not extend to considerations of actual transformation in individuals or societies. The parsimonious use of Freire is justified by the limited results of previous attempts to implement his pedagogy in full in the Swedish educational system (Kallós 1978). Additional factors have also contributed to this parsimony including: 1) the Swedish academic context characterised by limited resources and requirement for pedagogical alignment that lead to the prioritisation of content delivery and assessment and 2) the socio-cultural environment in which students have largely been 'acculturated to feel comfortable in relations of domination and subordination rather than equality and independence' (Kincheloe, McLaren, and Steinberg 2011, 163). Even though the simulation draws selectively on Freire, the insights gathered by participants demonstrate that the pedagogy can be used to support conscientization processes.

Based on our review so far, experiential learning and PBL should offer an effective approach to address the KSA gap identified by USIP and the UN including in terms of (1) professional skills (i.e. problem-solving, communication, teamwork); (2) the practical application of theories; and (3) critical enquiry with an awareness of power relations. In this article, the Carana Simulation used at Linné University in Sweden is taken as a case study to assess the opportunities and limits of the methodology.

The carana simulation

Simulations, games and role-plays have been widely used to teach Political Science, International Relations and Conflict resolution. Reviewing existing programs, Goon (2011) concludes that: 'most simulations to date deal with short-term solutions that merely manage rather than resolve the conflict, failing to examine the infrastructure necessary to maintain that peace or the management of the state as any plan is executed long term.' In this context, the case study used in this article is unique, both in its content and in its format. Since 2016, the Peace and Development Studies Program at LNU organises an immersive simulation where between 18 and 35 students role-play the main characters in a conflict environment for 5–7 days. Deployed in the fictitious country of Carana, students perform the tasks assigned to them as if they were actual challenges they faced in their work place. The simulation draws on professional trainings delivered by the United Nations as well as NATO and UN-led peace operations exercises.[2] Based on historical and more recent events, students must design strategies to restore peace in Carana and pave the way for long-term sustainable development. This requires the completion of short-term and reactive tasks (responding to an event through a press release) as well as long-term planning (drafting a UN Development Assistance Framework). Key issue areas covered include: good governance and democratisation; economic development; sustainable development; poverty alleviation; gender-mainstreaming; peacemaking; peacekeeping; peacebuilding. The simulation is designed to enable students to apply different theoretical perspectives to the case study in order to recommend solutions for peace and development. In the process, they must draft policy documents and practice key professional skills (official communications, time-management, teamwork, reporting, meeting planning, negotiation, etc.). The simulation is organised twice a year and 97 students have so far taken part.

The environment for the simulation is created through a website containing various official reports and resource documents, the daily publication of a newspaper, the instant publication of press releases, guidelines and templates to draft policy and practitioner documents, a dedicated e-mail system and daily briefings and de-briefings with a lecturer. Students play the roles of ministers, UN Country Team staff, NGO workers, rebel groups and political party leaders. LNU lecturers play additional roles to provide the necessary support and guidance. They also deliver workshops on team-building, official communications, media relations, and logical frameworks to facilitate interpersonal processes and the praxis cycles and to avoid group dysfunction and poor communication (Azer 2001). Some workshops are delivered prior to the simulation to facilitate preparation while others are delivered during the simulation to facilitate the learning process *in situ* with the timely delivery of knowledge according to student needs. The simulation has gradually come to adopt a guidance-intensive approach because the minimal-guidance PBL was less effective to support the learning process during the pilot

testing of the simulation. Some students felt overwhelmed and incapable of self-directed learning in the absence of substantial guidance. This supports the assessment of Kirschner, Sweller, and Clark (2006) regarding the limits of minimal-guidance PBL.

The simulation provides a learning environment radically different from the lecture hall. As both students and teachers are role players, they interact within a much more horizontal relationship. While hierarchy exists (e.g. president versus ministers), the power relations are different from the traditional teacher-student setup and the context is more conducive to communication and collaboration. Authority is quickly delegated following problem-posing and problem-solving is almost entirely left in the hands of students. Students are very much driving the process and teachers only provide a structure and framing mechanisms to enable student praxis. Input comes in the form of daily briefings and de-briefings, templates for project proposals, on-the-job coaching, mini-lectures, etc. Students have almost full freedom to think, plan and implement to meet their needs and solve their problems. Even though it is built on a given hierarchy and power relations between the students, Carana provides a frame for creative inquiry and collaborative problem-solving. On one occasion, students felt confident enough to organise a coup d'état against the president who was role-played by a member of staff.

Methodology for the evaluation

In order to assess the effectiveness of PBL to address the gap in KSAs identified by the UN and USIP, mixed research methods have been used (Bryman 2016). Firstly, anonymous self-administered questionnaires were distributed to the participants. In the fall 2016, 35 students participated and 29 filled-in the questionnaire. In the spring 2017, 18 students took part and 16 filled-in the questionnaire. In the fall 2017, 26 participated and 23 filled-in the evaluation. In the spring 2018, 18 students participated and 17 filled in the evaluation. Overall, 97 students participated in the simulation and 85 evaluation questionnaires were collected. The questionnaire was updated from one simulation to the other to enable a deeper evaluation. Secondly, face-to-face evaluations were conducted at the end of each simulation in the form of a World Café (or Knowledge Café). UNITAR (2016) defines the method as

> [a] creative, group process to forge collaborative dialogue, share knowledge and generate possibilities for action in groups of any size. The environment is set up in a café style. Every table is decked with a paper cloth, marker pens and some refreshments. Small groups of people sit around the tables and are invited to conduct a series of conversations on one or two significant topics defined by the organizer(s).

Students formed groups of 3–6 persons and answered set questions on selected topics on a large piece of paper. After a few minutes they would move table to answer the next question that was addressed by the previous group, adding their insights and answers to those of the previous groups. Once all groups had answered

all questions, they would present the results in a plenary session. Throughout the semesters, 85 students took part in this process. Questions covered the lessons learnt at a personal level by the students and the simulation as a whole

Thirdly, students were asked to write, individually or in groups, a reflection paper in which they should reflect upon the applicability and translation of specific theories to the Carana case and to reflect on their personal/group performance, the challenges they met as well as their own learning process. A total of 37 papers were written by students and analysed for the purpose of this research. Fourthly, a self-assessment was completed by students in the spring of 2018 before and after the simulation to assess how much students learnt during the simulation. 14 self-assessments were collected. Finally, to limit the possible bias of self-assessment, evaluations were conducted by the teachers through qualitative participatory observation. As embedded role players, teaching staff would engage in unstructured participant observation. This was done during the daily briefings and debriefings, during 'public events' organised as part of the simulation (peace conference, World Bank briefing, etc.) and during coaching sessions with students on topics ranging from report drafting or logical frameworks to leadership. Important information was gathered to understand the state of mind of students, the challenges they faced and the processes through which they were going.

In this article, the evaluation of the development of KSAs is primarily based on the results of the self-administered questionnaires. They provide structured, systematic and comprehensive data. But most importantly they limit the 'interviewer effect' which could affect the assessment. The other data collection techniques are used in a complementary manner to interpret and support the results of the questionnaires and to mitigate some of the methodology's shortcomings (Bryman 2016, 224). During the World Café, students were given the opportunity to expand on their answers and the teacher was able to ask follow-up questions. The collective nature of this evaluation methodology enabled students to speak more freely than in a structured interview.

Evaluating KSAs development through the carana simulation

Based on the evaluations of the students who filled in the questionnaire, Carana was a very successful pedagogical event. For example, 96% of respondents believe that it should be part of the Peace and Development Program, 88% were satisfied with the simulation and 95% of respondents would recommend it to other students.[3] However, overall satisfaction may not indicate the development of KSAs but may instead reflect students' expectations in terms of entertainment, needs-satisfaction or effectiveness of provision (Fanghanel 2013, 54). During World Cafés, students systematically request to have longer and more simulations because of their added-value compared to traditional courses. While this supports the findings of Pincus (1995) and Bernstein et al. (1995), it seems to also point to the comparative advantage of PBL. 73% of respondents strongly agreed and 27% agreed that the

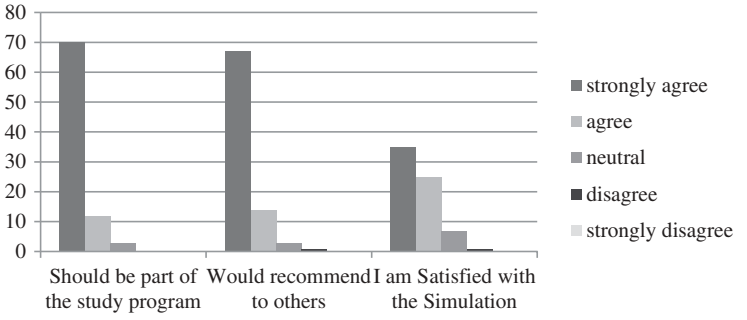

Figure 2. General evaluation of the simulation, number of respondents.

simulation enabled them to develop new and/or important knowledge and skills compared to more traditional courses.

The KSAs for which PBL is assumed to increase learners' performance and where the UN and USIP identified a gap can broadly be summarised as follow: (1) professional skills such as problem-solving, communication and presentation skills, teamwork and collaboration with a wide range of stakeholders; (2) the application of theories to practical cases; and (3) critical enquiry and awareness of power relations. We will look at the three categories one after the other to assess the extent to which the Carana simulation was effective in fostering the required KSAs.

(1) Professional Skills: Overall, 76% of respondents believed to have developed their professional skills during the simulation. During the World Café, students explained that the skills they developed the most included time-management, teamwork, conflict management, verbal and written communication, stress management and formal communication. 88% stated that they developed problem-solving and networking skills while 81% agreed that they developed their communication skills and learnt to explain their organisation's mandate to stakeholders.

The facilitators supported students in the development of presentation and communication skills through feedback on oral presentations, official communication, and written reports. Many students learnt to do presentations without notes with confidence. In a reflection paper, a student compared the simulation to her internship in terms of professional skills development. She explained that

> "During my internship, I got the chance to write reports, organize events, network, creating partnerships and writing funding proposals etc. In terms of such tasks, the simulation was very credible and related to real life situations. However, I feel like I learned such tasks on higher level in the simulation compared to the internship."

The development of professional skills is facilitated by PBL but small workshops and mini-lectures can help reinforce the learning process. Based on participatory observation and student self-assessment, the area where students learnt most (project management) was the area where they first worked on their own project, then attended a mini-lecture on the topic and finally got to put the new knowledge into

practice. The provision of additional knowledge 'just-in-time' and 'on-the-job' in the form of a lecture was very effective to reinforce PBL.

(2) Application of theories to practical cases: PBL is supposed to enable students to apply theories to practical situations. The results of the survey show that only 33% of respondents believed to have done it successfully. This low score is surprising because all students are expected to identify and outline the theoretical perspectives that they plan to use to solve Carana's problems in a 'preparation paper' they write prior to the simulation. Hence, they cannot be faulted for their lack of theoretical reflection. The complementary data collection methods used in this research support this finding and provide explanations. Academic courses, textbooks and research articles in the field of Peace and Development have a strong tendency to develop theoretical perspectives without systematically explaining their practical implications at the operational or tactical levels. As a result, students are not always given the tools to concretely make sense of what they learn. For example, how does a constructivist approach to peacebuilding translate into programming? What would a peace agreement or a UN Development Assistance Framework informed by a post-structuralist perspective look like? Consequently, students end up discarding the theories that they planned to use in order to solve the concrete problems they face. For examples, students learn about liberal approaches to peace and development as well as post-liberal alternatives and critiques. During the preparation of the simulation, many students aim to implement post-liberal solutions and yet in practice they end up applying standard liberal solutions which have already been codified in guidelines, handbooks and manuals by international organisations. In this regard, students tend to draw a lot more on the work of Paul Collier (2008, 2010) than on the work of Mark Duffield (2010) or Oliver Richmond (2011) despite their preference for the latter during the lectures. During the World Cafés, students explain that most theories are not clearly and easily applicable. In 2018, students agreed that theories tended to stay at the back of their mind and to influence their approach even though they could not use them concretely to fulfil their tasks due to the constraints they faced. For example, the leader of a political party explained that:

> It is easier to apply [a liberal approach to peace] to a post conflict situation than the more ambiguous Post Liberal Peace. It is therefore more convenient to fall back on the international framework than to try something new that might fail and cause more harm than good.

Many scholars have found PBL to be effective to teach students to put theories into practice (Barrows 1996; Savery 2006). In our case, we find that on its own PBL is insufficient if the field of study in which it is used does not provide sufficient information on the operationalisation of all theories.

This finding is supported by the fact that only 65% of respondents believed to have drafted policy and practitioner documents during the simulation. This is surprising because all students actually wrote such documents including

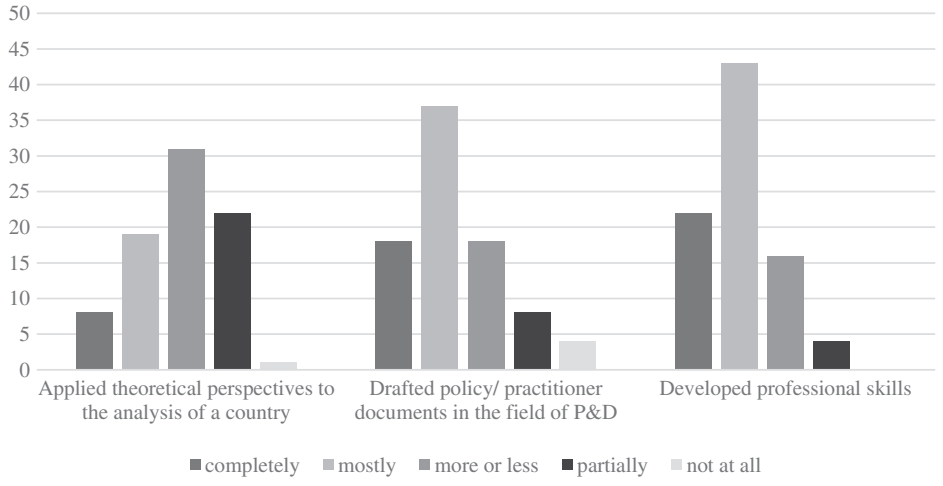

Figure 3. KSAs developed through the simulation, number of respondents.

a cease-fire agreement, a peace agreement, ministerial strategies, SWOT analyses, logical frameworks, etc. This result is probably again related to the limited concern of academics to explain how theories are translated into policies and programmes. For example, students may learn about the peacebuilding activities of the United Nations in a given country but they are not necessarily told about the logical frameworks and results-based budgeting that underpin the process. This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the fact that while 55% of students believed to have drafted policy and practitioner documents the first time the simulation was delivered, this went up to 94% in the spring 2018. The main difference is that in the meantime the facilitator adapted the curriculum to ensure that students learnt about the different policy and practitioner documents commonly used in the field and hence had a better understanding of the matter.

(3) Awareness of power relations: I suggested that the simulation could be used in support of a conscientization process in students and to foster a greater awareness of power relations; a higher degree of self-awareness; a better ability to think outside the box; and collaborative problem-solving. Questionnaire results show that 88% of respondents developed a greater awareness of power relations in teams and society, 80% of respondents developed a greater degree of self-awareness, 95% of respondents had to think outside the box to complete their tasks. Finally, 79% were led to question their assumptions, values, expectations and behaviours.

The results from the survey point to the existence of conscientization processes and the data collected using qualitative methods support this. In a 'reflection paper' representative of the experience of most participants, a group of students wrote:

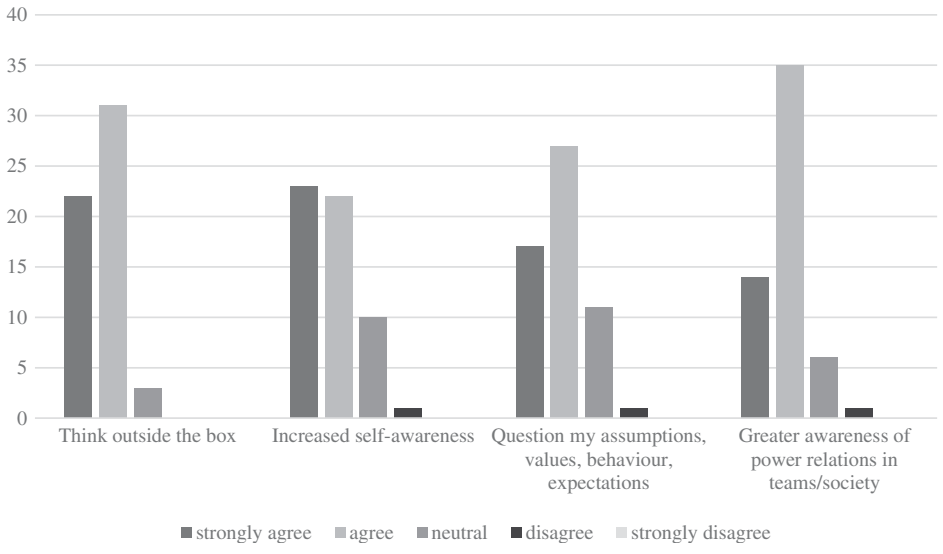

Figure 4. Transformative dimension of the simulation, number of respondents.

> The simulation was really 'authentic' and so 'real' that we could actually imagine ourselves working for the Caranese government. During this week we have learned how to write professional and official emails, arrange meetings, multi-tasking, co-operation etc. For example we now have a deeper understanding for how the network of institutions works for the social development. Moreover, we can see how theories work in practice, especially the power theory by Lukes (2005). During the simulation, we have witnessed the various power dimensions in work and experienced the different power relations in running a country.

The greater awareness of power relations was described vividly by many participants in the reflection papers submitted in 2018. For example, a team of NGO representatives working on gender equality and child protection explained that 'By participating in the simulation, hierarchies of power in the society have become more evident.' In particular, they pointed to the use of misinformation, the exclusion of dissenting voices as well as agenda-setting as mechanisms that created relations of dependency and domination and shaped an unfair peace process. The UNDP representatives supported this view: 'By making clear what was acceptable to discuss and what was not, the government thereby established the rules of the game.' They became aware of the ways in which power was exercised through both decision-making and non-decision-making. As a counterpart of the UN and civil society, the Minister of Health enjoyed her position of power, stating that

> It was fun to dress more formal and have a position of power towards other students and their roles. It was new to me to have the power we did as a government and I learned a lot from it when it comes to impacts power had on our tasks and how it made it easier for us to be able to prioritize our own interests and discard other actors ideas…This type of power was for example exercised through: responding to emails

> with concerns in a non-informative way; deciding what topics that should not be in the peace agreement…by shifting focus and spreading misinformation.

The simulation enabled students to develop greater awareness of the traditionally entrenched social myths of competition and power-play rather than collaboration. Students organised themselves to overcome challenges and achieve their objectives which were very much related to human rights, equality and democracy. A team of UN OHCHR representatives explained:

> What we learned from this experience is the value of cooperation, communication and partnership. You truly get nowhere without cooperation, and we absolutely think that the other teams in the simulation can agree to this as well. In order to make change and in order to work for peace, all forces needs to unite and work with each other. It is much easier said and done, due to we witness this first hand, but with much dedication and will, we believe that it is much possible.

The development of self-awareness is explicit in many reflection papers. A group of UNDP representatives explained that

> It was interesting to see how an environment in which all participants are familiar with could be transformed into a novel culture and social structure, where friends and classmates took on new roles and thus related to one another in a different way – realizing new capabilities and shortcomings among ourselves that we did not know we had.

This statement is important because it points to the added advantage of simulations to create a fictitious reality in which students can stand to then reflect on the limits of their role and of the power relations at play in the similarly socially-constructed world to which they are used. The simulation remains a fictitious space that uses specific power relations and a unique setup to elicit certain responses from students. Carana is thus creating a power-game and a 'political vision' to teach KSAs but also to facilitate conscientization (Kincheloe, McLaren, and Steinberg 2011, 167). In a clear display of self-awareness and critical thinking, a group of UNDP representative cogently explained:

> the controller of the simulation, successfully implemented a structure of social and cultural patterns of behaviour among the actors, decided the rules of the game, and thus purposefully impeded them from realizing their own interest and needs… Thus, albeit unknowingly, the actors acted in accordance with the environment they had been placed in and consequently lost track of their own interests of which they believed to be agents of… It is easy to rely on others and trusting someone else instead. It was only at the end of the simulation that we realized that we were indeed capable of coming up with solutions ourselves – only some extra effort was needed. As university students, we are in most cases used to being guided, expecting professors…to be the source of higher knowledge. This simulation was, in contrast, a good exercise and an excellent preparation for the future.

Because the simulation provides a set of 'ill-structured problems' – or 'impediments' to use the term of the UNDP representatives quoted above – that require open-ended, complex and multi-disciplinary solutions in an urgent

manner, students are taken out of their comfort zone onto unknown territories. This provides the grounds for collaborative problem-solving, self-reflection and the development of higher-order thinking (Weiss 2003, 27). For example, some students may lack self-confidence and may refuse to take a leadership position even though all team members naturally look up to them as leader. In other cases, brilliant students used to doing the minimum are ordered to take the lead on major projects, leading to a higher degree of self-expression. Sometimes, certain students are put under stress (risk of collapse of the peace process due to a major breach of the cease-fire agreement) and must find solutions despite their confusion and doubt. In the literature, it is noted that PBL can be a source of stress and anxiety as students feel unprepared and become conscious of gaps in their knowledge (McCourt and Thomas 2001; Biley 1999, 586; Duke et al. 1998, 60). The Carana simulation turns this 'weakness' of PBL into a possible tool for conscientization. As a result, many students experience a breakthrough and greater self-awareness. Some even get in touch with the realm of 'untested feasibility' described by Freire (2005, 83). Those processes are reinforced during the briefings and de-briefings led by the facilitator whereby students are asked to reflect on their role, assumptions and values based on the days' rich interpersonal processes. On top of the four Es of debriefing – events, emotions, empathy and explanations – outlined by Petranek, Corey, and Black (1992), a fifth E of empowerment is added to encourage self-reflection on the conscientization processes under way.

Conscientization is not automatic, uniform or homogenous. Some students had major insights into certain personal or social myths they had taken for granted. As part of this process, many students experienced a substantial broadening of their horizon and were able to question with greater clarity the power relations assumed by much theorising in the field of Peace and Development. Yet, some students resisted it and wanted very substantial input from the teacher in the form of training and step-by-step guidelines. Some students wanted more hierarchy and structure, finding the entire process of the social construction of knowledge and problem-solving distressing. Other students tried to avoid taking responsibilities to transform unjust power relations. A particularly bright student was in a position of leadership which s/he more or less gave up in practice because s/he did not want to upset the status quo. This fear of upsetting other participants supports previous research (Das Carlo, Swadi, and Mpofu 2003). Conscientization may be perceived negatively by students as confronting, unnecessary or impossible. Some students did not want to learn about themselves or group processes but focused on extracting useful content at the individual level for their own benefit and to complete their individual tasks. Based on teacher observation, it seems that the students who passively resisted were the weaker students. For them, a more paternalist form of teaching may be better adapted as the demands of the simulation

seemed to run contrary to their 'natural' inclinations. With experience, the facilitator has adopted a two-speed simulation framework whereby students may choose a more paternalist approach and others a more transformative one. This finding supports previous research that suggested that in general students react positively to PBL but that a small proportion does not thrive due to the uncertainty, stress and perceived lack of structure (Rowan, McCourt, and Beake 2008).

Conclusion

This article explored the opportunities and limits of meeting the KSA gap identified by the UN and USIP through experiential learning. The purpose was to assess the effectiveness of PBL with a particular focus on the gaps for which the methodology is known to be effective including professional skills, the practical application of theories and awareness of power relations. Particular attention was paid to the possibility of fine-tuning PBL to promote conscientization among students as a precursor to socio-political transformation. Based on our case study, we see that the findings from other disciplines apply very much except for the application of theories to practical cases. PBL has a clear added-value for the development of professional skills with all participants finding it superior to traditional courses and lectures. A large majority of students reported a notable development in their professional skills with some evidence suggesting that the simulation could be superior to an internship. The simulation highlights the complex roots of the gaps in KSA and points to deficiencies in academic curriculum that go beyond individual courses to include theory-centred textbooks and journal articles. The methodology was insufficient, on its own, to support the application of theories to practical cases due to a lack of resources on the operationalisation of theoretical perspectives in Peace and Conflict Studies. Finally, the simulation enables students to develop their awareness of power relations and self-awareness. PBL can be fine-tuned to support conscientization among students but a two-speed simulation framework seems suitable for a larger number of students.

Overall, the Carana simulation is not a simple or straightforward answer to the KSA gap identified by USIP and the UN. Experience-based learning is no panacea and if we are to reinforce its contribution to learning and mitigate its limits, its adoption must be based on a holistic evaluation of the needs and resources available and most probably as a complement to standard lectures (Asal and Blake 2006; Torney-Purta 1998; Albanese and Mitchell 1993).

Notes

1. Because the majority of students in the field of peace and conflict resolution are civilians, the article concentrates on the training needs identified for civilian personnel deployed in UN multidimensional peace operations.

2. The scenario has evolved out of the Carana scenario developed by multiple organisations for their specific training purposes. Over the years, the UN, the World Bank and others, have developed various versions of the scenario. The version used at LNU is inspired by its predecessors but is adapted to the particular needs of the students enrolled in the Peace and Development Studies Programme at LNU.
3. The question was dropped from the Spring 2017 evaluation questionnaire, hence the lower number of respondents.

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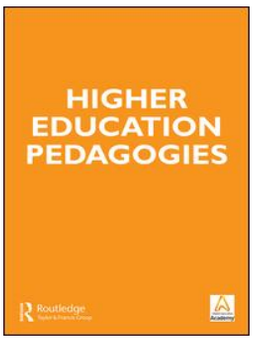

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ARTICLE

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Service-learning as a higher education pedagogy for advancing citizenship, conscientization and civic agency: a capability informed view

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ABSTRACT

Universities are criticised for overemphasising instrumental values. Instrumental values are important but universities risks undermining cultivation of humanity, critical consciousness and civic agency. Service-learning (SL) is practice that moves teaching and learning beyond the focus on technical skills and instrumental outcomes. Nonetheless, little is known about this role of SL in African and particularly South Africa context. Using a capability approach (CA) as developed by Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum, the article explores the contribution of SL in fostering students' capabilities for citizenship, conscientization and civic agency. The findings indicate that through SL processes and activities, students develop citizenship capabilities of affiliation and narrative imagination, informed vision, social and collective struggle, and local citizenship but often not in the way the university intended. The paper contributes to the understanding of how SL can expand the conception of teaching and learning and fosters critical social values in the global South context.

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Introduction

In his address during the 2019 first conference organised by Universities South Africa (USAf), Professor Wim de Villiers, Stellenbosch University's vice-chancellor posed a number of questions about university education (Macupe, 2019). Professor de Villiers asked 'Does a university education guarantee good employment? Are they not too expensive? Why does everyone go to university if the world's best professors are sharing their knowledge online for free? And are universities not too elitist and exclusive? These questions epitomise two competing views regarding the kind and purposes of teaching and learning that take place in the contemporary universities. The first view involves teaching and learning aimed at enabling students to acquire transferable skills and competence that employers require. This perspective is largely framed within the demand for measurable outcomes and acquisition of skills that improve employability, job prospect and neoliberal conception of higher education as private good (Peacock & Bacon,

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Table 1. Dimensions of experiential learning.

Dimension	Key tenets	Practical expressions
Progressive	• Focuses on individual responsibility towards their society • View education as a problem-solving instrument of social and political reform	• SL enabling students to develop awareness and obligation for society • SL allowing students to learn and develop capacities to solve complex societal issues
Humanistic	• Learners centred discovery and self-actualisation • Personal enrichment, integration and psychological development	• SL fostering students' socialisation, being and becoming • SL cultivating students' valued ends
Radical	• Focuses on societal and individual liberation • Acting for transformation	• SL enabling students' freedoms to choose and act meaningfully • SL allowing student to act and bring about change for themselves and others

2018). In the context of the journal Higher Education Pedagogies, this view is seen in all of the most read and most cited articles a case in point is that of Foster and Yaoyuneyong (2016) on Teaching innovation: equipping students to overcome real-world challenges. Drawing from Afrikaans linguistic context of the higher education system, we have named this view as the *pedagogiek van die bemarkbare (pedagogy of the marketable)*.

The second perspective is that which defines university education in terms of the enrichment of human life beyond the accumulation of good grades for a good job (Cachia, Lynam, & Stock, 2018) and learning gain[1] that is qualitative in nature and scope (Evans, Kandiko Howson, & Forsythe, 2018). The articles such as the one by Bourne et al. (2018) on strategies for empowering students in the 'real world', although in a snapshot begins to demonstrate this second view. We refer to this view as the *pedagogiek van plig (pedagogy of civic duty)*.

This article is therefore concerned with the argument that 'some values are more generally accepted in the mainstream as normal or important and will, therefore, obtain higher

Table 2. A summary of students' profile and SL activities.

Participants	Discipline/Field	Race	Gender	Description of activities
48 Students	Nursing first year	7 Black African 3 White 2 Coloured	2 Male 10 Female	Students worked in poor rural community conducting household survey focused on community-nursing and family study. Also, students worked with their assigned family on toy-making, gardening and knitting
	Social Work third year	6 Black African 3 White 3 Coloured	4 Male 8 Female	Third-year social work students use questionnaires to conduct a situation analysis in communities. Students worked with community partners on a variety of projects, including: a vegetable gardening at an old age home, bullying at two different primary schools, drug abuse at a high school, a church based project focused on women working on the street, and a project seeking to address health and safety of children in primary schools
	Humanities (BSocSc) third year, group 1	6 Black African 3 White 3 Coloured	6 Male 6 Female	Final-year Bachelor of Social Sciences students worked with nine underserved primary schools. Themes dealt with at the school included drug abuse, bullying, study skills (motivation), and child development. A range of activities including workshops, role play, creation of posters and group discussions were undertaken
	Humanities (BSocSc) third year, group 2	7 Black African 4 Coloured 1 White	4 Male 8 Female	

evaluations: some things are just easier to say yes to' (Forsythe & Jellicoe, 2018, p. 104). Our argument is that with an increasingly complex and interlocking world coupled with the fourth industrial revolution (4th IR), graduates must possess a combination of technical skills, soft and citizenship skills. As such, we argue in line with Zeleza (2019, p. 4) that:

> [. . .] more jobs will increasingly require graduates to "fully merge their training in hard skills with soft skills", trained in both the liberal arts and STEM,[2] with skills for complex human interactions, and capacities for flexibility, adaptability, versatility, and resilience.

With the paper's focus on human conditions, social realities and civic agency, we make a case for different and more expansive pedagogical practices that transform the educational experience and enrich life. Specifically, the paper attempt to respond to the question of 'What do universities in context such as South Africa need to do to move beyond *pedagogiek van die bemarkbare* to *pedagogiek van plig*?' We do this by introducing to the Higher Education Pedagogies journal a Capability Approach, which is a normative theoretical lens to broaden the discussion of SL as a pedagogical practice that moves beyond skills to cultivate critical consciousness, civic agency and citizenship. In South Africa, *pedagogiek van plig* represents a mass civic consciousness, which vows to never take things for granted. It is a collective 'duty to cause trouble[3]' or raise indignation to all sorts of exploitation and oppression. The 2015 #FeesMustFall movement is a quintessential example of civic duty that demonstrates how protests as a collective consciousness were employed by students across universities to seek alternative ways of funding higher education in the country. Universities in South Africa while complicit in the neoliberal pressures, they are also sites of subtle enactments of civic duty.

Against this background, the rest of the article is arranged as follows: first, we present literature on the role of pedagogy in training graduates. This is followed by a discussion of SL as an alternative and expansive pedagogical strategy for training graduates. A review of the Capability Approach literature is done to build a deductive lens through which our claims are grounded. After a quick review of the methods, we analyse the findings in line with the themes of how SL as pedagogy in higher education contributes to citizenship formations, consciousness and civic agency. We close with three main implications on SL as a higher education pedagogy informed by a Capability Approach.

Dominant approach to universities graduates training

Globally, universities are increasingly under pressure to become more responsive to challenges of poverty, inequality, social exclusion, immigration, unemployment, political instability, violence, technological and innovation demands, environmental degradation, as well as diseases. Thus, universities are called upon to produce graduates who are engaged and socially responsible, critical, sensitive, reflective, employable and innovative. However, there are two major observations regarding the training of graduates in contemporary universities. One, regarded as a global trend, universities are preoccupied with producing graduates for the workplace and 'there is much concern in society that students lack a social consciousness, and they are driven by materialistic values' (Arthur & Bohlin, 2005, p. 1). This is within the broader realm of neoliberal-driven higher education (Orphan, 2018). Hartley, Harkavy and Benson (2005, p. 198) point out that, 'the neoliberal context has a devastating effect on students since it legitimizes and

reinforces the pursuit of economic self-interest, career skills and credentials'. Pike (2015) describes the commercialisation of education that views learning as a product to be acquired rather than as a lifelong way of being and becoming.

Employable and marketable graduates are needed to function in the neoliberal market economy and complex society. This, in itself, is a critical component of engaged citizenship because individuals are self-scrutinizing agents who are able to act upon their utilities. University education can enable graduates to acquire hard technical skills and become agents of change, conscious, and humane. The urgent need for these kinds of graduates has resulted in a number of authors calling for universities to advance citizenship (Nussbaum, 2010, 1997) and foster consciousness and civic agency (Walker & Loots, 2016)

Two, relatively little is known regarding the concrete and expansive pedagogical strategies that can enable universities to produce graduates beyond the acquisition of transferable and employability skills, particularly from the global South. Among many pedagogical practices and strategies discussed in the literature, very few are linked to the cultivation of citizenship, conscientization and civic agency.

Service-learning: an expansive and humanistic pedagogical strategy

Defined in many ways, Jacoby's (1996, p. 5) provided a definition, which is in line with the human development and capability approach and it states that:

> [Community] service-learning is a form of experiential education in which students engage in activities that address human and community needs together with structured opportunities intentionally designed to promote student learning and development. Reflection and reciprocity are key concepts of service-learning.

This definition encompasses dimensions of experiential, democratic and civic education, which are regarded as some of the theoretical foundations of SL (Giles & Eyler, 1994). SL that constitutes these elements may enable students to develop citizenship capacities, critical awareness and ability to act and bring about meaningful contribution to society. It is to this framing and scholarship that this article now turns.

Advancing citizenship, conscientization, and civic agency through SL

Consistent with our argument that universities have moral and ethical responsibilities to train graduates who have both technical and soft skills, we argue in line with those who herald SL for its contribution to cultivating overlapping capacities of citizenship, conscientization and civic agency and minded values among students. The works of John Dewey and Paulo Freire have been central to providing theoretical foundations for SL as a pedagogical strategy that enhances these critical values (Cipolle, 2010; Deeley, 2015). According to Deeley (2015), Freirean critical pedagogy focuses on nurturing oppressed individual's critical thinking in order to secure a more just society while Dewey is concerned with the sustainability of democracy through education.

In his writings, Dewey focused on four dimensions, namely: pragmatic philosophy, progressive political vision, student-centred educational theory, and ethical imperative. Each of these elements carries a particular value in relation to education, individual and society. For example, the pragmatic philosophy ties knowledge to experience; the

progressive political vision connects individuals to society; student-centred educational theory combines reflection with action; and ethical domain emphasises democracy and community (Hatcher & Erasmus, 2008). Broadly, Dewey was an impassionate advocator of the social function of education in a democracy and his main concern was an increasing citizen apathy and disengagement (Hatcher & Erasmus, 2008). As such, Dewey called for education to develop the capacities of all citizens to be active contributors to their communities (Deeley, 2015). The work of Paulo Freire has also been central to theorising and interpreting the value of SL. Deans (1999) reveals that Paulo Freire serves as a theoretical anchor for some SL advocates. Freire imagined education as a key mechanism in fostering critical and active citizenry. This is enshrined in his notion of critical consciousness, which is constituted in the dialectic of men and women's' objectification of and action upon the world in the individual's grasp of his or her relation to society (Deans, 1999). Freire views this as the duality of consciousness of being in and of the world (Deeley, 2015). Further, Deeley (2015) indicates that consciousness involves change in ways of thinking or ways of knowing, awakening, an increased awareness, cognition and liberation. Many articulate consciousness as the agency of the oppressed or marginalised to become conscious in line with Freire's concept of conscientization, which is associated with the idea of 'praxis' – emphasising action and reflection upon the world in order to change it (Cipolle, 2010). For Cipolle (2010) critical consciousness consists of four elements, namely developing a deeper awareness of self, developing a deeper awareness of broader perspective of others, developing a deeper awareness and broader perspective of social issues, and seeing one's potential to make change.

The potentials of SL in cultivating citizenship, conscientization, and civic agency are largely due to its experiential learning, transformative learning and critical reflection elements. For Kiely (2005), transformative and critical reflection are significant in students' personal, civic, moral, intellectual learning and enabling them to engage in more justifiable and socially responsible actions. Central to these elements is cultivation of critical reflection, which 'can raise awareness of societal injustice and the need for more engaged and active citizenship' (Deeley, 2015, p. 98). From experiential learning theory, the contribution of SL to fostering citizenship, conscientization, and civic agency resonate well with the work of Saddington (1998) on three basic orientations of educational practices used in examining different dimensions of experiential learning. These are progressive, humanist and radical as summarised in the table.

Adapted and modified from Fenwick (2001) and Saddington (1998)

The evidence that SL has the potential to foster citizenship, conscientization, and civic agency can be seen from an increasing body of literature although still dominated by views from the global North. In the United States of America (USA), SL is largely associated with the need for developing civic responsibility, building democratic society, and responding to challenges facing society (Steinberg, Hatcher, & Bringle, 2011). In the United Kingdom, SL programme is increasingly gaining popularity because of their linkages with the idea of democratic citizenship and development of moral and civic capacity among graduates (McCowan, 2012). SL programmes are also gaining prominence in Canadian higher education as they are seen to be vital in students learning, preparing responsible, critical and engaged citizens and contributing to improving communities (Hall, 2009). In case of the South American context, it is argued that the term SL is a relatively new concept but

it is closely related to the concept of solidarity, which implies working together for the common cause, helping others and collectively removing obstacles and fighting against injustice within the society (Tapia, 2004). What we have termed pedagogy of civic duty. In the African context, although SL is relatively underdeveloped with the exception of South Africa, there are arguments that SL is understood within the broader social purposes of higher education (Hatcher & Erasmus, 2008).

In the South African context, it is indicated that the uptake of SL started during the mid-1990s following the debate about higher education transformation with respect to addressing apartheid legacies. The main goal within the transformation agenda was to restructure social institutions such as universities to improve and create a more just and equitable society. Nonetheless, it was realised earlier on that higher education was not doing enough to address challenges facing the new nation. The Department of Education (DoE) through its Green Paper on Higher Education Transformation underlined that:

> Higher education has not succeeded in laying the foundation of critical civil society with a culture of tolerance, public debate and accommodation of differences and competing interest. Nor has it contributed significantly to a democratic ethos and a sense of citizenship perceived as commitment to a common good (Department of Education [DoE, RSA], 1997, p. 2).

Of critical importance is that community engagement, which includes SL, was an integral part of South African higher education institutions in their quest to contribute to transformation. Thus, higher education institutions were called upon to demonstrate social responsibility and awareness in students. This contribution to transformation has been reiterated in the recent past. At issue, higher education institutions are asked to contribute to eliminating forms of discrimination and entrenching democratic norms and a culture of tolerance and human dignity (Department of Higher Education and Training [DHET], 2013).

While there is an extensive literature that has focused on the role of SL in developing citizenship, conscientization, and civic agency particularly in the global North, this article attempts to bring two important contributions to the fore. One, it draws from the global South's context, where SL is relatively new and little is explored regarding its contribution to citizenship, conscientization, and civic agency. Two, it introduces a capability approach (CA) as a theoretical lens, through which the contribution of SL to citizenship, conscientization, and civic agency can be deductively foregrounded and interpreted.

The capability approach and Nussbaum's three citizenship capabilities

The capability approach (CA) as developed by Amartya Sen, Martha Nussbaum and others is a normative framework for evaluation and assessment of social issues in a particular context. The CA emerged as a critique to the traditional conception and measurements of development that pay attention to economic and quantifiable outcomes. The CA, therefore, focuses on human development in terms of what people are effectively able to do and be; that is, on their capabilities (Sen, 1999). Simply put, the CA starts with the questions of what people are really able to do and what kind of person they are able to be. Since its emergence in the 1980s, the CA has been used for different types

of analysis with different goals and relying on different methodologies (Robeyns, 2017). CA integrates concepts of capabilities, functionings, agency and conversion factors, which provide generative and expansive tools for the evaluation and assessment of social arrangements or programmes such as SL.

Capabilities are central units of analysis in the CA and they are defined as opportunities or substantive freedom(s) to achieve what individuals relatively value pursuing in order to become who they want to be (Robeyns, 2017). In CA's sense, capabilities are regarded as a yardstick of development and educational activities such as SL should aim at expanding students' capabilities and their freedom to promote or achieve what they value doing and being (Alkire & Deneulin, 2009). Given that people value different things and have various reasons to value them, capabilities may include but are not limited to, opportunities for good health, education, life-enhancing skills, social belonging, leadership, relations of trust, a sense of identity, values that give meaning to life, the capacity to organise, the capacity to represent oneself and others, access to information, forming associations and participation in political life (Sen, 1999). While for Sen (1999) the list of capabilities is open for public deliberation, Nussbaum, in her typical cookie cutter legal approach distilled what she considered is a list of 10 universal and central human capabilities. It is out of these 10 that we selected the three capabilities that we explore in the paper because of the focus on citizenship.

Functionings[4] are the beings and doings of a person which constitute what make a life worthwhile. They involve achievements people derive from being or doing what they value (Sen, 1999). Some define 'functionings as the valuable beings and doings that are made possible through the availability of a capability or set of capabilities' (Crosbie, 2014, p. 93). In SL context, functionings would allow us to ask what students actually value and achieve in terms of being and doing through SL activities. There are many examples of functionings one can achieve, ranging from elementary things to achievements that are more complex. Robeyns (2017) states that functionings may include but are not limited to taking part in the community; being sheltered; relating to other people; working in the labour market; caring for others; being healthy and adequately nourished, avoiding escapable morbidity and premature mortality; being happy; having self-respect; taking part in the life of the community and so on.

Agency is another central framing idea of CA, which refers to the ability of the individual to pursue and achieve the objectives they value. In Sen's (1999) view, a person with agency is an agent who acts and bring about change and whose achievements are to be judged in terms of her/his own vales and objectives, whether or not we assess them in terms of some external criteria as well. The notion of agency elevates individuals as the principal drivers in making decisions that affect their lives, based on what they value (Ibrahim & Alkire, 2007). As a pedagogical strategy, SL is expected to enable students from diverse backgrounds to develop agency in terms of fostering ability to exercise voice and autonomy, and actively participate in the learning process and achieve valued educational and social capabilities (Wood & Deprez, 2012). Beyond this, proponents view SL as a pedagogical strategy that enhances students' agency and aspiration to act and bring about changes in communities and commitment to advancing social justice (Cipolle, 2010; Mtawa, 2019).

Conversion factors[5] are factors that determine the degree to which a person can transform opportunities (resources) into functionings (achievements). These factors can be

grouped into three main categories: (1) *personal*, which may constitute physical condition, reading skills and intelligence; (2) *social factors* in the form of public policies, social norms, social hierarchies or power relations; and (3) environmental factors such as location, pollution, public infrastructure and so forth (Crocker & Robeyns, 2009). SL allows students from diverse backgrounds to work together in communities that are sometimes familiar to them or not. Depending on how SL is designed and implemented, such space may allow or constrain students' ability to utilise SL for academic learning, personal development, understanding themselves in relation to others, developing social skills and the opportunity to cultivate long-term commitment to societal issues (Mtawa, 2019).

Applied to SL, CA foregrounds the values of SL as capability formation in terms of valued beings and doings and the ability for people to act and influence the world. The CA enables us to frame and interpret SL as a pedagogical strategy "oriented to developing capabilities and functionings for meaningful lives, lived well both personally and socially, transformed ways of being, engaging in public deliberation, developing equal respect for others in our shared humanity and acting for change' (Nussbaum, 2010; Walker & Loots, 2016). Such articulation is in line with van der Ploeg and Guerin (2016, p. 257) who argue that 'education should equip students in such a way as to reason and determine for themselves what kind of citizens they want to be and how they wish to practice their citizenship'.

When the CA is applied to higher education, Nussbaum suggests three citizenship capabilities, namely *critical examination, narrative imagination and global citizenship*. Crosbie (2014) describes these as cosmopolitan capacities that are fostered through educational programmes and in this case such as SL. Given that the application of CA is broad and goes beyond the scope of this paper, we draw on Nussbaum's three constructs that are central to understanding the contribution of SL to students' citizenship, conscientization and civic agency dispositions. Nussbaum moves beyond critical pedagogy writers such as Freire's (1970) narrow focus on the liberation of the marginalized and oppressed citizens. Nussbaum (1997) nearly echoes Foucault's (1980) narrative that both the oppressed and oppressors yield power that is important to bring positive change in themselves and those of others as citizens. Nussbaum conceptualization of a global citizen is cognizant that both the rich and poor, oppressor and oppressed require critical examination that involves developing capacities to reason logically, to test consistency of reasoning, correctness of fact and accuracy of judgment. This means that SL is not merely a pedagogy for enabling students from poor backgrounds to return to their communities and indiscriminately work on liberation projects. It also means that SL is not simply a tool for channelling students from privileged backgrounds to enter communities of the marginalized to experience lives of disadvantaged. Rather, SL ought to foster narrative imagination which refers to 'the ability to think what it might be like to be in the shoes of a person different from oneself, to be an intelligent reader of that person's story, and to understand the emotions and wishes and desires that someone so placed might have' (Nussbaum, 1997, p. 85). Global citizens require an ability to see themselves as not simply citizens of some local region or group, but also, and above all, as human beings. In an attempt to demystify Nussbaum's cosmopolitan citizenship elements, Crosbie (2014, pp. 24–25) argues that the 'first is about cognition and critical thinking, the second related to the ties that bind us to fellow humans, and the third involved the ability to understand and engage with other ways of being in a more visceral manner'.

Applying the CA this way and examining SL through this lens makes possible to broaden our understanding of this pedagogical practice chiefly for two reasons. For one, it extends current theorisation of SL for instance, from critical pedagogy to educational strategy that enhances capabilities for individual and societal flourishing. Second, it broadens the contribution of the study to theory and the research producers used to a wider context within South Africa and beyond. The following sections expand on the research context, data collection and analysis that shape our current investigation.

Methodology

This paper discusses part of the findings of the broader qualitative study that aimed at exploring the role of SL in advancing human development in South African universities in two specific academic disciplines. Although the two academic disciplines are located in one university with three constituent campuses across one province, these units of analysis were selected with qualitative case-study research generalizability in mind (Yin, 2005). These units of analysis were selected as typical, representative, commonly occurring and theoretically interesting cases in higher education and SL (Williams, 2002). Additionally, the cases were chosen with Stake's (2000) view that beyond universalisation, the key criterion for selecting a case study should be the 'opportunity to learn [and we should] choose that case from which we feel we can learn the most'. The two faculties or disciplines of focus in this research – health sciences and humanities are generally structured in the same way in all South African and most African universities. These disciplines were some of the earliest in South African universities that adopted SL as a pedagogical strategy and mechanism through which to engage with local communities (Fourie, 2003). Although our analysis focused more on the disciplines, the typicality of the units of analysis also appears at an institutional level. Like the other 20 transformed institutions in the country, the university where the study was conducted is a historically white but now majority black university located in one of the poorest provinces of the country. In terms of the broader context, this case study represents an archetypal example of South African universities situated in a country characterised by patterns of inequalities, racial tensions, extreme poverty, high level of unemployment, gender inequalities, educational disparities as well as adverse impact of HIV/AIDS (Mtawa & Wilson-Strydom, 2018). The history of this university and broader context in which it operates met the requirements for a suitable case study particularly in understanding the expansive humanistic view of SL when framed as a strategy for cultivating citizenship, conscientization, and civic agency.

The data set was collected through in-depth interviews with 16 SL lecturers and 4 focus groups each consisting of 12 students. The criteria guided the choice of 12 participants for the focus groups were field of study, intersecting factors of race and gender and a mix of academic year. The selected lecturers were from different faculties across the university. The students, mainly, were from the Faculty of Health Sciences and the Faculty of Humanities. These include professional fields such as Nursing, Social Work and Bachelor of Social Sciences, which consists of Psychology, Criminology and Sociology. The SL courses covered different levels of study and involved partnerships with a variety of community groupings such as disadvantaged primary and secondary schools, marginalised communities and old-age homes. As part of a bigger research

project involved human subjects, all ethical procedures were approved by ethics committee (ethical clearance number EDU-2014-055). The majority of interviews and focus groups were conducted from April to October 2015. No names of participants or institution have been used to ensure confidentiality and anonymity.

Considering the complexities of South African society in terms of diversity, socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, the heterogeneity of students selected to participate in focus groups was critical. As such, during focus groups, it was imperative to capture biographic information such as ethnicity, race, language, and gender. This composition of students was important because the heterogeneity of students has a bearing towards understanding, developing and practicing citizenship, conscientization, and civic agency particularly in a complex and diverse South African society and beyond.

We framed this study deductively from a CA that helps explain conscientization, citizenship and agency formation in and through SL. Our use of the CA serves two purposes, first to test its applicability to a different higher education context. Second, to bring attention to the CA community a way to extend its application beyond mere analysis of individual valued choices as the only capabilities. This is in keeping with Merton's (1968) observation of the common limitation in analysis of social phenomenon which we also observe is rife among novice CA users. We draw attention to manifest capabilities as those consequences of adjustment or adaptation so intended; and latent capabilities refereeing to unintended and recognized consequences of the same order. Thus, analysis and interpretation of the data were aimed at establishing whether universal theorization of citizenship in and through higher education in form of capability formations as done by Nussbaum (1997) has any applicability to an SL in global South context. Thematic analysis was therefore used to analyse the transcripts (Saldana, 2009). These themes were categorized into capabilities as universal manifest or latent theoretical concepts. During analysis of the data, transcripts were repeatedly read and several codes (capabilities) were generated (Saldana, 2009). From the multiple codes, three capabilities, namely *affiliation and narrative imagination, social and collective struggle and local citizenship* were selected, as they appeared to be recurring themes that cut across issues of citizenship, conscientization, and civic agency. This was a positive confirmation of the applicability of Nussbaum's theorization of citizenship which we initially tended to doubt based on three facts. The first is the increasing critique of neoliberal influences on higher education and the inherent external and internal limitations of SL as a pedagogy for fostering civic dispositions that writers such as Stoecker (2017) talk about. The second is what Robeyns (2017) has pointed out as the potential dangers of drawing from a universal list of capabilities such as focusing on the general at the expense of the specific. The third one was Rickert's (2009) presuppositional view that all social theories have aspects of their basic beliefs, which are un-provable. The table offers a detailed summary of students involved in the study and it is followed by findings.

Findings

Affiliation and narrative imagination

The contribution of SL is the cultivation of the capability for affiliation and narrative imagination, which are central values of citizenship, conscientization, and civic agency. The capability for affiliation 'is about being able to live with and toward others, to recognize and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another'. (Nussbaum, 2003, p. 41). Affiliation is related to the capability for narrative imagination. The voice of students and lecturers indicates that SL provides space for affiliation between student and student (peer affiliation), and students and community members to develop. This capability was potentially enhanced because SL creates spaces in which diverse students and community members interact, connect, understand each other, and bring together and negotiate different perspectives and experiences. A closer look at the data suggests that affiliation can act as an 'architectonic' capability (Nussbaum, 2000) or 'fertile capability'[6] as it permeates other capabilities and values to develop.

Some of the capabilities fostered as a result of affiliation include a sense of belonging, friendships, connectedness and students' understanding of themselves in relation to others, love, a sense of caring, capacity to imagine (narrative imagination), trust, interdependence, respect and valuing differences, acting ethically, critical reasoning and a sense of agency. Students' voices relating to affiliation and narrative imagination provide a repertoire to develop humane capacities (beings), community care, imagining alternative and better future, and contributing to enhancing the well-being of others (DeJaeghere, 2013).

One student raised several issues that underline the capability for affiliation and narrative imagination cultivated in and through SL:

> SL taught me the desire to serve and caring about others and knowing that regardless of a person's status, everyone is equal and should be treated that way. While teaching them about the negative effects of drugs, you wonder about their future, what will happen to them? Because of the conditions of the community, one would shy away and think that this is dangerous community but in reality, they [learners] have a lot of potential and all they need is help. The living conditions of these learners are not good, they come from poor backgrounds and they are exposed to dangerous things such as drugs and alcohol abuse. The school is the only safe place where the learners can be (Allen, BSoc.Sc. student).

Several students added that SL enabled them to learn, understand, and develop the capacity to empathise with the conditions people go through in their lives. At the core of these students' voices is what Nussbaum (1997) refers to as greater sensitivity and understanding the emotions, wishes and desires that someone placed might have. This supports the capacity of 'compassion imagination', which makes other people's lives more than distant abstractions and encourage students to see themselves as not simply citizens of some local region or group, but also, and above all, as human beings bound to all other human beings by recognition and concern. The voices below provide some examples:

> I think SL makes you grow, you learn new ways of relating to people, and it changes your perspectives. Before we started working with the women of night [sex-workers], we all thought that they have choices and they could choose another path for themselves. However, once we got into their space and started working with them we find that it is not necessary

> the case and there are other circumstances that force them to do what they are doing. Therefore, it is important to put yourself in someone's situation before making any conclusion (Julia, Nursing student).

> In SL it is important to show that you are actually interested in people's stories. It is about building relationship, trust, listening to them, showing empathy, putting yourself in their shoes, trying to understand why they are on the streets, and not going there to judge them. Most of people would say can't those women [sex-workers] find other forms of employment (Thando, Social Work student).

> Through SL I learnt that we need to see the way people see themselves and be in their shoes so that we understand what exactly they are going through in their lives and not just come and judge them. Working with them we realised that they have strengths, skills and abilities what they need is support (Lesego, BSoc.Sc. student).

In these excerpts, students show values and capacities that enable us to recognise the worth of human life as well as human dignity regardless of background (Nussbaum, 1997). For Suransky (2017) what students are raising is not just [about] trying to live side by side and tolerate or 'celebrate' differences, but also [is about] critically engaging with actual differences in the contexts of social injustices. These are important capacities because SL operates at the interface of poverty, inequality, power and privilege (Mtawa & Wilson-Strydom, 2018), which are some of the typical features of South African society.

Students' perspectives resonate with the views of lecturers responsible for SL courses and projects. The evidence of this can be seen from lecturers' voices, which for Wood and Deprez (2012) create learning environments where students are able to reflect on the relationship between what they are learning and their own values in relation to what they want to do in the future. As noted by lecturers:

> SL exposes students to real life and to the diversity we have in South Africa. This is key because their perceptions change completely, and they start asking very fundamental questions to say how is this possible for people to live in these situations? I see how students' perceptions and attitudes change (SL lecturer).

> I always tell my students to be passionate and committed because it is not only about the marks or credit they get, it is also about being responsible for helping to bring change in that community or to that individual. It is also about the compassionate attitude one must develop toward community, students should feel that they really want to make difference in the community (SL lecturer).

> SL teach them empathy because as a human being you need to have empathy when you are working with people and because you are privileged that you have access to the university, but when you go to the community, you have to listen to their stories then work with them to come up with alternatives. Listen to them carefully and then have empathy toward their stories. We must not have an attitude of looking down to the communities (SL lecturer).

Lecturers think about the values and capacities students should be developing in and through SL. Lecturers capture four elements of critical consciousness proposed by Cipolle (2010). Importantly, both students and lecturers' views underline an idea of 'deeper self-awareness', which connotes some aspects of the capability for affiliation and narrative imagination as described by Nussbaum (1997). The capabilities identified in this finding play an important role in allowing students to develop capabilities for

informed vision, social and collective struggle, which epitomise citizenship, conscientization, and civic agency as extrapolated in the next finding.

Informed vision, social and collective struggle

Walker and McLean (2013) indicate that informed vision, social and collective struggle are about imagining alternative futures and improve social arrangements, being able to understand structures that shape individual lives and creating empowering opportunities, listening to diverse voices and contributing to social change. This description is important in two ways. One, it encompasses some elements used to conceptualise citizenship, conscientization, and civic agency. Two, as the data suggests, it resonates well with the purposes and potential outcomes of SL for students. As such, as a pedagogical strategy, SL enables students to understand and be part of community struggles and circumstances, empowering and advocating for justice, interrogating structures of inequality in society, as well as enhancing and contributing to the vision they have for themselves and for the communities. For example, some students expressed that:

> They [community members] used to trust nurses to a point that if a parent had a child who was being abused, they would know that the nurse would direct them to the right channel. But because the health care system is now failing even us health personnel we are failing the community as well. It's so hard to go there, seeing the challenges like the environmental pollution we saw there, there are houses which are left with no people living in them, there are children who are not going to school. You even ask yourself when you get to Springfontein if there is any school, do people work or what, you won't know what is really happening because it seems like everybody is home and relaxing (Angela, Nursing student).

> We found out that most of the problems are because of unemployment. It is a big problem and now even if we are to go out and want to help the community, how are we going to help them to address unemployment. We cannot help them to end the unemployment issue and for a person to live a life that has purpose you need money and other resources (Danken, BSoc.Sc. student).

While appreciating that SL allows them to be informed about social challenges and problems and take part in finding alternative solutions, students also raised concerned about the limits of SL terms of design and approach as well as the broader university education orientation. These limitations obscure student from developing an informed vision that spurs long-term aspirations for community change and civic agency.

> So what can one do, when you go there and say you are going to start a garden with them, is it going to be permanent and sustainable thing for them. You come with your things and they see us with papers and they say you are just going to come with your own things and start doing your things and leave us like that. So it's very challenging to go into a community and see the problems that you can't even solve them (Elin, Social Work student).

> People who come from rural areas say nurses go to the cities and get trained but they don't go back to the rural areas. So, SL should help us to see why it is important to go work in rural areas and maybe the government can make nurses sign a contract allowing them to do university course and go back to the community. At the moment we do not go back to the communities we stay in cities so the needs will always be there (Aminata, Nursing student.

On their side, lecturers also seem to view the value of SL in the direction of enabling students to understand society issues and developing the ability to realise that because of their potentially privileged position they can make an important contribution in communities. The common thread that appears to run through the voices of the majority of lecturers is that of SL enabling students to make or develop capacities necessary for them to be able to bring differences in communities. The lecturers' voices support a 'critical service-learning', which is aimed at enabling SL students to make sense of the world around them and others as well as to transform the structural of inequalities that hobble communities and their members. As described by lecturers:

> SL does help them because they start asking what can they do or contribute. Is it their role to do that? What is their responsibility and remember some of these students come from these same communities. So it changes their perception and attitude and make them start to feel that they can do something about those situations. You can sense that in their reports they go as far as to suggest alternative solution (SL lecturer).

> Importantly through SL, students start to realise that it is important to empower people if you really want to make a difference or change. Therefore, I tell students do not go to the communities to tell people what to do but do with them and then let them do using their hands and mind then you can empower them to be able to do things even in your absence (SL lecturer).

> The communities benefit because students focus much in enhancing community members' problem-solving capacities. So students through the projects are able to address those issues that enhance people problem-solving capabilities. The role is to make sure that resources are stablished in order to address specific issues that are affecting communities. Also many time communities are facing difficulties in their lives but they do know where to turn to so through SL students link communities with various resources (SL lecturer).

Enhancing capabilities for informed vision, social and collective struggle among students is important if universities are to produce citizens who are not only aware of societal needs but have a vision for creating a better future for themselves and for others as well as exercise citizenship agency to make difference (Walker & Loots, 2016). However, these capabilities as the next finding suggest requiring a capability for local citizenship.

Local citizenship

Citizenship operates at both local and global levels

Nussbaum pays much focus on the capability for cosmopolitan or global citizen (Crosbie, 2014). However, our analysis suggests the contribution of SL to developing a capability for local citizenship. This capability is about building local citizenship within the diverse and unequal context of South Africa. Local citizenship is fostered because SL provides space for students to understand and experience local realities. Also, SL allows students to create ties among themselves and with community members. Further, the capability for local citizenship cultivated through SL is embedded in affiliation as students forge ties among themselves. The capability for local citizenship identified from the data supports Espino and Lee (2011, p. 137), who argue that, 'through SL students can gain understanding of themselves in relation to others and can confront their assumptions about communities in need, particularly those with whom they do not personally identify'. From the students' perspectives, the capability for local citizenship is more about diverse

students coming into contact with each other, from different contexts and navigating different personalities, and embracing diversity.

Speaking from the perspective that SL enables them to connect with people who experience different circumstance different from theirs, these students commented:

> White people go into [Black communities] we are scared. That was a challenge for us also because we have heard stories, so when you go there for the first time you ask yourself where to put your phone, where do I walk and can I talk to these people. That experience made me realise that there is another side of South Africa and it is important to be part of it (Luthando, BSoc.Sc. student).

> Firstly, I am open to anyone's values and beliefs and I do not believe that there is [a one size] fit[s] all ways of doing things. There is no right and wrong because people come from different background[s] and you must respect that. Maybe it is because of this module [SL], because previously I wouldn't socialise with people who have different values and moral[s] [. . .] but now it is different because I know that there is various moral, beliefs, values and I know where they come from and I can now engage with them (Anele, Nursing student).

Similarly, lecturers believe that SL allows students to develop a sound understanding and engagement with complex local issues and changing the ways in which they think about themselves in relation to others. Thus, Nussbaum (1997) refers to this capacity as an element of human beings bound to other human beings by ties of recognition and concern.

> SL contributes to deconstructing perceptions and you see students behaving differently and treating one another with respect and even dignity. This also happens in the community, in that, they start seeing the community differently (SL lecturer).

> On two occasions I had Afrikaans students going to a really poor White township and these students are slightly from better off backgrounds and I think it was good for them to be exposed, to see that even White people could live in poverty. I do not think they were ever exposed to such reality before. Therefore, SL is a good way of exposing students to real life and to the kind of diversity, we have. This is key because their perception changes completely. Because we always think White people do not live in poverty (SL lecturer).

The citizenship virtues highlighted in the above excepts appear to be similar to the outcomes of early SL experiences proposed by Cipolle (2010). As such, lecturers appreciate SL for allowing students to learn about themselves, clarify their values, become more appreciative of what they have, and learn about people whose experiences and backgrounds are different from theirs. In addition, the lecturers value SL for helping students to gain a better understanding of perspectives and diversity; become more open-minded and less judgmental; develop an understanding of themselves in relation to others; become more aware of social issues; and identify different perspectives on reality. These are significant dimensions of the capability for local citizenship particularly in a multiracial and unequal society such as South Africa.

Discussion

The following section discusses three empirical and theoretical underpinnings of researching SL as a potential strategy for producing different kinds of citizens. We asked, amidst the neoliberal pressures of producing marketable graduates, can SL in

the global south higher education context be conceptualised as an expansive and humanistic pedagogy? Does the CA help to explain such a broader view of SL as an educational strategy for advancing citizenship, conscientization and civic agency? The conditions under which the identified capabilities emerge depend largely on the context in which SL operate coupled with its practical implementation.

First, it emerged in this study that when SL is conceptualized through a broad lens such as CA in health sciences and humanities academic fields, it is possible to see the expansive role of SL that goes beyond commercialization and the production of merely employable graduates that is *pedagogiek van die bemarkbare (pedagogy of the marketable)*. Although we observed trends of narrowing public purposes of higher education like those reported by Orphan (2018) in the global North, the findings show that there are still possibilities for an expansive and humanistic SL as universities respond to the neoliberal pressures. It is not that university lecturers and students are unable to see beyond the specific and measurable aspects of higher education. Moreover, we cannot eliminate the commercialization and market-driven teaching and learning – taking place in higher education but through changing our lenses, we can broaden our views and practices of SL by looking at how though in limited ways lecturers and students conceptualize and practice an expansive and humanistic SL as *pedagogiek van plig (pedagogy of civic duty)*. This emphasises the importance of concepts, symbols and tools we use not only in our research but also in the teaching and practice. The sharper and broader the tools the better the job of dissecting and dealing with the current needs in higher education. The empirical data discussed above highlights the potential of SL to foster capabilities related to citizenship, conscientization, and civic agency. The study discovered that SL enables students to develop capabilities for affiliation and narrative imagination, informed vision, social and collective struggle and local citizenship. Students and lecturers attributed these desires to structured opportunities designed intentionally to promote these values in the researched programmes. Evidence from this research, therefore, contributes to steering the intellectual capital in higher pedagogies to service-oriented strategies for teaching and learning.

Secondly, it emerged that preparation for students before they embark on SL projects in communities is important. This study discovered that majority of SL projects are sporadic and often implemented on a short-term basis and in most cases are one-semester long. The limitation of short-term SL programmes is that it makes students treat SL experience as class requirement and thus default on altruistic dedication and commitment. Tryon et al. (2008) show that this impedes the cultivation and sustaining of capabilities. This was evident from the divergent view's students provided regarding their SL experiences. While some groups of students seemed to have a sound understanding of SL and preparedness before going to the communities, others appeared to lack clear understanding and preparation. These are internal limitations of SL design, but they do not preclude the broad vision of producing global and local citizens through SL pedagogy. This underscores the need for adequate preparation and teacher's knowledge about SL, the population served and their social, economic and political contexts (Cipolle, 2010). Mouton and Wildschut (2005) discovered similar findings and stressed the importance of student readiness and preparation prior to SL journey. Preparation is important because it is not merely a matter of the students receiving the appropriate knowledge and skills which could benefit the community, but they also need to be

prepared emotionally and politically to face diverse views of citizenship. Preparation ought to start at classroom level with SL pedagogical practices designed and implemented to foster citizenship, conscientization, and civic agency.

One way of nurturing students in this direction is through putting them in diverse groups during SL courses and projects, designing SL projects and activities that enable students to learn how to be citizens and to act as citizens as well as working in contexts that stimulate the development of the three sets of identified capabilities. Our discovery shows that working in groups was one of the mechanisms through which students developed capabilities for affiliation, narrative imagination and local citizenship. Nevertheless, the diversity in the group, the frequency of group meetings, the extent to which students participate in groups, activities students undertook, places and conditions they experienced were central to fostering affiliation, narrative imagination and local citizenship. Cultivating capabilities identified in this paper requires SL programmes to be undertaken over an extended period. This is important for sustaining valued capabilities, which is likely to foster certain functionings. This echoes Cipolle's (2010, p. 78) revelation that 'when students participate in service-learning project over longer period of time, academic, civic, and character development outcomes are stronger'.

The details of these conditions and contexts were not sufficiently captured here as they are beyond the scope of this paper. However, Mtawa (2019) shows that for students to develop capabilities highlighted, several issues ought to be considered. These include incorporating social justice approach to teaching and implementing SL, making SL a space for experiencing and learning about diversity and other social dynamics, taking students to unfamiliar places, and developing activities that make SL a shared and collective endeavour. SL allows the expansion of agency as students understand and become aware of social inequalities and begin to think and act towards creating a just society through various forms of civic actions or civic duty.

Thirdly, SL as a higher education pedagogy affirms the elaborations by Nussbaum and the many application of her conceptualization of the discussed capabilities among CA scholars. Therefore, we see value in the common normative application of three manifest capabilities of narrative imagination, informed vision, social and collective struggle, and local citizenship that students and faculty members in our case study emphasized. These are aspects that prepare students to function in the economic homeostasis of global neoliberal and political economy. Nonetheless, this case-study also adds to SL and CA an often-ignored aspect, the analysis of the latent functions. SL as *pedagogiek van plig* extends our analysis towards latent functions of SL to show that in South Africa both students and faculty members take seriously mass consciousness of 'the duty to cause trouble' even though the neoliberal pressures on the university system and political economy would want a different kind of citizen, one that conforms to the moral and economic status quo. *Pedagogiek van plig* fosters a form of indignation that focuses upon the role of intellectual labour in a range of liminal citizenship struggles. Pivoting around dignity in the development of a liminal subjectivity rather than a false dualistic opposition of a global vs local citizen in global market economy. The discovery of latent student's indignation and embrace of civic duty represents significant gains in understanding SL as a pedagogy and the CA lens as flitting and becoming.

Conclusion

As we close, we iterate that deductive research usually begins with a social theory-driven hypothesis or assumption, which guides the selection of cases, data analysis and findings. We focused on the CA especially Nussbaum's three capabilities of citizenship. Our premise was CA would assist to broadly conceptualize SL for citizenship formation in the global south context. This was in our attempt to respond to the question of 'What do universities in context such as South Africa need to do to move beyond *pedagogiek van die bemarkbare* to *pedagogiek van plig*?' We used components of data drawn from a larger study with a carefully selected university case in South Africa. We analysed faculty members and students' perspectives on SL as a pedagogy. We reviewed gamine literature and interviewed multiple service-learning actors to triangulate the emergent perspectives.

Our assumptions around the selected capabilities related to citizenship, conscientization and civic agency were that although Nussbaum claims her conceptualization of capabilities to be universal, it would not apply to global south context especially when applied to SL in South Africa. This was because we assumed that despite the increasing global norms of higher education, institutional and idiosyncratic variations still hold. Furthermore, Sen (2002) highlights that the CA can only account for the opportunity aspects of capabilities and not for the procedural aspect. Hence, we paid attention to both manifest and latent capabilities that SL makes possible.

Partly our assumptions were correct, as the CA could not account for the inherent limitations in SL design, and the unplanned outcomes. Nonetheless, the South African case demonstrates that the social relational configurations seen in SL including compatibilities and incompatibilities are consequential for understanding the expansive and humanistic role of SL in both local and transnational contexts. By using qualitative analysis and bringing social theory to the forefront, this article shows that juxtaposing students and lecturers' voices against the CA standpoint on citizenship formation helps to see how SL when conceptualized with broad theoretical concepts such as narrative imagination, and affiliation enables not just our broader understandings but also how we can put in place and enact practices for students to develop capabilities in relation to what they are able to do and the kind of person they are able to be. These beings and doings are essential for one to function as critical and engaged citizens, aware of her/his surroundings and dedicated to providing meaningful contributions to advancing his/her well-being and that of others.

In society such as South Africa and the higher education system we explored that oscillates under enormous uncertainties, *pedagogiek van plig*, (pedagogy of civic duty) that emerges in SL, helps us to see deeper relations between higher education and citizenship formations. But the capabilities formed and the typology of citizen that develops, as our analysis shows is neither an exclusively global citizen peddling the desires of the neoliberal economy as the globalists like Nussbaum would have us believe nor a merely local one as the nativists assume. *Pedagogiek van plig* shows that a liminal and intersecting citizen emerges even when the global and local pressures exert their intentions on SL and higher education continuously.

Framing SL in the CA pushes this pedagogical tool towards the direction of cultivating students' socially embedded capabilities – citizenship, conscientization, and civic agency. Such educational strategy is critical in students' formation of shared values, such as

fairness, acknowledgment of heterogeneity, which move citizens in the direction of respect and compassion, equal value and respect for diversity and tolerance, rich understanding of our common humanity and a meaningful life (Waghid, 2014). Actors elsewhere will draw from this study not only convergences and transferability of an expansive and humanistic SL as a higher education practice but also how they might employ a similar research procedure in a different context to understand and implement a broader version of SL.

Notes

1. HEFCE/OfS define learning gain as 'an attempt to measure the improvement in knowledge, skills, work readiness and personal development made by students during their time spent in higher education' (HEFCE/OfS, 2015–2017).
2. STEM here refers to Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics.
3. 'The duty to cause trouble' in South Africa especially among Black and Coloured people is a form of cultural, political, intellectual, and economic civic duty. It is a mass intellectual consciousness that abhors any forms of victimization and victimhood. It takes its moral and civic responsibility to raise indignation and find humane ways of actions. Suffice to mention that its strategies are not limited to protests or toi-toi as it is popularly known.
4. Given the complex involved in understanding functionings in SL context, this paper focuses more on students' capabilities and agency formation with respect to citizenship, conscientization and civic agency in and through SL.
5. The conversion factors are central in teasing out students' capabilities and agency cultivated in and through SL. Although they are not explicitly discussed in the paper, the interpretations of findings point toward the direction of certain conversion factors that enable or impede students to develop citizenship, conscientization and civic agency.
6. Fertile capabilities refer to capabilities that tend to promote or assist in securing other functionings or capabilities (Wolff & de-Shalit, 2007).

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Article

The Development of the Teacher Attitudes to Discrimination in Language Education Scale: A Measurement Tool of Critical Consciousness for Language Teachers

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Abstract: The purpose of this study is to develop a measurement instrument to be used as an assessment tool of teachers' development of conscientização (i.e., critical consciousness), defined as an individual's ability "to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality". After examining the different stages and components of conscientização, the author describes the process of generating initial items, determining the instrument's format and content validity, and revising the instrument. An exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was conducted with a diverse sample of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), resulting in four internally consistent factors: (a) teacher beliefs about schooling and emotions towards inequality, (b) teacher as activists, (c) teacher awareness of local educational context, and (d) content selection and teaching strategies in the classroom. Psychometric properties of the scale are included.

Keywords: critical consciousness; critical language pedagogy; critical pedagogy; language teacher development; language teacher identity; scale development

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1. Introduction

Critical pedagogy is a philosophy of education that encourages teachers and students to challenge common assumptions and question taken-for-granted ideologies in their local contexts. For teachers to support their students in such endeavors, teachers must have developed conscientização. (Conscientização has been translated from Brazilian Portuguese into English as "critical consciousness", "conscientization" and "consciousness raising". Freire, however, expressed preference for its use "in its Brazilian form, conscientização, and spelled that way" [1] (p. 24). Following Freire, I use the word conscientização in its original form throughout this article.) Conscientização, as conceptualized by the Brazilian educator, philosopher, and activist Paulo Freire, is a process of problematization, of "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" [2] (p. 35). When teachers have conscientização, they teach with a social justice orientation and are able to connect the school curriculum with the social, economic, cultural, historical, and political processes within which they and their students exist [3]. In the case of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) professionals, this connection must extend beyond their local context to include language ideologies in the global contexts (for a discussion of common English language ideologies, see [4]).

Despite the size of the literature on critical pedagogy and the now considerable number of studies of language teachers pursuing this approach (e.g., [5–8]), the research on its central concept of conscientização is scarce and has not been subject to basic ideas of measurement as a way of understanding it. While conscientização has been the subject of conceptual discussion and inquiry for decades (the earliest dating back to [9]), it was only recently that a few researchers designed a handful of quantitative instruments for its measurement [10–13]. This scholarship, however, stems from the fields of Counseling and

Psychology, in the area of sociopolitical development and marginalized youth rather than from the field of (radical) education and adult literacy, where conscientização was originally conceptualized. Thus, while in the last five years, new scales to measure conscientização have been developed and validated, these scales have focused on marginalized youth—not on teachers.

In short, no instrument exists that was explicitly designed to measure the conscientização of teachers. Educators interested in assessing conscientização of teachers developed through teacher education programs could benefit from a scale that assesses conscientização development in pre-service as well as in-service teachers. In addition, an instrument explicitly designed to measure the conscientização of teachers has the potential to advance our understanding of conscientização and its effects in the classroom. Hence, the goal of this study was to design a new measurement instrument to be used with TESOL professionals. In this article, I describe the development of such an instrument, the Teacher Attitudes to Discrimination in Language Education Scale (TADLES), which examines the nature of in-service English language teachers' critical consciousness, in particular their attitudes towards fairness and discrimination in education. In sum:

- Goal: To design a new measurement instrument to be used with TESOL professionals.
- Task: To detail the development of such an instrument, the Teacher Attitudes to Discrimination in Language Education Scale (TADLES).

2. Theoretical Framework: Critical Consciousness, or Conscientização

2.1. Stages of Conscientização

In his early work, Freire theorized conscientização as a process with a set of stages. The first stage is the intransitive or semi-transitive consciousness or magical consciousness. This stage is characterized by acceptance and resignation, where individuals fail to perceive many of the contemporary challenges. The second stage is naïve transitive consciousness, which is characterized by "an oversimplification of problems" [14] (p. 18), where individuals may see themselves as righteous and blame others for problems. Naïve transitive consciousness is important, because it is here where individuals are able to perceive unjust social power structures, investigate their causes, and "begin to be able visualize" alternatives [15] (p. 77). The outcome of this exercise should lead the individual toward the third stage, which is characterized by two opposing consciousnesses: conscientização (i.e., critical consciousness) and fanaticized (massification) consciousness (see Figure 1), the former being desirable [14] (p. 16). Fanaticized (massification) consciousness is a stage in which individuals are "more disengaged from reality", which "leads to passivity, fear of freedom, and the loss of reflective action among the people" [14] (pp. 19–20). The opposing stage, conscientização or critical consciousness, is where individuals begin to understand causal principles of social injustice. While in the stage of naïve transitive consciousness, change "focuses on altering individual behavior", in the critical consciousness, these changes focus "on systematic, structural, and normative obstacles" [14] (p. 39).

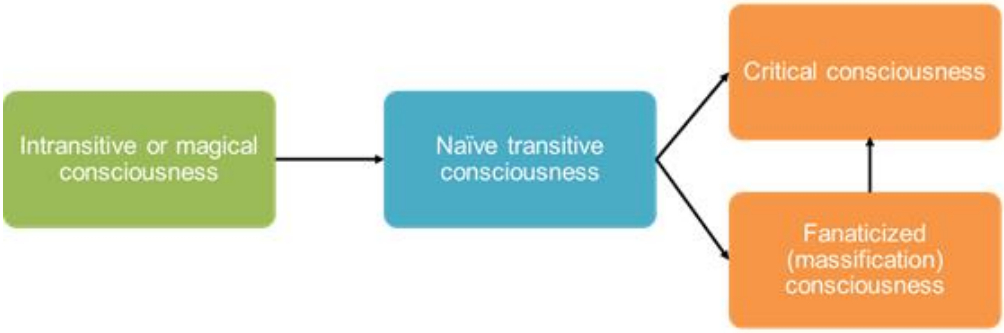

Figure 1. The Movement between the Three Stages of Conscientização. Note. Adapted from Freire, P. (1959). Educação e atualidade brasileira [Education and present-day Brazil] (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Recife, Brazil: Universidade Federal de Pernambuco. Copyright by the Universidade Federal de Pernambuco (1959).

It is worth noting, however, that these stages do not reflect "a progression through a finite series of steps with a fixed set of attitudes and behaviors to be achieved" [16] (p. 145) but rather are an ever-developing process that can overlap. The ever-developing and overlapping nature of these stages allow room for reimagining their boundaries, in particular, the boundaries within the desirable stage of conscientização or critical consciousness. That is because conscientização, as theorized by Freire, contains a broad spectrum of attitudes and behaviors. For example, it encompasses the beginning stages of an individual's understanding of causal principles of social injustice [1] as well as the more complex stages, where individuals take actions against injustice at the individual and structural levels. With such a broad spectrum, I propose that the stage of conscientização be further divided into three states to help us observe and differentiate between the beginnings of an individual's understanding, action being taken at the individual level, and action at the structural level.

2.2. Components of Conscientização

Following Freire's definition of conscientização as the "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" [2] (p. 35), conscientização has been theorized to be composed of two main components: awareness and action. There have been attempts to test, explore, measure, and extend Freire's concept of conscientização in several lines of research. Smith's [9] was one of the first to operationalize conscientização and to exemplify how it can be manifested. Smith used drawings, questionnaires, games, music, simulations, questions, and open-ended interviews to stimulate "a wide range of [conscientização] related verbal responses" [9] (p. 5) from the different groups of Quechua-speaking indigenous peoples in Ecuador. This sampling resulted in a protocol that "relie[d] on a set of culture-specific visual stimuli and a standardized set of questions" based on three questions: "what is the problem?"; "what are the causes?"; and "what can be done about it?" According to Smith [9], each of these questions corresponds to one aspect of conscientização. The first, identifying the problem, corresponding to one's ability to recognize the problem itself (i.e., naming); the second, contemplating about the problem, corresponding to one's ability to reflect on its causes (i.e., reflecting); and the third corresponded to what could be done about the problem, referred to one's intention to act to change it (i.e., acting). These three aspects (i.e., naming, reflecting, and acting) continue to be used today (albeit under different terms) and are the starting points for studies of conscientização.

While conscientização is believed to be a cognitive, higher-order disposition [17], emotion has always been present in Freire's theory and writings as an important factor and he was far ahead of trends in Anglo-American social sciences. It is only since the 1990s that we have seen a turn to emotions in the field of general teacher development (e.g., [18–20]). In the field of language teacher development, following this turn, only recently has it gained attention (but see [21,22]). Freire warned, "We must dare so as never to dichotomize cognition and emotion" [14] (p. xxv). He continued, "We study, we learn, we teach, we know with our entire body. We do all of these things with feeling, with emotion and also with critical reasoning" [14] (p. xxv). Thus, to ignore emotion as a component of conscientização is to have an incomplete understanding of the role emotion occupies in teachers' development process. Therefore, a new measurement scale targeted to teachers must include emotion as one of the components of conscientização.

3. Materials and Methodology: Development of the TADLES

3.1. Instrument

With the considerations discussed above, the TADLES was carefully theoretically grounded and items were developed based on social science theories (e.g., [23–25]) and questionnaire development procedures suggested by Brown [26], DeVellis [27], and Dörnyei and Taguchi [28]. The procedures consisted of five iterative steps:

1. Clearly defining the construct.
2. Generating initial items.

3. Determining the instrument's format.
4. Determining the instrument's content validity.
5. Revising the instrument.

In the previous section, I defined the construct of conscientização, its stages, and components. In this section, I describe the other four steps.

A new measurement scale targeted to language teachers must include items that reflect not only the different components of conscientização and its different stages, but also a teacher's awareness, reflection, emotion, and action in the specific contexts of language education, the school, and the classroom. One of the first scholars to identify and operationalize key elements of Freire's ideas and practice for language teaching was Crawford [23] who presented a language curriculum theory based on 20 Freirean principles. These 20 principles were assorted into nine categories: the purpose of education, its objectives, the content of curriculum definition, learning strategies, learning materials, curriculum planning, teacher role, students role, and evaluation. Based on Crawford's [23] principles of critical pedagogy curriculum design, several items were developed to provide insight into teachers' beliefs and attitudes towards their roles, students' role, and curriculum selection as well as to gauge teachers' awareness of fairness and discrimination in education. Therefore, to assess awareness, items were adapted from Thomas et al. [13] and created by the author to reflect beliefs of fairness and discrimination in education and in society, fair treatment across social groups, and access to education across social groups. Items about teachers reflecting on their attitudes and beliefs about the purpose of education and about discrimination were adapted from Crawford [23] and created by the author. Aspects of emotion were measured by items adapted from Thomas et al. [13] that reflected empathy with social groups experiencing discrimination. Finally, to gauge teachers' engagement in sociopolitical change (i.e., action component), items were created by the author to reflect potential action against social injustices at the individual as well as broader social level.

In addition to measuring specific components of conscientização in the contexts of education, school, and classroom, we need a scale that reflects the different stages of conscientização. This scale reflects five states as argued in the previous sections. The first state is the naïve state which is similar to Freire's semi-intransitive consciousness or magical stage. In the naïve state, "one fails to perceive many of the reality's challenges, or perceives them in a distorted way" (i.e., just world) [15] (pp. 75–76). The second state, the accepting state, is like Freire's naïve transitivity stage in which individuals begin to recognize and question oppression and inequality, but either blame the system or feel things cannot be changed. The next three states together are equivalent to Freire's conscientização or critical consciousness and each delimits a set of attitudes and behaviors within it. For example, in the third state, the critical state, individuals become more aware of issues of equity and recognize "things and facts as they exist empirically, in their causal and circumstantial correlations" [29] (p. 39). The agentive state, or fourth state, includes some form of personal action (at the individual level) in response to oppression or inequity. Lastly, the fifth and final state, the transformative state, includes some form of action in the broader social context in response to oppression or inequity (e.g., encouraging others into acting for change). Therefore, for every item related to a component, a set of five items were written—each item reflecting one of the five states. For example, one item related to awareness becomes a set of five items (see Table 1).

Table 1. Example of a set of items related to awareness in Guttman scale format.

TADLES Item	Corresponding State of Conscientização
1. Students in my school do not make stereotypical comments about other students of different socioeconomic groups.	Naïve
2. I notice when students in my school make stereotypical comments about other students of different socioeconomic groups, and it hurts me.	Accepting
3. I notice when students in my school make stereotypical comments about other students of different socioeconomic groups, and it hurts me, but I find ways to cope with my feelings.	Critical
4. I notice when students in my school make stereotypical comments about other students of different socioeconomic groups, and I tell them that what they said is hurtful.	Agentive
5. I notice when students in my school make stereotypical comments about other students of different socioeconomic groups, and I tell them that what they said is hurtful, and I encourage other teachers to do the same.	Transformative

A Guttman scale format (a type of question structure in which items can be ordered hierarchically) and a Likert-type scale were selected as the instrument format for the survey items. Items were written as a set and ranked in order of "endorsability" in a "cumulative manner" [30] (p. 260). That is, when a participant agrees with any specific item within the set, they would also agree with all previous items. Table 1 provides an example, when a participant agrees with item 4, it is implied that they also agree with items 3, 2, and 1. The idea that items can be written in a sequential approach "with each earlier item subsumed by later items" [13] (p. 491) is particularly useful for investigating a construct with a developmental aspect such as conscientização because of its conceptualized states. By using a Guttman scale, items can be written in a sequential pattern which allows the results to be presented by different states of conscientização.

Since this instrument was developed for use with TESOL professionals from different countries of origin, attention was taken to write items that were clearly worded. The initial items were written at a 10th grade reading level, according to the Flesch–Kincaid statistic of 10.5. To determine the instrument's content validity, the initial items were piloted with a panel of eight experts from different countries of origin. Six of the experts were "content experts" (i.e., professionals who have published or worked in the field of applied linguistics and are familiar with the concept of critical consciousness) who were invited based on my familiarity with their scholarship on critical pedagogy. Two of the experts were "lay experts" (i.e., peers who are not familiar with the field of applied linguistics or critical pedagogy) who were invited based on my personal connections. Experts were instructed to provide feedback on different aspects of the items' content; namely the items' comprehensiveness, clarity, specificity, fairness, and pertinence, and to ensure that the items reflected the respective component under which each was included. Experts were also provided with guidelines to assist them in the review process. Items were revised based on the experts' feedback and the revised version was then shared with four peers, junior scholars (also in the field of critical applied linguistics) for feedback on the items' appropriateness, wording, and relevance. The items were once again revised and the final items reflected 19 sets of five items per set and one set of six items, totaling 101 items in a Guttman scale format on a five-point Likert-style scale (1 = strongly disagree, 3 = neutral, 5 = strongly agree).

3.2. Sampling Strategy

Self-administered, electronic written surveys were distributed via mailing lists and social media to several national and international English language teacher professional

organizations (e.g., TESOL, IATEFL) and respective special interest groups (SIGs) as well as through purposeful snowball sampling and personal contacts. Before administering the surveys, institutional review board approval was obtained for the data collection procedures involving human subjects.

3.3. Participants

The entire sample consisted of 76 in-service English language teachers representing a total of 22 different countries of origin (with 33% originating from the U.S.) with more female (67%) than male participants (30%) plus 1% gender fluid and 1% who preferred not to answer. Participants ranged in age from 23 to 81, with a mean of 40.2 years. The teachers' years of teaching experience ranged from just a few months to 36 years, with a mean of 12.8 years. Six (8%) of them had three years or less of experience, 26 (34%) had between four and nine years of experience, 27 (36%) had between 10 and 19, 10 (13%) had between 20 and 29 years of experience, and five (7%) had 30 or more years of teaching experience; two (3%) did not answer. Of those who indicated their highest level of education, 17 (22%) had completed a doctorate degree, 41 (54%) a master's degree, and 6 (8%) had the equivalent to a bachelor's degree; 8 (11%) did not answer. In addition, 15 (20%) had completed certificate-level training (e.g., CELTA).

3.4. Procedure

Exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was used to explore the relationships (i.e., covariance) among the items (i.e., variables) and to find common, underlying constructs (i.e., latent variables) within them [27,31] SPSS 25 was used for EFA. EFA assumes a set of assumptions: (a) adequate sample size; (b) correlation between variables and factors; and (c) the absence of multicollinearity. To verify the assumption of sampling adequacy, the Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy and Bartlett's test of sphericity were conducted. The KMO is a post hoc analysis that measures the sampling adequacy and can be calculated for an individual as well as multiple variables. Bartlett's test of sphericity measures whether the correlation matrix has the same or different values as an identity matrix. To test the assumption of correlation, items must group properly into factors and there must be some level of correlation among them. Tabachnick and Fidell [32] recommend eliminating items with low values of correlation (<0.3) and with values too high (>0.8). Finally, to test the linearity among variables, factors were rotated after extraction.

To determine the number of factors to retain, a combination of criteria was used [33]. Six common techniques [34] were used to determine the number of factors to extract. In order of application, the techniques were:

1. The Guttman–Kaiser rule (K1).
2. Cattell's scree test.
3. Elimination of non-trivial factors.
4. Elimination of complex items.
5. A priori criteria.
6. The percent of cumulative variance.

Lastly, Cronbach's alpha was calculated to check internal consistency as well as the internal consistency of each of its factors.

4. Results: Exploratory Factor Analysis

Analysis of the correlation matrix displayed many correlation coefficients of 0.3 and above in this study, as recommended by Tabachnick and Fidell [32]. Nine items were dropped because of relatively low correlations with other items. Pearson's critical correlation value was used for a significance level of $\alpha = 0.025$ with $n = 70$ for a two-tailed test ($r = 0.232$) to establish items with low correlation values. Therefore, nine items which had less than 95% of $r < 0.232$ were dropped. An EFA on the 92 remaining items was then conducted.

To test the linearity among variables, I followed Tabachnick and Fidell's [32] suggestion and ran a four-factor EFA followed by a direct oblimin rotation. As shown in Table 2, the highest correlation coefficient was 0.274, and since none of the correlation coefficients exceeded the threshold of 0.32, I used an orthogonal rotation (varimax) instead.

Table 2. TADLES component correlation matrix.

Component	1	2	3	4
1	1.000	0.136	−0.298	0.274
2	0.136	1.000	−0.031	0.132
3	−0.298	−0.031	1.000	−0.277
4	0.274	0.132	−0.277	1.000

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.

Higher scores on the TADLES indicate a more developed state of conscientização in language education. The scores for participants in this study ranged from 260 to 462, with a mean score of 368.13 (SD = 67.88). Participants' attitudes towards fairness and discrimination in education were highest for item Q101, "I believe a good teacher is a learner, and I try to learn from/with my students" (M = 4.66, SD = 0.58). Item-specific mean was lowest for item Q08, "I am aware of existing discrimination where I live" (M = 1.62, SD = 0.855).

The K1 initial analysis yielded 23 factors with eigenvalues greater than one, explaining 83.34% of the variance in the participants' scores on the scale. Cattell's scree test suggested that factors 1, 2, and 3 were distinct; however, interpreting the "break point" was ambiguous (see Figure 2). Due to the variance in the number of possible factors that could be extracted, two-, three-, four-, five-, and six-factor solutions were examined. The five- and six-factor solutions presented factors with less than three items above the cut-point of 0.5 and were therefore eliminated. Variables that correlated to more than one factor and with loading higher than 0.4 (i.e., complex items) were eliminated. This analysis resulted in a four-factor solution that corresponded to a priori criteria of four potential subscales (awareness, reflection, emotion, and action). The four factors accounted for 15.25%, 13.68%, 10.72%, and 7.40% of variance, respectively with a cumulative explained variance of 47.04% (see Figure 2). To evaluate the relationship between the variables in each construct, Cronbach's alpha was used to demonstrate internal consistency of the TADLES and of each of the rotated factors. The results demonstrate strong internal consistency (α = 0.954) for the TADLES. Table 3 presents the alpha reliability for each factor.

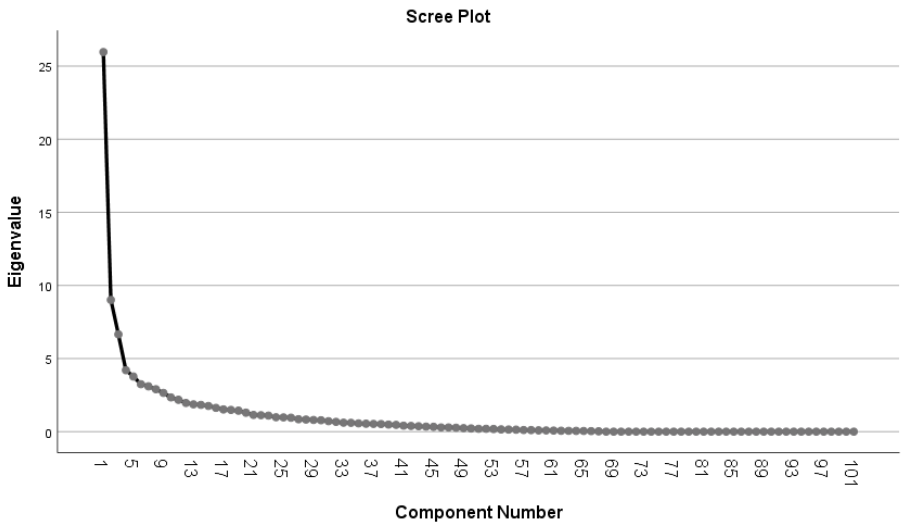

Figure 2. TADLES scree plot of a four-factor rotated solution.

Table 3. TADLES factors' reliability statistics.

Factor	Cronbach's Alpha	*n* of Items
Factor 1	0.908	17
Factor 2	0.933	14
Factor 3	0.876	10
Factor 4	0.794	6
TADLES	0.954	101

Factor 1 comprised 17 items. This subscale explained 15.25% of the total variance of the instrument. Table 4 shows the factor loading and communality for each item in factor 1. Factor 1 returned a Cronbach alpha coefficient of 0.908. (Reliability scores were assessed for each factor and were reasonably high. Acceptable Cronbach's α scores range from 0.70–0.95.) Items in factor 1 combined items from all four constructs (i.e., awareness, reflection, emotion, and action) and four of the five statuses (i.e., naïve, accepting, critical, and agentive). Seven of those items were adapted from Thomas et al. [13]; four of them were initially conceptualized as the construct awareness, and three were initially conceptualized as the construct emotion. Ten items with loadings in factor 1 were newly created: eight items were based on Crawford [23] initially conceptualized as reflection, and two were based on the critical consciousness literature initially conceptualized as action. While it may seem that these items do not fit together, a closer look may explain why they loaded together. One assumption is that, for these participants, awareness is manifested in action, and that the latter does not occur without the former. For example, the awareness of "the world [being] unfair for some people" may manifest in the action of "mak[ing] sure that students are treated fairly". For practical purposes and assisting with the analysis, factor 1 was named "teacher beliefs about schooling and emotions towards inequality".

Factor 2 consisted of 14 items. This subscale explained 13.68% of the total variance of the instrument. Table 5 shows the factor loading and communality for each item in factor 2. Factor 2 returned a Cronbach alpha coefficient of 0.933. The 14 items also represent all four domains (i.e., awareness, reflection, emotion, and action). Eight of those items were based on Thomas et al. [13] with six initially conceptualized as the construct awareness and two initially conceptualized as emotion. Six of the 14 items were newly created; three based on Crawford [23] related to action; two based on the literature regarding action; and one based on the literature regarding reflection. Again, the items loaded in factor 2 did not seem to go together; however, it may be that, for these participants, action manifests in conjunction with reflection which in turn manifests in conjunction with awareness. In addition, it may be that for these participants, emotion, on the other hand, manifests in conjunction with and across all constructs. Further, all items loading in factor 2 reflected the statuses agentive and transformative, indicating that for these participants there may be no distinction between action for change at the individual level and in the societal level.

Except for one item (on co-creating curriculum), factor 2 items had in common the theme of "discrimination" and experts' factor-naming suggested "discrimination" and "activism" as underlying constructs. Because every item in this factor reflected an action-oriented status (i.e., agentive and transformative), it may be that for these participants the challenge of discrimination goes beyond the awareness of its existence and is closely tied to acting against it. A teacher who acts against discrimination shows a developed conscientização in this area. This is a teacher who sees acting and promoting action against discrimination as part of their role as a teacher for social justice both within and outside their classroom. This is a teacher who understands that they must "operate as activists in broader struggles for social transformation" [35] (p. 214, see also [36]). This is a teacher who has a desire to act transformatively [37] and a commitment to empowering students and in making social change at the micro (i.e., classroom) as well as macro (i.e., society) levels. Factor 2 was tentatively named "teachers as activists".

Table 4. TADLES Factor 1 Items, Loadings, and Status.

Item	Status	Factor Loading	Commonalities
When my students tell a joke that makes fun of a social group, I laugh and do not make a big deal about it.	Naïve	0.74	0.60
I believe a good teacher is a learner, and I try to learn from/with my students.	Agentive	0.71	0.63
I do not feel bad when my students say they have been treated unfairly.	Naïve	0.70	0.50
I believe there is no need to fight against discrimination.	Naïve	0.68	0.48
I believe a good teacher is the only knower in the classroom.	Accepting	0.66	0.55
When my students tell a joke that makes fun of a social group, I laugh but also feel uncomfortable.	Accepting	0.65	0.46
It is not relevant for teachers to examine their attitudes and beliefs about race, class, gender, disabilities, sexual orientation, among others.	Naïve	0.65	0.57
Issues related to discrimination and fairness are not relevant to my teaching agenda/practices.	Naïve	0.63	0.66
I believe students learn best by connecting content to their life experiences.	Critical	0.62	0.69
I believe there is a need to fight against discrimination, but it is a waste of time.	Accepting	0.62	0.45
When my students tell a joke that makes fun of a social group, I realize that the joke is based on a stereotype.	Critical	0.57	0.37
I believe that the world is unfair for some people.	Critical	0.56	0.38
I believe some students in my school do not respect students of different socioeconomic groups because of stereotypes.	Critical	0.55	0.40
I believe a good teacher is the only authority in the classroom.	Naïve	0.55	0.51
I work to make sure that students are treated fairly.	Agentive	0.54	0.41
I believe students learn best by memorizing content.	Accepting	0.54	0.32
I believe the main purpose of education should be to help students become critical thinkers, and I plan activities that encourage them to do so.	Agentive	0.50	0.34

Factor 3 comprised ten items. This subscale explained 10.72% of the total variance of the instrument. Table 6 shows the factor loading and communality for each item in factor 3. Factor 3 returned a Cronbach alpha coefficient of 0.876. The items were initially conceptualized as the components awareness and action. Seven of the nine items were based on Thomas et al. (2014) and reflected the initial component awareness. The other three were newly created items based on Crawford [23]; two reflected the initial component awareness and one action. The findings from this exploratory factor analysis suggest that the items measuring the constructs awareness and action measure similar concepts. Perhaps the participants in the current study did not differentiate between the two constructs and, therefore, these constructs were grouped together.

Additionally, items loading in factor 3 primarily reflected the statuses naïve and accepting, with two exceptions. Although "I believe education is political; it reflects the interests of certain social groups" had been initially conceptualized as an indicator of a critical status, it is possible that it was tapped into participants' idea of accepting. It may be that for these participants awareness does not necessarily mean being critical, because the quality of awareness can be manifested either by the acceptance of things as they are or by the intentionality to act and change the status quo. The same can be said of item "I believe education does not give everyone a fair chance to do well." Although it had been

initially conceptualized as an indicator of a critical status, it is possible that it tapped into participants' idea of accepting.

Table 5. TADLES Factor 2 Items, Loadings, and Status.

Item	Status	Factor Loading	Commonalities
I am aware of existing discrimination where I live, and I actively work to help organizations or people from social groups that are discriminated against, and I encourage other teachers to do the same.	Transformative	0.88	0.79
I notice when students in my school make stereotypical comments about other students of different socioeconomic groups, and I tell them that what they said is hurtful, and I encourage other teachers to do the same.	Transformative	0.85	0.75
I believe there is a need to fight against discrimination and I am currently involved in activities or organizations that promote fairness for all, and I encourage others to do the same.	Transformative	0.83	0.71
I believe there is a need to fight against discrimination and I am currently involved in activities or organizations that promote fairness for all.	Agentive	0.82	0.75
I believe some students in my school do not respect students of different socioeconomic groups, and I speak up when I notice it, and I encourage other teachers to do the same.	Transformative	0.74	0.64
I believe that some students are treated unfairly because of stereotypes, and I often do something to change it, and I encourage other teachers to do the same.	Transformative	0.73	0.64
When my students tell a joke that makes fun of a social group, I tell them that their joke was offensive, and I encourage other teachers to do the same.	Transformative	0.72	0.57
I am aware of existing discrimination where I live, and I actively work to help organizations or people from social groups that are discriminated against.	Agentive	0.70	0.54
Issues related to discrimination and fairness are openly discussed in my classroom, and I encourage other teachers to do the same.	Transformative	0.69	0.71
I believe that some students are treated unfairly because of stereotypes, and I often do something to change it.	Agentive	0.57	0.49
It is relevant for teachers to examine their attitudes and beliefs about race, class, gender, disabilities, sexual orientation, among others, and I do it often.	Agentive	0.52	0.47
Issues related to discrimination and fairness are openly discussed in my classroom.	Agentive	0.51	0.59
I feel bad when my students say they have been treated unfairly, but I work to protect myself from negative feelings, I speak up when I notice it, and I encourage other teachers to do the same.	Transformative	0.51	0.32
My students and I co-create the curriculum for my classroom based on student needs-analysis., and I encourage other teachers to do the same.	Transformative	0.51	0.45

Most experts' factor-naming suggestions for factor 3 had "education" as a common, underlying theme. Except for two items, all the others referred to just world/education beliefs. Beliefs about education being fair and reflecting fair treatment across students from different social groups are the opposite of those from teachers for social justice. The very foundation of education for social justice is laid on the belief that education is a deeply civic, political, and moral practice [38]. Education as a political, interested, and biased social activity [2] seeks to help students see the injustices and inequalities in their lives,

act in opposition to oppression, become responsible citizens, and develop conscientização. Factor 3 was thus named "awareness of local educational context."

Table 6. TADLES Factor 3 Items, Loadings, and Status.

Item	Status	Factor Loading	Commonalities
I believe education gives everyone a fair chance to do well.	Naïve	0.76	0.59
I believe that the world is basically fair.	Naïve	0.72	0.56
I believe education does not give everyone a fair chance to do well.	Critical	0.67	0.51
I believe that the world is basically fair, but others believe that it is unfair.	Accepting	0.66	0.50
I believe education gives those who work hard a fair chance.	Accepting	0.64	0.51
I believe that all students are treated fairly.	Naïve	0.61	0.56
I believe that all students are treated fairly, but some do not take advantage of opportunities given to them and blame others for their failures.	Accepting	0.60	0.38
I believe the main purpose of education should be to convey information.	Naïve	0.58	0.36
I believe education is political; it reflects the interests of certain social groups.	Critical	0.57	0.54
I believe a good teacher should keep their personal opinions out of the classroom, but it is okay to share some personal narratives while teaching.	Accepting	0.51	0.40

Factor 4 comprised six items. This subscale explained 7.40% of the total variance of the instrument. Table 7 shows the factor loading and communality for each item in factor 4. Factor 4 returned a Cronbach alpha coefficient of 0.794. All items loaded in this factor were newly created items based on Crawford [23] and had been initially conceptualized as the construct reflection. Items loading in factor 4 reflected the statuses critical, agentive, and transformative. The three items indicating critical status in factor 4 seem to have a different quality from the one item also indicating critical in factor 3. That is, if the quality of awareness can be manifested either by the acceptance of things as they are or by the intentionality to act and change the status quo, then it seems that participants understood these three items as closely aligned with the intentionality to act and change the status quo. Many of the items loaded in factor 4 were related thematically to beliefs of curriculum design, in particular teacher's role, and content definition. They were also related to beliefs of the teacher's agency in the classroom.

Table 7. TADLES Factor 4 Items, Loadings, and Status.

Item	Status	Factor Loading	Commonalities
I believe it is appropriate to discuss controversial topics in my classroom, and I plan activities that address them.	Agentive	0.65	0.57
I believe my students and I should be the ones to dictate the curriculum for my classroom	Critical	0.60	0.41
I believe it is appropriate to discuss controversial topics in my classroom.	Critical	0.58	0.48
I believe a good teacher should share personal opinions while teaching.	Critical	0.54	0.37
I believe a good teacher should share personal opinions while teaching, and I do it when appropriate, and I encourage other teachers to do the same.	Transformative	0.53	0.33
I believe a good teacher should share personal opinions while teaching, and I do it when appropriate.	Agentive	0.51	0.32

In addition, items in factor 4 seem to have in common the place classroom. The classroom refers to much more than just a physical space or a workplace. The classroom is the place of a teacher's professional practice. The classroom is the place where teachers can (potentially) be themselves. It is where teachers can connect and communicate with students. The classroom is a rich ecosystem of relationships among students and between students and teacher. It is also the place where a teacher can control their practice and (often) exercise agency regarding decisions related to their approach and content selection. In factor 4, the approach and content selection refer specifically to incorporating, discussing, and handling controversial issues, personal opinions, and life experiences in the classroom. The approach of bringing the outside world (i.e., current topics, students' interests) into the inside world (i.e., classroom) is particularly related to Freire's notion of "generative themes" [39] (p. 47) and of connecting lived experiences to the classroom. English language teachers who teach for social justice take advantage of topics brought into the classroom by and of interest to the students (i.e., outside world) and use these as a springboard for problematizing [40] such topics' notions of common sense. In other words, these teachers put the classroom context into the wider social context and understand that what happens in their classroom should have consequences in different contexts outside the classroom [41]. Factor 4 was named "content and strategies in the classroom".

5. Limitations and Future Research

Conscientização is a complex concept that can be only partially captured through quantitative methods. I have addressed this limitation in the development of the original, larger study which combines quantitative and qualitative research approaches (i.e., mixed research design) (see [5]). (This study provides this author's original data and it incorporates over 300 references related to research data on grounds of TADLES approach and method.) While the development of a scale to assess the development of language teachers' conscientização adds to the literature on language teaching for social justice, this study is not without its limitations.

Given that the data relies on self-report measures, the potential effects of social desirability and social approval [42] bias must be considered. In addition, because of the length of the instrument, fatigue must also be taken into account. While the researcher has no control over the reliance on self-report nature of measures such as this nor over the potential effects of social desirability, shorter instruments can be developed. Since the four factors have now been extracted and named, these could be used as subscales and, therefore, shorter measurements.

Despite these limitations, the TADLES is an important contribution to the field of conscientização and of language teaching for social justice. There are only a handful of scales designed specifically for the measurement of conscientização and the TADLES is the only one designed for the teacher population. That being said, future research should further validate, and perhaps even expand, the TADLES. The TADLES could be expanded by including items related to critical language awareness and ideologies (e.g., [43–45]). Furthermore, when developing a measurement instrument and using EFA, it is ideal to follow with confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). However, doing a CFA is dependent on having a sufficiently large dataset [46] which was not the case with the present study. Further development of the TADLES should include larger sample sizes to allow researchers to carry out CFA.

Research is needed to assess the efficacy of social justice-oriented language teacher education programs designed to promote and facilitate conscientização. The TADLES has the potential to help us better understand teachers' development of conscientização and its effects in the classroom. Because an instrument such as this provides only a time- and space-bound portrait of the participants' state of critical consciousness, a longitudinal study, where the TADLES is administered to pre-service teachers during different milestones (e.g., first-year teacher education program, during practicum, and before graduation), can help us better understand how conscientização develops and operates over time. Thus, the

TADLES can be used as an instrument for teacher educators and researchers with a social justice orientation to build teacher education programs to help promote and support the development of teachers' conscientização. When teachers develop conscientização, they become aware of "social, political, and economic contradictions" [2] (p. 35) and take action against social injustices in education and their classrooms.

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Institutional Review Board Statement: The study was conducted according to the principles of the Nuremberg Code, the Belmont Report, the Declaration of Helsinki, and approved by the Institutional Review Board of the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

Informed Consent Statement: Informed consent was obtained from all subjects involved in the study.

Data Availability Statement: The data that support the findings of this study are available from the author upon reasonable request.

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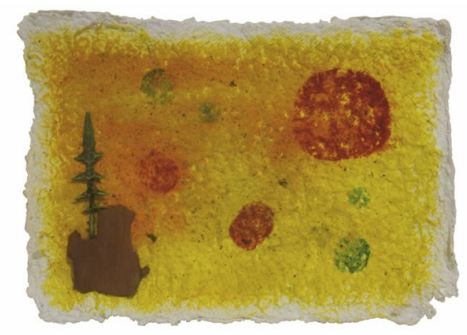

Conscientization as an Antidote to Banking Education

Donaldo Macedo, University of Massachusetts, Boston n. 23 • 2017 • Instituto Paulo Freire de España Visto: 5725

Conscientization as an Antidote to Banking Education

Donaldo Macedo, University of Massachusetts, Boston

One of the challenges of defining Paulo Freire's coined concept, *conscientização*, lies not only in the difficulty of pronouncing a Portuguese word (Portuguese speakers also experience varied difficulty pronouncing it), but also in that most definitions of this insightful concept rarely do justice to what Freire had in mind. Freire always insisted that before we even attempt to define *conscientização*, we need to adhere to the essence of this concept and ask: "What definition, against what, for whom, and against whom?" If we begin to answer these questions we soon realize that, even for many followers of Freire's thinking, *conscientização* presents a certain difficulty beyond the hurdles of its correct pronunciation—a term that Freire, at least initially, refused to have translated into English by simply stating: "I refuse. Why not accept this term? I do not have to accept *stress*, but I have. Why do you not accept *conscientização*?" [1] Freire eventually agreed to have his term translated into the approximate English translation: *conscientization*.

Freire's initial refusal to have his term translated into English was both political and pedagogical. It was political in that he asserted in his refusal that the insistence of (even progressive) educators to have *conscientização* translated into English reproduces the quasi-colonial expectation on the part of most English-speaking educators that published works in languages other than English must be simultaneously translated, because English speakers should not be expected to struggle reading works published in other languages. Freire, by refusing to translate his term into English, was in essence pedagogically challenging the arrogance of English monolinguism that, in the long run, constitutes a type of linguistic de-skilling experienced by most English speakers who remain unaware of the obvious benefits of multilingualism—they remain unaware that their monolinguism sentences them to a form of cultural and linguistic exile from the world of other languages and cultures that incessantly produce myriad cultures and world views. Monolinguism, then, as a cultural cage, prevents English speakers from accessing the insights and knowledge so obvious to those educators who dare to cross cultural and linguistic borders. Accordingly, Freire states that "one focus of my efforts (perhaps the preponderant one) is turning myself into a tramp of the obvious, becoming the tramp of de-mystifying *conscientization*.... I have also been learning how important the obvious becomes as the object of our critical reflection, and by looking deeply into it, I have discovered that the obvious is not always as obvious as it appears." [2]

A point of departure in the de-mystification of *conscientization* would necessarily have to include the reclaiming of the oppressed's own words as a process of coming to voice, which Freire viewed as "the fundamental theme of the Third World—implying a difficult but not impossible task for its people—[which] is the conquest of its right to voice, of the right to pronounce its word." [3] It is this right that the oppressed need to reclaim in order to speak their word, "the right to be [themselves], to assume direction of [their] destiny." [4] It is this right that the dominant forces go to great lengths to suffocate, seeking to sequester the words of the oppressed—words that unveil the mechanism of oppression and are distorted or repressed, as Henry Giroux suggests, in "a society that revels in bouts of historical and social amnesia [in which] it is much easier for the language of politics and community to be stolen and deployed like a weapon so as to empty words

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such as democracy, freedom, justice and the social state of any viable meaning." [5] The sequestration of language by dominant forces of oppression and even liberal educators who proselytize about "empowering minorities," even when they represent the majority, and "giving them voices" was evident when I was working on *Literacy: Reading the Word and the World*, which I co-authored with Freire. I asked a colleague whom I considered to be politically progressive and to have a keen understanding of Freire's work to read the manuscript. Yet during a discussion we had of the book, she asked me, a bit irritably: "Why do you and Paulo [Freire] insist on using this Marxist jargon? Many readers who would enjoy reading Paulo may be put off by the jargon." I was at first taken aback but proceeded to calmly explain to her that equating Marxism with jargon prevented one from fully capturing the richness of Freire's analysis. In fact, Freire's language was the only means through which he could have done justice to the complexity of the various concepts of oppression with which he dealt. For one thing, I reminded her: "Imagine that instead of writing the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire had written the *Pedagogy of the Disenfranchised*"—a term that is overly used by the educated class and the media to refer to the oppressed which, in turn, represses while hiding the actors of oppression. The first title utilizes a discourse that names the oppressor, whereas the second fails to do so. What would be the counterpart of the term "disenfranchised"? The *Pedagogy of the Disenfranchised* dislodges the agent of the action while leaving in doubt who bears the responsibility for such action. This leaves the ground wide open for blaming the victim of disenfranchisement for his or her own disenfranchisement. This example is a clear case in which the object of oppression can also be understood as the subject of oppression. Language such as this not only distorts reality; it is also a much-used technique by dominant forces (the media, political pundits, the educated class) to distract attention from the real issues that ail society, such as the obscene widening of the income gap between the rich and the poor, the pernicious shrinking of the middle-class, and the generalized alienation of the dispossessed. A technique that, according to Arundhati Roy, is used in usurping words and deploying them like weapons, of using them to mask intent and to mean exactly the opposite of what they have traditionally meant has been one of the most brilliant strategic victories of czars of the new dispensation. It has allowed them to marginalize their detractors, deprive them of a language to voice their critique. [6]

When the technique of sequestration fails to work, the dominant forces engage in more draconian measures, as was evident when a Tucson Public Schools official in Arizona banned Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* from classrooms because, according to a Superintendent of the Arizona Department of Education, "w e should not be teaching [kids]…that they're oppressed." [7] In other words, *conscientization*—as a process to acquire the necessary critical thinking tools so that students, instead of internalizing their oppression, understand how institutions of power work to deny them equality of treatment, access, and equity—is not a goal of Tucson Public Schools, where courses that deal with issues such as race relations, ethics, and ideology are banned and teachers are encouraged to promote a pedagogy of big lies through which students can be more easily domesticated. The almost total lack of public outcry in the United States regarding the censorship of books and the heisting of language that names reality in order to contest oppression "may prove to be the keystone of our undoing." [8] I am amazed to witness academics engage in euphemisms as they aggressively object to any discourse that both fractures the dominant language and bares the veiled reality in order to name it. It is still more amazing to witness educators who claim to be Freirean fail to see the obvious impossibility of the oppressed apprehending "a deepened consciousness of their situation…as an historical reality susceptible of transformation" [9] through the process of *conscientization* while these liberal educators remain complicit in the erasure of language that empties out, for example, the meaning of the term "oppressed." Many of these liberals eagerly embrace euphemisms such as "disadvantaged," "disenfranchised," "economically marginal," and "minority," among others, to refer to the oppressed—a process that obfuscates the true historical conditions that explain "'the here and now,' which constitutes the situation within which [the oppressed] are submerged, from which they emerge, and which they intervene" [10] to denounce and confront their oppressors in their "pursuit of full humanity." [11] This sequestration of language denies people the possibility to understand the dialectical relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed. If you have an oppressed, you must have an oppressor.

Thus, language is not only a site of contestation; it is also an indispensable tool for a critical reflexive de-mystification process that is central to *conscientization*—a process through which Freire refuses to vulgarize and reduce it to mere methods to be consumed by the so-called First World progressive educators who, in many instances, remain chained to the "mystification of methods and techniques and, indeed, a reduction of *conscientization* to certain methods and techniques used in Latin America for adult literacy." [12] Hence, Freire's major goal was not to develop a literacy methodology to be used universally with oppressed people of the world. His main goal was to use literacy and the subsequent methods he used to to lead people to conscientization. In other words, no matter where we come from, [a] ll of us are involved in a permanent process of *conscientization*, as thinking beings in a dialectical relation with an objective reality upon which we act. What varies in time and space are the contents, methods, and objectives of *conscientization*…[when human beings became aware] and made themselves capable of revealing their active reality, knowing it and understanding what they know. [13]

Freire often cited a story that occurred during his literacy campaign in Guinea-Bissau. He described a Cultural Circle where peasants were first learning to decodify their world so that they could realize that they can also code the word that reflects their decodified reality and later, also, comprehend that the encoded word can also be decoded. Freire told that a peasant, who was part of the oppressed masses that the Portuguese colonialism forbade from becoming literate, got up suddenly and said: "Thank you teacher," before leaving the Culture Circle. Freire remained perplexed, thinking that he probably had said something that was culturally inappropriate and had unknowingly hurt the feelings of the peasant, who eventually returned to the Culture Circle. When Freire, upon the peasant's return, inquired as to why he had left, the peasant, without hesitation, replied: "Teacher, I know now that I can know and I don't need to come every day to know." This story reveals a process of fracturing the yoke of Portuguese colonialism that for centuries had inculcated the Guinea-Bissau natives with myths and beliefs regarding their backwardness, savage nature, their inability to read or write, and their incapacity to know—myths

and beliefs that were used as yardsticks to present literacy always as the hallmark of White European superiority. This story also conveys that learning to "bark" the ABCs without the development of a deeper understanding of the dialectical relationship between the reading of the word and the world, which also implies de-mystifying the process of *conscientization*—an important point, since many First World educators often attribute magical properties to the *conscientization* process, "giving it powers that it does not really have." [14]

Another critical misunderstanding of *conscientization* is to imbue the concept "as a kind of tropical exoticism, a typically Third World entity. People speak of *conscientization* as an inviable goal for 'complex societies,' as though the Third World nations were not complex in their own way." [15] This false dichotomy between the so-called First World and Third World represents yet another sequestration of language designed to lead to a form of mystification—a distraction that functions as a reproductive mechanism designed to create a center or a core of romanticized Eurocentric values while relegating other cultural expressions to the margins. The current attacks on Islam and on Muslims in general are a case in point where Western media, political pundits, and academics often totalize religio-cultural extremists and generalize the extremism to all Muslims, framing them all as potential terrorists. At the same time, we conveniently ignore extremists of the West like evangelist Pat Robertson, who camouflages his bigotry and his constant attacks on women. Take, for example, Robertson's statement that "[t]he feminist agenda is not about equal rights for women. It is about a socialist, anti-family political movement that encourages women to leave their husbands, kill their children, practice witchcraft, destroy capitalism and become lesbians." [16] If one substituted Robertson with a Taliban clergy and switched the words "socialist" and "capitalism," the Western political class, the media, and other non-Muslim religious leaders would have a field day attacking the primitive nature of Islam and its radicalism while ignoring the diversity within the Muslim world that consists of billions of people from different cultures, classes, and ethnicities. Hence, institutional mechanisms in the West and in much of the world function, by and large, to contain and maintain these so-called primitive Third World cultures that are often submerged into a culture of silence so as to make these "silent sections of cultures" invisible or, at least, outside the parameters of public discussion or debate. Engaging Freire's *conscientization* process could help reveal the West's penchant for engaging in the construction of invisibility to keep the submerged cultures invisible and also to hide the West's own extremism, which is no less terroristic than Muslim extremism. How else would we characterize the American savagery in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Vietnam that "often extended to the utmost depravity: gratuitous torture, killing for target practice, slaughter of children and babies" [17] —slaughter that pro-life advocate Pat Robertson and his ilk conveniently refuse to address in ethical and political terms? Our inability or unwillingness to engage a *conscientization* process is why we can easily accept Pat Robertson's blatant lies about feminism as we embrace the false dichotomy encoded in the distinction between First World and Third World contexts—an ideological distinction that primarily functions to reproduce the Western narrative of Third World "savage and primitive" cultures which, in turn, call for the West's "moral responsibility" to "slaughter children and babies" so as to save them from themselves— a slaughter justified by an American military superior in the Marines as "[t]ough shit, they grow up to be VC [Vietcong]." [18] Too many Americans also remain silent when "drones" and "smart bombs" kill women and children indiscriminately in Afghanistan and Pakistan while the United States presents itself as an advocate for women's rights and freedoms. Western media, political pundits, and most academics also remain silent with respect to the West's extremism as revealed in "the classic former secretary of State, Madeleine Albright's response of 1996 to the reported 500,000 Iraqi children —casualties of 'the sanctions of mass destruction' —' it was worth it.'" [20]

Engaging Freire's *conscientization* process could help make us aware of what we often fail to see (usually through our willful social construction of not seeing) that we have, within the First World order, Third World realities characterized by ghettos and large-scale poverty, human misery, and illiteracy. Concurrently, we also have de facto First World realities in the Third World in the form of class privileges and the accumulation of capital and power by a ruling minority of elites and oligarchs. It is safe to assume that the ruling elite in the Third World shares a worldview that is much more in line with the cultural capital of the dominant groups of the First World. Thus, Freire is correct that through a process of rigorous critical reflection, *conscientization* is just as "viable for complex societies." [21] It is through *conscientization* that people in the First World can begin to understand that there exists a greater gulf between the First World dominant groups and the First World marginalized cultural groups than between the First and the Third World dominant groups. Those educators, including many liberals, who keep on insisting, for instance, that Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed can work only in the Third World are, on some level, resisting making the necessary linkages between events at home so as to obtain a greater comprehension "of the process of *conscientization* and its practice [which] is linked, then, to one's understanding of consciousness in its relations with the world." [22] Thus, even some progressive educators, who often claim to be Freirean, continue their resistance through "the bureaucratization of *conscientization*, which in losing its dynamism and thus fossilizing, ends up transforming *conscientization* into a sort of rainbow of recipes—another mystification." [23]

The transformation of *conscientization* "into a sort of rainbow of recipes" is why even progressive educators who claim to be Freirean are not exempt from fossilizing *conscientization* when they are unable to see through the obvious contradiction between their discourse and their actual practice. Take, for instance, a situation where a North American liberal professor, during a discussion regarding the U.S. college application of a South African student, stated that the student "had prevailed in spite of great odds marked by a highly discriminatory society, and [that] …the student's application showed a great commitment to social reform in her country." [24] However, when it came time to evaluate the application of a Mexican-American student who had an extensive background working with community-based programs ranging from adult literacy to drug prevention programs, this same liberal educator stated that "the only thing she has going for her is that she is Mexican-American." [25] The fact that the Mexican-American female student's grades and letters of recommendation were equal to or slightly stronger than the South African student's, the fact that she had a more extensive work track record in the community, and the fact that she had demonstrated a greater interest and commitment to go back and work in her community was totally ignored by the liberal educator. In the end the Mexican-American female

was denied admission to the university. The South African Third World context provided the liberal educator a safe zone to exoticize liberation struggle, leaving unproblematic his inability to acknowledge the similarities (and differences as well) of oppressive structures that operate both in South Africa and in U.S. ghettos.

This graduate admission story is not all that different from the phenomenon of some academics and researchers who are busily writing grant proposals to study and promote, for example, literacy in Haiti while ignoring the tens of thousands of Haitians in the United States who are struggling and dropping out of the public schools that often surround their universities. Since Haiti has been in vogue because of the devastating earthquake, let's use it to exemplify the paternalism Western countries that often turns into charitable racism, which is, according to Albert Memmi, "a consubstantial part of colonialism." [26] While White academics and researchers go to Haiti to collect data and anthropologize the suffering Haitians who are the subjects of their study, the researchers return to their U.S. campuses to tell exotic stories to their students and colleagues, publish their research studies, and obtain tenure, while tens of thousands of Haitians remain in Haiti sentenced to slum conditions and making cookies out of the mud to trick their stomachs that they are full and therefore not hungry. I remember asking a White American professor who often went to Haiti as part of research projects sponsored by federal grants in the 1980s why he did not devote some of his time working with the thousands of Haitians who surrounded his university. His response was honest if not pathetic: "The funding agencies do not find Haitians in the U.S. 'sexy' enough." Had this liberal, First World academic engaged in an honest and rigorous *conscientization* process, he would probably not have remained so comfortable making a career off the hides of millions of Haitians who remain chained to inhumanity, savage inequality, and human misery. Had he been able to make a linkage between his careerist goals and the reproduction of oppression in Haiti largely supported by U.S. foreign policy, he would probably have detected the pathology of his honest answer. This researcher developed a deeper comprehension of Haitians and understood that their current life conditions had been shaped, in large part, by American interventionist policies through invasions of Haiti, its occupation, and the perpetual support for right-wing dictators who work largely against the interests of the vast majority of Haitians. By engaging in a form of honest reflection and self-interrogation, the White American researcher would possibly have realized that his political project is, first and foremost, the advancement of his career. Had this First World academic made these linkages, he would likely have denounced the almost sainthood status bestowed upon former President Clinton and former President Bush Senior for their humanitarian work in Haiti after the deadly earthquake. This White American educator might come to see that both former presidents were partly responsible for the sea of human misery that predated the earthquake. What the earthquake did was both exacerbate the sub-human conditions to which tens of thousands of Haitians were relegated and make them public in the same manner that Katrina exposed the structural racism and dehumanization of African-Americans in New Orleans. Notwithstanding the horror of the earthquake, the First World liberal educator would probably refuse to pay $1,320 a night per room in a luxury "five-star" Royal hotel overlooking the shanty towns, shacks, and tents, and which was constructed with "$7.5 million from the World Bank's International Finance Corporation…and $2 million from the Clinton Bush Haiti Fund." [27] While this obscene display of First World opulence, if not decadence, marked the humanitarian generosity of First World countries, over one million Haitians displaced by the earthquake remain homeless and continue to exist in sub-human conditions, living in shacks and tents without plumbing or running water, without electricity, and without much to feed themselves and their families. Had the First World educator engaged in the process of *conscientization*, he would possibly be able to detect the false piety demonstrated by former Presidents Bush and Clinton as they were greeted by thousands of Haitians in Port-au-Prince. Former President Bush's condescending disdain for Haitian people became viscerally visible on YouTube all over the world when he tried to wipe his hand, after shaking it with a Haitian man in the crowd, on former President Clinton's shirt.

The *conscientization* process might have lifted the veil of privilege that the *blans* [28] enjoy in Haiti (White or also outsiders/foreigners who fall in love with the exotic narrative of Haiti they create to fulfill their colonial desires and meet their own needs—a narrative that has, in many respects, little to do with the reality that Haitians experience on a daily basis as they try to survive). In many ways, these First World *blans*, regardless of their political orientation, fail to understand Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed, animated by authentic, humanist (not humanitarian) generosity [which] presents itself as a pedagogy of humankind. Pedagogy which begins with the egoistic interests of the oppressors (an egoism cloaked in the false generosity of paternalism) and makes the oppressed the objects of its humanitarianism, itself maintains and embodies oppression. It is an instrument of dehumanization. [29]

Humanitarianism as the embodiment of dehumanization is best exemplified by the Red Cross, which collected over $400 million to alleviate the suffering of tens of thousands of Haitians displaced and made homeless by the earthquake and has as its signature the building of a luxury hotel costing millions of dollars [30] while over one million Haitians remain homeless. While luxurious hotels can provide stress relief for the army of NGOs and other humanitarian help as they celebrate "happy hour" with other *blan* friends and co-workers who command First World salaries, tens of thousands of Haitians continue to struggle to put a roof over their heads and scavenge enough to eat so they can reclaim their "ontological and historical vocation to be more fully human." [31] While foreign workers maintain the material conditions to access luxury restaurants and health care services, including psychological therapy, most Haitians displaced by the earthquake yearn to know what it means to be fully human. Take, for example, Amy Wilentz's characterization of Mac McClelland, a human rights reporter for *Mother Jones* who acquired PTSD like it was a cold virus by watching a recently raped Haitian woman collapse at a chance of sighting her attacker. Thus traumatized, McClelland published an account of the home therapy she elected: arranging for a friend to rape her, with the maximum verisimilitude their relationship would allow. [32]

While McClelland's choice of therapy for the exposure to violence in her humanitarian work in the aftermath of the earthquake in Haiti smacks of narcissism on steroids, in varying degrees it also represents the embedded "egoism cloaked in the false generosity of paternalism" of the

oppressors' humanitarian interventions packaged as charitable gifts which, in turn, exemplify the benevolence of the First World order. These charitable interventions have not only been, for the most part, huge failures (as in the case in Haiti), but First World humanitarians fail to understand that liberation comes only through a process of resolution of tensions and contradictions in the relation between the oppressor and the oppressed. Hence, "if the goal of the oppressed is to become fully human, they do not achieve their goal by merely reversing the terms of the contradiction, by changing poles." By the same token, the oppressor cannot expect to liberate the oppressed by reversing the poles so as to experience directly the violence of oppression. This is the continuation of the oppressor's need to appropriate even the oppressed's suffering, as McClelland's case seems to indicate. McClelland's choice of therapy is tantamount to the phenomenon of many liberal educators who feel that they need to make a public statement regarding their divestment from the "dominating bureaucracy" [33] from which they have always reaped benefits and by moving their families into the ghettos temporarily until their own kids have to go to school. Liberation is never about the democratization of violence, human misery, and obscene poverty. Liberation will only be achieved through the resolution of the contradictions between the oppressor and the oppressed "by the appearance of the new man [and woman]: neither oppressor nor oppressed, but man [and woman] in the process of liberation."[34]

The inability to resolve the contradictions between the oppressor and the oppressed, to make linkages, and to become a "tramp of the obvious," as Freire would say, is directly linked to another important feature of Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed: the "banking" model of education—a process through which education thus becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiqués and makes deposits which the students patiently receive, memorize, and repeat. This is the "banking" concept of education, in which the scope of action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filling, and storing the deposits. [35]

The "banking" model of education is largely supported by instrumental literacy for the poor, in the form of a competency-based, skills-banking approach, and the highest form of instrumental literacy for the rich, acquired through higher education in the form of professional specialization. However, despite their apparent differences, the two approaches share one common feature: they both prevent the development of critical thinking that enables one to "read the world" critically and to understand the reasons and linkages behind the facts and behind what may appear seemingly obvious but remain ill understood. Literacy for the poor through the "banking" concept of education is, by and large, characterized by mindless, meaningless drills and exercises given "in preparation for multiple choice exams and writing gobbledygook in imitation of the psycho-babble that surrounds them." [36] This "banking" and instrumental approach to education sets the stage for the anesthetization of the mind, as poet John Ashbery eloquently captures in "What Is Poetry?":

> In school
>
> All the thoughts got combed out:
>
> What was left was like a field." [37]

The educational "comb," for those teachers who have blindly accepted the "banking" model of education, is embodied in practice sheets and workbooks, mindless computer drills and practices that mark and control the pace of routinization in the drill-and-practice assembly line where the "narration (with the teacher as narrator) leads the students to memorize mechanically the narrated content. Worse yet, it turns them into 'containers,' into 'receptacles' to be filled by the teacher. The more meekly the receptacles permit themselves to be filled, the better students they are" [38] as they are later measured by high-stakes tests that reflect an often militaristic, controlled transaction of the teacher's narration and students' memorization of the mechanically narrated "content." Hence, the dominant forces of this mechanistic "banking" education necessarily reduce the priorities of education to the pragmatic requirements of capital and necessarily also create educational structures that anesthetize students' critical abilities, in order to "domesticate social order for its self-preservation." [39]

At the other end of the spectrum, the domestication of the social order is achieved by an equally mechanistic approach to education for the rich via the hyperspecialization that, on the one hand, deposits high-level skills and, on the other, discourages the linkages of different bodies of knowledge in the name of "pure" and specialized science that produces a specialist subject who, according to the Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset, "knows very well his own tiny corner of the universe [but] is radically ignorant of all the rest." [40] In fact, this inability to make linkages between different bodies of knowledge often produces a level of arrogance exemplified by a math professor in a major university when she stated that she has the right of not knowing. This statement was made in reference to the news coverage of the Iraq War when—perhaps because she was feeling uncomfortable with her colleagues' open opposition to the war—she abruptly proclaimed: "I have a right not to know the news." While she has the *right* to choose not to know, as an academic and citizen in a democratic society she has the *responsibility* of knowing what her leaders are doing in regard to policies full of barbarism, policies that enable horrors like the drone-guided bombing of targets that invariably include the carnage of innocent civilians, women, and children, which policy makers consider an "unfortunate part of war" or simply "collateral damage."

The social organization of knowledge via rigidly defined disciplinary boundaries further contributes to the formation of the specialist class, that is, engineers, doctors, professors, and so on. This sort of specialist is "only acquainted with one science, and even of that one only knows the small corner in which he is an active investigator. He even proclaims it as a virtue that he takes no cognizance of what lies outside the narrow territory specially cultivated by himself, and gives the name 'dilettantism' to any curiosity for the general scheme of knowledge." [41]

This "dilettantism" is discouraged through the mythical need to discover absolute objective truth and, in the process, it domesticates a form of specialized knowledge that not only produces a rupture with philosophies of social and cultural relations, but also hides behind an ideology that creates and sustains false dichotomies rigidly delineated by disciplinary boundaries. This ideology

also informs the view that "hard science," "objectivity," and "scientific rigor" must be disarticulated from the messy data of "soft science" and from the social and political practices that generate these categories in the first place. In addition, this "banking" model of education produces a form of fragmentation of knowledge that invariably diminishes the students' critical awareness and "critical consciousness which would result from their intervention in the world as transformers of that world. The more completely they accept the passive role imposed on them, the more they tend simply to adapt to the world as it is and to the fragmented view of reality deposited in them," [42] thus renouncing their ontological vocation as agents of history who not only transform their world but also reflect on that transformation. According to Freire, "[t]he capability of banking education to minimize or annul the students' creative power and to stimulate their credulity serves the interest of the oppressors, who care neither to have the world revealed nor see it transformed." [43]

The "banking" model of education is also often used as a safe haven for most conservative and many liberal educators who hide their materialist and consumerist conception of education in what Freire calls a "'digestive' concept of knowledge, so common in current educational practice" [44] —a practice that considers students to be "undernourished" and, as a result, the teacher must feel compelled to give students an unrealistic list of readings that are never really covered or discussed in class under the pretext that the students' "consciousness is 'spatialized,' and must be 'filled' in order to know." [45] This "nutritionist" approach to education follows the "same conception [that] led Sartre, [when] criticizing the notion that 'to know is to eat,' to exclaim: 'O philosophie alimentaire!'" [46] —a process where "words are transformed into mere 'deposit of vocabulary'—[the teacher's vocabulary]—the bread of the spirit which the [students] are to 'eat' and 'digest'" [47] the teacher's knowledge (i.e., definition lists without the apprehension of the object of knowledge, fetishization of methods, particularly now as it applies to new technologies, formulaic texts masquerading as theory that belittles practice, and glossaries), which students are later asked to "vomit" back in the mandated exams and tests designed, on the one hand, to confirm the teacher's superior knowledge-bank-account and, on the other, to feed his or her narcissistic needs inherent in most humanitarian and not humanist education. In the end, the "nutritionist banking" approach to education, even when offered under the guise of progressive education, has as its major goal the fattening of the student's brains through the "deposits" of the teacher's knowledge and thus, under this pedagogical model, students absorb understandings "not born of [their own]…creative efforts…[as] learners." [48] This kind of education invariably results in the paralysis of the learner's epistemological curiosity and creativity due to the overload of the imposed teacher's knowledge, "which in fact [is]…almost completely alienating and alienated, having so little, if anything, to do with the student's socio-cultural reality."

Notes

[1] Paulo Freire, *The Politics of Education: Culture, Power, and Liberation*(New York: Bergin & Garvey, 1985), p. 185.

[2] Ibid., p. 171; emphasis mine.

[3] Paulo Freire, *Cultural Action for Freedom*(Cambridge, MA: Harvard Educational Review, 1970), p. 4.

[4] Ibid., p. 4.

[5] Henry Giroux, "The New Extremism and Politics of Distraction in the Age of Austerity," *Truthout*, January 22, 2013, http://truth-out.org/opinion/item/13998-the-new-extremism-and-politics-of-distraction-in-the-age-of-austerity

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[8] Arundhati Roy, "What Have We Done to Democracy?" *The Huffington Post*, September 27, 2009, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/arundhati-roy/what-have-we-done-to-demo_b_301294.html

[9] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*(New York: Continuum, 1970), p. 85.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Paulo Freire, *The Politics of Education: Culture, Power, and Liberation*(New York: Bergin & Garvey, 1985).

[12] Ibid., p. 172.

[13] Ibid., p. 171; emphasis mine.

[14] Ibid., p. 171.

[15] Ibid., p. 172.

[16] "Timeless Whoppers—Pat Robertson," *The Nation*, January 10, 2013, http://www.thenation.com/timeless-whoppers-pat-robertson

[17] Jonathan Schell, "The Real American War in Vietnam," *The Nation*, February 4, 2013, http://www.thenation.com/article/172264/real-american-war-vietnam

[18] Ibid.

[19] Edward S. Herman, "Beyond Chutzpah," *Z Magazine*, February 2013, p. 6.

[20] Paulo Freire, *The Politics of Education: Culture, Power, and Liberation*(New York: Bergin & Garvey, 1985), p. 173.

[21] Ibid., p. 168.

[22] Ibid., p. 172; emphasis mine.

[23] Donaldo Macedo, *Literacies of Power: What Americans Are Not Allowed to Know*(Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994).

[24] Ibid.

[25] Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*(Boston: Beacon, 1991).

[26] Amy Wilentz, "Letter from Haiti," *The Nation,* January 28, 2013, p. 22.

[27] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*(New York: Continuum, 1970), p. 54.

[28] Amy Wilentz, "Letter from Haiti," *The Nation,* January 28, 2013, p. 22.

[29]Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*(New York: Continuum, 1970), p. 55.

[30] Madison Smartt Bell, "Nine Years in One Day: On Haiti," *The Nation,* January 28, 2013, p. 22.

[31] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*(New York: Continuum, 1970), p. 56.

[32] Ibid., p. 57.

[33] Ibid., p. 56.

[34] Ibid., p. 72.

[35] Patrick L. Courts, *Literacies and Empowerment: The Meaning Makers*(South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey, 1991), p. 4.

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[38] Paulo Freire, *The Politics of Education: Culture, Power, and Liberation*(New York: Bergin & Garvey, 1985), p. 116.

[39] José Ortega y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses*(New York: W.W. Norton, 1964), p. 111.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*(New York: Continuum, 1970), p. 73.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Paulo Freire, *Cultural Action for Freedom*(Cambridge, MA: Harvard Educational Review, 1970).

[44] Ibid., p. 7.

[45] Ibid., p. 8.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

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Training for peace, conscientization through university simulation

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Training for peace, conscientization through university simulation

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ABSTRACT

Incomplete and insufficient university programmes in the field of Peace and Conflict Resolution have led to an important gap in knowledge, skills and abilities (KSA) among peacebuilders and peacekeepers. In theory, experiential learning through problem-based learning (PBL) and simulations should be able to address this gap. This article explores the opportunities and limits of this pedagogical approach to educating peace actors using the case of the Carana simulation delivered at Linné University (LNU), Sweden. Using mixed-methods, this article confirms the added- value of PBL in the development of KSAs but identifies challenges peculiar to the field of Peace and Conflict Studies that limit its effects. PBL has a clear added-value for the development of skills in learners with a consistent development of professional skills. It can be used to foster conscientization as a precursor to transforming societies towards nonviolence and justice.

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Introduction

In 2012–2013, the United Nations (UN) conducted a comprehensive Training Needs Assessment (TNA) of its personnel deployed in multi-dimensional missions around the world. It identified clear training needs throughout all components, covering military, police and civilian personnel (UN (United Nations) 2013). Faced with important gaps in the knowledge, skills and abilities (KSAs) of the staff deployed under its banner, the international organisation called for a strategic investment in training. Indeed, addressing the training gaps identified by the TNA was assessed to be 'critical to effective mandate implementation' (UN (United Nations) 2013, 39). In a 2010 report, the United States Institute for Peace (USIP) compared the KSAs provided by postgraduate university programmes in the USA in the field of peace studies and conflict resolution with the needs of the agencies and organisations that hire their students afterwards (Carstarphen et al. 2010). Similarly, they identified an important gap between university curricula that tend to focus primarily on

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theories and the needs of employers who search for candidates with field experience and professional skills. Many of the KSAs needed by employers and UN missions can be imparted in classroom-like settings and can thus be provided by universities using advanced forms of experiential learning methodologies such as problem-based or simulation-based learning (Goon 2011).

Experiential learning developed rapidly in the second half of the 20th century when the traditional teaching-and-learning model of education was found wanting. Researchers began to question the assumption that teaching was a precondition for learning and demonstrated the lack of translation of such knowledge into skills and behaviours (Ruben 1999, 499; Wells, Warelow, and Jackson 2009, 193–194; Ramsden 2003, 32). Instead, they pointed to the need for 'reinforcement, application, repetition and often practice in a variety of settings and contexts in order for [knowledge] to become fully understood, integrated and accessible in future situations' (Ruben 1999, 499; Strobel and van Barneveld 2009). The emerging paradigm offered to move away from learning as an individual process to learning as a social and collaborative endeavour covering 'cognitive, affective, and behavioural domains' (Ruben 1999, 500; Moon 2004). As a result, simulations, games and role-plays spread in many academic disciplines to fill in the gaps of the teaching-and-learning model and to ensure the development of KSAs in students. A literature review on the comparative advantage of PBL over more traditional methodologies comes to mixed conclusions. While Vernon and Blake (1993) or Albanese and Mitchell (1993) find PBL to be superior, Berkson (1993) finds no difference. Newman (2003, 5) states: 'existing overviews of the field do not provide high quality evidence with which to provide robust answers to questions about the effectiveness of PBL.'

This article explores the opportunities and limits of meeting the aforementioned gap in KSAs through experiential learning and PBL within a university setting, focusing on the case of the Carana simulation delivered as part of the Peace and Development Studies program at Linné University (LNU) in Växjö, Sweden. The purpose is to assess the effectiveness of PBL to address the gap in KSAs identified by the UN and USIP. In particular, it focuses on PBL's suitability to address gaps in KSAs where the methodology is supposed to increase learners' performance, namely, (1) professional skills (i.e. problem-solving, communication, teamwork); (2) the practical application of theories; and (3) awareness of power relations. As part of this research, the article will consider if the findings of research on PBL in other disciplines apply to Peace Studies and it will recommend solutions to mitigate the shortcomings of the approach and increase its effectiveness. In the first part of the paper, I define the gap in KSAs related to UN peace operations and the field of peace and conflict resolution. In the second part, I review the assumed advantages of PBL and discuss its use to support

Peace and Conflict Studies' commitment to transform societies towards justice and non-violence. In the third part, I outline the Carana simulation developed at LNU. In the fourth part, I describe the mixed methods used to evaluate the learning of students who partake in the simulation. In the fifth part, I discuss the results and finally I conclude with reflections on the effectiveness, opportunities and limits of PBL.

The gap in knowledge, skills and abilities

In its Training Needs Assessment, the United Nations has identified a long list of training needs for its personnel. Besides knowledge of the UN, peacekeeping, mission mandates and general rules and regulations, the report pointed to the need to enhance the following skills: knowledge/skill transfer, mentoring and advising; analytical skills and problem solving; conflict management; communication skills, both oral and written; and performance management (UN (United Nations) 2013, 18–19).[1] In a USIP Special Report, Carstarphen et al. (2010) has identified a mismatch between the expectations of employers in the field of peace and conflict resolution and the profile of students who completed their postgraduate education in that field. Academic institutions and employers tend to identify different sets of KSAs and to assess differently their relative importance in the education of students. As a result, a gap has emerged between the KSAs provided by universities and the actual needs of employers.

Universities rank the knowledge of theories of conflict analysis and conflict resolution at the top while employers prioritise field experience and applied professional skills such as management, planning and reporting (Carstarphen et al. 2010, 4). The KSAs valued by employers include: project management; writing and reporting skills; 'political savvy' and awareness of power relations; networking and collaboration skills with a wide range of stakeholders; the ability to mainstream a conflict perspective in related areas such as development, governance, rule of law and democratisation; and knowledge of the concepts, language, jargon and terminology used in the field (Carstarphen et al. 2010, 7). The gap identified is in part due to the limited number of opportunities to work in the field as part of academic programmes as well as the lack of time and resources to foster the required skills (Carstarphen et al. 2010, 10). This problem is accentuated by the general re-orientation of academic institutions towards the production of degree-holders in a cost-effective way (Apple 1993, 1995; Ramsden 2003). At a deeper level, the gap emerges also as a result of a specific pedagogical system that limits experiential learning and hence the development of the KSAs sought after by employers. Experiential learning based on alternative methodologies such as problem-based learning, simulations and games

have been used successfully to develop KSAs in the past and they may well provide a solution to address the gap described above.

PBL and its use for peace

Experiential learning has historical roots in the writings of Socrates and Aristotle but it is in the 20th century that it experienced a rapid expansion thanks to the writings of scholars such as Dewey (1966), Schön (1987), Vygotsky (1987) Bruner (1961), Freire (2005), Goodman (1962), and Postman and Weingartner (1969). Today, the approach is used across universities around the world, including in Sweden (Pettersen 2011). Experiential learning identifies a 'traditional' paradigm that is supposedly ill adapted to the learning process of children and adults and that henceforth limits the acquisition of KSAs. It posits in its place an alternative model that is supposed to be better adapted to the task (Barrows 1996).

For example, in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire (2005, 71) criticises the traditional 'banking' pedagogical system which is based on a distinction between teachers as 'subjects' and students as 'listening objects' whereby the latter are supposed to be filled with content (72). Such teaching only requires students to passively absorb and memorize information given by a teacher but not to engage to the point of critical self-reflection. This pedagogical approach encourages the teaching of theories and discourages their practical implementation, translation and testing. It rarely fosters collaboration and networking or the development of higher-order thinking (Weiss 2003). In its place, Freire (2005, 87) develops a dialogical approach to teaching whereby students are turned into co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher. Through problem-posing, the teacher provides the framework in which participants can consider a shared problem and creatively develop joint solutions through a process of action and reflection called 'praxis' (Freire 2005, 51).

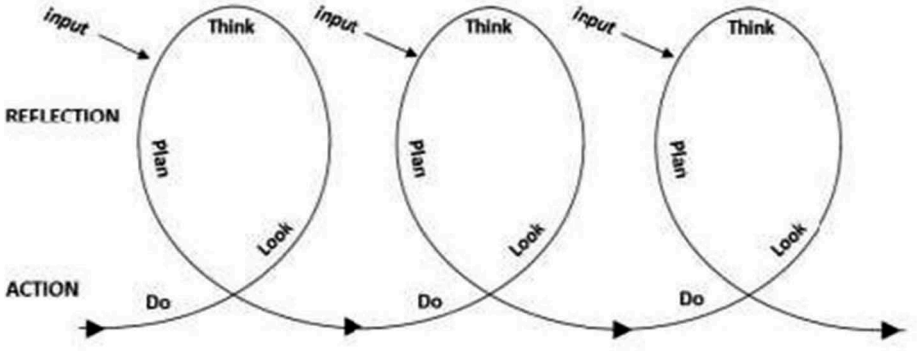

Figure 1. Representation of the praxis cycle of action and reflection.

As part of this move towards experiential learning, problem-based learning (PBL) emerged over the last few decades. It was first used in medical studies to increase preparedness for professional practice and it has since spread to other disciplines (Barrows 1996). Savery (2006) defines PBL as

> an instructional (and curricular) learner-centered approach that empowers learners to conduct research, integrate theory and practice, and apply knowledge and skills to develop a viable solution to a defined problem. Critical to the success of the approach is the selection of ill-structured problems (often interdisciplinary) and a tutor who guides the learning process and conducts a thorough debriefing at the conclusion of the learning experience.

Its focus on active and experiential learning by the students enables the retention of knowledge and the learning of new skills including communication, problem-solving, teamwork, autonomy, self-direction and critical reflection (Wood 2003; Wells, Warelow, and Jackson 2009; Rideout et al. 2002). As such, it fosters a 'deep' form of learning – as opposed to the more 'superficial' nature of traditional pedagogies – whereby students are required to relate theory to practice reflectively and to make sense of the task in relation to previous knowledge (Ramsden 2003, 47). PBL requires students to not only approach a task by focusing on the facts as separate components (atomistic approach) but to maintain the overall coherence and structure by integrating the parts and the whole (holistic approach) (Ramsden 2003, 43). Overall, PBL is assumed to increase learners' performance in terms of problem-solving, communication and presentation skills, professional skills, critical and creative thinking, appreciating the variety of perspectives, teamwork and collaboration, self-directed learning, practical implementation of theories, holistic thinking and dealing/fostering change (Newman 2003, 15; Savery 2006).

Andresen, Boud and Cohen (1995) have noted links between experiential learning and socio-political transformation in post-conflict and developing countries. In this article, it is suggested that PBL may be used in support of the normative commitment of Peace and Conflict Studies to transform violent, oppressive and unjust societies (Barash and Webel 2009, xiii; Miall, Ramsbotham, and Woodhouse 2016). In the 1990s, a 'shift' towards transformation was identified by Lederach (1995, 201) and it was then crystallised in the writings of Galtung, Burton, Curle and Kriesberg among others (Botes 2003). The term came to refer to a more or less profound and open-ended process of change in inter alia individuals, relations, structures and cultures (Burgess and Burgess 1997, 285–286). In particular, transformation came to refer to 'fundamental social and political changes [...] made to correct inequities and injustice to provide all groups with their fundamental human needs' (285–286).

In this study, it is hypothesised that PBL can be fine-tuned to foster critical enquiry and a greater awareness of power relations with a view to subsequently transforming violent and unjust societies. PBL can be used to

'conscientize' students, that is, to make them 'aware of social and political conditions, esp. as a precursor to challenging inequalities of treatment or opportunity' (OED (Oxford English Dictionary) 2018). The pedagogy may be used to guide students to uncover patterns of domination and privileges, identify frustration and recognise solutions to meet their actual needs. More specifically, PBL can be fine-tuned to foster:

- Awareness of power relations: students become aware of the fact that power relations are legitimated by oppressive myths, values and learnt behaviours that affect groups and individuals (e.g. tendency to compete, learnt respect for powerful individuals, etc.).
- Critical enquiry: students become aware of the effects of the political processes at play in society and become aware of their role and responsibility in perpetuating/transforming them. They develop a higher degree of self-awareness and a better ability to think outside the box.
- Collaborative problem-solving: students take initiatives to solve the problems that they face through collaboration and networking with relevant stakeholders.

The concept of conscientization was originally developed by Paulo Freire (2005, 104) but it is here used as a precursor to the type of transformation defined above. This fine-tuning of PBL to promote conscientization is based on a selective reading of Freire for the sole purpose of addressing a given gap in KSAs. The focus does not extend to considerations of actual transformation in individuals or societies. The parsimonious use of Freire is justified by the limited results of previous attempts to implement his pedagogy in full in the Swedish educational system (Kallós 1978). Additional factors have also contributed to this parsimony including: 1) the Swedish academic context characterised by limited resources and requirement for pedagogical alignment that lead to the prioritisation of content delivery and assessment and 2) the socio-cultural environment in which students have largely been 'acculturated to feel comfortable in relations of domination and subordination rather than equality and independence' (Kincheloe, McLaren, and Steinberg 2011, 163). Even though the simulation draws selectively on Freire, the insights gathered by participants demonstrate that the pedagogy can be used to support conscientization processes.

Based on our review so far, experiential learning and PBL should offer an effective approach to address the KSA gap identified by USIP and the UN including in terms of (1) professional skills (i.e. problem-solving, communication, teamwork); (2) the practical application of theories; and (3) critical enquiry with an awareness of power relations. In this article, the Carana Simulation used at Linné University in Sweden is taken as a case study to assess the opportunities and limits of the methodology.

The carana simulation

Simulations, games and role-plays have been widely used to teach Political Science, International Relations and Conflict resolution. Reviewing existing programs, Goon (2011) concludes that: 'most simulations to date deal with short-term solutions that merely manage rather than resolve the conflict, failing to examine the infrastructure necessary to maintain that peace or the management of the state as any plan is executed long term.' In this context, the case study used in this article is unique, both in its content and in its format. Since 2016, the Peace and Development Studies Program at LNU organises an immersive simulation where between 18 and 35 students role-play the main characters in a conflict environment for 5–7 days. Deployed in the fictitious country of Carana, students perform the tasks assigned to them as if they were actual challenges they faced in their work place. The simulation draws on professional trainings delivered by the United Nations as well as NATO and UN-led peace operations exercises.[2] Based on historical and more recent events, students must design strategies to restore peace in Carana and pave the way for long-term sustainable development. This requires the completion of short-term and reactive tasks (responding to an event through a press release) as well as long-term planning (drafting a UN Development Assistance Framework). Key issue areas covered include: good governance and democratisation; economic development; sustainable development; poverty alleviation; gender-mainstreaming; peacemaking; peacekeeping; peacebuilding. The simulation is designed to enable students to apply different theoretical perspectives to the case study in order to recommend solutions for peace and development. In the process, they must draft policy documents and practice key professional skills (official communications, time-management, teamwork, reporting, meeting planning, negotiation, etc.). The simulation is organised twice a year and 97 students have so far taken part.

The environment for the simulation is created through a website containing various official reports and resource documents, the daily publication of a newspaper, the instant publication of press releases, guidelines and templates to draft policy and practitioner documents, a dedicated e-mail system and daily briefings and de-briefings with a lecturer. Students play the roles of ministers, UN Country Team staff, NGO workers, rebel groups and political party leaders. LNU lecturers play additional roles to provide the necessary support and guidance. They also deliver workshops on team-building, official communications, media relations, and logical frameworks to facilitate interpersonal processes and the praxis cycles and to avoid group dysfunction and poor communication (Azer 2001). Some workshops are delivered prior to the simulation to facilitate preparation while others are delivered during the simulation to facilitate the learning process *in situ* with the timely delivery of knowledge according to student needs. The simulation has gradually come to adopt a guidance-intensive approach because the minimal-guidance PBL was less effective to support the learning process during the pilot

testing of the simulation. Some students felt overwhelmed and incapable of self-directed learning in the absence of substantial guidance. This supports the assessment of Kirschner, Sweller, and Clark (2006) regarding the limits of minimal-guidance PBL.

The simulation provides a learning environment radically different from the lecture hall. As both students and teachers are role players, they interact within a much more horizontal relationship. While hierarchy exists (e.g. president versus ministers), the power relations are different from the traditional teacher-student setup and the context is more conducive to communication and collaboration. Authority is quickly delegated following problem-posing and problem-solving is almost entirely left in the hands of students. Students are very much driving the process and teachers only provide a structure and framing mechanisms to enable student praxis. Input comes in the form of daily briefings and de-briefings, templates for project proposals, on-the-job coaching, mini-lectures, etc. Students have almost full freedom to think, plan and implement to meet their needs and solve their problems. Even though it is built on a given hierarchy and power relations between the students, Carana provides a frame for creative inquiry and collaborative problem-solving. On one occasion, students felt confident enough to organise a coup d'état against the president who was role-played by a member of staff.

Methodology for the evaluation

In order to assess the effectiveness of PBL to address the gap in KSAs identified by the UN and USIP, mixed research methods have been used (Bryman 2016). Firstly, anonymous self-administered questionnaires were distributed to the participants. In the fall 2016, 35 students participated and 29 filled-in the questionnaire. In the spring 2017, 18 students took part and 16 filled-in the questionnaire. In the fall 2017, 26 participated and 23 filled-in the evaluation. In the spring 2018, 18 students participated and 17 filled in the evaluation. Overall, 97 students participated in the simulation and 85 evaluation questionnaires were collected. The questionnaire was updated from one simulation to the other to enable a deeper evaluation. Secondly, face-to-face evaluations were conducted at the end of each simulation in the form of a World Café (or Knowledge Café). UNITAR (2016) defines the method as

> [a] creative, group process to forge collaborative dialogue, share knowledge and generate possibilities for action in groups of any size. The environment is set up in a café style. Every table is decked with a paper cloth, marker pens and some refreshments. Small groups of people sit around the tables and are invited to conduct a series of conversations on one or two significant topics defined by the organizer(s).

Students formed groups of 3–6 persons and answered set questions on selected topics on a large piece of paper. After a few minutes they would move table to answer the next question that was addressed by the previous group, adding their insights and answers to those of the previous groups. Once all groups had answered

all questions, they would present the results in a plenary session. Throughout the semesters, 85 students took part in this process. Questions covered the lessons learnt at a personal level by the students and the simulation as a whole

Thirdly, students were asked to write, individually or in groups, a reflection paper in which they should reflect upon the applicability and translation of specific theories to the Carana case and to reflect on their personal/group performance, the challenges they met as well as their own learning process. A total of 37 papers were written by students and analysed for the purpose of this research. Fourthly, a self-assessment was completed by students in the spring of 2018 before and after the simulation to assess how much students learnt during the simulation. 14 self-assessments were collected. Finally, to limit the possible bias of self-assessment, evaluations were conducted by the teachers through qualitative participatory observation. As embedded role players, teaching staff would engage in unstructured participant observation. This was done during the daily briefings and debriefings, during 'public events' organised as part of the simulation (peace conference, World Bank briefing, etc.) and during coaching sessions with students on topics ranging from report drafting or logical frameworks to leadership. Important information was gathered to understand the state of mind of students, the challenges they faced and the processes through which they were going.

In this article, the evaluation of the development of KSAs is primarily based on the results of the self-administered questionnaires. They provide structured, systematic and comprehensive data. But most importantly they limit the 'interviewer effect' which could affect the assessment. The other data collection techniques are used in a complementary manner to interpret and support the results of the questionnaires and to mitigate some of the methodology's shortcomings (Bryman 2016, 224). During the World Café, students were given the opportunity to expand on their answers and the teacher was able to ask follow-up questions. The collective nature of this evaluation methodology enabled students to speak more freely than in a structured interview.

Evaluating KSAs development through the carana simulation

Based on the evaluations of the students who filled in the questionnaire, Carana was a very successful pedagogical event. For example, 96% of respondents believe that it should be part of the Peace and Development Program, 88% were satisfied with the simulation and 95% of respondents would recommend it to other students.[3] However, overall satisfaction may not indicate the development of KSAs but may instead reflect students' expectations in terms of entertainment, needs-satisfaction or effectiveness of provision (Fanghanel 2013, 54). During World Cafés, students systematically request to have longer and more simulations because of their added-value compared to traditional courses. While this supports the findings of Pincus (1995) and Bernstein et al. (1995), it seems to also point to the comparative advantage of PBL. 73% of respondents strongly agreed and 27% agreed that the

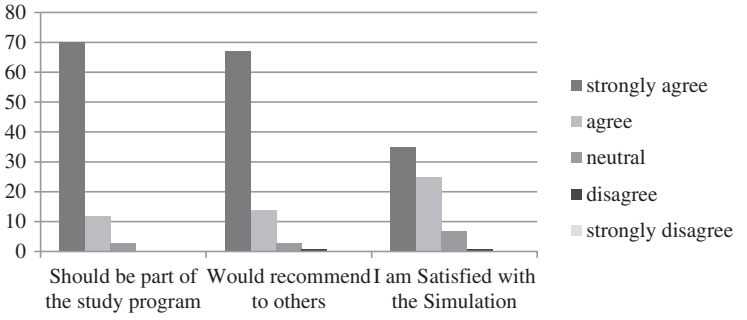

Figure 2. General evaluation of the simulation, number of respondents.

simulation enabled them to develop new and/or important knowledge and skills compared to more traditional courses.

The KSAs for which PBL is assumed to increase learners' performance and where the UN and USIP identified a gap can broadly be summarised as follow: (1) professional skills such as problem-solving, communication and presentation skills, teamwork and collaboration with a wide range of stakeholders; (2) the application of theories to practical cases; and (3) critical enquiry and awareness of power relations. We will look at the three categories one after the other to assess the extent to which the Carana simulation was effective in fostering the required KSAs.

(1) Professional Skills: Overall, 76% of respondents believed to have developed their professional skills during the simulation. During the World Café, students explained that the skills they developed the most included time-management, teamwork, conflict management, verbal and written communication, stress management and formal communication. 88% stated that they developed problem-solving and networking skills while 81% agreed that they developed their communication skills and learnt to explain their organisation's mandate to stakeholders.

The facilitators supported students in the development of presentation and communication skills through feedback on oral presentations, official communication, and written reports. Many students learnt to do presentations without notes with confidence. In a reflection paper, a student compared the simulation to her internship in terms of professional skills development. She explained that

> "During my internship, I got the chance to write reports, organize events, network, creating partnerships and writing funding proposals etc. In terms of such tasks, the simulation was very credible and related to real life situations. However, I feel like I learned such tasks on higher level in the simulation compared to the internship."

The development of professional skills is facilitated by PBL but small workshops and mini-lectures can help reinforce the learning process. Based on participatory observation and student self-assessment, the area where students learnt most (project management) was the area where they first worked on their own project, then attended a mini-lecture on the topic and finally got to put the new knowledge into

practice. The provision of additional knowledge 'just-in-time' and 'on-the-job' in the form of a lecture was very effective to reinforce PBL.

(2) Application of theories to practical cases: PBL is supposed to enable students to apply theories to practical situations. The results of the survey show that only 33% of respondents believed to have done it successfully. This low score is surprising because all students are expected to identify and outline the theoretical perspectives that they plan to use to solve Carana's problems in a 'preparation paper' they write prior to the simulation. Hence, they cannot be faulted for their lack of theoretical reflection. The complementary data collection methods used in this research support this finding and provide explanations. Academic courses, textbooks and research articles in the field of Peace and Development have a strong tendency to develop theoretical perspectives without systematically explaining their practical implications at the operational or tactical levels. As a result, students are not always given the tools to concretely make sense of what they learn. For example, how does a constructivist approach to peacebuilding translate into programming? What would a peace agreement or a UN Development Assistance Framework informed by a post-structuralist perspective look like? Consequently, students end up discarding the theories that they planned to use in order to solve the concrete problems they face. For examples, students learn about liberal approaches to peace and development as well as post-liberal alternatives and critiques. During the preparation of the simulation, many students aim to implement post-liberal solutions and yet in practice they end up applying standard liberal solutions which have already been codified in guidelines, handbooks and manuals by international organisations. In this regard, students tend to draw a lot more on the work of Paul Collier (2008, 2010) than on the work of Mark Duffield (2010) or Oliver Richmond (2011) despite their preference for the latter during the lectures. During the World Cafés, students explain that most theories are not clearly and easily applicable. In 2018, students agreed that theories tended to stay at the back of their mind and to influence their approach even though they could not use them concretely to fulfil their tasks due to the constraints they faced. For example, the leader of a political party explained that:

> It is easier to apply [a liberal approach to peace] to a post conflict situation than the more ambiguous Post Liberal Peace. It is therefore more convenient to fall back on the international framework than to try something new that might fail and cause more harm than good.

Many scholars have found PBL to be effective to teach students to put theories into practice (Barrows 1996; Savery 2006). In our case, we find that on its own PBL is insufficient if the field of study in which it is used does not provide sufficient information on the operationalisation of all theories.

This finding is supported by the fact that only 65% of respondents believed to have drafted policy and practitioner documents during the simulation. This is surprising because all students actually wrote such documents including

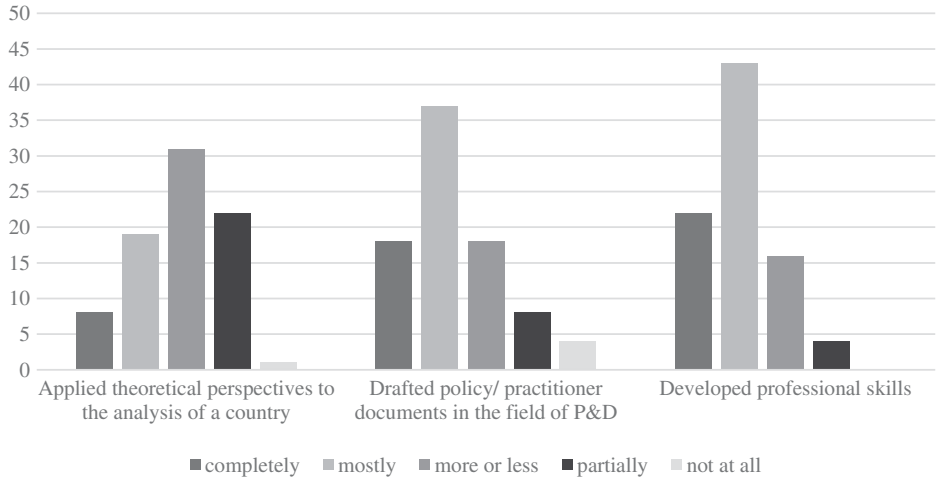

Figure 3. KSAs developed through the simulation, number of respondents.

a cease-fire agreement, a peace agreement, ministerial strategies, SWOT analyses, logical frameworks, etc. This result is probably again related to the limited concern of academics to explain how theories are translated into policies and programmes. For example, students may learn about the peacebuilding activities of the United Nations in a given country but they are not necessarily told about the logical frameworks and results-based budgeting that underpin the process. This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the fact that while 55% of students believed to have drafted policy and practitioner documents the first time the simulation was delivered, this went up to 94% in the spring 2018. The main difference is that in the meantime the facilitator adapted the curriculum to ensure that students learnt about the different policy and practitioner documents commonly used in the field and hence had a better understanding of the matter.

(3) Awareness of power relations: I suggested that the simulation could be used in support of a conscientization process in students and to foster a greater awareness of power relations; a higher degree of self-awareness; a better ability to think outside the box; and collaborative problem-solving. Questionnaire results show that 88% of respondents developed a greater awareness of power relations in teams and society, 80% of respondents developed a greater degree of self-awareness, 95% of respondents had to think outside the box to complete their tasks. Finally, 79% were led to question their assumptions, values, expectations and behaviours.

The results from the survey point to the existence of conscientization processes and the data collected using qualitative methods support this. In a 'reflection paper' representative of the experience of most participants, a group of students wrote:

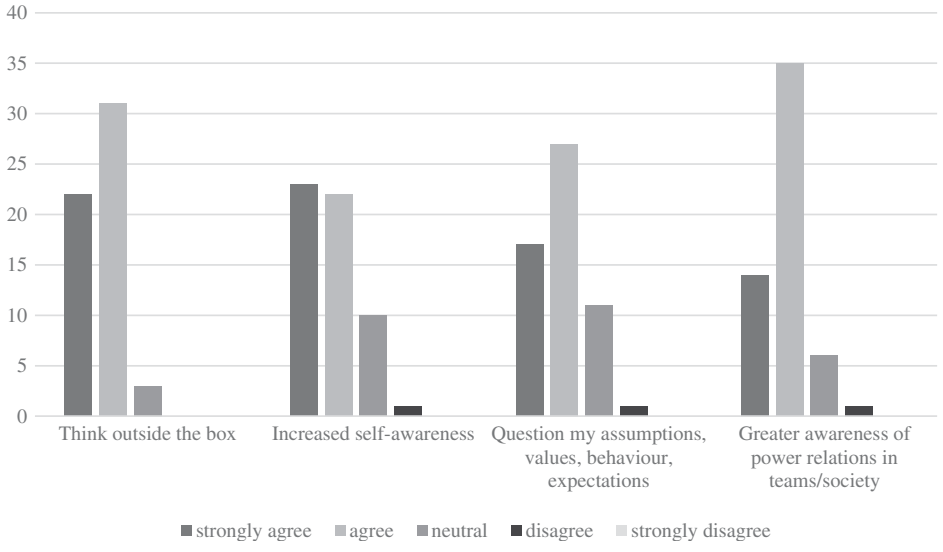

Figure 4. Transformative dimension of the simulation, number of respondents.

> The simulation was really 'authentic' and so 'real' that we could actually imagine ourselves working for the Caranese government. During this week we have learned how to write professional and official emails, arrange meetings, multi-tasking, co-operation etc. For example we now have a deeper understanding for how the network of institutions works for the social development. Moreover, we can see how theories work in practice, especially the power theory by Lukes (2005). During the simulation, we have witnessed the various power dimensions in work and experienced the different power relations in running a country.

The greater awareness of power relations was described vividly by many participants in the reflection papers submitted in 2018. For example, a team of NGO representatives working on gender equality and child protection explained that 'By participating in the simulation, hierarchies of power in the society have become more evident.' In particular, they pointed to the use of misinformation, the exclusion of dissenting voices as well as agenda-setting as mechanisms that created relations of dependency and domination and shaped an unfair peace process. The UNDP representatives supported this view: 'By making clear what was acceptable to discuss and what was not, the government thereby established the rules of the game.' They became aware of the ways in which power was exercised through both decision-making and non-decision-making. As a counterpart of the UN and civil society, the Minister of Health enjoyed her position of power, stating that

> It was fun to dress more formal and have a position of power towards other students and their roles. It was new to me to have the power we did as a government and I learned a lot from it when it comes to impacts power had on our tasks and how it made it easier for us to be able to prioritize our own interests and discard other actors ideas…This type of power was for example exercised through: responding to emails

> with concerns in a non-informative way; deciding what topics that should not be in the peace agreement…by shifting focus and spreading misinformation.

The simulation enabled students to develop greater awareness of the traditionally entrenched social myths of competition and power-play rather than collaboration. Students organised themselves to overcome challenges and achieve their objectives which were very much related to human rights, equality and democracy. A team of UN OHCHR representatives explained:

> What we learned from this experience is the value of cooperation, communication and partnership. You truly get nowhere without cooperation, and we absolutely think that the other teams in the simulation can agree to this as well. In order to make change and in order to work for peace, all forces needs to unite and work with each other. It is much easier said and done, due to we witness this first hand, but with much dedication and will, we believe that it is much possible.

The development of self-awareness is explicit in many reflection papers. A group of UNDP representatives explained that

> It was interesting to see how an environment in which all participants are familiar with could be transformed into a novel culture and social structure, where friends and classmates took on new roles and thus related to one another in a different way – realizing new capabilities and shortcomings among ourselves that we did not know we had.

This statement is important because it points to the added advantage of simulations to create a fictitious reality in which students can stand to then reflect on the limits of their role and of the power relations at play in the similarly socially-constructed world to which they are used. The simulation remains a fictitious space that uses specific power relations and a unique setup to elicit certain responses from students. Carana is thus creating a power-game and a 'political vision' to teach KSAs but also to facilitate conscientization (Kincheloe, McLaren, and Steinberg 2011, 167). In a clear display of self-awareness and critical thinking, a group of UNDP representative cogently explained:

> the controller of the simulation, successfully implemented a structure of social and cultural patterns of behaviour among the actors, decided the rules of the game, and thus purposefully impeded them from realizing their own interest and needs… Thus, albeit unknowingly, the actors acted in accordance with the environment they had been placed in and consequently lost track of their own interests of which they believed to be agents of… It is easy to rely on others and trusting someone else instead. It was only at the end of the simulation that we realized that we were indeed capable of coming up with solutions ourselves – only some extra effort was needed. As university students, we are in most cases used to being guided, expecting professors…to be the source of higher knowledge. This simulation was, in contrast, a good exercise and an excellent preparation for the future.

Because the simulation provides a set of 'ill-structured problems' – or 'impediments' to use the term of the UNDP representatives quoted above – that require open-ended, complex and multi-disciplinary solutions in an urgent

manner, students are taken out of their comfort zone onto unknown territories. This provides the grounds for collaborative problem-solving, self-reflection and the development of higher-order thinking (Weiss 2003, 27). For example, some students may lack self-confidence and may refuse to take a leadership position even though all team members naturally look up to them as leader. In other cases, brilliant students used to doing the minimum are ordered to take the lead on major projects, leading to a higher degree of self-expression. Sometimes, certain students are put under stress (risk of collapse of the peace process due to a major breach of the cease-fire agreement) and must find solutions despite their confusion and doubt. In the literature, it is noted that PBL can be a source of stress and anxiety as students feel unprepared and become conscious of gaps in their knowledge (McCourt and Thomas 2001; Biley 1999, 586; Duke et al. 1998, 60). The Carana simulation turns this 'weakness' of PBL into a possible tool for conscientization. As a result, many students experience a breakthrough and greater self-awareness. Some even get in touch with the realm of 'untested feasibility' described by Freire (2005, 83). Those processes are reinforced during the briefings and de-briefings led by the facilitator whereby students are asked to reflect on their role, assumptions and values based on the days' rich interpersonal processes. On top of the four Es of debriefing – events, emotions, empathy and explanations – outlined by Petranek, Corey, and Black (1992), a fifth E of empowerment is added to encourage self-reflection on the conscientization processes under way.

Conscientization is not automatic, uniform or homogenous. Some students had major insights into certain personal or social myths they had taken for granted. As part of this process, many students experienced a substantial broadening of their horizon and were able to question with greater clarity the power relations assumed by much theorising in the field of Peace and Development. Yet, some students resisted it and wanted very substantial input from the teacher in the form of training and step-by-step guidelines. Some students wanted more hierarchy and structure, finding the entire process of the social construction of knowledge and problem-solving distressing. Other students tried to avoid taking responsibilities to transform unjust power relations. A particularly bright student was in a position of leadership which s/he more or less gave up in practice because s/he did not want to upset the status quo. This fear of upsetting other participants supports previous research (Das Carlo, Swadi, and Mpofu 2003). Conscientization may be perceived negatively by students as confronting, unnecessary or impossible. Some students did not want to learn about themselves or group processes but focused on extracting useful content at the individual level for their own benefit and to complete their individual tasks. Based on teacher observation, it seems that the students who passively resisted were the weaker students. For them, a more paternalist form of teaching may be better adapted as the demands of the simulation

seemed to run contrary to their 'natural' inclinations. With experience, the facilitator has adopted a two-speed simulation framework whereby students may choose a more paternalist approach and others a more transformative one. This finding supports previous research that suggested that in general students react positively to PBL but that a small proportion does not thrive due to the uncertainty, stress and perceived lack of structure (Rowan, McCourt, and Beake 2008).

Conclusion

This article explored the opportunities and limits of meeting the KSA gap identified by the UN and USIP through experiential learning. The purpose was to assess the effectiveness of PBL with a particular focus on the gaps for which the methodology is known to be effective including professional skills, the practical application of theories and awareness of power relations. Particular attention was paid to the possibility of fine-tuning PBL to promote conscientization among students as a precursor to socio-political transformation. Based on our case study, we see that the findings from other disciplines apply very much except for the application of theories to practical cases. PBL has a clear added-value for the development of professional skills with all participants finding it superior to traditional courses and lectures. A large majority of students reported a notable development in their professional skills with some evidence suggesting that the simulation could be superior to an internship. The simulation highlights the complex roots of the gaps in KSA and points to deficiencies in academic curriculum that go beyond individual courses to include theory-centred textbooks and journal articles. The methodology was insufficient, on its own, to support the application of theories to practical cases due to a lack of resources on the operationalisation of theoretical perspectives in Peace and Conflict Studies. Finally, the simulation enables students to develop their awareness of power relations and self-awareness. PBL can be fine-tuned to support conscientization among students but a two-speed simulation framework seems suitable for a larger number of students.

Overall, the Carana simulation is not a simple or straightforward answer to the KSA gap identified by USIP and the UN. Experience-based learning is no panacea and if we are to reinforce its contribution to learning and mitigate its limits, its adoption must be based on a holistic evaluation of the needs and resources available and most probably as a complement to standard lectures (Asal and Blake 2006; Torney-Purta 1998; Albanese and Mitchell 1993).

Notes

1. Because the majority of students in the field of peace and conflict resolution are civilians, the article concentrates on the training needs identified for civilian personnel deployed in UN multidimensional peace operations.

2. The scenario has evolved out of the Carana scenario developed by multiple organisations for their specific training purposes. Over the years, the UN, the World Bank and others, have developed various versions of the scenario. The version used at LNU is inspired by its predecessors but is adapted to the particular needs of the students enrolled in the Peace and Development Studies Programme at LNU.
3. The question was dropped from the Spring 2017 evaluation questionnaire, hence the lower number of respondents.

Disclosure statement

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Notes on contributor

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CONSCIENTIZATION THROUGH THE CONTEXT OF A BOOK CLUB: ADULTS' EXPERIENCES OF CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING

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Conscientization through the Context of a Book Club: Adults' Experiences of Consciousness-Raising

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Abstract: The purpose of this qualitative study is to understand lived experiences of consciousness-raising for adults through the context of book clubs. Research about adult participation in book clubs remains scarce. Therefore, this study seeks to highlight how these contexts might promote adult learning and conscientization.

Keywords: book clubs, adult learning, conscientization

Introduction

The following paper presents my ongoing dissertation research which uses a hermeneutic phenomenological methodology to explore the consciousness-raising experiences of adults who participate in book clubs. Currently, I am still in the process of data collection and analysis; however, the discoveries that have emerged from the data so far provide insightful information about the ways in which book clubs help create a space for adults to cultivate and develop new perspectives about their world by engaging them in critical reflection and critical dialogue. This paper reveals the current status of book clubs in America, their historical background as environments that fostered critical thinking, communication, and interactions among adults with shared interests and goals, and a preliminary summary of my current discoveries when conducting interviews with book club participants.

Background of the Problem

Although it is not a widely researched topic, statistical findings about book clubs suggest that the number of book clubs throughout the United States is increasing. "Over the past decade, reading groups have become a renewed American pastime. In 1990, there were about 50,000 book clubs in the United States; by the turn of the millennium that number had just about doubled" (Daniels, 2002, p. 3). In a digital age which emphasizes individualized learning over social, communal structures, the traditional concept of face-to-face book clubs has become somewhat antiquated. Once founded on their ability to bring together individuals in a single, physical, collective learning environment, book clubs have evolved into groups that more often meet virtually, in online forums, to discuss readings and examine issues that emerge in the literature they explore. While these online formats enable more widespread participation and communication across geographical and cultural boundaries, the transition from the traditional structure of a book club into a less personal, online format provides a different environment and context for book club members. However, despite these evolutions in structure, there are book clubs that remain faithful to the traditional format of face-to-face meetings and continue to thrive today.

History of Book Clubs

Historically, book clubs have functioned as structures for informal learning. Contemporary American book clubs evolved from reading clubs, scholarly organizations that were situated within the creation of gentlemen's clubs and lyceums during the early 1800s (Kett, 1994). In fact, in 1900 the concept of a book club "signified an association for reprinting scarce

books or fostering the publication of original compositions by members [of library associations]" (Kett, 1994, p. 44). This differs drastically from what we now refer to as book clubs. Therefore, in their infancy book clubs were better known as reading groups, literary groups, or even types of mutual improvement societies. The development of various forms of mutual improvement societies based on literary interests demonstrates the growth in social reading organizations throughout the nineteenth century.

The popularity of reading clubs gradually increased with the formation of knowledge societies, the development of academies, the creation of social libraries, and the movement toward democratization of educational opportunities for women and minorities (Kett, 1994). During the nineteenth century, education broadened in scope to include informal learning environments as supplemental to, or blended with, formal education. The concept of self-instruction, therefore, became more widely recognized as a valuable form of education. Informal learning environments were rooted in critical reading and interactive discussions based on the material read.

Women, in particular, took advantage of these informal learning activities as outlets to engage in dialogue with other individuals who shared similar experiences, social obstacles, and political perspectives. In particular, "the Chautauqua circles were reading clubs, similar in some respects to contemporary women's clubs" (Kett, 1994, p. 161). The Chautauqua movement, inspired by the development of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle (CLSC), is perhaps the most prominent example of reading clubs evolving into national, and even international, academic societies that originated as structures reflective of book clubs. "Overall, the Chautauqua movement contributed to the democratization, theory and structure of both adult and university education in the USA" (Scott, 2005, p. 42). The impact of the Chautauqua movement, therefore, left a lasting effect.

Book clubs have come a long way from their origins, and they continue to evolve in their intentions and membership. The historical progression of reading groups and book clubs paved a path for adult education. In addition, these intentional gatherings affirmed the value of less formal learning contexts and helped emphasize the potential for book clubs to function as spaces to foster critical dialogue.

Book Clubs in Scholarship

In academia, book clubs have largely escaped scholarly attention, or as Long (2003) states, they have "slipped through disciplinary cracks to find themselves in a scholarly no-man's land" (p. x). Book clubs have traditionally been associated with amateur or uninformed readers who gather to discuss popular fiction. With the exception of a handful of scholars who recognize the contributions these contexts can make to a number of fields, the clubs have not been credited as valuable structures that can illustrate advantageous insights. However, as they slowly gain attention, the few scholars who acknowledge the significance of book clubs have discovered that the clubs can enlighten us about a variety of points: literary engagement (Goldberg, 2012; Bonner & Tarner, 1999; Addington, 2001; Twomey, 2007), collective reading and group dynamics (Childress & Friedkin, 2012), human interactions and connections, (Sedo, 2004; Odrcic, 2007; Long, 1992, 2003; St. Pierre, 1995; Kelley, 2007; Sisson, 1996), and teaching and learning pedagogies (Ooi & Liew, 2011; Southwood, 2012; Polleck, 2010; Sawatzky, 2011) just to name a few. Thus, there is a crucial need to spotlight book clubs as significant social structures that contribute to society and adult learning in a number of ways, and also to reveal data that indicates these seldom studied groups are actually quite prevalent and relevant adult learning environments in the United States.

Sadly, book reading in the United States is reportedly on a general decline. The Survey of Public Participation in the Arts (SPPA), conducted by the National Endowment for the Arts states, "The percentage of Americans who read at least one book of fiction or nonfiction in the previous 12 months (outside of work or school requirements) decreased from the early 1990s to 2008" (American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2008). This decrease was from 61% in 1992, to 54% in 2008. (American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2008, Findings and Trends section, para. 1). Inarguably, technological advances that have limited or even eliminated the need for book reading are attributable to this change. In an age where information and reading materials are easily accessible through the Internet, the demand for immediate information reduces the need to peruse a book to gain knowledge. Furthermore, Americans are bombarded with a variety of easily portable, electronic entertainment options, which have often replaced the role of a traditional, paper book.

Interestingly, however, a change in reading habits does not seem to have significantly impacted book club participation. Based on the Survey of Public Participation in the Arts, "anecdotal evidence suggests book clubs (discussion groups) are currently a popular phenomenon, but data about Americans' participation in them are scarce. A 2005 study found that 6% of American adults who read for pleasure and primarily in English, or 3.4% of all adults, participated in book clubs" (American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2008, Findings and Trends section, para. 3). Furthermore, according to the 2010 United States Census Bureau report on leisure activities, 2.5% of adults surveyed had participated in a book club within the last twelve months, with 1.2% reporting to have participated once a month ("Adult Participation," 2012, Table 1240). The report does not provide a specific definition of a book club, so the assumption remains that it follows a general definition of a book club as an organized group of individuals gathered to read and discuss literature. While these figures may seem small and there are obvious discrepancies since research efforts to examine book club participation are limited, the data does suggest that book clubs remain very much alive in contemporary society. The continued existence of book clubs supports the idea that they serve a purpose to help adults become informed about, and discuss, different literature.

Conscientization and Reading for Awareness

Paulo Freire (1996) writes, "World and human beings do not exist apart from each other, they exist in constant interaction" (p. 33). He further claims that in order for humans to enact change in the world and how they are situated in it, they must practice praxis, which includes an equal emphasis on reflection and action (Freire, 1996). Strongly supportive of dialogue as a means of promoting praxis, Freire (1996) claims that "only through communication can human life hold meaning" (p. 58). Freire (1996) suggests that dialogue also promotes the emergence of the oppressed from a state of oppression. He writes, "Dialogue cannot exist, however, in the absence of a profound love for the world and for people…Love is at the same time the foundation of dialogue and dialogue itself…Because love is an act of courage, not of fear, love is commitment to others. No matter where the oppressed are found, the act of love is commitment to their cause—the cause of liberation" (p. 70). Freire (1996) relates these ideas of liberation to critical thinking and literacy through his concept of conscientizacao, or conscientization. "Conscientizacao is the deepening of the attitude of awareness characteristic of emergence" (Freire, 1996, p. 90). He states, "Since the basic condition for conscientization is that its agent must be a subject (that is, a conscious being), conscientization, like education, is specifically and exclusively a human process. It is as conscious beings that men are not only *in* the world, but *with* the world, together with other men" (Freire, 2000, p. 39). An awareness, or consciousness,

of how one is situated in our various social circumstances is therefore promoted by the development of one's perceptions, and likewise, advances such development through further exposure to situations that highlight social conditions.

Freire's (1996) representation of critical dialogue, through his concept of liberatory education, is the most relevant illustration of the connection between critical dialogue and literacy. "Liberation is a praxis: the action and reflection of men and women upon their world in order to transform it" (Freire, 1996, p. 60). Therefore, the creation of one's conscious awareness is not established through force, but rather through the sharing of information, ideas, and perspectives as reflective and dialogical practices. I relate this sharing of ideas and subsequent awareness-building to the interactions that occur in the context of a book club.

Design of the Study

Although scholars have examined book clubs as informal learning environments and contexts for adults to seek social networks and engage in critical dialogue, very little is known about how book clubs function as spaces for adults to deliberately engage in these actions. The purpose of my study is to understand lived experiences of consciousness-raising for adults through the context of book clubs. To address the gap in the literature, my research is guided by the following question: What is the lived experience of Conscientization, or consciousness-raising, in the context of book clubs?

My study takes the form of a qualitative research design grounded in an interpretivist epistemology. I apply a hermeneutic phenomenological methodology in order to explore the ways in which book club members experience consciousness-raising in the context of a book club. I draw upon the perspectives of Gadamer (1975) and Van Manen (2014), as they build upon Heidegger's (1996) philosophies about phenomenology, to inform the structure and design of the study.

Data Collection and Analysis

The primary method of data collection I utilize for my study is to conduct three sixty to ninety minute, semi-structured interviews with each of the participants. These interviews take place either face-to-face or via Skype or FaceTime. The first interview allows the participants to discuss their overall experiences in book clubs. The second interview provides the opportunity to more deeply explore the participants' consciousness-raising experiences within a book club. The third interview allows me to further ask the participants how their consciousness-raising experiences in a book club caused them to view the world differently. According to Merriam (2009), "Data analysis is the process of making sense out of the data…it is the process of making meaning" (pp. 175-176). The procedures I use to analyze the data collected during my study include the following steps: transcribing the interviews, organizing the transcriptions into an easily accessible data inventory (Merriam, 2009, p. 174), and using Van Manen's (1990) interpretive phenomenological methodology to recognize themes in the data.

Although I am still in the process of collecting and analyzing data, the information I have gathered so far presents the following broad discoveries: (a) The participants indicate their reasons for joining a book club were to share ideas and conversations with like-minded individuals while also challenging themselves to read texts that they thought might be "out of their comfort zones;" (b) Participants have found that accountability, flexibility, and open-mindedness/diversity of thought are important characteristics of a successful book club; (c) Participants have had consciousness-raising or awareness-raising experiences that often result from exposure to perspectives that differ from or challenge their own; (d) While participants initially felt resistance to these different or challenging perspectives, particularly when they

opposed or threatened the participants' way of thinking about personal and social issues, they indicate that as a result of deeper thought (critical thinking) and discussion (critical dialogue) they often found that these differing perspectives were valid and merited closer consideration on their part (consciousness-raising); and (e) Participants report being more open or flexible to differing perspectives upon being made aware of their existence and value. They indicate that they either considered reevaluating or acted upon changing their own perspectives as a result of their awareness.

Conclusion

Having examined the evolution of adult participation in book clubs in America, the looming question of why book clubs should matter still remains. Their quiet presence and subtle influences on the lives of Americans are precisely the reasons why academics have largely neglected to investigate book clubs in great depth. Book clubs have not led to social uprisings, they are not categorized as groups that significantly impact the realm of literacy and reading, and there is insignificant evidence suggesting they have forged new paths in regard to the way people interact with literature. However, the fact that book clubs have endured throughout history, despite dramatic social changes, political forces, and scholarly derision strongly suggests that these structures fill a void which nothing else can.

Southwood (2012) claims, "Reading is not a passive process, it involves problem-solving, active prediction (guessing), searching and an ability to use past knowledge and experience to make sense of what we are reading (p. 37). When adults engage in book clubs, they become active participants in these processes, learning how to navigate the texts, their interpretations and perspectives of the ideas presented through the literature, and their relationships with other book club members. In order to gain a better understanding of how book clubs can contribute to our knowledge of adult learning and literacy practices, scholars must acknowledge the valuable information these structures can offer and conduct deep, meaningful investigations of book clubs as environments that foster adults' engagement with literature.

Voluntary in nature, reflective of informal learning contexts, and designed to promote a social exploration of literature, book clubs can offer insights about adult learning with regard to literacy practices, as well as individual and group meaning-making. Book clubs can inform adult learning theories about how adults learn from their interactions with one another in informal, social contexts and the literacy practices they follow as members of these groups. Book clubs indicate not only that reading can be a social convention instead of an individual experience, but also that reading for meaning necessitates active engagement and critical thinking.

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Critical consciousness

Critical consciousness, **conscientization**, or ***conscientização*** in Portuguese, is a popular education and social concept developed by Brazilian pedagogue and educational theorist Paulo Freire, grounded in post-Marxist critical theory. Critical consciousness focuses on achieving an in-depth understanding of the world, allowing for the perception and exposure of social and political contradictions. Critical consciousness also includes taking action against the oppressive elements in one's life that are illuminated by that understanding.[1]

Contents

Coinage

The English term *conscientization* is a translation of the Portuguese term *conscientização*, which is also translated as "consciousness raising" and "critical consciousness". The term was popularized by Brazilian educator, activist, and theorist Paulo Freire in his 1970 work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Freire was teaching the poor and illiterate members of Brazilian society to read at a time when literacy was a requirement for suffrage and dictators ruled many South American countries. The term originally derives from Frantz Fanon's coinage of a French term, *conscienciser*, in his 1952 book, *Black Skins, White Masks*.

Overview

Paulo Freire defines critical consciousness as the ability to intervene in reality in order to change it.[2] Critical consciousness proceeds through the identification of "generative themes", which Freire identifies as "iconic representations that have a powerful emotional impact in the daily lives of learners." In this way, individual consciousness helps end the "culture of silence" in which the socially dispossessed internalize the negative images of themselves created and propagated by the oppressor in situations of extreme poverty. Liberating learners from this mimicry of the powerful, and the fratricidal violence that results therefrom is a major goal of critical consciousness. Critical consciousness is a fundamental aspect of Freire's concept of popular education.

Arlene Goldbard, an author on the subject of community cultural development finds the concept of conscientization to be a foundation of community cultural development. From the glossary of Goldbard's 2006 book *New Creative Community*: "Conscientization is an ongoing process by which a learner moves toward critical consciousness. This process is the heart of liberatory education. It differs from "consciousness raising" in that the latter may involve transmission of preselected knowledge.

Conscientization means engaging in praxis, in which one both reflects and takes action on their social reality to break through prevailing mythologies and reach new levels of awareness—in particular, awareness of oppression, being an "object" of others' will rather than a self-determining "subject". The process of conscientization involves identifying contradictions in experience through dialogue and becoming part of the process of changing the world."[3]

History of application

The ancient Greeks first identified the essence of critical consciousness when philosophers encouraged their students to develop an "impulse and willingness to stand back from humanity and nature... [and] to make them objects of thought and criticism, and to search for their meaning and significance.[4] In his books *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*[5] and *Education for Critical Consciousness*,[2] Freire explains critical consciousness as a sociopolitical educative tool that engages learners in questioning the nature of their historical and social situation, which Freire addressed as "reading the world". The goal of critical consciousness, according to Freire, should be acting as subjects in the creation of democratic society. In education, Freire implies intergenerational equity between students and teachers in which both learn, both question, both reflect and both participate in meaning-making. Using this idea, and describing current instructional methods as homogenization and lockstep standardization, alternative approaches are proposed, such as the Sudbury model of democratic education schools, an alternative approach in which children, by enjoying personal freedom thus encouraged to exercise personal responsibility for their actions, learn at their own pace rather than following a previously imposed chronologically-based curriculum.[6][7][8] In a similar form students learn all the subjects, techniques and skills in these schools. The staff are minor actors, the "teacher" is an adviser and helps just when asked.[9][10] Sudbury model of democratic education schools maintain that values, social justice, critical consciousness, intergenerational equity, and political consciousness included, must be learned through experience,[11][12][13][14] as Aristotle said: "For the things we have to learn before we can do them, we learn by doing them."[15]

Picking up on Freire's definition of critical consciousness, Joe L. Kincheloe has expanded the definition of the concept in his work on postformalism. In Kincheloe's formulation postformalism connects cognition to critical theoretical questions of power and social justice. In this context Kincheloe constructs a critical theory of cognition that explores questions of meaning, emancipation vis-a-vis ideological inscription, and a particular focus on the socio-political construction of the self. With these concerns in mind Kincheloe's postformal critical consciousness engages questions of purpose, issues of human dignity, freedom, authority, reconceptualized notions of reason, intellectual quality, and social responsibility. Postformal critical consciousness stimulates a conversation between critical pedagogy and a wide range of social, cultural, political economic, psychological, and philosophical concerns. Kincheloe employs this "multilogical conversation" to shape new modes of self-awareness, more effective forms of social, political, and pedagogical action, and an elastic model of an evolving critical consciousness (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1993; Kincheloe, 1999; Thomas and Kincheloe, 2006).

Freire's development of critical consciousness has been expanded upon in several academic disciplines and common applications.[16] Public health community collaborations focused on HIV prevention for women,[17] the role of critical consciousness in adult education,[18] and the effect of peer pressure on cigarette smokers[19] Freire's notion of critical consciousness is, in part, a type of political consciousness.

In educational programs for youth and adolescents, some instructors have implemented curricula aimed at encouraging students to develop a critical consciousness within subject-specific material.[20] Instructors can teach language arts,[21] science,[22] and social science[23] lessons while guiding students to connect academic material to their experiences, explore themes of social justice, and discuss these ideas collaboratively in the classroom.

In application, raising critical consciousness in young students can lead to successful outcomes in terms of students' social-emotional well-being,[24] academic performance,[25] and increased pursuit of careers after completing high school.[26][27] While some studies provide support for developing critical consciousness in students due to the potential benefits, other studies present conflicting results. For example, research has also shown that students who demonstrate lower critical consciousness levels may experience less depressed moods[28] and higher grades.[29] Due to limitations associated with the predominantly qualitative designs of many studies on critical consciousness in education, further research is needed using rigorous, controlled quantitative designs to more clearly understand the relationship between critical consciousness and young students' trajectory.[20]

See also

- Adult education
- Adult literacy
- Class consciousness
- Critical pedagogy
- Consciousness Raising
- Identity politics
- Liberation psychology
- Popular education
- Praxis
- Praxis intervention
- Teaching for social justice

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Further reading

Paulo Freire

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Paulo Freire

Paulo Reglus Neves Freire[a] (19 September 1921 – 2 May 1997) was a Brazilian educator and philosopher who was a leading advocate of critical pedagogy. He is best known for his influential work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, which is generally considered one of the foundational texts of the critical pedagogy movement,[37][38][39] and is the third most cited book in the social sciences according to Google Scholar.[40]

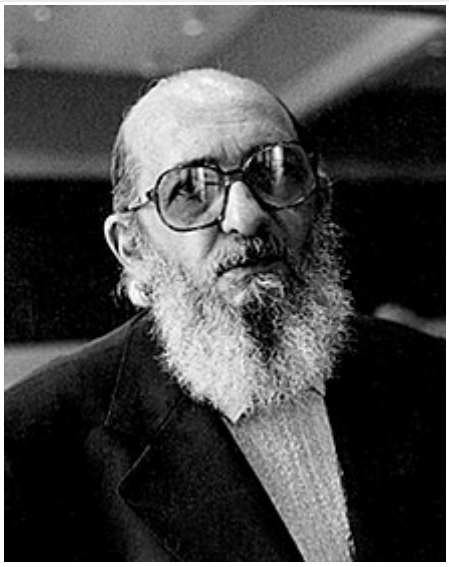
Contents

Biography

Freire was born on 19 September 1921 to a middle-class family in Recife, the capital of the northeastern Brazilian state of Pernambuco. He became familiar with poverty and hunger from an early age as a result of the Great Depression. In 1931 his family moved to the more affordable city of Jaboatão dos Guararapes, 18 km west of Recife. His father died on 31 October 1934.[41]

During his childhood and adolescence, Freire ended up four grades behind, and his social life revolved around playing pick-up football with other poor children, from whom he claims to have learned a great deal. These experiences would shape his concerns for the poor and would help to construct his particular educational viewpoint. Freire stated that poverty and hunger severely affected

Paulo Freire



Freire in 1977

Born	Paulo Reglus Neves Freire 19 September 1921 Recife, Pernambuco, Brazil
Died	2 May 1997 (aged 75) São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil
Political party	Workers' Party
Spouse(s)	Elza Freire (m. 1944; died 1986) Ana Maria Araújo Freire (m. 1988)[1]
Scholarly background	
Alma mater	University of Recife
Influences	Zevedei Barbu[2] · John Dewey[3] · Frantz Fanon[4] · Erich Fromm[5] · Antonio Gramsci[6] · Gustavo Gutiérrez[7] · G. W. F.

his ability to learn. These experiences influenced his decision to dedicate his life to improving the lives of the poor: "I didn't understand anything because of my hunger. I wasn't dumb. It wasn't lack of interest. My social condition didn't allow me to have an education. Experience showed me once again the relationship between social class and knowledge".[42] Eventually, his family's misfortunes turned around and their prospects improved.

Freire enrolled in law school at the University of Recife in 1943. He also studied philosophy, more specifically phenomenology, and the psychology of language. Although admitted to the legal bar, he never practiced law and instead worked as a secondary school Portuguese teacher. In 1944, he married Elza Maia Costa de Oliveira, a fellow teacher. The two worked together and had five children.

In 1946, Freire was appointed director of the Pernambuco Department of Education and Culture. Working primarily among the illiterate poor, Freire began to develop an educational praxis that would have an influence on the liberation theology movement of the 1970s. In 1940s Brazil, literacy was a requirement for voting in presidential elections.[43][44]

Freire in 1963

In 1961, he was appointed director of the Department of Cultural Extension at the University of Recife. In 1962, he had the first opportunity for large-scale application of his theories, when, in an experiment, 300 sugarcane harvesters were taught to read and write in just 45 days. In response to this experiment, the Brazilian government approved the creation of thousands of cultural circles across the country.[45]

The 1964 Brazilian coup d'état put an end to Freire's literacy effort, as the ruling military junta did not endorse it. Freire was subsequently imprisoned as a traitor for 70 days. After a brief exile in Bolivia, Freire worked in Chile for five years for the Christian Democratic Agrarian Reform Movement and the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. In 1967, Freire published his first book, *Education as the Practice of Freedom*. He followed it up with his most famous work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, which was first published in 1968.

After a positive international reception of his work, Freire was offered a visiting professorship at Harvard University in 1969. The next year, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* was published in Spanish and English, vastly expanding its reach. Because of political feuds between Freire, a Christian socialist, and Brazil's successive right-

	Hegel[8] · Herbert Marcuse[9] · Jacques Maritain[10] · Emmanuel Mounier[11] · Karl Marx[12] · Albert Memmi[4] · Álvaro Vieira Pinto[13] · Jean-Paul Sartre[14] · Anísio Teixeira[15] · Miguel de Unamuno[16] · Simone Weil[2]
Scholarly work	
Discipline	Pedagogy · philosophy
School or tradition	Critical pedagogy
Doctoral students	Mario Sergio Cortella
Notable works	*Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1968)
Notable ideas	Banking model of education · critical consciousness
Influenced	**List** Fazle Hasan Abed[17] · Marcella Althaus-Reid · Stanley Aronowitz[15] · Christine Ballengee-Morris[18] · Ana Mae Barbosa[19] · Steve Biko · Augusto Boal · Leonardo Boff[15] · Francisco Brennand[20] · Fernando Cardenal[21] · Enrique Martinez Celaya · Vicky Colbert[22] · James H. Cone[15] · Antonia Darder · Mestre Ferradura · Ramón Flecha[23] · Moacir Gadotti[24] · Henry Giroux[15] · Cees Hamelink[25] · bell hooks[26] · Didacus Jules · Karen Keifer-

wing authoritarian military governments, the book went unpublished in Brazil until 1974, when, starting with the presidency of Ernesto Geisel, the military junta started a process of slow and controlled political liberalisation.

Following a year in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Freire moved to Geneva to work as a special education advisor to the World Council of Churches. During this time Freire acted as an advisor on education reform in several former Portuguese colonies in Africa, particularly Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique.

In 1979, he first visited Brazil after more than a decade of exile, eventually moving back in 1980. Freire joined the Workers' Party (PT) in São Paulo and acted as a supervisor for its adult literacy project from 1980 to 1986. When the Workers' Party won the 1988 São Paulo mayoral elections in 1988, Freire was appointed municipal Secretary of Education.

Freire died of heart failure on 2 May 1997, in São Paulo.[46]

Pedagogy

> There is no such thing as a neutral education process. Education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate the integration of generations into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, or it becomes the "practice of freedom", the means by which men and women deal critically with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world.
>
> — Jane Thompson, drawing on Paulo Freire[47]

Paulo Freire contributed a philosophy of education which blended classical approaches stemming from Plato and modern Marxist, post-Marxist, and anti-colonialist thinkers. His *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1968) can be read as an extension of, or reply to, Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), which emphasized the need to provide native populations with an education which was simultaneously new and modern, rather than traditional, and anti-colonial – not simply an extension of the colonizing culture. Freire considered the contemporaneous Chinese Cultural Revolution an exemplar of his notion of cultural action and praised Mao Zedong's innovations to Marxist theory and praxis.[48]

In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire, reprising the oppressors–oppressed distinction, applies the distinction to education, championing that education should allow the oppressed to regain their sense of humanity, in turn overcoming their condition. Nevertheless, he acknowledges that for this to occur, the oppressed individual must play a role in their liberation.

> No pedagogy which is truly liberating can remain distant from the oppressed by treating them as unfortunates and by presenting for their emulation models from among the oppressors. The oppressed must be their own example in the struggle for their redemption.[49]

Boyd[27] · Joe L. Kincheloe[15] · James D. Kirylo[28] · Jonathan Kozol[15] · Khen Lampert · Colin Lankshear[29] · Allan Luke[30] · Donaldo Macedo[15] · Ignacio Martín-Baró[31] · Peter Mayo[32] · Alan McCombes · Peter McLaren[33] · Jack Mezirow · Oscar Mogollon · G. Nammalvar · Gino Piccio · Majid Rahnema · Howard Richards · Marshall Rosenberg[34] · Ira Shor[35] · Shirley R. Steinberg[15] · Carlos Alberto Torres[15] · María Guillermina Valdes Villalva · Cornel West[36]

Likewise, oppressors must be willing to rethink their way of life and to examine their own role in oppression if true liberation is to occur: "Those who authentically commit themselves to the people must re-examine themselves constantly".[50]

Freire believed education could not be divorced from politics; the act of teaching and learning are considered political acts in and of themselves. Freire defined this connection as a main tenet of critical pedagogy. Teachers and students must be made aware of the politics that surround education. The way students are taught and what they are taught serves a political agenda. Teachers, themselves, have political notions they bring into the classroom.[51] Freire believed that

> Education makes sense because women and men learn that through learning they can make and remake themselves, because women and men are able to take responsibility for themselves as beings capable of knowing—of knowing that they know and knowing that they don't.[52]

Criticism of the "banking model" of education

In terms of pedagogy, Freire is best known for his attack on what he called the "banking" concept of education, in which students are viewed as empty accounts to be filled by teachers. He notes that "it transforms students into receiving objects [and] attempts to control thinking and action, lead[ing] men and women to adjust to the world, inhibit[ing] their creative power."[53] The basic critique was not entirely novel, and paralleled Jean-Jacques Rousseau's conception of children as active learners, as opposed to a *tabula rasa* view, more akin to the banking model. John Dewey was also strongly critical of the transmission of mere facts as the goal of education. Dewey often described education as a mechanism for social change, stating that "education is a regulation of the process of coming to share in the social consciousness; and that the adjustment of individual activity on the basis of this social consciousness is the only sure method of social reconstruction".[54] Freire's work revived this view and placed it in context with contemporary theories and practices of education, laying the foundation for what would later be termed critical pedagogy.

Culture of silence

According to Freire, unequal social relations create a "culture of silence" that instill a negative, passive and suppressed self-image onto the oppressed, and learners must, then, develop a critical consciousness in order to recognize that this culture of silence is created to oppress.[55] A culture of silence can also cause the "dominated individuals [to] lose the means by which to critically respond to the culture that is forced on them by a dominant culture."[56]

He considers social, race and class dynamics to be interlaced into the conventional education system, through which this culture of silence eliminates the "paths of thought that lead to a *language of critique*."[57]

Legacy and impact

Since the publication of the English-language edition in 1970, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* has had a large impact in education and pedagogy worldwide,[58] especially as a defining work of critical pedagogy. According to Israeli writer and education reform theorist Sol Stern, it has "achieved near-iconic status in America's teacher-training programs".[59] Connections have also been made between Freire's non-dualism theory in pedagogy and Eastern philosophical traditions such as the Advaita Vedanta.[60]

In 1977, the Adult Learning Project, based on Freire's work, was established in the Gorgie-Dalry neighbourhood of Edinburgh, Scotland.[61] This project had the participation of approximately 200 people in the first years, and had among its aims to provide affordable and relevant local learning opportunities and to build a network of local tutors.[61] In Scotland, Freire's ideas of popular education influenced activist movements[62] not only in Edinburgh but also in Glasgow.[63]

Freire's major exponents in North America are Henry Giroux, Peter McLaren, Donaldo Macedo, Antonia Darder, Joe L. Kincheloe, Carlos Alberto Torres, Ira Shor, and Shirley R. Steinberg. One of McLaren's edited texts, *Paulo Freire: A Critical Encounter*, expounds upon Freire's impact in the field of critical pedagogy. McLaren has also provided a comparative study concerning Paulo Freire and Argentinian revolutionary icon Che Guevara. Freire's work influenced the radical math movement in the United States, which emphasizes social justice issues and critical pedagogy as components of mathematical curricula.[64]

In South Africa, Freire's ideas and methods were central to the 1970s Black Consciousness Movement, often associated with Steve Biko,[65][66] as well as the trade union movement in the 1970s and 1980s, and the United Democratic Front in the 1980s.[67] There is a Paulo Freire Project at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in Pietermaritzburg.[68]

In 1991, the Paulo Freire Institute was established in São Paulo to extend and elaborate upon his theories of popular education. The institute has started projects in many countries and is headquartered at the UCLA Graduate School of Education and Information Studies, where it actively maintains the Freire archives. Its director is UCLA professor Carlos Torres, the author of several Freirean works, including the 1978 *A praxis educativa de Paulo Freire*.

In 1999 PAULO, a national training organisation named in honour of Freire, was established in the United Kingdom. This agency was approved by the New Labour Government to represent some 300,000 community-based education practitioners working across the UK. PAULO was given formal responsibility for setting the occupational training standards for people working in this field.

The Paulo and Nita Freire Project for International Critical Pedagogy was founded at McGill University. Here Joe L. Kincheloe and Shirley R. Steinberg worked to create a dialogical forum for critical scholars around the world to promote research and re-create a Freirean pedagogy in a multinational domain. After the death of Kincheloe the project was transformed into a virtual global resource.

In 2012, a group of educators in Western Massachusetts, United States, received permission to name a public school after Freire. The Holyoke, Massachusetts, Paulo Freire Social Justice Charter School opened in September 2013.[69]

Shortly before his death, Freire was working on a book of ecopedagogy, a platform of work carried on by many of the Freire Institutes and Freirean Associations around the world today. It has been influential in helping to develop planetary education projects such as the Earth Charter as well as countless international grassroots campaigns in the spirit of Freirean popular education generally.

Freirean literacy methods have been adopted throughout the developing world. In the Philippines, Catholic "basal Christian communities" adopted Freire's methods in community education. Papua New Guinea, Freirean literacy methods were used as part of the World Bank funded Southern Highlands Rural Development Program's Literacy Campaign. Freirean approaches also lie at the heart of the "Dragon Dreaming" approach to community programs that have spread to 20 countries by 2014.

Awards and honors

- King Baudouin International Development Prize 1980: Paulo Freire was the first person to receive this prize. He was nominated by Mathew Zachariah, Professor of Education at the

University of Calgary.
- Prize for Outstanding Christian Educators, with his wife Elza
- UNESCO Prize for Peace Education 1986
- Honorary Doctorate, the University of Nebraska at Omaha, 1996, along with Augusto Boal, during their residency at the Second Pedagogy and Theatre of the Oppressed Conference in Omaha.
- An independent public charter high school in Holyoke, Massachusetts, is named after Freire. Paulo Freire Social Justice Charter School won state approval on 28 February 2012 and was scheduled to open in the fall of 2012.[70]
- Honorary Degree from Claremont Graduate University, 1992
- Honorary Doctorate from The Open University, 1973
- Inducted, International Adult and Continuing Education Hall of Fame, 2008[71]
- Honorary Degree from the University of Illinois at Chicago, 1993.[72]

Bibliography

Freire wrote and co-wrote over 20 books on education, pedagogy and related themes.[73]

Some of his works include:

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See also

- Adult education
- Michael Apple
- John Asimakopoulos
- Clodomir Santos de Morais
- Dialogic education
- Dialogic learning
- Dialogic pedagogy
- Raya Dunayevskaya
- Education in Brazil
- Lewis Gordon
- James D. Kirylo
- Landless Workers' Movement
- Marxist humanism
- Paulo Freire University
- Peer mentoring
- Popular education
- Praxis intervention
- Problem-posing education
- Rouge Forum
- Second Episcopal Conference of Latin America
- Structure and agency

Notes

a. English pronunciation: /ˈfrɛəri/ *FRAIR-ee*, Portuguese pronunciation: ['pawlu 'fɾejɾi] (listen).

References

Footnotes

1. Stone 2013, p. 45.
2. Kirkendall 2010, p. 21.
3. Clare n.d.; Díaz n.d..
4. Arney 2007, p. 30; Clare n.d.; Díaz n.d..
5. Clare n.d.; Díaz n.d.; Lake & Dagostino 2013, pp. 101–102.
6. Díaz n.d.; Mayo 2013, p. 53.
7. Clare n.d.; Reynolds 2013, p. 140.
8. Blunden 2013, p. 11; Clare n.d.; Díaz n.d.; Ordóñez 1981, p. 100.
9. Kahn & Kellner 2008, p. 30.

10. Clare n.d.; Peters & Besley 2015, p. 3.
11. Rocha 2018, pp. 371–372.
12. Clare n.d.; Díaz n.d.; Kress & Lake 2013, p. 30; Lake & Dagostino 2013, p. 111; Ordóñez 1981, pp. 100–101.
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15. Díaz n.d.
16. Rocha 2018, pp. 371–372, 379.
17. Fateh 2020, p. 2.
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19. Ballengee Morris 2008, pp. 55, 60, 65.
20. Ballengee Morris 2008, p. 55.
21. Kirylo 2011, pp. 244–245.
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32. Kirylo 2011, p. 258.
33. Cruz 2013, p. 8; Díaz n.d..
34. https://www.gaconflict.org/our-programs?32d2740e_page=2
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External links

- Inquiry-Based Learning (https://curlie.org/Reference/Education/Methods_and_Theories/Learning_Theories/Inquiry_Based_Learning/) at Curlie
- International Journal for Transformative Research (http://www.ijtr.net)
- Digital Library Paulo Freire (Pt-Br) (https://web.archive.org/web/20080604050019/http://www.paulofreire.ufpb.br/)
- *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* by Paulo Freire (http://marxists.anu.edu.au/subject/education/freire/pedagogy/index.htm)
- PopEd Toolkit - Exercises/Links inspired by Freire's work (https://web.archive.org/web/20060511090433/http://www.poped.org/)
- Interview with Maria Araújo Freire on her marriage to Paulo Freire (http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3965/is_200004/ai_n8881236/)
- A dialogue with Paulo Freire and Ira Shor (1988) (https://web.archive.org/web/20110725181724/http://brechtforum.org/node/1683)

conscientization

Contents

English

Etymology

From Portuguese *conscientização*.

Noun

conscientization (*uncountable*)

1. (*sociology*, *education*) A social concept, grounded in Marxist critical theory, that focuses on achieving an in-depth understanding of the world, allowing for the perception and exposure of perceived social and political contradictions.

Synonyms

- critical consciousness

Related terms

- conscientize