



## Conscientizacao : an operational definition.

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CONSCIENTIZACAO: AN OPERATIONAL DEFINITION

A Dissertation Presented

By

William Arthur Smith

Submitted to the Graduate School of the  
University of Massachusetts in partial  
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Education

November 1975

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CONSCIENTIZACAO: AN OPERATIONAL DEFINITION

A Dissertation Presented

By

William Arthur Smith

Approved as to style and content by:

*Alfred Alschuler*  
Dr. Alfred Alschuler, Chairman of Committee

*David R. Evans*  
Dr. David R. Evans, Member

*Sylvia Forman*  
Dr. Sylvia Forman, Member

*George Urek*  
Dr. George Urek, Member

*Louis Fischer*  
Dr. Louis Fischer, Acting Dean  
School of Education

November 1975

DEDICATION

To my son in the hopes that  
he may be less victimized by  
oppression.

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CONSCIENTIZACAO: AN OPERATIONAL DEFINITION  
(November 1975)

William Arthur Smith

B.A. University of South Florida

Directed by: Dr. Alfred Alschuler

ABSTRACT

This study describes the creation of an operational measure of the theoretical concept conscientizacão ("C") developed by the Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire. The measure consists of an instrument which elicits a sample of verbal behavior plus an objective system for classifying the resulting statements as evidence of magical, naive, or critical consciousness. The field work for this study was done in Ecuador; however, it is not a socio-political study of that country.

Initially, a list of hypothesized verbal behaviors related to "C" was developed based exclusively upon the published writings of Paulo Freire. Then several groups of Ecuadorians were selected to participate in a protocol collection process, designed to produce a wide range of "C" related verbal responses. One result of these experiences was the creation of a formal protocol collection instrument (PCI) which was later used to validate the code.

The responses collected during the first protocol collection process were compared with Freire's theoretical framework. The task was to look for parallels, to add new coding categories, to expand existing ones, and in sum, to make the theoretical framework precise and complete

in terms of verbal behavior. The variety of coding categories which resulted was then compiled into a single coherent coding system.

The coding system divides conscientizacão into three basic levels (magical, naive, and critical) which describe characteristic ways in which individuals name, reflect upon, and act to solve their socio-political problems. For example, magical stage individuals typically conform, while naive stage individuals focus on reforming individuals who deviate from accepted norms, and critical stage individuals are concerned with transforming roles, rules, policies, and procedures. Each of these characteristic stages is divided into a series of specific coding categories which define precisely how different individuals conform, reform, and/or transform.

In order to validate the coding system, a list of non-verbal "C"-related criteria was developed and used to select two criterion groups of rural Ecuadorians. One group was identified as naive and one group identified as magical. The PCI was used to collect verbal responses from each group which were then coded and scored. The differences in C-scores between the naive (n=9), and magical (n=8), criterion groups correlated positively with the non-verbal determinations and were statistically significant. In fact, there was no overlap of C-scores between the naive and magical groups (Mann Whitney V Test = 3.41,  $p < .0005$ ).

The code is useful as one way of understanding consciousness-raising processes, particularly as they relate to oppressed peoples. As a diagnostic measure, it can be used to develop and evaluate consciousness-raising programs and materials, and to train consciousness-raising trainers. The pedagogical implications of the coding system

are far-ranging and particularly applicable to nonformal educational programs which focus on broad behavioral change.

As yet, however, the coding system needs to be more rigorously validated using different cultural settings and larger numbers of individuals. A number of important issues remain to be addressed before the coding system described in this study can be considered a reliable, valid measure of conscientização. The potential uses of this measure for educational purposes (diagnosis, setting objectives, evaluating effectiveness) should await the completion of more extensive study.

This study is organized in six (6) chapters and five (5) appendices whose general content is as follows: Chapter I, introduction to the problem; Chapter II, case studies illustrating magical stage consciousness and consciousness growth from naive to critical stages; Chapter III, developing the coding system; Chapter IV, the theoretical definition of the stages of conscientização and a comparison of Freire's theory with Lawrence Kohlberg's characteristics for a structural developmental theory; Chapter V, validation of the study; Chapter VI, the limitations and applications of the coding system and its development. Appendix A outlines how the protocol collection instrument was developed. Appendix B provides detailed coding and scoring rules. Appendix C contains the validation statistics; Appendix D, copies of the initial coding systems, and Appendix E, copies of visuals used during the development of the coding system. A set of 22 practice stories expertly coded are available upon request from the author, but do not appear in the dissertation.

## PREFACE

I expect that this dissertation will be controversial. It attempts to objectify concepts which many people feel are, and ought to remain, basically subjective. While it attempts to avoid stereotyping, stereotyping has, in fact, been inevitable. It is written by a white, North American male; a member of the oppressor class whose motives are open to suspect. Finally, it is written in a form that would tend to serve more the interests of those it rejects than of those it proposes to serve.

Each of these facts raises questions as to the intentions and utilization of this instrument. It is my hope that as you read this thesis, or those parts of it which you feel to be most relevant to your interests, you will maintain a healthy skepticism toward not only the proported results of this study, but towards both the intentions and utilization of this information.

There is no need for me to launch into a lengthy explanation of my motives; an explanation which would amount to little more than another white man's justification. Suffice it to say that I consider myself, in the words of Albert Memmi, "a leftist colonizer." Those of you familiar with Memmi's book, The Colonizer and the Colonized, will remember that he paints a pessimistic view of such an individual:

The leftist colonizer's role cannot long be sustained; it is unlivable. He cannot help suffering from guilt and anguish and also, eventually, bad faith. He is always on the fringe of temptation and shame, and in the final analysis, guilty. (Memmi 1972, p. 148)

Ultimately my motives have been selfish ones. I have sought to understand the effects of oppression in the hope that I could avoid being damned as an oppressor, while at the same time using that understanding as a means of gaining one more credential which will serve to separate me even further from the oppressed. This contradiction I have not resolved; it strikes me as one consequence of being "on the edge of temptation."

More important than my motives however, is the question of by whom and for what purpose this information will be used. Let us suppose for a moment that the results described here are reasonably accurate; that is, that the coding system is effective in determining the stages of consciousness in oppressed individuals. Who is interested in such a determination? How would they use such information?

There are at least two answers to the first question; the oppressor and/or the oppressed. For oppressors or oppressive systems interested in hindering the growth of critical consciousness, an objective understanding of the steps which lead to critical consciousness would be useful. Such information would be essential in designing educational programs which, if they did not overtly deter critical growth, would at least avoid promoting critical growth as a conscious educational objective. On the other hand, the possibility exists that this instrument would be used by the oppressed; for example, individuals who have already achieved a degree of critical consciousness, but who are interested in accelerating the process in their oppressed peers. Once again, such an instrument would be useful in designing educational programs which, if they did not promote critical consciousness, at least did not function to deter critical growth.

I am concerned that the oppressor is more equipped emotionally to use this particular instrument than the oppressed. I believe that the oppressed in many cases have rejected instruments in their struggle toward freedom because those instruments are products of the oppressor's culture. In the general rejection of the oppressor and his ideology, there is also a rejection of the oppressor's tools. While I believe that the oppressed must transform the oppressor's tools and in some cases out-right reject them, I believe that careful consideration should be given before such a rejection takes place.

Because this document is the product of the oppressor's system, it necessarily bears the stylistic mark of the oppressor's culture. The whole concept of a 4-500 page document, rather than a film, a play, a fotonovela, a puppet show, or a series of radio programs, addresses a relatively limited and generally oppressor-oriented audience. The vast majority of oppressed are illiterate. The majority of those who are literate do not read English. Of those who do read English many would perceive this as a morass of jargon and jiberish. I believe, however, that among the oppressed there are individuals training themselves to both understand and use the oppressor's insights; individuals who are searching for new tools to be used in the process of liberation; individuals who would find, even in this document, ideas which could prove useful in their struggle. It is my hope that those individuals will see the potential of these ideas, and will transform them into tools which can reach and serve the oppressed. Unless this transformation takes place, I have few delusions about the servicability of this instrument to oppressed peoples.

It is for this reason that I consider this thesis a beginning rather than an end. In both a technical and a moral sense a great deal more work has to be done before these ideas can be of service to the process of cultural liberation. As Freire points out, liberation is a problem which affects both the oppressor and the oppressed. While it may be impossible, and indeed inadvisable, for us to work together in a cooperative venture, I believe it possible for divergent elements to contribute to its ultimate success. I only hope that this will constitute a contribution toward liberation (my own as well as the readers) rather than one more tool in the arsenal of the oppressor.

This study has been partially supported by the University of Massachusetts/Ecuador Nonformal Education Project which is financed jointly by the United States Agency for International Development and the Ecuadorian Ministry of Education. The project field staff, totally Ecuadorian with the exception of the author, has lent invaluable assistance to its development. It should be clear, however, that this study does not represent the official position of any of the participating institutions. While these institutions and individuals have contributed ideas, insights, and information, they have allowed the author to express a personal position.

In addition to the members of my committee (Sylvia Forman, Dave Evans, George Urch, and particularly Al Alschuler who first suggested this topic and who has provided consistent support and patience) I would like to express my appreciation to the Ecuadorian members of the NFE project staff who, while not always agreeing with my position, supported my effort completely. A note of thanks is also necessary to my wife

who has made both important contributions and numerous sacrifices to this study. Especially important, is the contribution of the one hundred Ecuadorian campesinos who allowed me to share a particle of their understanding of the world; an understanding which has helped me see more clearly the contradictions with which I struggle.

## CHAPTER I

### A. The Problem

The central problem of this study is to operationalize through the development of a verbal coding system the theoretical concept conscientizacao\* (C) developed by the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. This concept is related to a broad school of educational concern known as self-knowledge or self-awareness, and more specifically to a relatively new sub-area known as consciousness-raising. Consciousness-raising is presently a popular concern, particularly among groups of oppressed individuals, but it, like many other areas of self-knowledge, suffers from a lack of precision and an overly practical orientation. Relatively little social science research has been done on the "C"-related effectiveness of the consciousness-raising programs now being developed and promoted. Little relationship has been established between the theoretical framework upon which consciousness-raising rests and the actual programs being conducted to raise consciousness.

One of the most persuasive theoretical frameworks is that developed by Paulo Freire. Freire's work has received wide-range popular attention and indeed has been the foundation for many consciousness-

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\*The term conscientizacao has come to represent a variety of different aspects of Freire's concept. It will be used in this dissertation to describe the developmental process through which an individual moves from magical, to naive, to critical consciousness. The term has been conserved in its Portuguese form to avoid confusion with similar, but basically different, concepts and in deference to its origins. Conscientizacao will be abbreviated as "C".

raising programs around the world. Initially Freire was associated almost exclusively with literacy, as his first efforts involved increasing both consciousness and literacy. Now, however, his work is being reviewed, and increased emphasis being placed upon an understanding of his concept conscientizacão, or the development of critical consciousness. One way of characterizing conscientizacão is as a structural developmental theory. As such, it proposes the existence of three distinct stages of consciousness (magical, naive, and critical) which are related specifically to the socio-political world-view of oppressed peoples. Each stage can be seen as an integrated whole, describing how oppressed individuals name, reflect upon, and act upon their existential problems. It should be pointed out that this characterization is not one Freire makes himself, but rather a lens which has been used to project Freire's ideas in a particular direction.

Conscientizacão, as Freire discusses it, is a process leading toward liberation. Liberation and its antithesis, oppression, are Freire's concerns. Consciousness is more than a better understanding of who we are or how we act; it is a process through which individuals who have been exploited and hindered from self-affirmation come to see how they are exploited, how they collude with the exploiters, and how, through critical interaction with the world, they can liberate themselves.

Unfortunately, many readers have found Freire's publications to be cryptic and at times mystical. While they are attracted to his ideas, the application of those ideas has not always been clear. The attempt to operationalize Freire's theory is an attempt to make his

framework more precise in verbal behavioral terms. It is hoped that the coding system presented in this study will be a first step toward that ultimate goal, toward a greater understanding of the implications and utility of consciousness-raising as a major new educational concern.

B. An Example

There was a hail storm last night and the morning is exceptionally cold. Jose has gotten up with his father because he is the oldest and must help with the chores before he can go to school. The family knows that the hail storm has done damage to the barley plot, but no one wants to talk about it. Jose's mother has nothing to serve for the day's breakfast so she is busy preparing the oxen for the day's work. Jose's father, Manuel, sends his wife on to the field; he will go as far as the highway with Jose so that he can pay a portion of the money he has borrowed from the community's bus driver. He does not have it all and he is afraid to see the bus driver, but he is more afraid to send Jose alone with the little money he has.

The bus driver is angry. He needs the money Manuel owed him to pay a debt to the owner of the bus. He doesn't trust indians and he doesn't like them. He is calling Manuel names, bad names, he has taken off Manuel's hat . . . his new hat, and he has thrown it in the bus. Manuel crouches on the ground. The bus driver keeps hitting him and calling him names. The other indians on the bus sit quietly and are looking ahead.

Jose is in class. He fell several times trying to help his father up, and he is very dirty. The teacher is tired; she slept little last night and had a long ride from the city where she lives. She doesn't want to be way out here and she is angry. When Jose tries to explain why he is dirty, she slaps him. The other children sit quietly, looking ahead.

Manuel is working in the fields, trying to save what little of the barley that was not destroyed the night before. He is talking to his wife: "That bus driver did not have to hit me so many times. He did not have to steal my hat. I know I owed him the money but he should not have hit me so many times. The patron never pays us and that is why I cannot pay the bus driver. But he would not listen to me. If only we had a patron that would help us, then we could live in our little house in peace. I only want peace, a good patron who will help us to find peace."

This narrative is based upon the author's experience in a single Latin American country, and with a single group of individuals. But by changing the details of the story it could apply to many groups of individuals in many countries of the world. For some analysts, the problem described here is economic; it is only necessary to re-distribute the world's wealth and these conditions will disappear. For others, the problem is moral; it is necessary to lock up or reform all the evil individuals (the bus driver and school teacher who disobey accepted norms and laws) and the "good" people will live in peace. Still others believe the problems to be educational; by providing schools or enough nonformal education, these conditions can be reformed.

The premise upon which this study is based, however, sees the problem differently. While poverty and the unjust distribution of wealth are certainly problems; while some individuals must be considered beyond reformation and probably locked up, the basic conditions described in the narrative are seen by the author, and many others, as symptoms of a larger problem. That problem, as defined by Paulo Freire in his book, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, is de-humanization.

. . . dehumanization, although a concrete historical fact, is not a given destiny, but the result of an unjust order that engenders violence in the oppressors, which in turn dehumanizes the oppressed. (Freire 1964, p. 28)

For Freire it is an unjust order, a system of norms, procedures, rules and laws which first forms and then conforms men's minds to believe that poverty and injustice are inevitable facts of human existence; which places power in the hands of some and myths in the minds of all.

Power is used to coerce and victimize overtly, while social myths, distorted concepts of human reality, justify and rationalize the coercion. The powerful righteously believe they are obligated to use their power to maintain order and stability. The powerless accept their powerlessness as inevitable and look to other sources, heaven or luck, for hope. Freire believes unjust systems to be necessarily oppressive, for only through oppression can the powerful hope to maintain the injustice.

Any situation in which "A" objectively exploits "B" or hinders his pursuit of self-affirmation as a responsible person is one of oppression. (Freire 1964, p. 28)

The situation described in the initial story is one of oppression. Jose, his father, the bus driver, the school teacher, and the indians who sit passively on the bus are all victims of an unjust and oppressive order, a system which operates to dehumanize individuals, to exploit them and to hinder their pursuit of self-affirmation. The bus driver is victimized by the myths which the system has taught him about indians . . . they are untrustworthy, different and not to be liked. He is pressed by the owner of the bus to pay, but rather than vent his frustration on the owner, he strikes against those whom he feels he can dominate. Oppressive environments are characterized by a chain of dehumanizing relationships which victimize from the top down. The school teacher is victimized by being in a teaching position for which she has not been prepared and by her beliefs that teaching in a rural school is less attractive than teaching in an urban school. The bus driver and school teacher in turn victimize Jose and his father, Manuel.

Manuel, who waits for a "good" patron to solve his problems, is so victimized by the system that he considers himself incapable of action to affect the injustice. The indians on the bus who refuse to become involved are victimized by their fear that the bus driver will turn against them, a fear resulting from their belief that they are as helpless as Manuel. Each individual is victimized, coerced, controlled as much by internal beliefs as by overt violence, as much by the rationale engendered by the system as by the system itself. Jose and Manuel (the oppressed) are dominated by myths of inferiority and helplessness; their myths support the oppressors' (the teacher and the bus driver) myths of superiority and strength. The system, by investing some with power over others and by creating myths of superiority-inferiority, de-humanizes both the powerful and the powerless; coercing the powerful towards violence against their fellows and exploiting the powerless for the benefit of the powerful.

Oppression and oppressive systems are the central concerns of this study. Many individuals have focused upon oppression as a major concern of the 20th century: men like Frantz Fanon, Albert Memmi, Malcolm X, James Baldwin, to name some of them. Few, however, have proposed a pedagogy for the oppressed, a pedagogy designed explicitly to liberate both the oppressor and the oppressed from the victimization of the oppressive situation. Paulo Freire has offered such a pedagogy.

### C. Paulo Freire

Freire, through his work in the slums of Brazil, began to conceptualize a process of consciousness-raising leading toward a dynamic concept of liberation and towards what he refers to as "more complete

humanness." This process he calls conscientizaçao, or a degree of critical consciousness in which individuals are able to see reality critically. They are able to understand the contradictions in their own lives, to generalize those contradictions to others around them and to seek solutions creatively with others. Freire contrasts this critical consciousness with two prior levels of consciousness which he defines as naive consciousness, in which a person over-simplifies and romanticizes reality - trying to reform individuals within the unjust system and make it work properly, and magical consciousness, in which individuals adapt or conform to pre-determined fatalistic ideas of the system.

Freire describes each of these three stages or levels in developmental terms. He is concerned with transformation, with the movement from one stage to another, and his pedagogy, his methodology, is designed to assure that such a transformation takes place. Freire places the onus for transformation on the oppressed.

Although the situation of oppression is a dehumanized and dehumanizing totality affecting both the oppressors and those whom they oppress, it is the latter who must, from their stifled humanity, wage for both the struggle for a fuller humanity; the oppressor, which is himself dehumanized because he dehumanizes others, is unable to lead this struggle. (Freire 1968, p. 32)

Not only must the oppressed free themselves, but they must free their oppressors as well. Critical action is clearly the domain of the oppressed; critical action which provokes critical reflection and which begins again the continuing process toward increased conscientizaçao.

But Freire does not divide the world exclusively into oppressor and oppressed. He suggests the existence of a third class of individuals, the revolutionary leaders whose task it is, not to propagandize the oppressed, but to work with the oppressed in a "co-intentional"

education. This education takes as its fundamental task the naming of the world. Literacy in Freire's world takes on a metaphysical significance; by providing the power of the word, it also provides the individual with the power to name the world as it is. It is one thing to call the owner of the hacienda a patron, it is another thing to call him an oppressor. Both names correspond to separate visions of reality. But only the second vision implies that the reality must be changed. This process of naming is intimately related to the process of consciousness-raising. And because Freire's method places such an emphasis on naming, it has been accepted by many as simply a literacy method.

The method in one form or another has been used for almost a decade and in various countries. Brazil was the first setting where hundreds of "cultural circles" (Freire's basic working unit) were established in the northeast section of that country. Chile had a national program inspired by Freire's ideas for several years preceding the Allende regime. Ecuador has recently begun a national literacy program also based upon Freire's ideas. Numerous other groups around the world have read his books and discussed the implications of his concepts.

#### D. Consciousness Raising

Freire's work has been one of the principal stimuli to a new educational focus which can be considered as part of the school of self-knowledge/self-awareness associated with humanistic education, but which emphasizes individual liberation within a socio-political context. Generally the movement is referred to as "consciousness-raising" (C-R).

Consciousness-Raising is becoming a major area of concern in many parts of the world. Consciousness-raising groups, seminars, and/or retreats are typically but not exclusively, directed at minority, or disadvantaged groups of individuals, individuals who will be referred to here after as third world peoples. It is not uncommon for these groups to define themselves as being oppressed.

In the United States this would include women, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos and North American Indians among others. A few white consciousness-raising groups have been formed by white individuals interested in better understanding their "own prejudices." It is the author's experience that the techniques used in many of these groups rely on techniques adapted from other fields, particularly human relations training, humanistic education, and structured psycho-therapy groups. Trainers are often para-professionals with practical group leadership experience, but with less formal preparation. The basic goals include increased self-awareness/self-knowledge, the development of a group consciousness, peer support, greater self-confidence, increased understanding of how prejudice develops and operates, and less frequently, specific behavioral skills for dealing with the prejudices group members meet in daily life.

Little social science research has been done on the "C"-related results of these consciousness-raising groups. Participants are often fervent supporters of the experience, claiming that they "feel better about themselves" or that they have "discovered a new reality." These individual endorsements are given professional sanction by social scientists and philosophers who insist upon the importance of self-knowledge in human development.

Self-knowledge leads to greater creativity, a less distorted perception of reality, and greater freedom." (Kubie, 1966)

Self-knowledge renders "a person free from inner bondages" and thus "makes him free for the development of his best potentialities."

(Horney, 1969, pp. 21-22)

When a person understands himself he will understand his basic needs and true motivation and will learn to behave in a manner which will satisfy those needs. Self-understanding will also enable one to understand and relate to other people more effectively. If the entire human species has the same basic needs, then it follows that self-understanding leads to understanding of the entire human species." (Gloades 1970, p. 60)

The question remains, however, is there any justification for these claims? Before this question can be answered, six basic problems associated with consciousness-raising specifically and with self-knowledge generally must be addressed. Several of these problems have been outlined in an unpublished paper by Alfred Alschuler and Gerald Weinstein. The author will attempt to relate their ideas to the specific concerns of consciousness-raising.

#### Problem 1: The Nature of the Problem

The vocabulary of consciousness-raising is highly political - the world is divided into oppressors and oppressed. It relies heavily on emotional responses - "We are beautiful, strong, and right." - which are highly value laden and generalized to large members of disparate individuals. The goals of these groups are vague, often poetic and difficult to measure. "Sisterhood," "Blackness," "la Raza" are examples of implicit and explicit goals set for some C-R groups. Often the goals are phrased in exclusive terms, designed to create a mystique which only the select can be expected to understand. "Man, you have to be black to know what black means."

While it may be true that "Blackness," "Indianess," or "Female-ness" must be experienced to be understood, this rationale justifies a whole variety of activities which may or may not be related to the goals established. It often becomes less important what happens, than who participates in it. While it may be justifiable to argue that consciousness-raising, as a deliberate activity, is an inter-ethnic concern (that is, that Blacks must lead Blacks, Women lead Women, Indians lead Indians) it does not seem justifiable to argue that anything one ethnic group member does to another is necessarily consciousness-raising.

The problem with a highly politicized and emotional vocabulary is that it tends to justify any training activity undertaken by a peer group ethnic as in-and-of-itself, consistent with the training objectives. This is dangerous because it overlooks the difficulties involved in designing effective training strategies. Past experience, as cited by Alschuler and Weinstein, indicates that "effective training is based upon the systematic organization of a variety of training procedures focused on the achievement of clear and limited goals." (Alschuler 1973)

#### Problem 2: Setting Objectives

As has already been pointed out, most of the specific training procedures used in consciousness-raising groups have been adapted from other fields. This implies a two-part problem. On the one hand, it seems inconsistent to rely indiscriminately on instruments developed by the "oppressor" to liberate the oppressed. Because so few of these instruments (training techniques) have been validated as to their educational impact even within oppressor groups, it seems dangerous to begin

applying them to oppressed groups just because participants "feel good" afterwards. A more systematic justification is needed if experiences adapted from the oppressor are to be relied upon.

Secondly, a series of questions remain to be answered before these instruments can be applied effectively. Are there different levels of consciousness? Are all participants at the same level of consciousness? If there are different levels, do all training exercises work equally well at all levels? Are some exercises counter-productive for individuals at certain levels of consciousness. The operational assumption of most C-R groups has been to bring all individuals from a specific group together. Less attention has been paid to individual needs: the same methods and procedures being applied indiscriminately to all. Is it not possible that for a Black who has just worked hard to model the oppressor, and who has gotten a high school diploma, being confronted with rejecting the oppressor would be self-destructive? A greater understanding of consciousness is needed before truly effective training exercises can be developed and implemented.

### Problem 3: Durability of Learning

One of the consistent problems with short-term humanistic training has been the lack of durability of "learning." The immediate "good feeling" following the training seminar becomes little more than fond memories once the individual returns to an environment which is hostile to the behaviors which the training session supported. This danger is even greater in consciousness-raising groups. Hostility has brought many of the groups together, and this hostility often increases

as individuals begin to practice the rhetoric extolled in the group. In some cases the external hostility serves to stimulate the individual's awareness of how prejudices operate, but in other cases, it functions to smother that individual's growth and often the individual's satisfaction with the group experience.

This second example is consistent with the findings of Leiber-  
man, Yalon, and Miles (1973) who reported that six months after the "experience" participants in encounter groups report few constructive changes and not much more than normal changes from living one's daily life. Similar results were forthcoming from a study done on Achievement Motivation Training by A. Alschuler in which it was discovered that both reported satisfaction and knowledge at the end of the course were unrelated to results 1-1/2 years later. (Alschuler 1973)

If consciousness-raising is to be a durable learning goal, it appears that the environment to which the individual returns must be given specific attention when selecting and designing learning experiences.

#### Problem 4: Training Trainers

The training of trainers for consciousness-raising is only now becoming a major concern. Para-professionals with previous group leadership experience or charismatic ethnic leaders who have a personal flair for training have carried through most of the programs to date. The interest in consciousness-raising is growing fast enough now, however, for the training of trainers to become a serious challenge. It is the author's experience that because there is no clear understanding of consciousness, or at least no generally accepted understanding of

it, training of trainers has tended to focus on the transfer of specific training skills, how to run a particular exercise, how to support a group member, how to provide non-directive leadership, etc. These skills have often taken second place to the transfer of an inflated rhetoric designed to "charismatize" the trainer - to induce a commitment to the "cause" - to create a mystical identification with the movement. In some cases the second goal has been accomplished more effectively than the first and the resulting second generation trainers have become missionaries with few of the group training skills which the first generation trainers took for granted.

Even looking at only those individuals who have participated in a first-rate skill-transfer workshop, it is the author's experience that some have created a rationale or goal for the exercises learned based upon the results of the exercises, rather than upon goals related to consciousness-raising. The exercise dictates the goal rather than the reverse. This is particularly dangerous in this type of training because new trainers are looking for reinforcement for their behaviors. A training exercise which provides immediate satisfaction to the participants tends to become a permanent part of the trainer's repertoire, while exercises which "don't work" or don't provide immediate participant satisfaction are gradually excluded from the trainer's repertoire. In neither case are exercises evaluated against long-term consciousness-raising goals.

If our understanding of what consciousness-raising means were clearer, it would be possible to generate effective criteria against

which new trainers could measure their effectiveness, rather than developing goals and evaluating exercises based upon participant's immediate satisfaction.

Problem 5: Evaluation

Evaluation is related directly to problem 4 but deserves a separate discussion because it relates not only to training of trainers, but to adjudicating the over-all effectiveness of consciousness-raising groups, and consequently improving the effectiveness of those groups.

The "science" of social evaluation has been referred to by some as being at the stage of alchemy, trying to make gold out of lead, trying to do too much with too little. Many third world people see evaluation as a way in which the oppressor monitors, controls projects which the third world holds to be good in-and-of themselves. The negative consequences of poorly designed and deviously implemented evaluation programs can most certainly not be overlooked. But the consequences of excluding any form of evaluation or measurement from consciousness-raising is equally dangerous. While a case can be made on political grounds for not involving oppressor groups in "C"-related evaluation, the importance of evaluation to the increased effectiveness of consciousness-raising groups cannot be easily disputed.

The resources (time, money, and energy of oppressed groups) are relatively scarce. To invest those resources in "feel good" programs, with little or no long-term impact, is unjustifiable. In order to know if the time, money, and energy is justified by the outcome, some measure of that outcome is necessary.

Problem 6: Relating Personal Growth and Political Consciousness

At present, no clear relationship has been established between an individual's consciousness and changes in the political realities which surround them. There is evidence that charismatic and creative individuals such as Saul Alinsky or Mahatma Gandhi can affect major political changes in their environment, but there is no evidence that their creativity in confronting unjust societies was a result of increased consciousness. Conversely, there are numerous individuals who have participated in consciousness-raising groups who have, at present, demonstrated little ability to make major changes in their socio-political environment. Before this issue can be addressed, once again a clearer understanding of consciousness-raising must be forthcoming.

The root problem suggested by each of these six problems is a clearer operational understanding of consciousness. Paulo Freire's work has to date provided the most specific theoretical basis for understanding at least his brand of consciousness-raising. His background in philosophy, his relationship with a team of Brazilian intellectuals, his own experimental literacy program in Brazil and Chile, plus his discussions with individuals around the world involved in various facets of consciousness-raising provided him with a unique opportunity to create what he calls a "pedagogy of the oppressed." This pedagogy, along with several other published documents, provides a general theoretical framework around which a systematic definition of conscientização or "critical consciousness" can be built. But it is not sufficient in itself to provide the behavioral criteria necessary to address the six problems previously outlined.

The task set by the author was to operationalize Freire's theoretical concept. The result of this process was to begin the development of a behavioral instrument which would allow individuals to understand more clearly what conscientizacao means, to develop more precise educational objectives related to "C" growth, to train trainers more expertly, to evaluate "C"-related programs, and to relate, where possible, "C" growth to other changes in the real world.

#### E. The Methodology

In 1972, the School of Education of the University of Massachusetts, the Agency for International Development and the Ecuadorian Ministry of Education initiated a nonformal education demonstration project in Ecuador. One of the goals of that project was to utilize modified forms of Freire's methodology to demonstrate that such a method of literacy was more effective than the literacy system then being used. As the project staff, a mixture of North Americans and Ecuadorians, began to read Freire and began to try out many of the ideas he proposed, it became clear that Freire had hit upon something very fundamental. The problem was how to operationalize that fundamental concept and make it applicable to the design, execution, and evaluation of liberating rather than oppressive educational programs.

As a first step in operationalizing "C," a series of experiments were undertaken, inspired by David McClelland's work on the development of the achievement motive. A draft code, or list of verbal behaviors, was devised relying exclusively upon Freire's writings. Several groups of Ecuadorians were then selected to participate in a

protocol collection process, designed to elicit a wide range of "C"-related verbal responses. Each of these several groups was given a slightly different "C"-related stimulus. Two groups received a series of TAT-like drawings and a written questionnaire. A third group played a simulation game to which their responses were tape recorded. In each of these three groups responses were collected only once. A fourth group received a series of "C"-related stimuli (including simulations, games, TAT drawings and questions, open-ended interviews and music) over a period of one month and their responses were collected four times at intervals of one week. What resulted was a rich sampling of principally rural Ecuadorian thought, as expressed in verbal behavior, and as related to selected "C"-related stimuli. This process is described in detail in Chapter III of this document. As a result of these experiments, a formal protocol collection instrument was created. This instrument, described in Appendix A, relies on a set of culture-specific visual stimuli.

Once a broad sample of real-life verbal responses had been collected, the next step was to compare these responses with Freire's theoretical framework. The principal task was to look for parallels, to add categories which Freire may have overlooked, to expand existing categories, and in general to make Freire's theoretical framework more precise in terms of verbal behavior. This comparison process, also described in detail in Chapter III, resulted in a final coding format. Code refers simply to a system of classifying the verbal protocols. Each coding category had to be sufficiently precise so that not only project personnel, but any reasonably intelligent and interested in-

dividual would also be able to classify or code "C"-related responses. Chapter IV of this document provides the reader with the final "C" code, while Appendix B outlines a training manual including specific coding rules and a series of practice protocols.

In order to test the validity of this coding system, which until this point had largely been deductive in that it worked from Freire's general theory toward more specific verbal behavior, a list of non-verbal criteria for conscientizacão was drawn up. These criteria were related to how individuals at different stages of "C" actually behave in life. Based upon these criteria, two groups of rural Ecuadorians were selected, one deemed magical and one deemed naive in terms of the non-verbal behavior. The formal protocol collection instrument was used to collect a series of protocols from each group after which these protocols were coded to see if the code would distinguish appropriately between the two groups. In fact, the code was unusually effective in making the distinction and on this basis, a minimal level of code validity was established. Chapter V describes this process in detail.

Many questions remained to be answered and this study, as the reader will perceive, has a number of limitations. These limitations are outlined in Chapter VI. At this point much more work must be done on validating the code in a variety of different cultural contexts, on establishing coder reliability, and on understanding the ramifications of such a coding process for other social disciplines. This study has only initiated a process which it is hoped that others, as well as the author, will carry forward. The ultimate aim is to develop an instrument which will allow us to address the six problems outlined in this chapter with greater understanding and precision.

F. What This Study Is Not

A few words are justified here to clarify for the reader what this study does not attempt to do. First, this is not a socio-political study of Ecuador. A great deal of the field work took place in Ecuador as a matter of coincidence. Ecuador was not chosen because it lends itself to the goals of this study, but rather because the author happened to be employed there while doing this study. No conclusions should be drawn about Ecuadorian society, even rural society, based upon case studies or other information provided in this dissertation. The samples here are highly selective and indeed are misleading in terms of providing an accurate impression of what Ecuadorian society is like. Equally, conclusions should not be made about campesinos from the information here. This is not a study of campesino mentality. The examples given have been selected as examples of specific behaviors for which the author made a deliberate search. If the premise of this study is accurate, these behaviors are just as likely to appear in St. Paul, Minnesota; in Amherst, Massachusetts; in Nigeria, India, China, Peru, or Canada as they are in Ecuador.

Secondly, this is not an attempt to validate the ideas of Paulo Freire. The author has simply accepted as valid his concepts and has sought to find examples of his theoretical framework in the real world. Many individuals reading this study will take offense at the use of words such as oppression, domestication, oppressors, and oppressed. Some will find them simplistic, others will prefer less "loaded" words -- meaning less value-laden and less political, such as the poor or the rich. But poor and rich are economic terms, and the problems identi-

fied by Freire are not economic problems, but rather problems which he considers to be associated with oppression, the deliberate exploitation of one group by another.

#### G. Summary

This chapter defines the central concern of this study as the development of an operational measure of conscientização, the theoretical concept created by Paulo Freire. As part of the consciousness-raising movement, conscientização has attracted popular attention, but remains somewhat amorphous and difficult to understand. This is not a study of Ecuador, where the principle field work was done, nor an attempt to "prove" Freire's ideas, but rather an effort to translate those ideas into a verbal behavior coding system which will allow interested individuals to better design, implement, and evaluate consciousness-raising programs.

The coding system organizes Freire's theory into three (3) stages of consciousness, magical, naive, and critical. Each stage represents an internally consistent way of perceiving the world, particularly as it relates to the socio-political problems of oppressed people.

Chapter I provides the reader with an overview of the problem to be addressed in this study. Chapter II describes two case studies which are intended to help the reader develop a reality base for Chapter III and IV. Chapter II outlines the process used to develop the coding system. Chapter IV is a theoretical description of the three levels of consciousness associated with conscientização, and a description of Freire's theoretical concepts in structural develop-

mental terms. Chapter V outlines the validation process used to test the validity of the code in predicting real-life behavior, and Chapter VI outlines a series of limitations and applications of this study. In addition to the formal Chapters, the document has five appendices. Appendix A describes the Protocol Collection Instrument and how it should be used. Appendix B provides the reader with a detailed description of the coding categories and coding process. Appendix C describes the validation statistics; Appendix D, the coding systems which resulted from the initial development effort, and Appendix E, the visuals which were used to develop the coding system.

CHAPTER II

TWO CASE STUDIES IN CONSCIENTIZACAO

Before outlining the theoretical basis for conscientizacão, it is important that the reader have an experiential context within which to understand that theory. Freire himself gives few lengthy examples of conscientizacão development. The purpose of this chapter is to provide the reader with two examples of how conscientizacão manifests itself in real life. The first example is taken from the author's experience with groups of rural indians in Ecuador, and emphasizes how magical consciousness expresses itself in the responses of these people. The second example is taken from the Autobiography of Malcolm X and shows how consciousness develops in a given individual, passing from naive to critical consciousness in a single lifetime.

A: Magical Consciousness in Rural Ecuadorian Indians

Part A is divided into four sections. Section 1 gives the reader the historical background of the area in which the coding took place. It is based upon interviews with individuals who have lived in the area for many years but is written by the author. Section 2 is a series of quotes taken from an Ecuadorian indian who is now in his 70's and who, during several of the taping sessions, reminisced on what his life has been like. Section 3 presents two incidents taken from real-life which illustrate how the social system operates on the individual in this area of Ecuador today. Finally, in Section 4, specific individuals' responses to this reality are presented through a series of quotes taken from several taping sessions. It is important

to note here that these quotes are not presented as representative of the "typical" inhabitant of the area. The author was not concerned with studying the social-psychology of the region, but rather with uncovering responses which could be legitimately described as "magical" in Freire's terms. These responses have been selected because they represent basically "magical" responses to the problems outlined in this section, and not because they are representative of local mentality.

1. The Backdrop \*

The land was magnificent. The large valleys resting at 8000-9000 feet were living carpets, tended by the hacienda's (plantation's) indians. These indians were obligated to work the hacienda land and were also given a small plot, called a huasipungo, to farm for themselves. They lived a subsistence existence, their labor provided the hacienda owner with both leisure time and the resources to enjoy a cultured life. Often the owner lived in the area's largest city, while at the same time maintaining a large house on the hacienda. The actual work of tending the land and managing the indians was given to an over-seer. It was the over-seer's responsibility to turn a profit and to avoid problems.

The indians lived close to each other. Their houses, or chozas, were small mud structures; the same construction used during the time of the Incas and Shires. The roofs were made of a grass which grew abundantly on the slopes of the high paramo. There were no windows and the

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\*Based upon author's experience and excerpts from Galaza, 1973.

tight thatch kept the smoke from the small fire inside, to warm the family on the cold nights. The families were often large, even though there were few women who had not lost several children to the hands of death.

There were relatively few decisions to be made in their lives. The over-seer would organize everything. He would tell them when to plant, when to harvest. He would tell them how many hours to work, and how many hours to rest. There was no school; they never left the hacienda unless they were told to do so. Their education was limited to learning the skills which served the hacienda and to learning the story of Jesus and his suffering.

There were house-indians (huasicamas) and farm-indians (huasi-pungeros). Each had his own role and his own status. Most indians agreed that it was better to be a huasicama, because even though they saw the over-seer more frequently, they also saw the patron more frequently. It was agreed that the patron was good, it was the over-seer who was cruel and did the evil things which made the indians' life so hard.

The hacienda house was grand. Often it had two floors and a great inner patio where the patron had a pond just for ducks. There was always a chapel where only the family of the patron would worship. The chapel had a beautiful altar and many saints covered in gold who smiled peacefully at the patron. There was a great fireplace which burned much wood and required two indians just to keep enough firewood for its needs. There were stables for the cattle and horses and even a bull ring where the patron would bring friends to drink and laugh

and talk. The patron's children were very important. They were treated with much respect no matter what they did. The indian children would fight each other to see who would have the honor of being the horse for the patron's son. Time was often spent in educational pursuits; the patron showing his son how an indian should be whipped so as to pass on the heritage of paternal concern and paternal control.

Religion and alcohol were the indians' escape. In a cup of chicha (a fermented corn drink) indians found the courage to strike a friend or to beat one's wife. In the serene face of the Virgin they found a hope for future peace in a heavenly paradise. In the tortured face of a crucified Christ they found suffering which almost equaled their own: Christ was a macho symbol. . . "If He could do it, so can I." And in the religious fiestas they found gaiety and, again, alcoholic delirium. The fiestas functioned as a sacrifice to community, a subtle way of keeping all indians equally poor, for it was the community's most prosperous indian who was chosen as prioste, given the honor of investing his wealth in food, drink, costumes, and Masses for the benefit of the entire community. Material gains were transformed into social good, and poverty remained a democratic commodity.

## 2. What Life Was Like \*

"I am old; 73 years and 2 months. We must remember how we lived in the old times. We lived like animals on the plains. We were thrown away, the whites collected us like animals and they sent us to Mass.

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\*Taken from tape recording of Ecuadorian Indian.

They sent us to clean their schools where their children studied. They beat us, kicked us, threw us away, and then sent us to Mass where papa priest blessed us. He also hated us. That is the way it was; listening to Mass and asking God to bring us together and to help us. We haven't understood anything. It is like when papa priest threw us the blessing, we learned to make the sign of the cross, that is all. When we felt our poverty, we invited each other to drink, because when we drank we felt macho; we fought with our friends, with our wives and beat our children."

"My father sent me to school. I was the very first indian to go to school in my community. But the white people didn't understand, and they called me names, ill-bred, insolent, and others. They beat me and they didn't like it that I went to school. I went every day afraid. It hurt me to leave the house; it was like a dog was going to bite me any minute. I would say 'Good morning' to a white person, and they would call me 'bastard,' and whip me with a large piece of leather. Later when my father told the teacher, they did not call me names around him, but when I was alone they would say, "Indian, piece of shit."

"I remember how the fiestas were when I was a young man. The governors,\* the founders ordered the prioste not to be stupid but to give big fiestas. 'You have to get all the adults together, and have to drink lots of chicha,' they would say. They ordered us to drink chicha. We had to think about the fiestas for the next year and save money for them. I remember when I was married, I was embarrassed and I went to my wife. 'Little woman, what do we do now? We are only just

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\*Powerful individuals who held control over the statue of a community saint.

married and I have nothing.' And we began by giving a fiesta because the founder came and told me that I was the son of one of the governors and that I had to give a fiesta. In order not to be spoken against, we borrowed money, we begged friends to loan us money, we sold everything we had and we gave the fiesta. And we were in debt for many years."

### 3. What Life Is Like Now \*

The valley is now enclosed by hundreds of multicolored patchwork plots. This visual magnificence is perhaps the best representation of the oppressive results of land reform which gives the rich valleys to a small percentage of the ruling population and leaves the vast majority of rural poor clinging to mountainsides on less than one acre plots, fighting the constant erosion of slopes with as much as a 40° inclination, and continually dividing their already small plots between sons and daughters whose only hope is the few meters of land on which they may build a house and establish their own identity. Land reform has transformed much of the region from an area of privileged haciendas (plantations) to one of eroded minifundia. A local indian told us "yes, of course they want to give us the land now that they have raped and drained it of all its value."

A few large haciendas remain. They are owned largely by the church and are rented to private individuals who run them as businesses. In some cases, the hacienda houses have been abandoned, the road is lined with broken bits of windows and crumbling walls. The chapels, where the patron (owner) gave thanks for his blessings, have been

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\*Based on author's experience.

stripped of saints, and the duck pond drained of its lushness. The whipping post, used to discipline the hacienda's indians, often remains a reminder in stone that paternalism was often a harsh regime, where human chattel were educated to serve the patron and his needs.

The indians are now free; some say, "free to starve." The haciendas still offer work, now for wages. The old patrons are gone, replaced by businessmen who pay indians as little as possible. Often they are told they will be paid at the end of the harvest, but when the harvest comes, the patron says there was no profit and he has nothing to pay them with, but if they come back and work next year, he will pay them for both year's work. Even though there is a minimum wage for farm labor in the country, many patrons pay less, often as little as 7 Sucres a day (or about 28¢). If the workers are given lunch as well, that 7 sucres is reduced to 5. They are not forced as before to work the hacienda, but their own land is too small to provide for their family.

Unwilling to sell their small piece of land, the men migrate to the cities for months at a time to work as cargadores, human transport upon whom the shop keepers and market buyers depend to carry their loads and transport the city's commerce. For this service, they receive a handful of Sucres, making perhaps as much as 50 or 100 Sucres a day. This is much more than they could make off their small plot and even though they are far from home they spend little. On 10 Sucres a day they can eat. They sleep in the streets, huddled together in the archways of public buildings and the alleyways of the central city. For diversion they play cards, and sometimes drink, but alcohol is expensive in the city and they have come to make money, not to drink.

The work is hard and they are often treated roughly. If they should drop some precious cargo, or if they interfere with the cars and trucks which fill the crowded streets, they are spoken to harshly, called ignorant and stupid, and worse. They are sometimes robbed of all their savings by some fast talking city person or by some swift youth who outruns them. The city is dangerous and foreign, but it is the only place to make money, the only way they can hope to keep their land and maybe someday buy a radio.

When they return home to their wives and family, they hear the stories of brutality and suffering which their families have endured in their absence.

A campesino wife:\* "We had to go to town. The bus was the only way to go but they treat us badly on the bus. We are afraid to go on the bus; they hit us and throw us together like sheep, one on top of the other; they make us stand up, we travel like pigs. I got mad at one of the bus drivers who wanted to over-charge me and I told him it was not fair. He grabbed me by the chest and shook me. My baby was crying on my back and he wanted to throw me off the bus while it was moving. He threw me in back of the bus where there were pigs and I fell on the floor. We were pushed together and when the driver's helper came around for the money, I could not even get it out, I was so packed in. I screamed that my baby was dying and he answered, 'Why do you bring your babies, you should come alone.' Later when we came to the control station, the bus driver made us get on the floor and

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\*Taken from tape recordings of Ecuadorian indian.

covered us up with a cloth so that the control officer would not see that he had too many passengers. I almost died under there. When I got up I told him that if anything happened to us he would have to answer to the authorities and he said, 'We would just throw your body off the bus; who would defend you, or care about what happens to you?' and he laughed. He called me names, awful names, 'cunt,' and 'horny indian.' We are afraid."

#### 4. The Responses

What kind of responses to these problems can be classified as magical in Freire's terms? The following examples are taken from the taping sessions previously described. The individuals who respond come from the region described here and live daily with these problems. Once again, these responses are not presented as representative of the region's mentality, but rather as representative of responses which Freire calls magical consciousness. Each section presents a question and the responses given by individuals.

a. What kinds of problems do these individuals have?

"They are sick."

"They are poor."

"He has fallen down and is injured."

"He has been in a traffic accident and is hurt."

"They are hungry."

"He has no money to feed his family."

"The problem is that there is no work anymore."

Freire says:

Men of semi-intransitive (magical)\* consciousness cannot apprehend problems situated outside their sphere of biological necessity. Their interests center almost totally around survival, and they lack a sense of life on a more historic plane. (Freire 1973, p. 17)

While it is certainly true that the responses to this question are accurate; that is, the people are poor, many of them are sick, hunger is a problem, and there is not enough work, the important fact is that the respondents were not able to see any other problems. Problems were only discussed in these terms. There was no mention of brutality, of being cheated, of being taken advantage of, or of being mistreated, nor was there mention of procedures, policies, rules, and regulations which were unfair or unjust. As Freire says, problems are defined in biological, survival terms, or in some cases, there was overt denial that any problem existed at all. Semi-intransitive consciousness is referred to as "magical" because facts appear to the magical individual as a magic trick appears to an audience, beyond logical explanation. There is no broader context into which the event can be placed; it is accepted as reality beyond reason. One of the common responses was "We don't have any problems, everything is fine." Obviously these responses are dramatic contrasts to the woman who described her experience on the bus, or the old man who remembered his youth.

b. Why are things this way? Who is to blame?

"This is the will of God

"God is punishing him because he has been evil."

Under the sway of magic and myth, the oppressed (especially the peasants, who are almost submerged in nature) see their suffering, the fruit of exploitation, as the will of God - as if God were the creator of this 'organized disorder.' (Freire 1968, p. 48)

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\*Author's insert.

"The patron is good. The priest must charge us for their Masses, they too must eat and we should be grateful to them for taking care of us."

They have diffuse, magical belief in the invulnerability and power of the oppressor. The magical force of the landowner's power holds particular sway in the rural areas. (Freire 1968, p. 50)

"He is sick because he does not eat right."

"He is hungry because he has not eaten."

"He is poor because he has no money."

Men (of semi-intransitive consciousness) confuse their perceptions of the objects and challengers of the environment and fall prey to magical explanations because they cannot apprehend true causality. The power to perceive authentic causality is obliterated in the semi-intransitive state; hence the latter's magical quality. (Freire 1973, p. 17)

These respondents were unable to blame individuals for being evil. The patron was justified in his actions. God or other uncontrollable factors were to blame, but even the word blame is inappropriate because it implies guilt, some wrongdoing. The point is, at the magical level of thinking there is no guilt; facts are not good and evil, they simply exist. This magical quality leads to establishing causal relationships which are simplistic, which blame objects and not individuals, which do not lead to deep solutions, but rather justify acceptance and resignation.

c. What can be done to change these things? What should be, or will be done to change them?

" . . . [silence] . . . "

"Nothing . . . "

"Change things? ? ? . . . I don't know."

Accordingly, until they concretely 'discover' their oppressor and in turn their own consciousness, they nearly always express fatalistic attitudes towards their situation. . . . When superficially analyzed, this fatalism is sometimes interpreted as a docility that

is a trait of national character. Fatalism in the guise of docility is the fruit of an historical and sociological situation, not an essential characteristic of a people's behavior. (Freire 1968, pp. 47-48)

"The patron will solve that problem. It is right to take our dispute to him. He is wise and will know how to settle our problem justly."

For the oppressed, at a certain point in their existential experience, to be is not to resemble the oppressor, but to be under him, to depend on him. Accordingly, the oppressed are emotionally dependent. (Freire 1968, p. 51)

Action designed to change the facts of existence are inconceivable. One of the common responses to the question, what can be done? was silence. The question was not understood; it made no sense to ask what can be done about uncontrollable factors; after all they are uncontrollable. Acceptance, silence, resignation are the most reasonable alternatives. Dependence on the oppressor was also a common response. Problems were almost always taken to authorities who had power, who were magical in the sense they were immune to the uncontrollable factors which governed the lives of the respondents. Acceptance, waiting and dependence are the action words of magical consciousness.

#### B: The Transition from Naive to Critical Consciousness

This Case Study is divided into four parts, each part named after a chapter of Malcolm X's autobiography. The attempt here is not to give the reader a full account of Malcolm X's life, which he himself has already done, but rather to extract several key passages which indicate thought patterns at different stages of his life. Malcolm X's unique experience as an American black, his transformation from teacher's pet to pimp, to racist, to liberationist is an extraordinary example of what Freire describes as the growth from naive to critical consciousness.

## 1. Mascot

(My father) was not a frightened Negro as most then were, and many still are today." p. 1\*

He (my father) believed, as did Marcus Garvey, that freedom, independence and self-respect could never be achieved by the Negro in America, and that therefore the Negro should leave America to the white man and return to his African land of origin. p. 2

... my father wanted to find a place where he could raise our own food and perhaps build a business. The teachings of Marcus Garvey stressed becoming independent of the white man. p. 3

Malcolm X's father was a militant preacher, espousing the ideas of Marcus Garvey, one of the most radical black men of his time. Malcolm X was not born into a family which denied the existence of a racial problem or which focused exclusively on survival problems related to poverty. Even though the family was poor, the fact that Malcolm's father was a militant preacher gave him a unique position in both the black and white communities. His death at the hands of white men is but one indication that he was an outspoken opponent of white oppression. His solutions can be seen as naive in Freire's terms in that they were defensive. The answer was not to change the white society, but rather to leave it, to return to the romantic past, the African homeland, where once again the blackman could flourish and be free.

. . . my memories are of the friction between my father and mother. They seemed to be nearly always at odds. Sometimes my father would beat her.... My father was also belligerent toward all of the children except me. The older ones he would beat almost savagely if they broke any of the rules . . . (my father) was subconsciously so afflicted with the white man's brainwashing of Negroes that he inclined to favor the light ones, and I was his lightest child.  
p. 4

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\*All unidentified quotes in this chapter are taken from Malcolm X, The Autobiography of Malcolm X, Ballentine Books, New York, 1964.

The intra-punitiveness Malcolm X describes here is typical of naive consciousness. Malcolm X's father, unable to strike out against the oppressor, strikes out against his own family and friends and for brief periods has identified with the oppressor's power and violence. Malcolm's physical difference, being the "lightest" of all, was one factor which distinguished him from his fellow blacks and made him the white man's pet.

Then in the second semester of the seventh grade I was elected class president. It surprised me even more than other people. But I can see now why the class might have done it. My grades were among the highest in the school. . . . I was proud; I'm not going to say I wasn't. In fact, by then, I didn't really have much feeling about being a Negro, because I was trying so hard, in every way I could, to be white. p. 31

Malcolm went to an integrated school, a school where he was confronted daily with the oppressor's values. As he says here, he was trying to become white, to imitate the oppressor, and in essence to deny his own blackness. The attempt to become like the oppressor is typical of naive stage consciousness in which oppressed individuals blame themselves for their problems and overtly model the oppressor's habits, dress and life style. Malcolm X's teacher says:

'Malcolm, one of life's first needs is for us to be realistic. Don't misunderstand me, now. We all here like you, you know that. But you've got to be realistic about being a nigger. A lawyer - that's no realistic goal for a nigger. You need to think about something you can be.' p. 36

When Malcolm decided to become a lawyer, his teacher told him he had to be more "realistic." This was Malcolm's first rejection as a black individual by the white community. No matter how hard he tried, he began to realize that he cannot become respectable in white eyes.

It was then that I began to change - inside. I drew away from white people. I came to class, and I answered when called upon.

It became a physical strain simply to sit in Mr. Ostrowski's class. p. 37

## 2. Detroit Red

All praise is due to Allah that I went to Boston when I did. If I hadn't, I'd probably still be a brainwashed black Christian. p. 38

I continued to think constantly about all that I had seen in Boston, and about the way I felt there. I know now that it was the sense of being a part of a mass of my own kind, for the first time. p. 35

At this point Malcolm is moving out of the white environment of Mason, Michigan and into a black ghetto. A ghetto which continued to be dominated by white values and white ideology, but it was one in which Malcolm comes to understand what white oppression and what blackness really mean.

I spent my first month in town with my mouth hanging open. The sharp-dressed, young 'cats' who hung on the corners and in the poolrooms, bars, and restaurants, and who obviously didn't work anywhere, completely entranced me. I couldn't get over marveling at how their hair was straight and shiny like a white man's hair; Ella told me this was called a 'conk.' p. 43

The congolene just felt warm when Shorty started combing it in. But then my head caught fire. . . . My eyes watered, my nose was running. I couldn't stand it any longer. . . . p. 53

My first view in the mirror blotted out the hurting. I'd seen some pretty conks, but when it's the first time, on you own head, the transformation after a lifetime of kinks, is staggering. . . . and on the top of my head was this thick, smooth sheen of shining red hair - real red - as straight as any white man's. p. 54

Even the black environment in which Malcolm was now submerged continued to inflict the white man's values on him. Here he describes the physical pain he was willing to endure in order to look white, at least in the eyes of fellow blacks. Once again he is blaming himself, trying to become like the white man because being black means being

ugly; being black means being rejected. His problem remains his blackness. During this same period, Malcolm comes to recognize certain aspects of blackness which he finds unique and exciting.

I was up in the jostling crowd - and suddenly, unexpectedly, I got the idea. It was as though somebody had clicked on a light. My long-suppressed African instincts broke through and loose.

Having spent much time in Mason's white environment, I had always believed and feared that dancing involved a certain order or pattern of specific steps - as dancing is done by whites. But there among my own less-inhibited people, I discovered it was simply letting your feet, hands, and body spontaneously act out whatever impulses were stirred by the music. pp. 56-57

. . . but still he is victimized by white ideology.

Now at that time in Roxbury, in any black ghetto in America, to have a white woman who wasn't a known, common whore was for the average black man, at least--a status symbol of the first order. And this one, standing there, eyeing me, was almost too fine to believe. Shoulder-length hair, well built, and her clothes had cost somebody plenty. pp. 66-67

It was from white women that Malcolm learned that the white man was not all perfect.

I got my first schooling about the cesspool morals of the white man from the best possible source, his own women. And then as I got deeper into my own life of evil, I saw the white man's morals with my own eyes. I even made a living helping to guide him to the sick things he wanted. p. 91

This is a crucial part of Malcolm's development. While continuing to blame himself, he now begins to see that individual white men are also to blame. Individual white men with whom he has contact are seen as violators of the white norms. These evil individuals are to blame for the black man's problems, and Malcolm begins to oppose them.

Profanity had become my language. I'd even curse customers, especially servicemen; I couldn't stand them. I remember that once, when some passenger complaints had gotten me a warning, and I wanted to be careful, I was working down the aisle and a big, beefy, red-faced cracker soldier got up in front of me, so drunk he was weaving, and

announced loud enough that everybody in the car heard him, 'I'm going to fight you, nigger.' . . . . I was able to keep that cracker stripping off clothes until he stood there drunk with nothing on from his pants up . . . . p. 77

The relationship between blacks in the ghetto was both competitive and supportive. Malcolm gives a good description of what Freire defines as "gregariousness."

Many times since, I have thought about it, and what it really meant. In one sense, we were huddled in there, bonded together in seeking security and warmth and comfort from each other, and we didn't know it. p. 90

But Malcolm was a hustler. He wanted to be successful, and success in the ghetto meant crime. Crime was one way a black could both model the oppressor and strike out against the oppressor's values. If Malcolm couldn't become a lawyer, he would become a criminal; if he couldn't fulfill the white man's expectations for a successful white, he would fulfill the white man's expectations for a successful black.

### 3. Satan

As a child, Malcolm was interested in modeling the oppressor, in becoming respectable in the oppressor's eyes. When his teacher tells him to forget being a lawyer, he turns toward less respectable models in the ghetto. The ghetto blacks blamed both themselves and individual white men. They underwent physical pain in order to straighten their hair and look white, while at the same time they lived off the white man's vices. Malcolm is not interested during this period in transforming the situation in which he finds himself, but rather in reforming himself, in becoming the best hustler there is. He strikes out against individual whites through crime, and yet has a white girlfriend who gives him status and prestige in the eyes of fellow blacks. His contact with

the "very bottom of American white man's society" prepares him for a rejection of white ideology which he comes to see as hollow rhetoric.

. . . I had sunk to the very bottom of the American white man's society when--soon, now, in prison--I found Allah and the religion of Islam and it completely transformed by life. p. 150

This change from rejecting self and individual oppressors to rejecting the oppressor's ideology is characterized by Freire as a move from naive consciousness in which an individual attempts to reform the existing system and make it work, to critical consciousness in which an individual seeks to transform the existing system, creating norms, procedures, policies, and laws. This transition is not instantaneous, it requires more than a single incident. It occurs over time and in the case of Malcolm X manifested itself in various forms.

This period of Malcolm's life which includes the period between his conversion to Islam and his visit to Mecca is characterized by a rejection of the white man's ideology, by a search for new role models, and by an increased sense of personal and racial worth. It is a period of purging, of exorcism, and of identification with his own African heritage.

Malcolm first sees the white man as the individual white oppressors in his own life . . .

The white people I had known marched before my mind's eye. From the start of my life. The state white people always in our house after the other whites I didn't know had killed my father . . . . the white people who called my mother 'crazy' to her face . . . . the white judge and others who had split up the children . . . . white youngsters I was in school there with . . . . Sophia . . . . the white criminals I had dealt with . . . . the white women who wanted Negro men . . . . pp. 159-160

Later "white man" comes to represent an evil force with no individuality or humanity. As part of the exorcism, the white man is generalized into a single, immoral mass . . . .

Why the white man's raping of the black race's women began right on those slave ships! The blue-eyed devil could not even wait until he got them here! Why, brothers and sisters civilized mankind has never known such an orgy of greed and lust and murder. . . . p. 212

I want you when you leave this room, to start to see all this whenever you see this devil white man. Oh yes, he's a devil! p. 213

As part of the purging process, new myths\* are created, myths which glorify the oppressed and explain the oppressor's transgressions.

Elijah Muhammad teaches his followers that first the moon separated from the earth. Then, the first humans, Original Man, were a black people. They founded the Holy City, Mecca.

Among this black race were twenty-four wise scientists... [and] a 'Mr. Yacub.' He was born to create trouble.... Though he was a black man, Mr. Yacub, embittered toward Allah now, decided, as revenge, to create upon the earth a devil race - a bleached out, white race of people.

On the island of Patmos was nothing but these blond, pale-skinned, cold-blue-eyed devils - savages, nude and shameless; hairy, like animals, they walked on all fours and they lived in trees. pp. 164-166

These tales allowed Malcolm to question the old myths of white supremacy and gradually he began to see how he had been colluding with the oppressor to make oppression work.

The white man's Christian religion further deceived and brainwashed this 'Negro' to always turn the other cheek, and grin, and scrape, and bow, and be humble, and to sing, and to pray. . . . and to look for his pie in the sky, and for his heaven in the hereafter while right here on earth the slavemaster white man enjoyed his heaven. p. 163

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\*The author uses the term "myths" because Malcolm X recognized them as such: "I was to learn later that Elijah Muhammad's tales, like this one of Yacub, infuriated the Muslims of the East.... Their silence left a vacuum into which any religious faker could step and mislead our people." p. 168

The very enormity of my previous life's guilt prepared me to accept the truth. p. 163

This self-critical understanding was accompanied by an increased understanding and sympathy for peers and family. Malcolm came to see how friends and family had been manipulated and victimized.

. . . the man from Lansing jilted my mother suddenly. . . . From what I later understood, he finally backed away from taking on the responsibility of those eight mouths to feed. He was afraid of so many of us. To this day I can see the trap that Mother was in, saddled with all of us. And I can also understand why he would shun taking on such a tremendous responsibility. p. 18

As Malcolm becomes an active member of the Black Muslims, and one of their principal missionaries, he finds more and more examples of white oppression and he begins to feel both personally and racially more powerful.

And anything I was going to do, I was going to do my way. And because I wanted to do it. Not because I saw somebody do it. Or read about it in a book. Or saw it in a moving picture somewhere. p. 230

This personal self-sufficiency projected itself into an increased dependence on black resources and a subsequent independence from white resources.

The stores were examples to help black people see what they could do for themselves by hiring their own kind and trading with their own kind and thus quit being exploited by the white man. p. 204

The purpose of these black-run stores was more than economic independence from white control, but rather a demonstration to both black and white of the capability of black people, an expression of self-esteem.

This period was also characterized by an effort toward self-growth and increased learning. Malcolm had been denied a formal education and now he began to see the importance of knowledge and its role in the liberation of his people.

I have often reflected upon the new vistas that reading opened to me. . . . As I see it today, the ability to read awoke inside me some long dormant craving to be mentally alive. I certainly wasn't seeking any degree, the way a college confers a status symbol upon its students. My homemade education gave me with every additional book that I read, a little bit more sensitivity to the deafness, dumbness, and blindness that was afflicting the black race in America. p. 179

During most of this period, Malcolm X was dependent upon the charismatic leadership of Elijah Muhammad.

To us, the Nation of Islam was Mr. Muhammad. What bonded us into the best organization black Americans ever had was every Muslim's devout regard for Mr. Muhammad as black America's moral, mental, and spiritual reformer. p. 288

When this faith was shattered, Malcolm X left for Mecca. This experience broadened his perspective and helped him see oppression as more than the result of an evil class of individuals called "white man," but rather as the result of a complex system which worked on an international scale.

#### 4. Mecca

That discussion with the ambassador gave me a new insight - one which I like: that the white man is not inherently evil, but America's racist society influences him to act evilly. The society has produced and nourishes a psychology which brings out the lowest, most base part of human beings. p. 371

In the past I have made sweeping indictments of all white people. I never will be guilty of that again - as I know now that some white people are truly sincere, that some truly are capable of being brotherly toward a black man. p. 362

These are excellent examples of what Freire describes as critical consciousness. The problem is no longer in individuals or groups of individuals, but in a system, a complex inter-relationships of norms, procedures, policies, and laws which work to victimize both the oppressed and the oppressor. It is the system that is to blame, and it is the system which must be changed.

The word for revolution in German is Umwalzung. What it means is a complete overturn - a complete change. The overthrow of King Farouk in Egypt and the succession of President Nasser is an example of a true revolution. It means the destroying of an old system, and its replacement with a new system. p. 367

Furthermore, at the critical level of consciousness, the individual sees that this system works on an international scale.

The white man's system has been imposed upon non-white peoples all over the world. This is exactly the reason why wherever people who are anything but white live in this world today, the white man's governments are finding themselves in deeper and deeper trouble and peril. p. 274

But you waste your time if you don't realize that Verwoerd and Salazar, and Britain and France, never could last a day if it were not for United States support. So until you expose the man in Washington, D.C., you haven't accomplished anything. p. 354

Malcolm X's faith in Allah never waivered, it became more profound as his life experiences became more difficult, until in the end of his autobiography he says,

And if I can die having brought any light, having exposed any meaningful truth that will help to destroy the racist cancer that is malignant in the body of America - then all the credit is due to Allah. Only the mistakes have been mine. p. 382

And even though he sees his life as controlled by Allah, yet he maintains that as an instrument of Allah he, as an individual, must also act.

I felt that Allah would be more inclined to help those who helped themselves. p. 195

Malcolm X's faith was not that of a hopeless victim enduring the suffering of this life and depending on rewards in a heavenly after-life. His faith was a source of strength and a justification for struggling against suffering in this life; a mandate to oppose injustice now; a command to act in the interest of liberation.

Freire suggests the critical stage individual is more scientific, willing to challenge old dogmas, and to find new truths from new experiences. This also is borne out in Malcolm X's experience.

You may be shocked by these words coming from me. But on this pilgrimage, what I have seen, and experienced, has forced me to re-arrange much of my thought-patterns previously held, and to toss aside some of my previous conclusions. This was not too difficult for me. Despite my firm convictions I have always been a man who tries to face facts, and to accept the reality of life as new experience and new knowledge unfolds it. p. 340

I would like to study. I mean ranging study, because I have a wide-open mind. I'm interested in almost any subject you can mention. p. 380

In the Epilogue to Malcolm X's autobiography, Alex Haley says:

But in explaining Malcolm, let me take a care not to explain him away. He had been a criminal, an addict, a pimp, and a prisoner; a racist, and a hater, he had really believed the white man was a devil. But all this had changed. Two days before his death, in commenting to Gordon Parks about his past life he said, 'That was a mad scene. The sickness and madness of those days! I'm glad to be free of them.'

And Malcolm was free. No one who knew him before and after his trip to Mecca could doubt that he had completely abandoned racism, separatism and hatred. But he had not abandoned his shock-effect statements, his bristling agitation for immediate freedom in this country, not only for blacks, but for everybody. pp. 458-459

#### C: Summary

Magical consciousness is characterized by acceptance and resignation in the face of brutality and overt oppression. It is typified by silence; by very short responses to very complex questions; by simplistic causal relationships; and by the absence of guilt. The respondents in the first case study were unable to conceive of changing the situation in which they found themselves, they were content to believe that those conditions were governed by forces beyond their control, and that their only problems were biological survival.

Malcolm X was never a victim of magical consciousness. He was born into a family which had already rejected acceptance and resignation, which saw events as influenced by men as well as by God and other uncontrollable factors, and which went further than biological survival in terms of defining one's problems. Malcolm was born into an environment in which the central problem was what Freire describes as characteristic of naive consciousness.

The oppressed live in the duality in which to be is to be like, and to be like is to be like the oppressor. (Freire 1968, p. 33)

Malcolm wanted to be white, to be like the oppressor. First he wanted to be a lawyer, to be successful in the eyes of respectable whites. When he realized he could not be successful in white eyes, he wanted to be "white" in the eyes of other blacks; to be respected because he had a better "conk" and a pretty, white girlfriend.

The desire to be white carried with it a need to reject being black. Rejection of one's self is a specific form of self-deprecation.

Self-deprecation is another characteristic of the oppressed, which derives from their internalization of the opinion the oppressors hold of them. (Freire 1968, p. 49)

But his experience led him to see individual white men as evil, to reject those evil individuals and to seek comfort in being with men like himself.

Tragically frightened, men fear authentic relationships and even doubt the possibility of their existence. On the other hand, fearing solitude, they gather in groups lacking in any critical and loving ties which might transform them into a cooperative unit, into a true community. (Freire 1973, p. 6)

At this point Malcolm discovered Allah and Eliijah Muhammed, His life is transformed by new myths of racial history, by an increased sense of self-worth, and by a fanatical faith in a single individual.

If a person does not move from naive transitivity to a critical consciousness but instead falls into fanaticized consciousness, he will become even more disengaged from reality. . . . In the semi-intransitive state, men are predominantly illogical; in fanatacized consciousness the distortion of reason makes men irrational. The possibility of dialogue diminishes markedly. Men are defeated and dominated, though they do not know it; they fear freedom, though they believe themselves to be free. They follow general formulas and prescriptions as if by their own choice. They are directed; they do not direct themselves. Their creative power is impaired. They are objects, not subjects. (Freire 1973, pp. 19-20)

Malcolm comes to see events in a larger context and moves from fanatacized to critical consciousness. He became disillusioned with old heroes, and saw the inter-relationship of complex forces which operate to coerce both oppressor and oppressed. He no longer blamed individuals, but saw this complex interaction of forces as to blame. He became scientific in his outlook, testing solutions, challenging old ideas.

The critically transitive consciousness is characterized by depth in the interpretation of problems; by the substitution of causal principles for magical explanations; by the testing of one's 'findings' and by openness to revision; by the attempt to avoid distortion when perceiving problems and to avoid preconceived notions when analyzing them; by refusing to transfer responsibility; by rejecting passive positions; by soundness of argumentation; by the practice of dialogue rather than polemics; by receptivity to the new for reasons beyond mere novelty and by the good sense not to reject the old just because it is old -- by accepting what is valid in both old and new. (Freire 1973, p. 18)

Whereas in the first example we saw the results of oppression in producing a magical, or semi-intransitive consciousness, in the second example we saw how a single individual may move during his/her lifetime through various stages of consciousness. These real-life examples of how different stages of consciousness may manifest themselves suggest that Freire's theory holds potential as one way of viewing the complex inter-relationship between thought and action in oppressed people.

CHAPTER III

This chapter will present an historical overview of the process through which each of the protocols used in the initial design of the "C" code was developed and later analyzed. The protocols were collected over a period of a year and a half beginning in April, 1973. The sequence in which they were collected, however, does not correspond to the sequence in which they were analyzed. All the protocols were collected before the coding sequence was designed. This appendix describes both the sequence in which they were collected, and the sequence in which they were analyzed with an accompanying rationale.

During discussions with Dr. Alfred Alschuler, a rough design was developed for the collection of a series of protocols, or samples of verbal behavior, from a variety of groups and individuals. The intention was to use these protocols as a reality base against which to compare the theoretical framework for conscientizaçao with Paulo Freire presents in various of his publications. In that framework, Freire specifies a series of behaviors which he associates with various stages of conscientizaçao. Through comparing Freire's theoretical constructs with actual responses of individuals who could be shown on an a priori basis to be at different levels of conscientizaçao, it would be possible to assess the adequacy of the theoretical constructs and consequently develop a relatively full system, or code, for analyzing verbal responses. Assessing adequacy simply meant adding new concepts which Freire may have overlooked, excluding concepts which did not appear in the protocols, and/or refining existing concepts to a sharper degree of precision. In

sum, the task was twofold: 1) to see if the things rural Ecuadorian people actually said had anything to do with the things Freire suggested they would say and/or do, and 2) to add, subtract, and clarify theoretical definitions of real-life responses.

#### A. Protocol Collection Process

The first task was the collection of protocols. A priori criteria had to be established through which groups could be selected according to "demonstrated" levels of conscientizacão. At this early state of development, however, "C" criteria was very subjective. Freire makes the point consistently that conscientizacão is an inter-relation of thought and action. It seemed likely that serious misjudgments could be made if reliance was placed solely on either behavioral or verbal information. Take, for example, an individual who appears to analyze and reflect at one level of consciousness, but who behaves at a much lower level. During a training session for Ministry of Education teachers in Ecuador, several teachers gave rousing speeches on the importance of teacher self-reliance and the evil of administrative dependence. Within five minutes after the meeting, the speech makers requested of the local supervisors that the group be allowed to give a party at which the teachers wished to thank the supervisors for all they had done for the teachers. A less common, but perhaps more profound situation results when the group's behavior is deceptively more conscientizacão than its understanding of the problem. Take, for example, a group which has just publicly confronted a local authority figure. Typically, this action would be considered an example of rela-

tively high "C" behavior within the context of a paternalistic system. But unless we know something about how the group saw the problem, it is difficult to make a precise judgment. If, for example, they saw that one patron as an evil individual and with his removal they felt they had solved their problem, they are likely to search for a "good" patron to take the evil patron's place. The "evil individual analysis" does not lead very far but can appear to have a high level conscientizacão.

Taking these problems into consideration, it was decided that the behavioral criteria was as yet too undefined to establish reasonably reliable a priori judgments of conscientizacão behavior. Instead of trying to make elaborate justifications based upon flimsy criteria, it was decided to select groups with significantly different socio-historical backgrounds with the intention of getting a cross-section but not necessarily a representative sample of Ecuadorian thought. This cross-section would range from white intellectuals who had demonstrated some interest in modern social problems to campesinos (rural farmers) from the most oppressive areas of the country. Emphasis was placed on rural individuals, although a small group of urban intellectuals was included. This cross-section of Ecuadorian thought would form the basis against which Freire's theoretical concepts would be compared.

At this stage no standardized procedure for collecting protocols had been established. Three variables were at play in making the decision as to how protocols should be collected: 1) should the responses be the product of group interaction or individual thought, 2) should they be responses to single stimulus or multiple stimuli, and 3) should the collection sessions be short intensive experiences or extensive developmental ones. Reliance was placed upon an inclusive rather than exclusive approach.

Initially a draft code or list of verbal behaviors was designed based upon Freire's theoretical description of conscientização. Three general categories of verbal behavior were selected: awareness of a changing situation, critical reflection, and critical action. Under each of these broad headings, more specific responses were defined. The next problem was to compare this draft code with the real verbal responses of a variety of groups supposed to be at different levels of conscientização in order to determine if the code reflected what real people actually said.

A series of three protocol collection sessions was devised, inspired by the work of David McClelland on the development of the achievement motive. The first two groups of subjects were selected because they were identified as either intellectuals with interest in social problems or proven campesino leaders. Both groups were given various (Thematic Apperception Test) TAT-style drawings related to conscientização content. They were asked to answer four groups of questions on a written answer sheet: 1) What is happening? Who are the people? 2) What happened before? Has this always happened? 3) What are they thinking? What is it they want? From whom?, and 4) What will happen in the future? What will they do?

A third group was selected randomly without prior identification as either high or low. This was an entirely rural group which had not previously been exposed to the concept of conscientização or participated in any of the consciousness-raising training sessions run by the Massachusetts project. The attempt here was to increase conscientização over a period of time. Each Friday evening for six weeks the same

group of participants was exposed to what was presumed to be a major conscientizacão stimulus, the Hacienda simulation game,\* designed by the Massachusetts project and used successfully during the preceding year in various rural communities in Ecuador. The game play and discussion were directed by one of the most dynamic campesino facilitators trained by the Massachusetts project during the Nonformal project's first year, Jorge Freire. The sessions lasted between 2 and 2 1/2 hours. Approximately one hour was dedicated to game play and the second hour to open discussions relating the game to real life events in the community. Critical questions were posed during these discussions sessions, which were tape recorded and later transcribed. These sessions were conducted entirely in Spanish as these campesinos spoke no Quechua.

Finally, a fourth group was selected, again based on no previous set about their conscientizacão disposition, but rather on their representativeness of the indian sector of the Ecuadorian rural community. This experience consisted of an intensive three day workshop which was designed to provide an immersion experience into conscientizacão content. Instead of only one instrument, several different C-related stimuli were applied, including music, Hacienda game, open discussions, puppets, rural theater, and Freire-styled posters developed by the Ecuadorian Ministry of Education. For three days the group was together focusing on conscientizacão-related problems. These discussions were also tape recorded and later transcribed.

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\*A simulation board game designed to re-create the major socio-economic events in the life of an hypothetical rural Ecuadorian community. See Appendix E.

B. Protocol Collection Groups

Group A: OFFICE AND RELATED PERSONNEL

1. Place: University of Massachusetts Office, Quito
2. Date: April 23, 1973
3. Intention: To collect individual responses to TAT style conscientizacao stimuli from a group of white intellectuals interested in social problems and campesino leaders with demonstrated leadership experience.

4. Participants: Participants in Group A represented a broad range of social backgrounds. Individuals were selected for Group A on the basis of their demonstrated ability to critically analyze social issues or upon a demonstrated social activism. In a few cases, members of Group A had participated in violent demonstrations opposing specific social injustices. Group A was small because it was difficult to identify individuals who both met these criteria and who were willing to participate in an exercise sponsored by a North American institution.

Of the twelve (12) participants in Group A, ten (10) were males and two (2) females. Average age was twenty-nine (29). Educational achievement in the formal system was very high (an average of ten [10] years of schooling) for Ecuador where seventy percent (70%) of the population does not finish high school. The majority of participants were married and had small families. The group was largely urban oriented; even those members who were born in rural areas had maintained, through their schooling and their work, close contact with urban centers. No member of this group supported his family entirely through agriculture. All were salaried employees working at least part-time in urban areas. The entire group was fluent in Spanish, four members spoke excellent Quechua, one spoke Quechua as his first language.

Sixty percent of the group had parents who were members of the oppressor class. Ten percent (10%) had parents who were agents of the oppressor, and 30% had parents who were members of the oppressed class.\* In terms of social activism, sixty percent (60%) of this group can be classed as critically aware of oppression. They had demonstrated on a verbal level analytic skills directed at social issues. Forty percent of the group can be classed as behaviorally active which means that through their profession or through specific non-professional activities they had opposed specific social injustices. Twenty-five percent (25%) of Group A had had relatively extensive contact with the Massachusetts Nonformal Project and with the ideas of Paulo Freire before the protocol collection exercise. The remaining seventy-five percent (75%) had little or no contact with the project or the theoretical basis for "C". As a whole, this group was articulate, well-educated, and highly committed to social change. See page 53 for comparison of Group A with the other four protocol Groups.

##### 5. Outline of the Exercise

This was the first exercise conducted in a series of attempts to develop a reliable instrument for measuring conscientizaçao. The twelve participants were asked to participate in an experiment on creativity. They were told that they would be shown four drawings and that they were to write short, but creative responses to four questions concerning these drawings. They were told the drawings were designed to elicit creativity. They received pencils and answer sheets for each of the

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\*See Chapter I for fuller discussion of these categories.

four pictures. They were told they would have fifteen minutes to answer the four questions for each picture. They could answer the questions in any order they wished. They were signaled when half of the time had elapsed and again two minutes before the end.

The pictures were shown one at a time, in the order in which they are numbered in this document. The professionals in the group seemed to enjoy the idea of being creative. The campesinos were a bit more reluctant but very cooperative.

After the third picture, the participants were told that the exercise was not concerned with creativity at all, but with a measure of their own level of conscientizacão. There was a slightly surprised and somewhat annoyed reaction on the part of some of the participants, but no open hostility or lengthy questioning. The purpose of this act was to see if the fourth story would contrast significantly with the first three if the participants thought it concerned conscientizacão.

After the exercise, papers were collected; little was said about the exercise.

Group B: SENARED\* Campesinos

1. Place: Offices of SENARED in Quito
2. Date: July 16, 1973
3. Intention: To repeat the office and related personnel experience using fewer TAT-style codes with a group of rural farmers (campesinos) with demonstrated experience as community leaders.

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\*National Audio-Visual Department of the Ecuadorian Ministry of Education.

4. Participants: All fifteen (15) of the participants in Group B were campesinos from various parts of the country. They had been selected by the SENARED staff to be trained as para-professional extension agents for SENARED in their home communities. All members of Group B were males, average age was thirty-five (35) years with an age range from seventeen to forty-two years (17-42). Group B's five (5) years of average schooling was slightly higher than the rural norm in Ecuador. Seventy percent (70%) of the group were married. All members of Group B were rural. Ninety percent (90%) of the group spoke only Spanish, ten percent (10%) spoke both Spanish and Quechua. Most were landowners, a few members owned no land but worked as rural peasants on another's land. The majority of this Group (60%) can be classed as agents of the oppressor. They, and in some cases, their parents had worked as representatives of various national institutions in their communities. Their affiliation with SENARED was one more example of how they were prepared to work as the representative of oppressor institutions in their own communities. The remaining 40% of the Group B is considered as members of the oppressed class. In terms of social activism, behaviorally only ten percent (10%)--or one individual) can be said to have been involved in actively opposing social injustice. A rather high percentage of the group, 60% verbally expressed social injustice as a priority, and 30% demonstrated little or no social activism. This group had no prior contact with either the Massachusetts Project or with Paulo Freire's ideas.

While these individuals were chosen by SENARED because they were supposed to be community leaders, in actuality one turned out to be

mentally retarded and three others had no leadership experience whatsoever. Five members of the group were proven leaders, exceptionally bright and involved in their community's affairs.

#### 5. Outline of the Exercise

These individuals were selected because they happened to be in Quito, because they agreed to the exercise, and because they represented a geographical cross-section of campesinos in the sierra of Ecuador. The exercise was introduced during the SENARED training as part of an attempt to get the rural leaders to identify local problems. They were asked to look at two of the drawings and to write answers to several questions concerning those pictures. They were given 15 minutes for each picture. Due to the slowness with which some of them wrote, it took longer than 15 minutes for a few of the participants.

Following the written exercise, small group discussions were led by William Smith and Enrique Tasiguano to analyze the participant's responses to the drawings. These discussions were much more productive in generating ideas than the written exercise.

The transcriptions include only the written exercise, as it was impossible to tape the conversations.

#### Group C: Shaushi

1. Place: The rural community of Shaushi - thirty minutes outside of Ambato, the capital of Tungurahua is a community of several thousand inhabitants, the vast majority of whom are campesinos/farmers. Potatoes and corn are the basic products grown. Shaushi had not been interviewed by the University of Massachusetts project prior to this experience.
2. Date: October 5, 12, 19, 26 - 1973  
November 2, 9 - 1973

This exercise extended over a six-week period. Meetings were held every Friday evening. The last Friday there was a party and relatively little game play.

3. Intention: To collect protocols from a single group over time using a single conscientizacao stimulus, the Juego de la Vida.<sup>\*</sup> The group was selected because they were typical of rural sierra communities without a strong hacienda tradition and who are Spanish speaking.

4. Participants: The Shaushi group was the first of the protocol groups to represent a single community. Consequently, this group was significantly more homogenous than either Group A or B. Of the twenty-one (21) participants, twenty (20) were male and one (1) female. Average age was thirty (30), with an age range of eighteen to fifty-seven (18-57) years. Average educational achievement was lower than the first two groups, but about normal for the rural areas of the country; 4.8 years of schooling. Everyone in this group had been to at least one year of schooling. Most members were married and averaged 4 children per family. The entire group was rural, Spanish speaking, and mestizo. All the members owned their own land, although in many cases they had to seek outside work to supplement their farm income. Large haciendas had disappeared from the area, however. All members of Group C would be classed as poor, but only a few members would be considered destitute. Thirty percent (30%) of the group can be considered as agents of the oppressor, as they worked as over-seers on large farms. The remaining majority (70%) are genuine members of the oppressed class.

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\*The Game of Life, or the campesino name for the Hacienda Simulation Game.

Social activism was much lower in this group than in the previous two groups. Seventy percent had demonstrated verbal awareness of social problems. Prior contact with the Massachusetts Project and Freire's ideas were non-existent.

#### 5. Outline of the Exercise

Contact was made by Jorge Freire, one of the most active University of Massachusetts-trained facilitators. Jorge explained that the purpose of the exercise was to test an educational game and to see if the community had any long-range interest in some kind of community organization. It was explained that 20 people were needed to commit themselves to one session every Friday night. There would be no new people admitted during the 6-week period. The community would receive 800 sucres for the construction of a school building/community center as a recompense for the 20 individuals' participation.

Once the community agreed to the process, the following format was followed. Hacienda, or the Game of Life was played. Following approximately 1 to 1 1/2 hours of game play, play was stopped and a discussion of what had taken place in the game begun. Jorge ran the discussion in a very non-directive style. He tried to focus the discussion on what relevance events in the game had with real events in the community. Only the discussion was recorded, not the game play. Discussion lasted from 1 to 2 hours. The first session was with the original format of the Hacienda game. The remaining sessions used a modified form of the game which gave players more decisions to make and a larger, more attractive game board.

Attendance was very good. Only three people dropped out during the course of the 6 weeks, and two new people admitted. One of the new people was very aggressive and dominated two of the sessions in which he participated. During the discussions, there were approximately 6 of the 20 people who spoke freely enough to be tape recorded, another 6 who participated moderately, and the rest who participated actively but at such a low audio level that they were not recorded.

Game play itself was very lively. After the first session, the group caught on quickly to the game and by the second session they were handling it by themselves. Jorge continued to moderate the discussions.

Group D: San Martin

1. Place: Schoolroom in San Martin. San Martin is a rural community about 30 minutes south of Riobamba. It is an area of old haciendas recently converted into businesses, rather than family estates. The area is vastly indian culturally. Many men do not speak Spanish, practically no women speak Spanish fluently. It is one area where oppression has been severe in the country. Population 800.
2. Date: November 26, 27, 28, 1973
3. Intention: To collect protocols from a group of rural farmers typical of hacienda-dominated zones and who are predominately Quechua speaking.
4. Participants: Participants in the San Martin exercise were from 2 communities: San Martin and Pulucate. Pulucate is similar to San Martin, approximately 3 times larger. Neither of the communities have running water, electricity, or sewerage systems. Most houses have thatched roofs, some have tin and tile roofs. There is no church in San Martin, although evangelical impact is important in this area. There are two teachers for primary school, 1 adult education teacher, and a 2

room schoolhouse. The road to Riobamba is a principal highway, paved with stones with relatively good bus service available. Both communities are only a few minutes from this road.

There were 20 participants in the San Martin experience. Eleven from San Martin, and 9 from Pulucate. The group was composed of 13 men and 7 women. All participants were true campesinos, earning their living through agriculture.

Principal crops in the area are oats and potatoes. Most men own some land, but it is typically insufficient to support their families. They work part time on the surrounding haciendas. Participants averaged only three years of schooling and there were several members who had no schooling what-so-ever. The group proved to be representative in this respect of rural indian communities in Ecuador.

Of the total, twenty (20) participants, thirteen (13) were male and seven (7) female. Average age was 28 with a range of 18-65 years. Seventy percent (70%) of the group was married. All of the group was rural and even though a few individuals owned their own land, the entire group is classed as indian marginal because their own land provided less than half of their total subsistence. In all cases, male participants found it necessary to work on large haciendas at least part-time. A very small percentage, 10% of this group can be classed as "agents of the oppressor," the rest are genuine "members of the oppressed class." Social activism was low with 80% of the group having participated in little or no such activities. The 10% classed as behaviorally active refer to a single, extraordinary community leader who took part in this group session. Likewise, prior contact with the Massachusetts Project

was low, except for that one individual. This is the only group in which Quechua speakers outnumbered Spanish speakers. Only 20% of the group was fluent in Spanish. The entire group was indian from both a racial and cultural point of view.

#### 5. Outline of the Exercise

The attempt in this exercise was to combine a series of conscientizacão instruments in an intensive 3-day format. Work began at 9:00 a.m., the group had lunch together, and finished around 6:00 p.m. on two of the three days. Tuesday evening there was also a session. The schedule of events follows:

Monday: The group was presented to each other and the task explained as three days during which the group would be sharing community problems. The participants were asked to answer the question: "Why are we poor?"

Individuals were given a half hour to consider their answer and then they met in small groups of 5 or 6 to come up with a group answer. One hour later the large group came together and shared their responses. This large group session was tape recorded.

Following lunch, the participants met to play the Hacienda game. After 1 and 1/2 hours of play, a group discussion was held to relate the game to events in the community. This discussion was taped. This exercise took all of the afternoon.

Tuesday: The group divided into three small groups. Each group studied a different photographic poster developed by the Ministry of Education after a Freire-like investigation of generative themes in Ecuador. Copies of the posters used appear in Appendix E. One was a

family eating, a second a family standing together, and a third of a church contrasted with a local hut. The groups were each led by a discussion leader from outside the group. They were told to list what the picture "said" to them.

After one hour of group discussion which proved in some groups very difficult, in other groups very beneficial, the large group came together to share their impressions. This session was tape recorded.

At 11:45, the group listened to a Chilean Revolutionary song entitled, "Juan", which dealt with the contradiction of those who own the land but do not work it, and those who work the land but do not own it. Response was very good. The discussion was tape recorded.

The afternoon began with another revolutionary song. This time from Ecuador. The song was in Spanish and it was difficult for many of the participants to understand. Two songs in Quechua followed, but they were accepted as music without much analysis of the content.

In the evening, the entire community, along with the 20 participants, were invited to a puppet show and a rural theater presentation. The puppet show concerned problems with the local police officer; the theater was the dramatization of the first University of Massachusetts fotonovela where an indian hero (Manuel Santi) fights for his rights against local officials. Both presentations were very well received. No discussion followed because there were over 200 people watching.

Wednesday: In the morning there was a very serious discussion centered on the topic "What is a man?" What makes a man different from an animal or a stone?

The exercise was threatening to the group but seemed to make them think. To reduce the tension somewhat, puppets were handed out and two of the participants put on a puppet show for the rest. The previous discussion was tape recorded; the puppet show was not.

These four protocol groups combined with several chapters selected at random from a Peace Corps publication entitled, Hablan Lideres Campesinos (Campesino Leaders Speak)\*, provided a relatively extensive sample of rural Ecuadorian thought and a small sample of white intellectual thought. After consideration, it was decided that the white intellectual's responses were not valuable for development purposes. It was one thing to ask an Ecuadorian indian to respond to drawings of indians meeting together and quite another to ask a white urban intellectual to respond to the same drawings. The indian was being asked to respond to a stimulus within his/her own life experience while the white was being asked to fantasize about another wo/man's reality. The white responses were ultimately disregarded for this reason, and emphasis was placed on campesino thought.

The following chart gives a comparative break-down of the major characteristics of the protocol groups outlined in this chapter. The chart clearly demonstrates the major differences between the four groups. Group A is better educated, more socially active, more urban, familiar with Freire's ideas, and largely has its origins in the oppressor class. Group B is a heterogeneous group, with its principal roots in the rural areas. Members of this group are slightly more educated than the average

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\*A collection of tape recorded interviews with campesino leaders made during a training conference run by the Peace Corps in 1968.

Table 1

SUMMARY CHART PROTOCOL DEVELOPMENT GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

GROUPS		A	B	C	D
VARIABLES		OFFICE	SENARED	SHAUSHI	S. MARTIN
GROUP SIZE	MALE	10	15	20	13
	FEMALE	2	-	1	7
	Total No. in Group	12	15	21	21
AGE	AVERAGE	29	35	30	28
	RANGE	20-47	17-42	18-57	18-65
YEARS OF SCHOOLING	AVERAGE	10	5	4.8	3
	RANGE	6-12	0-8	1-6	0-6
MARITAL STATUS	% SINGLE	35%	30%	45%	30%
	% MARRIED	65%	70%	55%	70%
	Average No. of Children per Married Indiv.	2	4	4	4
DEMOGRAPHIC SETTING	URBAN %	58%	-	-	-
	RURAL %	42%	100%	100%	100%

Table 1 (Continued)

VARIABLES		OFFICE	SENARED	SHAUSHI	S. MARTIN
Language	Spanish	100%	90%	100%	20%
	Quechua	-	10%	-	80%
Profession Ethnic Group	Urban Employee	100%	-	-	-
	Mestizo Small Landowner	-	80%	100%	-
	Indian Marginal	-	20%	-	100%
Oppression Group Status	Oppressor Class	60%	-	-	-
	Agent of Oppressor	10%	60%	30%	10%
	Oppressed Class	30%	40%	70%	90%
Degree of Social Ac- tivism	Little or None	---	30%	70%	80%
	Verbal	60%	60%	30%	10%
	Behavioral	40%	10%	---	10%
Prior Con- tact w/ Project	High	25%	-	-	10%
	Low	75%	100%	100%	90%
Basic "Treatment"	De-Coding Vis. Assumed High "C"	XXXXXX			
	De-Coding Vis. Assumed Low "C"		XXXXXX		
	Simulation Game over 6 weeks			XXXXXX	
	Intensive 3-day Laboratory				XXXXXX

campesino, and most members have worked as representatives of oppressor institutions, likewise they are classed as "agents of the oppressor." These individuals are middle level campesinos, small landowners who have the time and resources to act as agents for oppressor institutions in their own community. Group C is largely mestizo, small landowners from a single community with a typical rural educational attainment. This group represents the bottom of the mestizo group, but still maintains a small advantage over Group D. Group C speaks Spanish and dresses as mestizos. Consequently, they experience less overt prejudice than pure indian communities. Even though their culture is closer to that of the oppressor class and some members of this group worked as agents of oppressor institutions, they are members of the oppressed class. Group D is an indian group. Quechua speaking and maintaining traditional dress and habits, they most frequently suffer the overt prejudices of the oppressor class. They live marginally, have little security other than their small piece of land. Their educational achievement and degree of social activism is the lowest of the four groups. The vast majority of this group can be classed as archtypical members of the oppressed class.

### C. Protocol Analysis Process

Once all the protocols had been collected, it was necessary to establish some order in which they would be analyzed and some system for analyzing them. The main task was to look for examples of Freire's coding categories, to add new categories, to refine existing categories, to extrapolate examples of categories which could later be used to develop a coding manual, and to organize the categories in some manner which would reflect the developmental progression of conscientizaçao growth. This

was not a process of validation, but one of initial feasibility - testing and refinement. During the course of this process, the original code based solely on Freire's theoretical concepts was revised 5 times before reaching its present state of organization. Each of these revisions has been numbered and appears at the end of this Chapter. Reference will be made to them as we discuss how they were developed and how they changed progressively.

STEP 1: SHAUSHI

It was decided to look at the Shaushi transcripts/protocols first. They represented an extensive sample of a typical campesino group. Because they had received only one major conscientizaçao stimulus, their responses promised to be more narrowly oriented. It seemed logical to make the first revision based on these responses.

The analysis process was a simple one. The author first read over the entire transcript underlining parts which immediately stood out as examples of, or related to major categories established in Code A\* Code A represented Freire's theoretical concepts placed in an outline form accompanied by brief narrative descriptions. Secondly, the author would go back over the transcripts sentence by sentence and see if that sentence either exemplified, added to, modified, or negated one of Freire's categories. Such a phrase was numbered and the number located next to the corresponding category of Code A. New sub-categories were added under the appropriate headings. Once the review of the transcript had been completed three times, the frequency of responses in each category

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\*All the codes described in this section appear in Appendix D.

was totaled. Particular emphasis was placed upon including new categories, very little emphasis was placed upon excluding categories which did not appear with much frequency. The Shaushi group presented numerous examples of the Playing Host To The Oppressor variable and few examples of the Critical Action variable.

On the basis of this review process, Code B was generated and a major change made in the coding format. Code B uses basically the same four variables but divides each into an oppression and a humanness side of the scale. For every oppressive action there is an opposite humanness reaction. A few new categories were added as can be seen from comparing the two codes. Code C is exactly the same as code B except that the format is designed for easier coding.

#### STEP 2: SAN MARTIN

Code C was used to code the San Martin transcripts. Because San Martin was more representative of severe oppression, it was expected that these transcripts would provide more examples of middle and low level categories. Results met the expectations. After following an identical process as that used in the Shaushi transcripts, a wide range of middle and low level responses were available. It was also rewarding to note that a large percentage of the transcript proved to be codable; between 60 and 80% of the phrases fit into existing categories or formed important new categories. The San Martin coding experience also showed that the dichotomy between oppression and humanness was too great an oversimplification. In order to make the dichotomy parallel, categories had to be invented which did not respond to real-life responses of either the Shaushi or San Martin groups. It was decided to return to a format

similar to Code A. The result was Code D, a much richer code particularly in the Playing Host To The Oppressor, Self-Deprecation, and Self-Criticism variables. The Critical Action variable still had few examples from real-life. Code D represented a new organization of the code which reflected the answer to four critical questions: How are things? Should things be this way? Why are things as they are? and What can be done to change them? The code was to be heavily influenced by this approach through the rest of its development.

STEP 3: HABLAN LIDERES CAMPESINOS/SENARED CAMPESINOS/UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS CAMPESINO LEADERS

Code D was used in the same way as Codes A, B, and C to analyze the chapters from Hablen Lideres Campesinos, the SENARED campesinos, and the University of Massachusetts campesino leaders. This process increased the number of middle level responses and refined significantly several of the lower level responses. Categories were shifted around to other headings but few major changes were made between Code D and E. The emphasis remained on answering the four critical questions. It was now clear that the three levels which Freire hypothesized in his writings were appearing in real-life responses.

Indeed there seemed to be important sub-levels appearing within the major three levels Freire outlined. For example, a real difference could be made between campesinos who blamed themselves for things being wrong and those who blamed the patron. Another important difference was between those individuals who relied on "union" (unity) as a rhetorical cliché and those who believed that "union" should be channeled into concrete action, forming a cooperative, etc. The second group almost always

saw organizations as defensive or vindictive shields against an evil patron. At this point, these differences were still fuzzy, and it was not clear how they should be represented. Code D is essentially a first attempt to deal with the dilemma of emerging sub-levels.

#### STEP 4: REFLECTION AND REORGANIZATION

All of the major protocols had been coded with the exception of the white, urban intellectuals which had been excluded for reasons previously explained. A geographical, racial, socio-historical, and leadership experience cross-section of rural thought had been analyzed against an increasingly refined list of verbal responses. It was now time to pull this mass of information together, to review again all that had been coded, to return to Freire's books, and to seek out other perspectives on the problem. Dr. Alfred Alschuler provided that opportunity. A five-day experience with Dr. Alschuler during which real-life responses were compared to what seemed theoretically important in Freire's writings resulted in the final revision of the code which is described in this chapter. The exploratory coding work in Ecuador had proved invaluable in beginning the process of establishing a relationship between real-life and theory. Particularly at the magical and naive levels of consciousness, real progress had been made in sharpening and expanding coding categories. Validation remained to be done. There was still no real evidence that the code was anything more than a self-fulfilling prophecy; that the relationship between a high or low score on the code was anything more than a direct result of the stimulus provided to the group. It's still not clear whether the code would predict behavior. The inter-relatedness of thought and

action had made it difficult to pin down one variable and by so doing validate the other. But it had been demonstrated that Freire's theoretical concepts were reflected in the real-life responses of real-life people.

CHAPTER IV  
DEVELOPING THE CODE

Introduction

Chapter IV is divided into two parts. Part A defines the theoretical basis for the "C" coding system as it originates from Freire's published writings. It specifies how the characteristics of the three principal stages of consciousness manifest themselves at each stage and at each aspect. Examples are given which help the reader relate the abstract concept to reality. Two sub-stages, or transitional stages are described briefly and two different forms of visualizing conscientizaçao, growth are presented.

Part B outlines a series of criteria for any conceptually coherent developmental concept. These criteria are then compared with the theoretical framework presented in Part I and the conclusion drawn that conscientizaçao could be considered as a coherent developmental concept, and as such should correspond to the conceptual limitations and requisites of other developmental theories such as those developed by Piaget, Maslow, Kohlberg, Loevinger, and others.

A.

Freire describes conscientizaçao as a process of becoming more fully human, a developmental process which can be divided into three distinct stages: magical, naive, and critical consciousness. Each of these stages has been sub-divided by the author into three aspects or characteristic responses to implicit existential questions: What are the most dehumanizing problems in your life? (NAMING); What are the causes and

consequences of those problems? (REFLECTING); and, What can be done to solve those problems? (ACTING). This chapter describes the distinctive ways in which an hypothetical individual names, reflects, and acts at each of the three developmental stages of conscientizaçao.

There are several different ways in which conscientizaçao can be visualized. The Conscientizaçao Coding Categories Diagram is perhaps the simplest visualization. Specific coding categories are divided into one of nine boxes, each box representing a particular aspect and level of "C". Each level is divided into two sub-levels, labeled "1" and "2". This chart places principal emphasis on the three major levels and aspects of "C" and is particularly helpful in labeling specific coding categories as to level and aspect. Its principal drawback is that it over-simplifies the developmental process.

The Conscientizaçao Development Diagram gives the reader a better sense of the fluid nature of "C" development. The chart is divided into the basic aspects and levels, but no specific coding categories are presented. Emphasis has been placed on showing how "C" growth takes place. The arrows indicate movement from magical to critical.

One important result of this Diagram is to indicate two (2) major transition stages. These stages do not constitute separate levels of consciousness but rather indicate transition stages which combine characteristics of two levels. It is these transition stages which lend themselves to distortion. When distorted, the characteristics described in Transition 1 become stable, consolidated and constitute a major behavior pattern which can be characterized as Playing Host To The Oppressor. Transition 2, when distorted, can be characterized as "Fanaticized" Consciousness.

It is hoped that this diagram will help the reader see conscientizaçao as a fluid developmental process, rather than a rigid behavioral description designed to create a new set of pigeon holes. A single individual may demonstrate verbal behavior across the "C" behavioral spectrum. The spectrum is helpful to the degree it promotes understanding of what consciousness might mean.

1. Magical, or Semi-Intransitive Consciousness

Individuals at this first stage of consciousness are trapped by the "myth of natural inferiority." "They know that they do things, what they do not know is that men's actions are transforming." (Freire 1972, p. 30) It is this sense of impotence which prevents individuals from naming their problems in dehumanizing terms, which ties them to magical explanations, and which limits their activities to passive acceptance. Rather than resisting or changing the reality in which they find themselves, they conform to it.

Magic consciousness is characterized by fatalism, which leads men to fold their arms, resigned to the impossibility of resisting the power of facts. (Freire 1973, p. 44)

- a. Naming: What are the most dehumanizing problems in your life now? Should things be as they are? How should they be?

Two levels of responses can be defined as characteristic of the naming aspect of magical consciousness; problem denial and survival problems. At the problem denial level, individuals either overtly deny that they have problems, or they avoid problems by locating them in another time or place. Ecuadorian farmers are often heard to say, "We do not have these problems." "Things used to be this way when authorities did

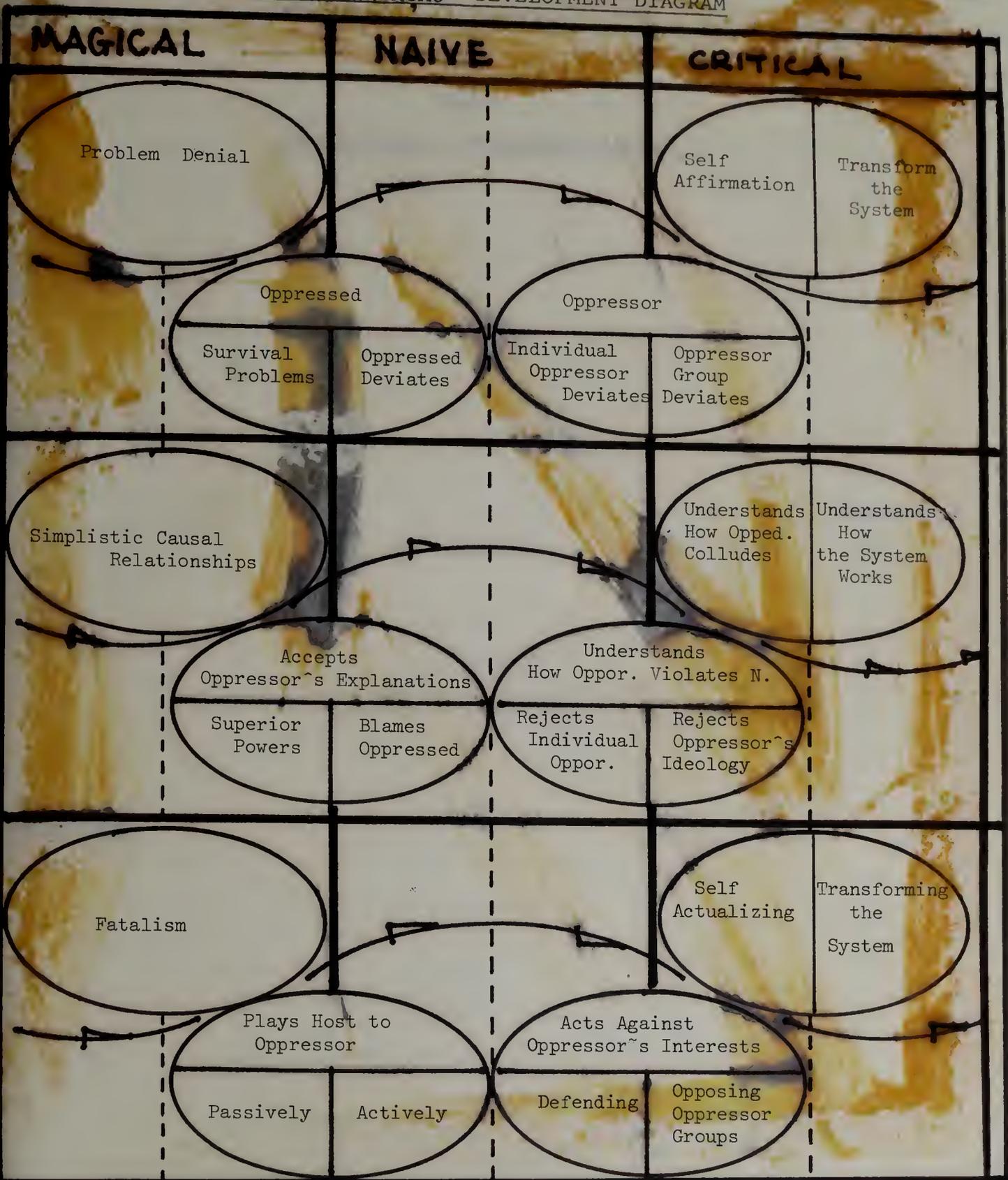
Figure 1

CONSCIENTIZACAO CODING CATEGORIES DIAGRAM

I NAMING	M MAGICAL CONSCIOUSNESS "CONFORMING"	N NAIVE CONSCIOUSNESS "REFORMING"	C CRITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS "TRANSFORMING"
	<p>1. <u>PROBLEM DENIAL</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. overt denial</li> <li>b. problem avoidance</li> </ul> <p>2. <u>SURVIVAL PROBLEMS</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. poor physical state/health</li> <li>b. poverty</li> <li>c. lack of work</li> <li>d. insufficient work</li> <li>e. money as an end in itself</li> </ul>	<p>1. <u>OPPRESSOR DEVIATES FROM IDEAL EXPECTATIONS</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. oppressed not like oppressor</li> <li>b. oppressed not meet oppressor's expectations</li> <li>c. horizontal aggression/intrapunitiveness</li> </ul> <p>2. <u>INDIVIDUAL OPPRESSOR DEVIATES FROM IDEAL EXPECTATIONS</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Individual oppressor violates</li> <li>b. Individual oppressor violates norms</li> </ul>	<p>1. <u>REJECTION OF OPPRESSOR/SELF AND PEER AFFIRMATION</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. rejects modeling oppressor</li> <li>b. seeks to maintain ethnicity</li> <li>c. seeks to affirm uniqueness</li> </ul> <p>2. <u>TRANSFORM THE SYSTEM</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. procedures people</li> <li>b. rejects oppressive system</li> </ul>
	<p>1. <u>SIMPLISTIC CAUSAL RELATIONSHIPS</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. blame physical states/poverty, health</li> <li>b. blame objects over people</li> </ul> <p>2. <u>FACTS ATTRIBUTED TO SUPERIOR POWERS</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. uncontrollable factors: God, Fate, Luck, Age, etc.</li> <li>b. fear of oppressor</li> <li>c. oppressor inevitable winner</li> <li>d. empathy for oppressor</li> </ul>	<p>1. <u>PLAYING HOST TO OPPRESSOR'S IDEOLOGY</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. accepts oppressor's explanations and expectations (education)</li> <li>b. self and peer deprecation</li> <li>c. blames ancestors</li> <li>d. self-pity</li> </ul> <p>2. <u>UNDERSTANDS HOW OPPRESSOR VIOLATES NORMS</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. sees intentionality by oppressor</li> <li>b. sees relationships between oppressor and oppressor's agents</li> <li>c. generalizes from one oppressor to another</li> </ul>	<p>1. <u>UNDERSTANDS/REJECTS OPPRESSOR'S IDEOLOGY AND HIS/HER COLLUSION</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. sympathy and understanding of peers</li> <li>b. self-critical/sees contradictions between actions and critical goals</li> <li>c. rejects horizontal aggression</li> <li>d. sees oppressor as weak/victim of system</li> <li>e. rejects oppressor and oppressor's ideology</li> </ul> <p>2. <u>UNDERSTANDS HOW SYSTEM WORKS</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. sees system as cause</li> <li>b. sees contradictions between rhetoric and results</li> <li>c. lays socio-economic analysis</li> <li>d. generalizes from one oppressive system to another</li> </ul>
	<p>1. <u>ACTIVELY PLAYING HOST TO THE OPPRESSOR</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. models oppressor's behavior (education, dress, habits)</li> <li>b. mis-directed aggression (horizontal aggression, intra-punitiveness)</li> <li>c. paternalistic towards peers</li> <li>d. meets oppressor's expectations</li> </ul> <p>2. <u>DEFENDING</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. gregariousness</li> <li>b. make system work</li> <li>c. avoids oppressor</li> <li>d. opposes individual oppressor</li> </ul>	<p>1. <u>SELF-ACTUALIZING</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. seeks appropriate role models</li> <li>b. personal ethnic self-esteem</li> <li>c. self-growth/transforming learning</li> <li>d. subject/actor</li> <li>e. boldness/risk-taking/unorthodox solutions</li> <li>f. reliance on community resources/participation</li> <li>g. opposes oppressor groups</li> </ul> <p>2. <u>TRANSFORMING THE SYSTEM</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. dialogue polemics</li> <li>b. comradeship</li> <li>c. scientific approach</li> <li>d. change norms/laws/procedure</li> </ul>	<p>1. <u>ACTIVELY PLAYING HOST TO THE OPPRESSOR</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. models oppressor's behavior (education, dress, habits)</li> <li>b. mis-directed aggression (horizontal aggression, intra-punitiveness)</li> <li>c. paternalistic towards peers</li> <li>d. meets oppressor's expectations</li> </ul> <p>2. <u>DEFENDING</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. gregariousness</li> <li>b. make system work</li> <li>c. avoids oppressor</li> <li>d. opposes individual oppressor</li> </ul>
	<p>1. <u>FATALISM</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. resignation</li> <li>b. acceptance</li> </ul> <p>2. <u>PASSIVELY PLAYING HOST TO THE OPPRESSOR</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. waiting for "good" patron or "good" luck</li> <li>b. dependence on oppressor</li> </ul>	<p>1. <u>ACTIVELY PLAYING HOST TO THE OPPRESSOR</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. models oppressor's behavior (education, dress, habits)</li> <li>b. mis-directed aggression (horizontal aggression, intra-punitiveness)</li> <li>c. paternalistic towards peers</li> <li>d. meets oppressor's expectations</li> </ul> <p>2. <u>DEFENDING</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. gregariousness</li> <li>b. make system work</li> <li>c. avoids oppressor</li> <li>d. opposes individual oppressor</li> </ul>	<p>1. <u>ACTIVELY PLAYING HOST TO THE OPPRESSOR</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. models oppressor's behavior (education, dress, habits)</li> <li>b. mis-directed aggression (horizontal aggression, intra-punitiveness)</li> <li>c. paternalistic towards peers</li> <li>d. meets oppressor's expectations</li> </ul> <p>2. <u>DEFENDING</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. gregariousness</li> <li>b. make system work</li> <li>c. avoids oppressor</li> <li>d. opposes individual oppressor</li> </ul>

Figure 2

CONSCIENTIZACAO DEVELOPMENT DIAGRAM



TRANSITION #1  
As Distortion-  
"Playing Host to  
Oppressor"

TRANSITION #2  
As Distortion-  
"Fanatacized  
Consc."

not bother to look for progress." Or, "We do not have haciendas here, these problems do not apply to us." In each case, the facts contradict the individual's perception of the facts. While it may be true that haciendas no longer exist in some communities, the oppressive situation generated by the hacienda tradition remains. But because individuals feel unable to affect any change in the situation, they are unable to see the fundamental truth that the conditions themselves have not changed.

At the second level of naming, individuals are able to say that they have problems but these problems are defined in terms of physical or biological survival. "Because we plant things the same way every year, the earth gets tired." "With ten sucres we can't buy anything these days." Money will often become a central concern as it will be seen as the only way to feed and clothe one's family.

Men of semi-intransitive consciousness cannot apprehend problems situated outside their sphere of biological necessity. Their interests center almost totally around survival, and they lack a sense of life on a more historic plane. . . . In this sense only, semi-intransitivity represents a near disengagement between men and their existence. (Freire 1973, p. 17)

It is this disengagement, this alienation from existence which prevents individuals from seeing the "facts" (poor land, poor health, poverty, lack of work and money as an end in itself) as problems. In their minds, there is little or no chance of transforming the situation. The facts may change, but they are little more than spectators.

- b. Reflecting: Why are things this way? Who or what is to blame?  
What is your role in the situation?

Again, this aspect of magical consciousness is characterized by two basic orientations: attributing facts to superior powers in order to explain why things are as they are and a simplistic view of causal relationships. Freire says:

Magical consciousness . . . simply apprehends facts and attributes to them a superior power by which it is controlled and to which it must therefore submit. (Freire 1973, p. 44)

Men confuse their perceptions of the objects and challenges of the environment and fall prey to magical explanations because they cannot apprehend true causality. (Freire 1973, p. 17)

One of the most accepted clichés concerning rural Latin American farmers is that they are fatalistic. The accepted response to a request that a friend stop by your house is, "If God wishes." Numerous explanations have been offered for the pervasiveness of fatalistic attitudes among rural farmers; the dependence upon climate, or the importance of the Catholic church, etc. But the crucial factor which Freire elucidates is the inherent logic of this position within the context of magical consciousness.

The individuals who are unable to perceive their condition as problematic, but rather as simply a composite of facts over which they have no control, generally relies on some external force to define and alter those facts. God, fate, luck, the "times" all play this role. It is important here to distinguish between a fatalistic dependence on a superior power which leads to a numbing passivity and is considered magical, and a genuine belief in the existence of a superior power which can release powerful, spiritual resources within an individual, and is considered critical. Malcolm X is a good example of the second instance. He seems quite genuine when writing in his autobiography that he owes all to Allah. His belief in Allah's omnipotence and rightness is a source of strength, a justification, and a stimulus for personal involvement.

Neither a belief in God, nor humility in the face of God characterizes mythical consciousness, but rather a dependence on God for action, and a denial of the human capacity to act with God to change events. A classic cliché is appropriate here, "God helps those who help themselves."

In an oppressive situation, the fatalistic dependence can go even further than dependence upon metaphysical forces, the power to transform the situation can also be invested in the oppressor. Oppressors seem to the oppressed to be independent of supernatural forces. The oppressor is the actor - the subject of existence. This level of understanding results in humility, fear of the oppressor and ultimately in a belief that the oppressor is always the winner. Examples of codable responses include: "Things are in God's hands." "It is a question of luck that the hacienda owner is rich." "God doesn't want to give us anymore, that's for sure." "They (hacienda owners) are the ones who speak, and we are afraid." "We are afraid when they speak to us, when our babies cry on the buses and they call us bitches and horny."

Magical level individuals will also empathize with the oppressor. They will demonstrate not only an understanding but a sympathy for the oppressor's problems. Seeing the oppressor as engendering many of the qualities of superior powers, they will identify power with goodness and rightness. God is not evil because he does not make it rain, neither are oppressors evil because they make the campesino work hard. Common responses from Ecuadorian campesinos illustrate this point clearly. "The hacendado is the most honest there can be. He pays his taxes which benefit the entire pueblo, and then they criticize him." "The poor hacendados." "When you say the priest charges a lot you don't take into consideration that he must also live, eat, and dress."

Behavior typical of this stage of consciousness is that individuals, while continuing to rely on magical explanations, will see simplistic causal relationships. "We can't study because we don't have any money." "Our indian people don't go to school, don't study anything, that's why they don't understand anything." Men at the magical level of consciousness see the relationship between two events, money and school, or school and understanding, but they fail to ask why they do not have money or why they do not go to school. These questions remain unanswered because they feel the solutions are in the hands of others. They place the blame on physical states and objects (money, school) rather than on other people or on the interaction between events. In all cases, this level of reflection leaves the oppressed individual with little or no opportunity for intervention in the situation.

- c. Acting: What can be done? What should be done? What have you done or what will you do?

Once individuals have denied they have problems or defined their problem exclusively in terms of survival "facts," once they have analyzed the situation and discovered a dependence on God, nature, and the oppressor, their logical course of action is to resign themselves to the situation, conform to things as they are, and wait for things to change. This resignation and acceptance are easily recognized in statements such as "There is nothing we can do." "We must wait for the patron to return." "This is the way things are." "But what can we do?"

Instead of resisting, the individual passively "plays host to the oppressor." Freire uses this term to describe a situation in which the oppressed individual provides sustenance to the oppressor's beliefs much as a biological host provides sustenance to a parasite. If the oppressor

believes they have the answer to the oppressed's problems, the oppressed is willing to wait for the answer. If the oppressor believes that the hacienda system is the only reasonable social arrangement, the oppressed is willing to accept that situation as beneficial. One rural farmer said, "If the hacienda owner makes money from the hacienda, we are given work by the hacienda. What would we do if the hacienda ever disappeared? We need it as much as the hacienda owner does."

The oppressor becomes the model of what is good. From their lands individuals are given work, from their table they are given food, and from their charity they are given health. If the hacienda owner is bad, the oppressed must conform to his will and wait for him to become good. What can be done? . . . Nothing. What should be done? . . . Wait. What have you done? . . . Wait. What will you do? . . . Wait some more.

## 2. Naive or Transitive Consciousness

The move from magical to naive consciousness is a move from conforming to the inevitable facts of life, to reforming specific aberrations in individuals within a basically sound system. The contradiction which the naive individual faces is between an idealized system which should work, and specific violations of that system by evil or ignorant individuals. If those individuals could be made to "reform" their ways, then the system would function perfectly.

As Freire describes this attitude, it appears to be both naive and romantic:

The state of (transitive) consciousness. . . is characterized by an over-simplification of problems. . . fanciful explanations. . . and fragility of argument. (Freire 1973, p. 18)

Individuals over-simplify problems by attributing the causes to individuals rather than to the system itself. Their explanations are fanciful in that they try to understand the individual apart from the system in which they operate and this ultimately leads to arguments which dissolve in the face of reality.

"by nostalgia for the past. . . ." (Freire 1973, p. 18)

In the past, things seemed to work better. There may have been less comforts, less opportunities than now, but things were also less complicated, people understood what role they had to play. This idealization of the past is typical of the romantic.

"By a strong tendency to gregariousness, practice of polemics rather than dialogue. . . ." (Freire 1973, p. 18)

Individuals spend time together seeking mutual comfort and an escape from the problems of everyday life. They drink together and talk of better times or of the hopelessness of their situation. When they talk of what "should" be done, they inevitably refer to what others should do, or what they must do to reform themselves or the individual oppressor who is violating the system's norms. Better means making the status quo work; a better tomorrow can only mean a perfection of today's norms.

For the naive thinker the important thing is accommodation to this normalized "today." (Freire 1968, p. 81)

- a. Naming: What are the most dehumanizing problems in your life now? Should things be as they are? How should they be

The naive individual sees the ideal system (the church, the law, the government, the coop) as a provider, a source of support with norms and rules governing its conduct. The patron is permitted to pay low wages, but when indians become sick, the patron must care for them. The

patron is permitted to own most of the land, but when the indians bring their baskets of fruit and eggs\* the patron must listen to their complaints. Lawyers are permitted to charge a lot of money, but they must appear to put up a good legal defense. Priests can charge for a baptism, but they must wear their best robes and have a "pretty" ceremony. Problem statements take the form of deviations from ideal expectations, from the legitimate norms of the oppressed, and can be either inner directed or outer directed.

Inner directed norm violations refer to those incidents in which the oppressed see themselves as the problem; their uncleanliness, their habits, their behavior. The oppressed blame themselves for not being like the oppressor or for not meeting the oppressor's expectations for them. Furthermore, they strike out against each other, seeing friends, family, and other peers as the problem. This is referred to by Freire as horizontal aggression and intra-punitiveness.

Outer directed problem statements refer to an individual or group of individuals from the oppressor class who are taking advantage of their role and violating the rules of the paternalistic system. The important distinction here is that the statements inevitably refer to an individual or group of individuals, but never to a system, a complex inter-relationship of individuals coerced by expectations and norms. "So he (hacienda owner) sells the land to whoever, sells it in cash to those rich people who have money." "They (authorities) pay us, but very little."

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\*This is a rural custom which parallels appeasing the gods before asking favors.

- b. Reflecting: Why are things this way? Who or what is to blame?  
What is your role in the situation?

The process of reflection follows logically from the process of naming. Individuals simplistically blame themselves or they blame a specific individual or group of oppressors. This is part of the process Freire calls "playing host to the oppressor." In this sense, individuals are playing host to the oppressors' ideology, to their beliefs. The oppressed internalize those beliefs and make them their own. This is an active process, a deliberate effort, as opposed to the passive acceptance described as part of magical consciousness. If the oppressed blame themselves, they first accept the oppressors' explanation for why things are as they are. "I know a boy who was born on a hacienda and could have made a fortune many times, but he drank instead." "Campesinos drink because they are vice-ridden." "We are backward because we call people to meetings with a cow horn." These are all statements one could expect to hear at a cocktail party of oppressors. But they come from the oppressed, talking about themselves. Interestingly enough, education has become one of the ways in which the oppressed most conspicuously accept the oppressor's explanation. In Latin America, education was traditionally considered either irrelevant for the campesino or the responsibility of the patron. A new emphasis on literacy and on self-help projects has transferred this responsibility to the oppressed. Not only are oppressed individuals unschooled, but they are to blame for not building a school or for not attending classes which are humiliating and irrelevant. Problem statements are straight-forward acceptance of guilt: "I am not doing what I am supposed to do," or "The campesino doesn't study; the campesino doesn't work, the campesino isn't organized." The acceptance of the op-

pressor's explanations leads to self-deprecation, the oppressed are constantly putting themselves down. "We live like animals." "We are dirty." "I can't learn to read and write." Many times oppressed individuals will refer to themselves in the third person: "the campesinos, the people of the campo, the poor people, them" indicating that they see themselves as an object, acted upon, rather than a subject capable of action.

They will make negative references to their peer group; "That is the way these bastards are." "They go bad in their business and they become a woman-chaser and a drunkard." "They drink because they are vice-ridden." (These are all statements made by campesinos about other campesinos.) They will demonstrate a lack of confidence in self and peers and engage in self-pity. "We don't know how to remember, we can't think, there is no one to teach us." Blaming their ancestors is still another way in which the oppressed individuals place blame on themselves. By accusing their family of having done nothing for them, they strike out against their own cultural roots and consequently against themselves.

If, on the other hand, the oppressed individuals blame the oppressor for the norm violations, they will begin to make negative references to the oppressor, indicating an outer-directed aggression. They will see intentionality on the part of the oppressor. "They (authorities) feel that only they should be privileged." "They want from the innocent." "The other families wanted to get a lawyer and did get him out of jail, but he was already beaten up, and if they had left him in jail, the police would have beaten him more." They will see the relationship between the oppressor and their agents. "And what she told her workers to do, they did." They will begin to see contradictions between the oppressor's

image of the system, and the real-life results. "We have the obligation to send our children to school, but we have no money to do it with." They will be able to generalize from one individual oppressor to another. "Not only does the lawyer take advantage of us, but the doctor too when he always tells campesinos that they have liver trouble." It is important to note here that the oppressor is seen as a single individual or as several individuals, but not as a whole group, or as a system.

Oppressed individuals at the naive level of consciousness accept that something is wrong. They can identify specific injustices and relate long stories of how they are exploited. But their understanding does not go beyond blaming individuals. They fail to see that a system of powerful forces act together to coerce both the oppressed and the oppressor. They naively, romantically, nostalgically assume that individuals are basically free agents, independent of the socio-economic system in which they live.

- c. Acting: What can be done? What should be done? What have you done or what will you do?

Individuals' actions are necessarily related to their understanding of the situation. If they feel they are to blame or their peers are to blame, they will work to alter their behavior. They will model the oppressor's behavior. Education will take on more significance as the way to get into the oppressor's system. They will dress differently, try to look like the oppressor physically, and take on the oppressor's habits.

. . . they live in the duality in which to be is to be like, and to be like is to be like the oppressor. . . . (Freire 1968, p. 33)

Two ways of relating to one's peers reflect this attempt to internalize the oppressor's views and behavior, a paternalistic attitude

and leadership style mirroring the good patrons. "They need the help of a community leader." "I am the only one who is awake because the others are blind not knowing to read or write." They can become aggressive, which Freire calls horizontal or misdirected violence.

Chafing under the restrictions of this order, they often manifest a type of horizontal violence, striking out at their own comrades for the pettiest reasons. (Freire 1968, p. 48)

Examples from Ecuadorian campesinos include: "And we stay drunk, fighting with others." "The mayordomo had to pay me, but that indian wouldn't do it." "They (other campesinos) called me deaf and dumb for being a Protestant."

A closely related form of misdirected violence is intra-punitiveness in which individuals turn against themselves and their family. Wife-beating, drunkenness, and gambling are forms of aggression against the self and the family.

If oppressed individuals blame the individual oppressor for violating the norms, they will either seek comfort or form defensive associations. The first tendency is to see strength in numbers, to band together and look for support in unity. But the unity will not necessarily have any external goal other than psychological comfort. After a meeting at which common problems were discussed, a campesino said: "We should have more of these meetings, keep meeting like this, it feels good." This kind of gregariousness is useful in helping to break down the negative stereotypes which campesinos have developed about themselves and their peers. But it can easily be transformed into an escape from reality and a reliance on clichés. "With union there is strength" is a commonly heard phrase in the rural areas of Ecuador. Well-meaning white, change-

agents introduced it, but it has become simply another way in which campesinos blame themselves for their own condition. "If we formed co-operatives we wouldn't have to wait on the rich man." "If someone has a penny, another pays the carpenter, another pays for the nails, then with union and understanding we have strength." In these examples, it is clear that union is seen as a way of making things better, of reforming the situation.

A second alternative is to try to make the existing system work, to use the system, rather than transform it, to get what the individual wants. This is basically a defensive reaction, seeking to use the existing system to reduce the negative consequences of that system. Naive stage individuals will also try to avoid the oppressor, seeking to defend themselves from their actions. Open opposition to an individual oppressor is also considered as a defensive reaction. Even though boldness, and risk-taking are characteristic of the opposition, opposing an individual rather than a group or system is considered naive.

### 3. Critical or Transitive Consciousness

At the third level of consciousness, the issue is transformation of an unjust system, rather than the reformation or destruction of certain individuals. This process of transformation has two aspects: 1) a personal self-affirmation and rejection of playing host, and 2) a conscious empirical attempt to replace the oppressive system with a system both just and malleable. Unlike naive consciousness, the individual does not blame individuals, but rather demonstrates a true understanding of himself and of the system which coerces both the oppressed and the oppressor into collusion.

The critically transitive consciousness is characterized by depth in the interpretation of problems; by the substitution of causal principals for magical explanations; by the testing of one's findings and by openness to revision; by the attempt to avoid distortion when perceiving problems and to avoid preconceived notions when analyzing them; by refusing to transfer responsibility; by rejecting passive positions; by soundness of argumentation; by the practice of dialogue rather than polemics; by receptivity to the new for reasons beyond mere novelty and by the good sense not to reject the old just because it is old; by accepting what is valid in both old and new. (Freire 1973, p. 18)

NAMING: What are the most dehumanizing problems in your life now? Should things be as they are? How should they be?

Oppressed individuals moving into the third stage of consciousness come to realize that no matter how hard they try, they cannot be like the oppressor, and they decide they do not want to be like the oppressor. A growing sense of self-worth allows them to reject the oppressor as a role model. They focus upon their own ethnicity, not because they hate the oppressor and want to be different, but because they want to be themselves unique persons who are honest about their heritage and their habits. In answer to the question, "Should things be as they are?" they may respond, "No, because I am not allowed to be myself; I want to be me." Or, "Everyone tries to control us, telling us what to be like. Why can't we decide for ourselves?"

It is not only the results of their relationship with the oppressor but the very nature of that relationship which becomes important. What the naive individual sees as the "good" patron, the critical individual sees as patronizing white liberalism. Anger and indignation result even if help, support, and tangible benefits are the consequences of paternalism. It is more important to do it yourself even if you fail, than to have it done for you and succeed. "How can they (the oppressor) help

us; they only try to make themselves feel good, appear as though they are making the revolution." "No matter what we do, they will take credit for our growth, but we know better." This is not a mere shutting out of the oppressor, it is a conscious effort toward creating something new.

Self-esteem, both personal and ethnic will replace negative references to self and peers. Instead of the "lazy campesino," more frequent references are made to the "campesino's solidarity" and the "campesino's understanding of nature." Stupidity and unfitness will be seen as products of oppression rather than inherent qualities. More and more references will be made to the ignorance and ineptness of the oppressor. They become vulnerable individuals, losing their mythical quality of omnipotence and the irrational qualities of demonic evilness.

Oppressed individuals gradually come to feel like a "subject" rather than an "object." Sentence structure increasingly emphasizes "I" and "we" as opposed to "me" and "us." Third person objectification of the oppressed (the campesinos, the poor) disappear in favor of "us" and "our problems, our strengths." Community problems rather than personal problems are emphasized.

Individuals come to focus on the "system." They see specific rules, events, relationships, and procedures as merely examples of systematic institutionalized injustice. Deviation and deprivations are not the exception but the rule. The consequences are not unique to a single time and place and person, but long-lasting, wide-spread, and generalized. Their anger and indignation are not directed at an individual, but at the policies, norms, procedures and laws which that individual enforces. "Why blame Richard Nixon; the trouble is with capitalism."

REFLECTING: Why are things this way? Who or what is to blame? What is your role in the situation?

Being able to name the problem as the system and not as a single individual allows oppressed individuals to understand 1) how they collude to make the system work, and 2) how the oppressor colludes to make it work. They see what "playing host to the oppressor" means in terms of their own actions. They see that while an individual hacendado may be evil, the problem is much more complex, involving historical tradition, vested interests, and political power. Sympathy and understanding of one's peers, replaces the self-pity characteristic of naive consciousness. Rather than constant references as to how put down "they" are, the individual begins to explain why "we" are as we are. Instead of statements such as "They spend all day in the sun, poor guys," the critical individual says, "We drink (alcohol) because it hurts to be poor." Blame is placed on oneself, on others, and on the system of relationships which binds them together.

The oppressor is no longer invulnerable, rather an ordinary wo/man with weaknesses and faults. As the oppresseds' image of the oppressor becomes more realistic, their image of self and peer group also become more realistic. They come to see that self and peers are not only good, but also powerful. They overtly reject horizontal violence and intra-punitiveness. From the oppressive experience, they have acquired a unique sense of purpose and a unique set of skills. Their struggle has made them strong, and it is this strength rather than the oppressor's goodwill, which eventually will make them free. There is a full-scale rejection of the oppressor's ideology including the oppressor's behavior and beliefs. Reflecting at the critical state of consciousness oppressed individuals are

able to clearly define the contradictions between their own actions and their liberation goals. Individuals see clearly how they collude to make the system work. This may result in blaming oneself, but this is not self-deprecation, but rather a realistic understanding of one's weaknesses.

At the second sub-level of critical consciousness, the oppressed individual generalizes from one oppressive system to another. Not only do individuals see how the lawyer and the priest take advantage of them, they see the relationship between the banking system which denies loans to rural farmers because they lack capital, and a religious system which requires the richest campesino each year to spend all his earnings on a festival for the entire community. Both systems operate to keep the campesino poor and both are systems rather than the results of a particular evil individual. This allows the individual to see the contradiction between the system's rhetoric and its real-life results.

Critical consciousness represents "things and facts as they exist empirically in their causal and circumstantial correlations. . . . (Freire 1973, p. 44)

Critical reflection places emphasis on a scientific attitude toward the world in considering both the system and in understanding how one has played host to the oppressor. The analysis goes beyond self and extends out to macro-socio-economic spheres. Individuals see how world economics operate to coerce and manipulate the oppressive system on a micro- or community level, and consequently perceive the need for group power to combat its effects.

ACTING: What can be done? What should be done? What have you done or what will you do?

Actions take two directions; toward self-actualizing and toward transforming the system. The individual must seek out new role models. A search for individuals who are neither fanatics nor oppressors is a good indicator of critical activity. Faith in peers is demonstrated through reliance on peer learning. "We have learned that we can learn from each other." Aggressiveness is directed against the oppressor and/or against the system. Reliance is placed on community resources rather than dependence on outsiders. Actions demonstrate the importance of community participation - community defined as the extended oppressed group as well as a limited geographical area of residence. Accompanying a reliance on community there is also reliance on self which may appear to the oppressor as arrogance. New information, new perspectives are tested and revised according to the results of actions. Deliberate attempts are made to locate new information: reading, discussing, traveling take on new importance. Reflection and action become inter-dependent, a constant cycle of thinking and doing designed to improve the accuracy of understanding. This process Freire calls praxis which is opposed to either excessive emphasis on rhetoric and hypothesizing which he calls naive verbalism or on isolated actions he calls naive activism.

Boldness and risk-taking becomes more a part of the individuals' style. They are less afraid of change than they are sick of the status quo. They are more willing to act in ways which previously seemed dangerous and inappropriate. As they realize that it is the system that is to blame, they are able to act in ways which the system defines as wrong. "Look friends, when 50 of us go, they cannot beat up all of us." Or, "We should go directly to the head authorities." Both of these activities

threaten the paternalistic system because they are outside of the accepted norms. The system may try to defend itself by adjusting its norms to include inappropriate behavior. Demonstrations are now accepted as normal in the United States. But when Saul Alinsky threatened to occupy all the toilets in Chicago's International Airport for an entire day, this represented more than a mere demonstration. Inappropriateness was elevated to another level beyond the system's ability to adjust, and the threat alone worked.

The self-actualizing process we have described is in part an ejection of the oppressor, an exorcism of the values and habits which the oppressed have been forced to swallow. Unlike the fanatic, the critical individual will not seek out conflict, but will be prepared to accept conflict if it comes. The rejection may inhibit the oppressed individual's ability to maintain normal relationships with members of the oppressor group. At the same time, an inner growth begins through which the individual finds a unique historical and personal identity to fill the void left by the oppressor. Instead of raving against the oppressor, the individual is interested in talking to his peers. Hating the oppressor is simply less important than understanding one's peers. It is a pro-peer, rather than an anti-oppressor stance.

Once the oppressor has been ejected and the process of self-actualization begun, the individual is free to explore cooperation as a way of transforming the unjust system. Cooperation differs from massification not necessarily in the size of the group but in the quality of the relationships which hold the group together. Critical level organizations of oppressed peoples see power not as a way to destroy the oppressor or as a

means of defending themselves against the oppressor, but as a way of creating a system of justice, a new system of relationships. One can imagine a cooperative formed to get better prices at the local market. But a truly transforming cooperative movement would attempt to create a model system, an alternative to rural capitalism, a new way of looking at the relationship between producer and consumer. The distinctive mark of critical consciousness is the relationship established among the oppressed themselves.

Radicalization . . . is predominantly critical, loving, humble, and communicative, and therefore a positive stance. The man who has made a radical option does not deny another man's right to choose, nor does he try to impose his own choice. He can discuss respective positions. He is convinced he is right, but respects another man's prerogative to judge himself correct. He tries to convince and convert, not to crush his opponent. (Freire 1973, p. 10)

### Fanaticized Consciousness

Fanaticized consciousness is not one of the three principal developmental stages of conscientizacao, but rather a distortion which Freire discusses as being somewhere between naive and critical consciousness. Even though Fanaticized consciousness is not a part of the Code described in Appendix C, a brief discussion of it is included here because Freire places a good deal of emphasis on its possible dangers. Fanaticized consciousness may be one of several major semi-levels which lie between the three basic levels identified by Freire.

There is a close potential relationship between naive transivity and massification. If a person does not move from naive transivity to critical consciousness but instead falls into a fanatacized conscious-  
ness, he will become even more disengaged from reality than in the semi-intransitive state. (Freire 1968, p. 20)

The emphasis in fanaticized consciousness is on massification; not the transformation of an oppressive situation into a liberating one, but rather the exchange of one oppressive situation for another. Through massification, the oppressed become tools, manipulated by a small group of charismatic leaders.

Men are defeated and dominated though they don't know it; they fear freedom, though they believe themselves to be free. They follow general formulas and prescriptions as if by their own choice. They are directed; they do not direct themselves. (Freire 1968, p. 20)

Those who lead, do so through the creation of a mythical individual, the "super-ethnic," who embodies all the cultural stereotypes of the oppressed group. This super-ethnic becomes both the protagonist in a life and death struggle against the oppressor and the ideal against which the oppressed must measure themselves. Rather than playing host to the oppressor, the oppressed are asked to play host to a distorted and irrational image of themselves.

In the semi-intransitive state men are predominantly illogical; in fanaticized consciousness the distortion of reason makes them irrational. (Freire 1968, p. 20)

Polemics and emotional rhetoric are more evidence of this irrationality. In order to ensure that the oppressed will follow blindly rather than participating creatively in the transformation process, speeches replace discussion circles, and harangues replace dialogue.

Freire points to the prevalence of this attitude among "populist" leaders who appear to be genuinely revolutionary but who in fact seek to control and manipulate the revolution for their own ends.

Since the populist leader simply manipulates, instead of fighting for authentic popular organization, this type of leader serves the revolution little if at all. (Freire 1968, p. 147)

NAMING: What are the most dehumanizing problems in your life now?  
Should things be as they are? How should they be?

For the fanatic, the most crucial problem is the oppressor, the incarnation of evil, the enemy to be destroyed. Nothing good can be said about the oppressor. They are seen not as individuals equally victimized by the system, but as rather the demonic cause of oppression. Opposing the evil oppressor is the all-good "super-ethnic." Ethnic values of the oppressed take precedence over any rational evaluation of the appropriateness of different values. "Typical" dress, traditional hair styles and common habits are idealizations through which the "super-ethnic" takes on concrete form.

REFLECTING: Why are things this way? Who or what is to blame?  
What is your role in the situation?

Genuine reflection is replaced by polemics and emotional rhetoric. Standard prescriptions are offered rather than critical analysis. Any understanding of the oppressor is unscientific and favors harangues which decry them and their class as evil. The "system" is naively understood as a deliberate instrument of the oppressor class, rather than the result of historical processes which hold both oppressor and oppressed captive. Indeed, the system is nothing more than a synonym for oppressor class.

The people are no more than spectators at the oppressor's destruction; a convenient justification for the leaders' own needs. Freire identifies this fanaticism with sectarianism.

Sectarianism is predominantly emotional and uncritical. The sectarian wishes the people to be present at the historical process as activists, maneuvered by intoxicating propaganda. They are not supposed to think. Someone else will think for them; and it is as proteges, as children, that the sectarian sees them. (Freire 1973, p. 11)

ACTING: What can be done? What should be done? What have you done or what will you do?

Action is directed toward massification and toward destroying the oppressor. Because the end is seen to justify the means, there is little time for dialogue with the oppressed. Charismatic leaders must arise who will lead the oppressed to victory. Domesticating leadership focuses on the oppressed individuals' inability to lead themselves. A new society is less important than the apocalypse which will purge and punish the oppressor. Participation must await liberation. Action is the imperative. Conflict with the oppressor is sought as the only solution; it is welcomed, hailed as the cleansing purge against evil.

Disrespecting the choices of others, he (the sectarian) tries to impose his own choice on everyone else. Herein lies the inclination of the sectarian to activism; action without the vigilance of reflection; herein his taste for sloganizing, which generally remains at the level of myths and half-truths and attributes absolute value to the purely relative. (Freire 1973, p. 11)

The sectarian, either of the right or the left, is doomed to failure because if they succeed at all, it is to replace one tyranny with another. For like the oppressor, they hate, they are trapped by their own contradictions, denied a genuine relationship with the oppressed by their own myths.

Sectarians can never carry out a truly liberating revolution because they are themselves unfree. (Freire 1973, p. 12)

The concern of the fanaticized individual is change, but not necessarily transformation. The processes are oppressive in that they lead the oppressed rather than work with the oppressed. The goal is to destroy the oppressor, which may result in their substitution by yet another oppressor. The fanaticized individual is concerned with oppressive groups,

not with norms, rules, regulations, but with the power individuals who make them. The oppressed are seen as children who must be led, not mature individuals capable of critical participation.

### Conscientizacao Coding Categories Outline

#### Magical Consciousness

##### I. Naming

1. Problem Denial
  - a. Overt Denial
  - b. Problem avoidance
2. Survival Problems
  - a. Poor physical state/health
  - b. Poverty
  - c. Lack of Work
  - d. Insufficient work
  - e. Money as end in itself

##### II. Reflecting

1. Simplistic Causal Relationships
  - a. Blames physical state/health
  - b. Blames objects over people
2. Facts Attributed to Superior Powers
  - a. Uncontrollable factors: God/Fate/Luck/Age/etc.
  - b. Fear of Oppressor
  - c. Oppressor as inevitable winner
  - d. Empathy for oppressor

##### III. Acting

1. Fatalism
  - a. Resignation
  - b. Acceptance
2. Passively Playing Host to Oppressor
  - a. Waiting for "good": luck/patron
  - b. Dependence on oppressor

#### Naive Consciousness

##### I. Naming

1. Oppressed Deviates from Ideal Expectations
  - a. Oppressed not like oppressor/oppressed not meet oppressor's expectations
  - b. Horizontal aggressiveness/intra-punitiveness

## II. Reflecting

1. Blames Oppressed
  - a. Accepts oppressor's expectations (education as end in itself)
  - b. Self-peer deprecations
  - c. Blames ancestors
  - d. Self-pity
2. Understands How Individual Oppressor Violates Norms
  - a. Sees intentionality by oppressor
  - b. Sees relationships between oppressor/oppressor's agents
  - c. Generalizes from one individual oppressor to another

## III. Naming

1. Actively Playing Host to Oppressor (Collusion)
  - a. Models oppressor's behavior (education, dress, habits)
  - b. Misdirected aggression (horizontal aggression/intra-punitiveness)
  - c. Paternalistic towards peers
  - d. Meets oppressor's expectations
2. Defending
  - a. Gregariousness
  - b. Makes system work
  - c. Avoids oppressor
  - d. Opposes individual oppressor
  - e. Change environment

## Critical Consciousness

### I. Naming

1. Rejection of Oppressor Groups/Self-Peer Affirmation
  - a. Rejects oppressor groups
  - b. Seeks to maintain ethnicity
  - c. Seeks to affirm uniqueness
2. Transform System
  - a. Procedures-people
  - b. Rejects oppressive system

### II. Reflecting

1. Understands/Rejects Oppressors' Ideology and Their Collusion
  - a. Sympathy/understanding of peers
  - b. Self-critical/sees contradictions between actions and critical goals
  - c. Rejects horizontal aggression/affirms self
  - d. Sees oppressor as weak/victim of system
  - e. Rejects oppressor/oppressor's ideology
  - f. Generalizes from one oppressive group to another

2. Understands How System Works
  - a. Sees system as cause
  - b. Sees contradictions between rhetoric/results
  - c. Macro-socio-economic analysis
  - d. Generalizes from one oppressive system to another

### III. Acting

1. Self-Actualizing
  - a. Seeks appropriate role models
  - b. Personal/ethnic self-esteem
  - c. Self-growth/transforming learning
  - d. Subject/actor
  - e. Faith in peers/peer learning
  - f. Boldness/risk-taking/unorthodox solutions
  - g. Reliance on community resources/participation
  - h. Opposes oppressor groups
2. Transforming the System
  - a. Dialogue-polemics
  - b. Comradeship
  - c. Scientific approach
  - d. Change norms/laws/procedures

### Summary

Conscientizacao is a process of growth through three distinct but inter-related stages: magical, naive, and critical consciousness. Archetypical magical individuals conform to the oppressive situation in which they find themselves. They define problems related to basic survival concerns and feel that these problems are governed by powers beyond their control. Their actions are divided between passive acceptance of events and active appeasement of the powers which they see as in control of their lives.

The naive level of consciousness, at which the oppressed individual desires to reform a basically sound system which has been corrupted by evil individuals who violate the system's norms and rules, is divided into two sub-levels: A). At the first sub-level, individuals blame them-

selves and their peers for the norm violations. They play host to the oppressor's beliefs by engaging in self-guilt and horizontal violence. Their actions are directed at changing themselves, becoming more like the oppressor; more education, more powerful, more white. B). At the second sub-level, the oppressed individuals blame an individual oppressor, or a particular oppressor group, for the norm violations. They see how the oppressor's actions are harmful and intentional, but they attribute their cause to individual maliciousness. Their actions are directed at defending themselves from the consequences of this particular oppressor's violations.

Critically conscious individuals perceive the "system" as in need of transformation. No mere patching of the relationship between oppressor and oppressed will change the basic reality that the system, a coercive set of norms which govern both oppressed and oppressor, is the cause of oppression. The process of transformation begins with a rejection, a casting out of the oppressor's ideology and leads to an increased sense of self-worth and peer power. Thought is scientific and extends beyond the immediate examples of oppression to the macro-socio-economic sphere where events are placed in a global context. Critical individuals begin a process of seeking new role-models, relying on self and community resources, boldness, risk-taking, and independence of the oppressor. This new approach to problem-solving, an approach in which dialogue with peers replaces polemics, allows the oppressed individual to formulate actions from which true liberation, true transformation can result.

Fanaticized consciousness is an aberration, a distortion of true "C" growth which lies somewhere between the naive and critical stages of

consciousness. Conceptually, it proposes an inevitable struggle between oppressor and oppressed; a struggle which relies for success on charismatic leaders who are idealized as the "super-ethnic" and who are justified in using any means to achieve their ends. Fanaticized consciousness may lead to the destruction of the oppressor, but it does so through massification, through the subjection of the oppressor by the oppressed and consequently is not a path toward true liberation.

A second distortion, or aberration, may occur between magical and naive consciousness. "Playing Host to the Oppressor" takes as the critical issue identification, modeling of the oppressor. The modeling may be either passive, in which oppressed individuals rely upon the oppressor for decision and action, or active, in which the oppressed attempt to change themselves to be like the oppressor.

#### B. Conscientizaçao As A Developmental Educational Theory

In an article entitled, "Development as the Aim of Education," Lawrence Kohlberg and Rochelle Mayer identify three basic streams of educational thought: "romanticism" which they identify with the work of Rousseau, and more recently, the free-school movement; "Cultural transmission" which they associate with traditional academic education and with the Skinnerean behavioralism; and finally, "progressivism" which they exemplify through the developmental educational theories of Dewey and Piaget. During this process of comparison, Kohlberg/Mayer set out what they feel to be the basic characteristics of a developmental educational ideology. In this part of Chapter IV, these characteristics will be compared with Freire's understanding of conscientizaçao as outlined in both

Pedagogy of the Oppressed and Education for Critical Consciousness. The purpose of this section will be to indicate how Freire's concept might correspond to the characteristics which Kohlberg and Mayer define as developmental, and as such may constitute a cohesive developmental theory. It is important to realize that this is a lens which the author is applying to Freire's work, and not one which Freire uses himself.

A. Development is defined as "a progression through invariant ordered sequential stages. (Kohlberg/Mayer 1972, p. 454)

Kohlberg and Mayer see specific developmental stages as a basic unit of a developmental theory. These stages, rather than the inner self of the romantics, or the environmental stimuli of the behaviorist, are the focus of educational activity. Each individual is confronted with the same developmental path, achievement is not always guaranteed, because development results from the interaction of external environment and inner understanding, but the stages do not vary.

Freire does not discuss stages directly. However, in certain passages, he suggests that his perception of human growth is dominated by movement through various stages or "themes" as he refers to them.

An historical epoch is characterized by a series of aspirations, concerns, and values in search of fulfillment; by ways of being and behaving; by more or less generalized aptitudes. The concrete representations of many of these aspirations, concerns, and values, as well as the obstacles to their fulfillment, constitute the themes of that epoch, which in turn indicate tasks to be carried out. (Freire 1973, p. 5)

In this passage, Freire is talking of an historical period rather than the development of a single individual or group. Later, however, he relates these themes to the levels of understanding in the Brazilian people.

Such an education would take into the most serious account the various levels at which the Brazilian people perceived their reality, as being of the greatest importance for the process of their humanization. Therein lay my own concern to analyze these historically and culturally conditioned levels of understanding. (Freire 1973, p. 17)

These levels are much closer to what Kohlberg and Mayer describe as stages. Freire suggests here that they are historically and culturally determined indicating that he feels that they are the result not only of the individual's inner self, but also of the world in which that individual finds himself, of the historical and cultural factors which that world has generated.

At another point, Freire says:

The more accurately men grasp true causality, the more critical their understanding of reality will be. Their understanding will be magical to the degree that they fail to grasp causality. Further critical consciousness always submits that causality to analysis; what is true today may not be so tomorrow. Naive consciousness sees causality as a static, established fact, and thus is deceived in its perception. (Freire 1973, p. 44)

Here Freire is defining the characteristic of specific levels or stages of consciousness. This passage suggests that Freire sees development in terms of sequential stages, magical, naive, critical. One does not begin as critical and become magical, nor move from magical to critical, nor move freely between the three stages. Development is a progression from magical to naive to critical, it is an emergence from temporality.

Men exist in time. They are inside. They are outside. They inherit. They incorporate. They modify. Men are not imprisoned with 'today;' they emerge, and become temporalized. (Freire 1973, p. 4)

B. These different modes of thought form an invariant sequence, order, or succession in individual development. While cultural factors may speed up, slow down, or stop development, they do not change its sequence. (Kohlberg/Mayer 1972, p. 458)

Once again, Freire does not address this question openly at any length. Rather, we must rely on implication and logical consistency. However, at one point, he comes very close to making a definite statement indicating that he feels that development is invariant and sequential. While discussing the development of the Brazilian consciousness, he says:

While it would be impossible to return the emerging masses to their previous state of submersion, it might be possible to lead them to immobility and silence in the name of their own freedom. (Freire 1973, p. 10)

This statement seems consistent with Kohlberg and Mayer's belief that cultural factors can slow down or stop development, but not take it backwards, even though Freire is referring to groups rather than individuals. They discuss, for example, the possibility that children may develop at different speeds and indeed may stop their development at a given stage before achieving the final stage of development. This sounds very much like what Freire calls "distortions," or "deflections."

In the last analysis, retreats do not deter the transition. They do not constitute backward movement, although they can retard movement or distort\* it. (Freire 1973, p. 9)

In short, naive transitive consciousness can evolve toward critical transitivity, characteristic of a legitimately democratic mentality, or it can be deflected\* toward the debased, clearly dehumanized fanaticized consciousness characteristic of massification. (Freire 1973, p. 9)

The important similarity between the Kohlberg/Mayer assertion and Freire, is that the stages constitute an invariant sequence, capable of distortion, but ultimately inviolate.

C. Each of these different and sequential modes of thought forms a "structural whole." (Kohlberg/Mayer 1972, p. 458)

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\*Emphasis is author's.

Kohlberg and Mayer point out that the developmental stages are not superficial constructs related to maturation; they do not represent the "typical" behavior of a given age. Rather, they are structural wholes which define major conceptions of thought. They are a world-view, a tool for understanding oneself and the world, and the interaction between self and world. Freire, when discussing the role of the extension agent, makes a very similar point.

I said that education as a gnosiological condition means the problematization of the content of which educator and educatee as Subjects in the process of knowing concentrate. The Subjects in the process of knowing, in their co-intentionality towards the object, penetrate it in search of its raison d'etre. And the object, in revealing itself to the Subjects, appears to them within a structural system in which it is in direct or indirect relation with another object. The object (which can be a problem-situation) initially "entered into" as if it were an isolated whole, "gives itself up" to the subject in the process of knowing as a "sub-whole" which in turn forms part of a greater totality. Step by step the Subjects in the process of knowing advance towards the union of the parts which make up the whole . . . In a sense, any effort implies an effort towards totalization.\*  
(Freire 1973, p. 157)

Clearly, Freire is concerned with mental processes which constitute structural wholes, which do not divide the world into behavioral compartments, but rather see the mental process as a structural unit, held together by a common understanding.

D. "Cognitive stages are hierarchial integrations. Stages form an order of increasingly differentiated and integrated structures to fulfill a common function." (Kohlberg/Mayer 1972, p. 458)

The states are not only sequential, they are hierarchial. Each state is superior to the previous one, and the final state of development represents the achievement of a higher goal. Superiority is based upon the fact that each stage is more differentiated and more integrated. Each state brings

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\*Emphasis placed by author.

the individual closer to an understanding of how the world interacts with the self. If an individual at the magical level of consciousness is unable to perceive events as having causes outside of the super-natural, the critical individual sees the super-natural as only one possible factor related to causality. The critical individual has more conceptual options; they are more integrated with the world.

The integrated person is person as Subject. In contrast, the adaptive person is person as object, adaptation representing at most a weak self-defense. If man is incapable of changing reality, he adjusts himself instead. Adaptation is behavior characteristic of the animal sphere; exhibited by man, it is symptomatic of his dehumanization. (Freire 1973, p. 4)

Freire clearly accepts an hierarchial view of development. He sees that men move from "adaptation" to a higher, more human, level of integration where the person acts upon the world as well as being subjected to the world.

E. Progressive ideology, in turn, rests on the value postulates of ethical liberalism. This position rejects traditional standards and value-relativism in favor of ethical universals. (Kohlberg/Mayer 1972, p. 472)

Kohlberg and Mayer make an important point in discussing the value position of different educational ideologies. They reject value-relativism as a position based upon what they call the "naturalistic fallacy."

As practiced by psychologists, the naturalistic fallacy is the direct derivation of statements about what human nature, human values, and human desires ought to be from the psychological statements about what they are. (Kohlberg/Mayer 1972, p. 466)

This fallacy allows an educator to adopt the position of a value-free consultant. Their task is simply to help the "client" determine how to do, but not what to do. Educational goals are determined by statements of psychological fact. Because positive reinforcers exist, they are good.

But Kohlberg and Mayer point out, "on what bases are they good?" What is the standard by which they are judged? Value-relativism furthermore defines the educator's task as the promotion of "cultural survival." That is, that a given culture has the right to survive, and it is the task of the educator to discover the means for that survival. Typically, this school of thought argues that cultural values are relative; there are no universal standards against which different cultures can be adjudicated. All values are equally valid because they are all derived from human cultures.

Developmentalists reject this position. They do not believe that all values are equally valid. An extreme example offered by Kohlberg/Mayer is the Nazi culture. Does it have a right to survive? Are its values equally valid? Is slavery a cultural value which merits survival? Many have questioned modern North American values with their emphasis on materialism and commercialism.

The progressives, or developmentalists, focus on the universality of the developmental states. They argue that these stages are culture-free because they represent "developmentally advanced or mature stages of reasoning, judgment, and action." (Kohlberg/Mayer 1972, p. 475) It is good to promote development because each stage represents a higher human state, as Freire says conscientizaçao promotes "humanization." These stages are invariant and are validated not only by psychological investigation, but by philosophical enquiry as well. They constitute rational ethical principles. As Kohlberg and Mayer state:

This implies an internal standard of adequacy governing development; it implies that development is not just any behavior change, but a change toward greater differentiation, integration, and adaptation. (Kohlberg/Mayer 1972, p. 483)

Freire puts it this way:

One of the basic preoccupations must be the greater penetration of the "prise de conscience" which operates in human beings when they act and when they work. . . . If the prise de conscience goes beyond the mere apprehension of the presence of a fact, and places it critically in the system of relationships within the totality in which it exists, it transcends itself, deepens, and becomes conscientization. (Freire 1973, p. 148)

This deepening toward a universal goal, this internal standard which is cross-cultural seems to suggest that education should be channeled toward development of these universal characteristics. Must education then become doctrinaire, must it impose developmental growth, is its task to dictate? Both Freire and Kohlberg/Mayer are clear on this point.

F. . . .mature thought emerges through a process that is neither direct biological maturization nor direct learning, but rather a reorganization of psychological structures resulting from organism-environment interaction. (Kohlberg/Mayer 1972, p. 457)

To this point, Freire speaks loudly and clearly. He says over and over again that understanding results from an interaction of the individual with the world around them.

Idealism errs in affirming that ideas which are separate from reality govern the historical process. So does the mechanistic objectivism which transforms human beings into abstractions and denies them their presence as beings of decision in historical transformation. (Freire 1973, p. 146)

Education as the practice of freedom - as opposed to education as the practice of domination - denies that man is abstract, isolated, independent and unattached to the world; it also denies that the world exists as a reality apart from men. Authentic reflection considers neither abstract man nor the world without men, but men in their relations with the world. In these relations, consciousness and world are simultaneous: consciousness neither preceded the world nor follows it. (Freire 1968, p. 69)

Both Freire and Kohlberg/Mayer contrast their views with those views of the romantics (idealism in Freire's vocabulary) and the behavior-  
alists (mechanical objectivism in Freire's vocabulary). For the romantics,

it is the inner self, that private, personal, individual seed planted in each person which must be allowed to flourish. The world is no more than a pot into which the seed is planted. The behaviorists see the world as a set of stimuli, and the individual a machine which responds to those stimuli. Education is the search for appropriate stimuli to produce the appropriate response. Kohlberg/Mayer and Freire see development in terms of progression through a series of hierarchial stages, and believe that growth is an interaction between the external world and the internal self. It is a dialectical relationship which confronts the individual with the world.

In the progressive view, this aim requires an educational environment that actively stimulates development through the presentation of resolvable but genuine problems or conflicts. (Kohlberg/Mayer 1972, p. 454)

The cognitive-developmental metaphor is not material, it is dialectical; it is a model of the progression of ideas in discourse and conversation. If the dialectic metaphor, a core of universal ideas are redefined and reorganized as their implications are played out in experience and as they are confronted by their opposites in argument and discourse. (Kohlberg/Mayer 1972, p. 456)

The core of Freire's educational method is dialogue. It is often referred to by that name. In this sense, his educational ideology can most clearly be identified as developmental.

Authentic education is not carried on by 'A' for 'B' or by 'A' about 'B', but rather by 'A' with 'B', mediated by the world - a world which impresses and challenges both parties, giving rise to views or opinions about it. (Freire 1968, p. 83)

Dialogue is the encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world. (Freire 1968, p. 76)

The process which Freire describes as dialogical is necessarily non-dogmatic. It does not impose the world on an individual, but is rather a process through which two or more individuals seek the world. The educa-

tor's task is to pose questions, to confront the world, not to provide answers or define the world. Kohlberg and Mayer put it this way:

Reference to such principles (scientific inquiry) is non-indoctrinative if these principles are not presented as formulae to be learned ready-made or as rote patterns grounded in authority. Rather, they are part of a process of reflection by the student and teacher. (Kohlberg/Mayer 1972, p. 475)

G. Morality is neither the internalization of established cultural values nor the unfolding of spontaneous impulses and emotions; it is justice, the reciprocity between the individual and others in his social environment. (Kohlberg/Mayer, 1972, p. 455)

One goal of education is justice. Justice is derived as much from the fact that the developmental stages constitute a universal standard against which to value human existence, as it does from the dialogical process through which this growth takes place. Consequently, it is just to promote developmental growth toward self-actualization, integration, and/or conscientizaçao and it is unjust to hinder that growth.

But while both humanization and dehumanization are real alternatives, only the first is man's vocation. This vocation is constantly negated, yet it is affirmed by that very negation. It is thwarted by injustice, exploitation, oppression, and the violence of the oppressors; it is affirmed by the yearning of the oppressed for freedom and justice, and by their struggle to recover their lost humanity. (Freire 1968, p. 28)

This does not mean that certain principles of justice are formulated and then transferred to the young, nor does it mean that the individual is allowed to unfold an inner self which contains pre-packaged principles of justice. Justice is a process which is lived, not a commodity which is traded.

This then is why I say that "education as the practice of freedom" is not the transfer, or transmission of knowledge of cultures. Nor is it the extension of technical knowledge. It is not the act of depositing reports or facts in the educatee. It is not the "perpetuation of the values of a given culture." It is not "an attempt to adapt the educatee to the milieu." I see "education as the practice of freedom" above all a truly gnosiological situation. p. 149, ECC

The liberal school recognizes that ethical principles determine the ends as well as the means of education. Not only are the rights of the child to be respected by the teacher, but the child's development is to be stimulated so that he may come to respect and defend his own rights and the rights of others. (Kohlberg/Mayer, p. 473)

### Summary

One conceptual lens which can be applied to conscientizaçao, as described by Freire, is structural developmentalism. This lens focuses on the existence of three distinct conceptual stages: magical, naive, and critical consciousness. Each stage is consequently conceived as a structural whole. They represent internally consistent perspectives which influence how individuals perceive themselves, the world, and their interaction in the world, particularly as related to socio-political events. Magical, naive, and critical are names given to the complex and profound inter-relationship of how an individual's name, understand and act upon the world. Using this lens, Freire's stages are also sequential and hierarchical. Individuals are not free to move at will between stages, but rather follow a definite growth pattern which leads from magical through naive, to critical consciousness. While all individuals may not achieve critical consciousness, while some may remain at either magical or naive levels of consciousness, once a level is achieved, it is assumed that individuals cannot return to previous levels. The sequence is also universal for all individuals and the order not dependent upon cultural or personality factors. While culture and individual personality may influence how rapidly growth from one stage to another takes place, it cannot alter the pattern or sequence of growth.

Each stage in the sequence is also hierarchical. Critical consciousness is more differentiated and integrated than magical. On this basis, it is legitimate to suggest that critical consciousness represents a higher or "better" stage of consciousness. By adopting this position, Freire is demonstrating a moral position which appears similar to that defined by Kohlberg and Mayer as represented in ethical universals and, in turn, rejecting a position of value relativism. If stages are hierarchical and universal, they should constitute an inner standard of good, a natural goal towards which individuals can proceed.

Growth from one stage to another occurs as an individual comes in contact with the world. Developmental education's task is to bring the individual in contact with the world in a critical way. Its task is to pose problems, not to provide answers. It is dialogical in that it promotes a horizontal relationship between individuals involved in answering the questions posed. In this way, Freire avoids transforming the hierarchical stages of consciousness into a doctrinaire educational process. Developmental growth, unlike information-transfer or habit formation, is not a function of rote-memorization or stimuli-response, but rather a conceptual negotiation between individual understanding and the world. Individuals come to understand the world and themselves more completely because each new question leads to a more differentiated and integrated answer. The goal of this process is justice, a relationship between individuals within the world, in which they are not hindered in their pursuit of the developmental goal.

The lens of structural developmentalism is not one which Freire applies to his own work. As one way of conceiving of conscientizaçao,

it is fought with weaknesses. Consciousness, for example, may be situational rather than sequential and hierarchical. Individuals may demonstrate magical consciousness in one situation (the marriage context) and critical consciousness in another situation (the work context). It may be possible for individuals, even within the same situational context, to regress to a previous stage, thereby contradicting the hierarchical nature of stages as described by Kohlberg/Mayer. Care should be taken in applying the Kohlberg/Mayer criterion to Freire. The value of that criterion lies more in the questions it raises, than in the answers it provides. A number of these questions are presented in Chapter VI of this study.

CHAPTER V

THE VALIDATION PROCESS

A. Overview

Is the "C" code an accurate predictor of real-life behavior? Is it capable of distinguishing between the thought samples of two groups of individuals which have demonstrated significantly different socio-political behavior? Will the factors distinguished by the code correlate positively with the distinction made by the socio-political criteria? If so, then one indication that the verbal code can predict non-verbal behavior exists. The coding categories and the definitions of consciousness levels would then be related in a positive way to real-life behavior. This is the task which the validation process addresses.

In order to establish initial validity given the relatively modest resources available, the following experimental design was developed. Stage criteria were developed which relied on factors other than verbal behavior, such as job status, economic success, formal schooling, language, social mobility, and demonstrated aggressiveness. Importance was attached to criteria which distinguish between individuals with relatively similar socio-economic backgrounds, as it was necessary to use the same protocol collection instrument on both groups. As it was highly unlikely that the author would be able to identify in Ecuador a sufficiently large number of critical-level individuals with the same socio-economic background as magical-level individuals, it was decided to develop non-verbal stage criteria which distinguished between magical and naive level individuals.

Two groups of individuals then were selected: one group of eight which the non-verbal criteria predicted were magical, and one group of nine which it predicted were naive. These two groups were each given the protocol collection instrument using tape-recorded individual interviews. The interviews were conducted in the language with which the individual felt most comfortable, either Spanish or Quechua. The tape recordings were later transcribed and translated, when necessary, into Spanish. The transcriptions were then reviewed in detail by members of the respondent's culture-group to insure that they were accurate representations of what the respondents were saying. The transcriptions were then coded and the coding results translated into specific coding scores for each individual.

The scores of the two groups were analyzed statistically using the Mann Whitney U Test. The results of this statistical analysis are presented in detail in this chapter. They indicate a highly significant difference between the two groups. What follows is a detailed explanation of the process described briefly in this overview.

## B. Selection of Magical and Naive Groups

### 1. Why Magical and Naive Groups?

The author wished to build upon his experience in Ecuador in determining the criteria for selecting two different experimental groups. Because his work with the nonformal education project had been principally with rural individuals, it was convenient that the rural population be the focus for group selection. Without making any cultural generalizations, it was felt that the difficulty of identifying

a sufficiently large number of critical individuals among the Ecuadorian rural population was so great that the emphasis should be on magical and naive level criteria. The author was sure that identifying 8-10 magical and naive level individuals would be relatively simple. This is not intended to mean that there are no critical-level rural individuals in Ecuador. In fact, there may be many. But given the present socio-political climate these individuals are particularly reluctant to participate in the kind of experience which the coding process demands . . . namely, tape-recorded interviews. In the author's experience, these individuals typically were reluctant to be identified; they prefer to remain politically invisible, and it would have been both unreliable and unethical to insist upon their participation. Consequently, the focus was on the differences between magical and naive, rather than magical and critical individuals. In fact, differentiating between two adjacent stages may indicate strength in the measure.

## 2. Non-verbal Magical and Naive Criteria

Theoretically, magical level individuals conform. They accept life as it is given to them. They have the lowest level of economic rewards, as well as occupying the lowest level on the social ladder. More importantly, they do not seek social mobility, nor do they demonstrate aggressiveness. They maintain their ethnic dress and habits, not out of a genuine self-affirmation, but rather because they consider themselves incapable of giving them up. They accept without overt opposition their identification as poor, stupid, and dirty. They are generally religious, participating in traditional rites of an institutionalized church which offers salvation in the future and perseverance in the present.

Theoretically, naive individuals reform. They try to become successful in generally accepted social terms. They seek education for itself. They give up traditional dress and habits and try to physically look like the oppressor. They tend to seek new religious alternatives, churches which offer a doctrine of success now as well as in the future life, or they reject the fatalistic attitudes of the traditional religion. They look for jobs which will give them responsibility and status in the oppressor's eyes. They seek positions of community leadership and perform their leadership role in a paternalistic manner, modeling the oppressor's behavior. They tend to be aggressive in seeking success, but their relationship with "evil" oppressors is defensive. They strike out against "evil" individuals, particularly peer members who violate the oppressor's norms.

In establishing criteria for selecting the magical and naive groups, it was important to rely on non-verbal characteristics. Verbal characteristics would have been, in a sense, "coding" the individuals before coding them. If, for example, a coding candidate were selected on the basis of having said, "God controls our lives." This, in fact, is a coding category. We would then be relating verbal behavior with verbal behavior, and still not know if that verbal behavior reflected other, more significant behavior, such as the job status, the amount of vertical aggressiveness\* demonstrated, or the degree of economic success. What we were interested in was how individuals act upon their world as compared with how they understand and name their world. The following

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\*Aggressiveness against a superior role status person by an inferior role status person.

non-verbal behavioral criteria were isolated as being particularly important in distinguishing between potential magical and naive individuals in rural Ecuador.

a. Employment: The single most important variable isolated was the nature of the individual's employment. Employment is generally an area in which an individual has some choice, even though powerful social and economic forces operate in an oppressive situation to restrict job-opportunities. An indian in Ecuador, for example, is given few, if any, educational opportunities, and job mobility is tied to educational achievement. Because indian communities are relatively closed social systems, even apprenticeship, vocational jobs are very scarce. Consequently, an un-schooled indian youth is left with few real alternatives.

Ecuador's marketplaces are filled with cargadores or carriers whose function it is to transport the heavy loads of food goods from trucks to sellers, and from the sellers to the cars or homes of the buyers. For this service, they are paid a small amount of money and are generally at the mercy of the client as there are no fixed prices for such services. Loads vary from several pounds to over a hundred pounds. This is one of the lowest status jobs in Ecuador and one which incurs a high degree of physical and emotional abuse. In addition to being called names and being kicked or otherwise physically mistreated, cargadores have to leave their communities, often live many hours from their homes, sleep in the open, eat whatever is available, or not at all. Cargadores almost always accept these conditions with little or no overt resistance.

What is important here is the willingness of the individual to absorb and accept the abuse which being a cargador necessarily entails. While there are real financial rewards relative to the income of a rural indian being a cargador, being a cargador incurs significantly more physical and emotional abuse than any other indian job other than work on a traditionally-operated hacienda where the indian would be subjected to almost complete control. The fact that an indian works as a cargador indicates that they are willing to tolerate overt oppressive conditions. It is a job which requires acceptance, which demands a fatalistic resignation to the world as it is.

If it could be shown that the economic benefits of this work were used as investments in the future, then an argument could be made that in fact the cargador is tolerating a temporary situation in order to achieve a long-range benefit. The author's experience has indicated that the contrary is true. Most cargadores are forced into carrying by the fact that there is simply no way for them to support their families on the small piece of land which they are given.

Secondly, the land reform system, by making indian labor relatively expensive to the large landowner, has stimulated the landowners to farm less land, thus offering less jobs for indian labor. Thirdly, indians are motivated, through the system of prioste,\* to spend large amounts of money on religious fiestas. Much of this money comes from the work of cargadores. While a few cargadores do manage to save some of their carrying income, most is spent within a few weeks of their return to the community in totally subsistence-oriented activities.

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\*See Chapter II, p. 26.

As such, it is clear that the indian cargador is accepting a situation of physical and emotional oppression in order to avoid starvation and social ostracism. The individual is dominated by survival needs and willing to sacrifice dignity to meet those needs. This is an accurate behavioral description of a magical level individual.

There are individuals, however, who have been able to escape this oppressive environment. For a variety of reasons, some individuals have been able to take advantage of the limited educational opportunities available, and they have been able to seek jobs which offer them alternatives to overt oppression. Most of these individuals have sought to own and farm their own land. Land ownership is one of the most basic ways in which an indian can become like the white man.

Traditionally, the white landowner controlled all of the resources, set the standards by which all should live, and held the power. To own land, and enough land in order to support one's family, is a way of sharing power. The agrarian reform system in Ecuador, while giving some land to many rural families, usually gave either such poor land, or so little land, that it was economically unviable.

Campesino ownership of an economically productive piece of land is an indication of increased status and independence. This independence, while it carries with it a number of oppressive conditions - unfair pricing and even physical abuse - constitutes a significantly different condition than that of the cargador. Emotionally, the campesino landowner is free. The bulk of his experience is a fight against nature, not against human abuse. His community holds him in esteem, and even the white community holds a minimal level of respect for him.

The government, through Ministry of Agriculture programs, dedicates a good deal of its resources and rhetoric for his benefit. If he does not always receive concrete benefits, he is at least led to believe that he is important. While the lot of the cargador is resignation in the face of oppression, the independent farmer's is modeling the oppressor's achievements.

b. Economic Success: In a semi-feudal capitalist economy such as Ecuador's, the degree of individual economic success is a good indicator of the degree of oppression. The poorer the individual, the more oppressed they tend to be. Semi-feudal/capitalist values are translated into monetary terms. While there may exist isolated groups which challenge this equation, the bulk of the population is subjected to its consequences. Then to say that poor people in a semi-feudal/capitalist system are typically the most oppressed is a reasonable position. Economically, successful people are those who have either received great wealth as an inheritance, or those who model the system's norms procedures, policies, and values. The reverse, it should be pointed out, is not always the case. That is, individuals who follow the system's norms are not always economically successful.

A word about economic success is warranted here. Within the context of rural Ecuador, we are not referring to the American dream of everyone becoming a millionaire, but rather simply to the satisfaction of survival needs with a little left over. Naive level rural individuals would tend to be in a position to satisfy survival needs and be able to invest in perhaps a radio, a watch, a pair of shoes, two or three pairs of pants, and a jacket rather than a poncho. They might invest in chemical fertil-

izers, or use insecticides. They would probably own a house with a tile, rather than a thatched roof, and the house would likely have at least one window.

The magical level rural individual would be in poverty relative to other sectors of the rural population. The house would be thatched and have no windows. There would be no radio or a watch or a pair of shoes. They would plow the land by hand, not using an ox or any mechanical device. Natural fertilizer might be used, but chemical fertilizer would be too expensive. Clothing would be traditional, relying on ponchos and heavy woolen skirts for warmth. These conditions constitute physical ways which potential magical and naive level individuals could be identified.

c. Language: Magical individuals in a bi-lingual culture in which one of the two languages is associated with lower role status individuals would speak principally the language of the lower role status. Few magical individuals would be able to speak the superior role language, and if they did, they would speak it with an accent or in a distinguishable fashion. Naive level individuals would be able to speak the language of the superior role individuals, although they might also be able to speak the inferior-role language. They would, however, prefer to speak the superior role language, particularly around a superior role individual. This is one way in which the inferior role individual tries to imitate the superior-role individual. The most important factor here is the pride with which the inferior role individual speaks the superior role language and the force with which they attempt to avoid and reject the inferior role language.

In Ecuador, Quechua is an inferior role language. Magical level individuals would tend to speak Quechua, and perhaps a little Spanish; naive level individuals would tend to speak Spanish well, and resist speaking, or not be able to speak Quechua.

d. Schooling: Schooling as it exists in Ecuador is one of the most efficient instruments for modeling the behavior of a superior-role status individual. Schools commonly transfer the values and norms of the superior-role culture, while rejecting the values and norms of the inferior-role culture. Inferior-role individuals who have not attended school are denied, on the one hand, any opportunity for social mobility, and on the other, are freed, at least to a degree, from its modeling aspects. Individuals who have attended school, tend to model the oppressor's behavior, at least as it is expressed in ideal form: cleanliness, dressing in western clothes, cutting the traditional braid of hair, wearing shoes, reading and writing in Spanish, discipline and respect for authorities, competitiveness, and a sense of self-esteem which makes them feel superior to their ethnic peers who have not gone to school.

Schooling also opens up job positions and social relationships with the superior role culture previously denied them. For example, a policeman must have eight years of schooling.\* Most policemen in the country come from inferior role groups, although most come from urban rather than rural groups. A rural youth with a primary education (less than 10% of the rural population)\*\* is stimulated to go to the city and

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\* \*\*See Ecuadorian National Congress, Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 1974.

find work. In the city, they become more and more involved in the super-role culture. Schooling provides another non-verbal measure of magical-naive level differences.

e. Community Leadership: Magical individuals would tend to be passive in community affairs. Their outlook would lead them to the conclusions that little can be done in the face of overwhelming forces, and that "I" am certainly not the one who can do it. Their participation in community affairs would be low, and their leadership experience would be non-existent. They would be, in a word, followers. Naive level individuals, however, would be community leaders. Because they attempt to model the oppressor or attempt to defend themselves from the affects of an individual evil oppressor, they would see community leadership as a means to achieve these ends. Their leadership style would be paternalistic, modeling the oppressor's leadership style. They would tend to reject opposition from the community, and expect personal loyalty and gratitude; essentially what the oppressor expects from the oppressed. They would tend to make decisions, perhaps among a small group of associates, and then try to impose them on the community. In this sense, leadership is an important indicator of consciousness level.

f. Overt Aggressiveness or Fear: Magical level individuals would be fearful. They would avoid unusual contacts with the oppressor or with their agents and demonstrate humility when faced with the oppressor. They would be suspicious of novelty; while they might try to avoid "getting involved," they would not resist overt pressure from a

superior-role source. They would conform, rather than resist. Even among groups of peers, they would avoid involvement, playing a passive role, doing what they were told, or doing what they were accustomed to doing.

Naive individuals would be aggressive in peer groups and defensive in oppressor groups. They would speak out, organize, take part, lead when among peers. But when they were with oppressors, they would be less aggressive, even though they would avoid humility. They would be responsive to the oppressor's behavior. If the oppressor made them feel comfortable, they would be attentive, trying to learn from their contacts with him. If the oppressor demonstrated hostility, they would be wary, trying to change themselves so he would treat them well, or try to defend themselves from the consequences of his actions. They would not demonstrate either open fear nor open humility. Where the magical individual would be fearful and passive, the naive individual would be attentive and actively defensive.

### 3. Characteristics of the Magical and Naive Groups Selected

A description of the respondents who participated in the validation process follows. The attempt was to select individuals who came as close to the non-verbal criteria as possible and then to divide them into two groups, one which was referred to as magical and the other as naive.

The magical group was selected at random from a group of cargadores who work in Quito. Cargadores were selected because it was felt that they would most easily fulfill a variety of the criteria which was needed for a magical group, and most importantly, that they

met the employment-related criterion. They were interviewed informally after the protocol collection process so as not to give any clues about the goals of the collection process before collecting the protocols. On the basis of those interviews, the information concerning the non-verbal criteria was collected.

The naive group was selected from among the Nonformal Project trainees, or facilitators. While they had been exposed to the project's values and behaviors, they had not been exposed to the vocabulary of the coding system, nor to any of the coding or protocol collection instruments. Naive level respondents were selected from a group of individuals with which the Project was familiar, because it was impossible to identify a single profession which correlated reliably with naive consciousness. These facilitators were selected on the basis of their proven leadership ability, and largely because they had demonstrated some indications of paternalistic leadership, which was considered important to the naive level criteria. Most important, however, was that they came from the same general sub-culture as the magical respondents, but were all landowners, small business wo/men, or certified teachers.

a. Employment

- Magical Individuals: All magical individuals were cargadores. Five had worked as cargadores sporadically for more than three years. Three were new cargadores. All were male.
- Naive Individuals: All but two were farmers, who owned land. In all cases, the land provided sufficient income to meet subsistence needs, plus a small surplus. The two others were women who had jobs in their communities as either teacher or seamstress.

b. Economic Success

- Magical Individuals: All would be considered at a poverty level relative to the general Ecuadorian population. One individual had a radio. Three had shoes. None had a watch. All but one wore ponchos instead of a cloth jacket. All lived in thatched homes with no windows. All were part-time farmers, but none had used fertilizer or insecticides. None owned enough land to support their families.
- Naive Individuals: Seven individuals had a radio. Six individuals had a watch. All wore shoes. All dressed in western clothes, the women used ponchos, but ponchos which were used by "white" rather than indian women. All lived in tile-roofed houses with windows. Several lived in houses with cement floors and a kerosene stove. They were all respected in their respective communities for having achieved a relatively high level of economic success.

c. Language

- Magical Individuals: All spoke Quechua better than Spanish. One individual spoke Spanish well. Two individuals spoke broken Spanish. Four individuals understood some Spanish, but spoke very little. Three individuals understood very little Spanish.
- Naive Individuals: All individuals spoke Spanish well. One individual spoke Quechua better than he spoke Spanish. Five individuals spoke Quechua as well as Spanish. Four individuals spoke no Quechua (they were mestizos who came from communities where no Quechua was spoken). All were interviewed in Spanish.

d. Schooling

- Magical Individuals: Only two individuals had attended school at all, finishing second grade. None could write and only two were able to recognize which was the "up" side of a written page.
- Naive Individuals: All could read and write in Spanish. Three individuals' vocabulary was limited, the rest wrote with minor difficulty. Six had completed fourth grade, three had completed third grade.

e. Community Leadership

- Magical Individuals: None had held any position of community leadership. Two had participated as workers in community-oriented work projects. One individual demonstrated leadership abilities among the group of cargadores.

- Naive Individuals: All had held leadership positions in their communities. All had worked actively in community-oriented work projects. All demonstrated paternalistic leadership behavior, although the effect of the Project had reduced this behavior to some degree. All tended to have a group of loyal friends who supported them in proposals made to the general community.

f. Aggression/Fear

- Magical Individuals: When first offered the opportunity to earn more than a normal day's wages playing some games, they refused categorically. It took more than a half hour to convince them to participate. They demonstrated fear and avoidance behavior when the opportunity was offered them. At the insistence of the trainers, they agreed to participate. When shaking hands, they covered their hands with their ponchos as a sign of respect for the white person with whom they were shaking hands.
- Naive Individuals: They demonstrated curiosity when told about the taping session and did not seem to be afraid. They were very open about speaking into the microphones and were aggressive in answering the questions. They had all demonstrated aggressiveness and honesty with the interviewers previously in contact both inside and outside their communities. None covered their hand when they shook hands and all looked superior-role individuals directly in the face when talking to them.

All of these characteristics have been summarized on the following page.

C. The Protocol Collection Process

This section describes the process which was used to collect the protocols from the Magical and Naive level individuals. The attempt was to make the collection process as parallel as possible so as to reduce the effects of any extraneous factors on the coding results. The word "group" has been used to describe the magical and naive level individuals. In fact, the interviews were conducted on an individual basis. The individuals were brought together as a group so that they

Table 2

Validation Groups Characteristics

Individuals	Employment	Econ. Success shoes	radio	watch	house	clothes	Language	Schooling	Community Leadership	Aggression/ Fear	Sex
NAIVE	Indpend. Agriculture										
1	"	+	+	+	tile	western	Spanish	4	yes	aggressive	M
2	"	+	+	+	"	"	Spanish	4	yes	aggressive	M
3	"	+	+	+	"	"	Spanish	4	yes	aggressive	M
4	"	+	+	+	"	"	Span/Que	3	yes	aggressive	M
5	"	+	+	+	"	"	Que/Span	3	yes	aggressive	M
6	"	+	-	+	"	"	Que/Span	4	yes	aggressive	M
7	"	+	+	-	"	"	Que/Span	4	yes	aggressive	M
8	teacher	+	+	-	"	"	Que/ Span	3	yes	aggressive	F
9	seamstress	+	-	-	"	"	Spanish	4	yes	aggressive	F
MAGICAL	Cargedor										
1	"	+	+	-	thatched	ponjacket	Que/Span	2	no/yes	aggress/fear	M
2	"	+	-	-	"	"	Que/Span	2	no	fear	M
3	"	+	-	-	"	"	Quechua	0	no	fear	M
4	"	-	-	-	"	"	"	0	no	fear	M
5	"	-	-	-	"	"	"	0	no	fear	M
6	"	-	-	-	"	"	"	0	no	fear	M
7	"	-	-	-	"	"	"	0	no	fear	M
8	"	-	-	-	"	"	"	0	no	fear	M

would feel more secure and less anxious about the taping experience. While an interview was being conducted, the rest of the individuals were involved in un-related educational tasks such as game playing and singing.

The magical group was interviewed first, one month prior to the interviews of the naive group. The groups had no contact with each other before the protocol collection process. There were originally nine individuals interviewed in the magical group, but one interview had to be disregarded for coding purposes because it was clear that the question of visual literacy, already discussed, made it impossible for the individual to respond to the questions. There were nine naive level individuals interviewed and all nine interviews were coded.

1. First Contact and Perceptual Set

- a. The magical group was picked-up at a local market in Quito where they were working as cargadores. They had been contacted the day before by a Quechua-speaking member of the Project staff who had explained that they were being asked to help develop educational materials for the rural areas of the country. The staff explained that the Project needed the opinion of people who lived in rural areas. Several individuals flatly refused to go. There was some discussion among themselves that they would never be brought back to the market, insinuating that they would be used as slave labor. Several individuals seemed willing to go when they heard that they would earn what they could normally expect to make during a day and that they could keep copies of the materials. After about an hour, a group of ten agreed to be available the next day. On the actual coding day, ten showed up, but one was a minor, under 12 years of age, and he was not interviewed.

b. The naive group was composed entirely of facilitators previously trained by the Nonformal Project. They had been selected to participate in the design of a follow-up workshop for all the facilitators trained by the Massachusetts Nonformal Project. They were from both the coastal and sierra Facilitator Projects, and several members were unknown to the group. They were told nothing about the interviews until they came to the seminar site. The first day of the seminar, it was explained to them that the Project wanted their opinions about some drawings which were going to be used in future training courses. They would be asked a set of questions about each drawing and their responses would be tape recorded. All of the facilitators were familiar with tape recorders and seemed willing to go through with the experience. There was some nervousness expressed when they found out that the interviews would be individual, rather than group. This was the first time that an individual experience had been included in one of their training seminars. Once the first two facilitators had returned from the taping sessions, everyone seemed at ease and individuals moved freely to take their turn.

## 2. The Setting

a. The magical group met in the Project office, an expensive, private house in a part of Quito unfamiliar to them. This was definitely a strange environment and one which they associated with superior-role individuals. They were surprised to see photographs of indians like themselves on the wall, and one cargador recognized one of the individuals in a photograph as being from his community. They were shown around the entire house, and the Project was explained to them in very

general terms. They were all asked to meet in the front room where they were given a math bingo game to play. They seemed to enjoy the game and wanted to continue playing. Play went very slowly as it was clear that some individuals could not recognize numbers, much less add or multiply.

Once the game had been played several times, a tape recorder was brought out and the group as a whole sang a song. The song was tape recorded and then played back so they could hear themselves. Many had never seen a tape recorder before and were anxious to actually touch it and make it work. This was done in a group so that they would have a chance to share their feelings about the tape recorder before actually being recorded.

They were then told that they would be shown a series of drawings and asked a few questions about each drawing. The purported purpose was to get their opinions about the drawings and to see if people in their communities might like them or not. They were told that their responses would be tape recorded so that we could listen to them later and not make any mistakes in understanding what they said. None of the cargadores asked any questions. A few individuals seemed to be nervous, most did not seem to understand, even though all of this explanation was done in Quechua. They were told that two rooms had been set aside in the back of the house where the conversation would be tape recorded.

2. The naive group met in the Hotel Holiday a few minutes outside Quito. For some individuals, this was their first time in Quito. The Hotel Holiday is used by a number of middle-and upper-class social groups for weekend retreats and conferences. It was a unique and luxurious surrounding for most of the facilitators. In this sense, it corresponded closely to the experience of the cargadores in the Project

office. Once that the group was settled in and after the morning get-acquainted exercises had taken place, the group was told about the taping sessions. They were not shown the tape recorders until they went into the taping rooms.

### 3. The Interviews

The interview process was absolutely identical for both groups. The only difference was that the magical group was allowed to play with and become accustomed to the tape recorders as a group, while the naive group were given the same opportunity individually before beginning the interview.

The interview itself was based around five drawings, copies of which appear below. The same order was used for all interviews. Pictures were numbered so that the interviewer would not become confused. The actual size of the drawings was 50 x 30 centimeters. They were black and white xerox copies. They had previously been tested to insure that they were visually distinguishable by rural Ecuadorians.

The interview questions were standard for each drawing. Interviewers were careful only to repeat questions but not to provide any additional information to the interviewees. If a question was followed by silence, the interviewer repeated the question and would sometimes rephrase it with a very slight difference. If there was still no response, the interviewer went on to the next question. The questions were posed in the following order:

1. What is happening in this picture?  
What do you see in this picture?  
Who are these people?

Figure 3

Five Protocol Collection Visuals



2. Do they have any problems?  
What problems do they have?
3. Why do they have these problems?
4. What can they do to solve these problems?  
What can they do about the problems?

The first drawing was considered to be an introductory "warm-up." Interviewers were much freer in their questioning of this first drawing to "teach" the individual what was being asked of them. This kind of interview was very alien to all the participants. Several participants tried to engage the interviewers in the process, asking them what they felt, or beginning a long story about a common friend. By only asking questions, this warm-up proved important in breaking down the expectations which several participants had about engaging in an open conversation. For this reason, the first picture was never used for coding purposes, only the last four picture-responses were coded.

All interviews were tape recorded. Care was taken that the tape did not have to be changed in the middle of an interview. Interviews with the magical level group were generally very short. All five pictures were typically discussed in less than ten minutes per individual. The naive group took longer, some interviews lasting twenty or thirty minutes.

#### D. The Interviewers

The interviewers were initially the same individuals for both magical and naive groups. One interviewer spoke limited Quechua and after it became clear that she would be unable to adequately interview the magical group she asked to be relieved. Consequently, the other two interviewers interviewed members of the magical group. All three

interviewed members of the naive group. One interviewer learned Quechua as a child and is a native of the same province as the cargadores. Another is an Ecuadorian indian and a native Quechua speaker. Even though his native Quechua is slightly different from that spoken in the cargadores province, he has been working for over three years in that province and was very comfortable with local differences. The third interviewer had been working for two years with the Project evaluation section and was a native of the cargadores province. She understood considerable Quechua but spoke very little. The interviewers were all friends of the naive group, and each maintained a positive relationship with them.

The interviewers had been given a two-day training program to prepare them for the taping experience. They had been exposed to the theoretical background of the coding process and understood the importance of not influencing responses. They had not seen specific coding categories, however, until after the interviews, as it was felt such knowledge might influence their interviews. They each had the opportunity to practice using all the drawings and receiving feedback on their performance before the taping sessions. They were all familiar with campesino mentality and had had extensive experience working in the rural areas of the country. The author personally supervised their training and was very satisfied with their performance. Even though this highly structured interview format represented a new and somewhat alienating interaction style for them, they were responsible and capable in carrying it out.

#### E. Post Interview Process

The Nonformal Project staff had rejected any kind of evaluation

instrument or process which did not have a direct or immediate benefit for those who were being tested. There was a profound distaste for evaluation schemes which utilized rural people but which did not benefit them. For this reason, the post interview process took on considerable importance. While the post interview process did not contribute in any way to the coding results of the interviews, the process was essential to the ethical integrity of the evaluators.

The initial desire was to share with the respondents the results of the coding process: to allow them to see themselves as they were being seen by others. But this presented a series of problems, particularly with the magical group. It became clear to the evaluators during the interviews that it was impossible to simply share feelings with them. First, "feelings" were not clearly conceptualized and secondly, they would have been too threatening. It should be pointed out here that the interview process was particularly dramatic for two of the interviewers who came to see in a very objective way the degree of oppression in which these individuals were living. While the Nonformal Project rhetoric has recognized oppression as a reality, and while the interviewers had both personally suffered its consequences, they were shocked by the passivity, the acceptance, and the general lack of understanding which the cargadores demonstrated. Many weeks passed before they were able to process those feelings. Sharing these processed feelings would have meant bringing the cargadores together again at a later date. Practically, this was very difficult. Many members of the group were ready to return to their communities. Others had commitments which had to be fulfilled. Others simply did not want to come back for reasons not clear to the author.

The evaluators were still unwilling, however, to let the cargadores simply "be used." It was decided as an alternative, to operate a two-day workshop for the cargadores after the taping experience. During the workshop, they would be exposed to a variety of educational materials which the Project had developed, many of which involved the growth of consciousness. They were shown how to use these materials and given copies of them. They were told about a new concept of education, one which relied on mutual sharing, rather than on vertical imposition. And most importantly, several of the concepts which they expressed during the interviews were discussed critically with them, particularly their feeling that they had no control over their own lives. They were given the names of several campesino leaders in the province and Moreno as a permanent contact. In this way, it was hoped to share with them a little of the understanding being taken from them.

The naive group presented a somewhat different problem. Because all had worked with the Project before, they already knew about the basic educational premises upon which it was based. The information which was gathered from the interviews was used to help them develop a less paternalistic leadership style. As they had been brought together to design a sharing seminar for other facilitators, this was an excellent opportunity to critically confront a series of issues related to leadership. They were presented with their own statements and beliefs and most individuals came to see the paternalistic nature of these statements. The conference which they designed and directed was impressive. They overcame first, their dependence on the Project staff and took the major role in the con-

ference's operation. Secondly, they actively involved the other facilitators to such a degree that it was difficult to tell who had been part of the planning group and who were purely participants.

In both cases, the post-interview process took enormous energy and especially in the case of the naive group, extensive time. If we were to maintain an ethical commitment to new groups, it would mean additional time and energy. As this coding process was considered to be only a small part of the Project's overall task, it was considered illegitimate to divert even more resources to the code's development. This, in large part, explains why the sample size was so small.

#### F. Transcription, Translation, and Coding

Once the interviews had been taped, a bi-lingual member of the Project staff translated the Quechua tapes into Spanish. The translation was done by an individual not involved in the Protocol Collection Process, and then reviewed and compared with the tapes by Tasiguano. The Spanish tapes were transcribed by a secretary and then reviewed by Tasiguano to make sure that idiomatic campesino expressions were not excluded. This process involved several weeks and certain sections had to be reviewed over and over again. Taping quality was generally excellent. Difficulty arose in translating a few of the Quechua expressions into a Spanish form which did not distort their meaning. The coder took no part in this process, as it was felt that his knowledge of the code might influence the judgments.

When the protocols were ready to be coded, the author was given the protocols with all identifying tables removed to mask the group from which the protocols came. There were dramatic differences between the

stories that appeared to coincide with two types of typewriters used to transcribe the protocols, one for the magical group and one for the naive group. Thus, the author did have a strong hunch about the group from which the protocol was taken. To be as objective and reliable as possible, the author coded each protocol three times, at one week intervals, each time comparing the results to the first coding. In the second and third codings, there were never more than a total of eight discrepancies (codable sentence and coded level) between the two sets of 17 protocols. Thus, the author's coding consistency was extremely high, i.e., well above 95% agreement. However, it was not possible to obtain a second independent coding of these protocols due to the unique combination of expertise required in English, Spanish, Quechua, and the coding system. The coding manual is sufficiently detailed to make high coder reliability possible. Two coders in Massachusetts, working without benefit of the author's direct help, were able to obtain 88% agreement on a set of protocols in English. Thus, the questions that need to be weighed are 1) Did the guessed group identification significantly bias the author's coding?, and 2) Did the author reliably follow the coding system he created? The author's belief is 1) No, 2) Yes. The results reflect basic differences in the substance of the protocols. Further, the Spanish translations are available from the author to anyone who wishes to investigate this possible source of bias.

### The Results

#### A. Coding Summary Charts

The results of the coding process are summarized on Tables 3 and 4. The symbol (A/1) represents individual A, Story 1. The numbers

located horizontally across from the symbol represent the number of responses at each level for that individual and that story. The symbol NC represents stories which did not have a marker sentence and were consequently considered as Non-Codable. The letters OD indicate stories in which the respondent Overtly Denied that a problem existed and the letter PA stories in which respondents avoided a problem statement. OD stories were given a numerical scoring value of three (3) which corresponds to the lowest reasonable score for a story: 1 point for each naming, reflecting, and acting statements. PA stories given a lower value of 2.

### Appendix

These data for individuals were translated into conscientizacão scores using Method #2, i.e., for each individual, the percentage of that person's responses at magical were multiplied by 1, the percentage at naive by 2, and the percentage at critical by 3. These three totals were summed into a C-score. Table 4 presents the complete rank order of scores from the two groups combined.

The fact of no overlap in scores between the two groups is extremely rare and highly statistically significant. Using a Mann Whitney U Test, the type "Z" score is 3.41,  $p < .0005$ . These results would occur by chance alone less than five times in 10,000. The coding system does discriminate between these two criterion groups.

It is possible to conduct the same analysis by deriving scores (using Method #2) for each of the three aspects, naming, reflecting, and acting. In other words, are the criterion groups significantly different in the ways they name, analyze, and describe action to solve

Table 3

Summary Coding Results for Magical Level Group

Individuals/ Story	Magical	Naive	Critical
A/1	3 OD	-	-
A/2	3 OD	-	-
A/3	3 OD	-	-
A/4	3 OD	-	-
Subtotal	6	0	0
B/1	4	3	-
B/2	3 OD	-	-
B/3	3 OD	-	-
B/4	-	2	-
Subtotal	10	5	-
C/1	5	2	-
C/2	2	1	-
C/3	3	1	-
C/4	6	2	-
Subtotal	16	6	0
D/1	2 PA	-	-
D/2	3 OD	-	-
D/3	3	-	-
D/4	3 OD	-	-
Subtotal	12	0	0
E/1	3	1	-
E/2	3	-	-
E/3	2	-	-
E/4	-	2	-
Subtotal	8	3	-
F/1	-	3	-
F/2	4	-	-
F/3	1	3	-
F/4	1	2	-
Subtotal	6	8	0
G/1	3 OD	-	-
G/2	2	2	-
G/3	NC	-	-
G/4	1	2	-
Subtotal	6	4	0
H/1	-	4	-
H/2	1	3	-
H/3	2 PA	-	-
H/4	2	1	-
Subtotal	6	8	0

NC = Non Codable

OD = Overt Denial

PA = Problem Avoidance

Summary Coding Results for Naive Level Group

Individuals/ Story	Magical	Naive	Critical
A/1	-	9	-
A/2	-	7	-
A/3	-	4	-
A/4	-	1	-
Subtotal	0	21	-
B/1	-	5	-
B/2	-	1	5
B/3	-	3	-
B/4	-	2	-
Subtotal	0	10	5
C/1	2	5	-
C/2	-	2	1
C/3	-	4	1
C/4	-	4	-
Subtotal	2	15	2
D/1	-	2	2
D/2	1	4	-
D/3	1	3	-
D/4	1	2	2
Subtotal	3	11	4
E/1	3	3	-
E/2	-	6	-
E/3	-	3	-
E/4	-	3	-
Subtotal	3	15	-
F/1	-	6	-
F/2	2	5	-
F/3	-	4	-
F/4	-	4	-
Subtotal	2	21	-
G/1	-	5	-
G/2	-	6	-
G/3	-	1	1
G/4	-	2	4
Subtotal	-	14	5
H/1	-	4	-
H/2	-	5	-
H/3	-	2	2
H/4	-	5	-
Subtotal	-	16	2
I/1	2	2	1
I/2	2	1	-
I/3	- NC	-	-
I/4	2	2	-
Subtotal	6	5	1

NC = Not Codable

OD = Overt Denial

PA = Problem Avoidance

Table 5

Rank Order of C-Score and  
Group from Which Scores Came

C-Score	Group	Individual
233	Naive	B
226	"	G
211	"	H
205	"	D
200	"	A
200	"	C
191	"	F
183	"	E
158	"	I
157	Magical	F
157	"	H
140	"	G
138	"	E
133	"	B
127	"	C
100	"	A
100	"	D

problems? As with the initial overall C-scores, aspect scores for individuals were rank ordered and the differences between groups were assessed using a Mann Whitney U Test. This resulted in the following Z scores for naming,  $Z = 2.93$ ,  $p < .001$ ; for reflecting,  $Z = 3.37$ ,  $p < .0005$ , and for acting,  $Z = 3.41$ ,  $p < .0005$ . (See Appendix D for complete data.) Each of the three aspect scores differentiates between criterion groups almost as powerfully as the combined score. It is as if the combined score was the score for a three item questionnaire scale in which each of the three items alone was an accurate and powerful discriminator.

Another way of assessing these data is to check the degree to which the naive group is naive and the magical group magical, rather than the naive group simply scoring higher than the magical group. This can be assessed statistically by dividing the scores into three groups: 100-150, model response is magical; 151-250, model response is naive; 251-300, model response is critical. This yields the following table. In other words, not only are the two criterion groups significantly different in levels of consciousness, but, also, the behavioral criteria used to select the groups are significantly associated with the specific predicted levels of consciousness.

Two caveats should be recognized in interpreting these results. First, it simply was not possible to determine the objective reliability of the coding, since we could find no one else who was fluent in English and Spanish and familiar with Quechua, who had sufficient expertise in psychological procedures to learn the coding system in English. However, the author is "the" expert in the coding system, having had major re-

Table 6

Distribution of Magical and Naive  
Criteria Groups Scores Into  
Magical and Naive Levels

Criterion Group	Magical	Naive
	100-150	151-250
Naive	0	9
Magical	6	2

$$\chi^2 = 7.406$$

$$p < .01$$

sponsibility for its creation. Second, the coding system is sufficiently explicit to allow two English-speaking Americans to learn the coding system without the aid of the author and achieve 96% agreement on identification of codable sentences and 92% agreement in coding for levels for an overall agreement of 88%. In other words, the coding system is sufficiently objective. What is not known in this instance is whether the creator of the code used the system reliably and accurately.

The second caveat concerns the coder's knowledge of the groups from which the protocols were obtained. Care was taken to have others transcribe and translate the stories and to remove the names and group identification from the transcribed protocols. Thus, all possible steps were taken to hide the identity of the groups from the author. However, the differences between the groups were so striking that the author surmised quickly the respondents group. This may have led to an overall hollow effect in the author's scoring.

While these two caveats may possibly vitiate the results, it is unlikely that these factors would counteract the extremely rare statistical differences found between the two groups. However, due also to the small sample size, the coding system should be seen as yielding highly encouraging results, but needing confirmation through replications and extended applications, and careful analysis of the instrument and codes internal properties.

CHAPTER VI

LIMITATIONS AND APPLICATION OF THE STUDY

Introduction

This chapter is divided into two major parts. Part A deals with the limitations of this study; all those factors which raise questions about the validity of the work described here. Part B deals with the applications of this study; how the results suggested here might be used to develop more effective consciousness-raising programs. The reader is requested to read this chapter carefully since the questions raised suggest weaknesses in this study, while at the same time outlining areas in which future study is appropriate.

A: Limitations of the Study

This section of Chapter VI provides the reader with a series of issues not addressed in this document, yet issues which bear on the ultimate validity and reliability of the coding instrument described here. The reader should be conscious of these issues as limitations and maintain a skeptical attitude toward the coding system. The intention is that these limitations be perceived as questions requiring future investigation. The limitations have been divided into three areas: 1) limitations of the protocol collection process, 2) limitations of the coding system, and 3) general questions raised about conscientização.

1. Limitations of the Protocol Collection Process

Because this study is basically deductive, reasoning from Freire's general theoretical framework toward specific manifestations

(verbal behavior) of that framework, the nature of those "manifestations" is crucial. Consequently, it is important to point out several limitations of the process used to collect the verbal protocols upon which the development of the code relies.

These protocols (described in Chapter III) were collected during the author's three years in Ecuador. During the collection of these protocols, the author had the opportunity to spend many days in rural communities talking with rural individuals about their lives and how they perceive their lives. Working with members of the Nonformal Education Project staff who spoke Quechua, and who were accepted by these communities as friends, many hours of conversations were recorded. These conversations were later translated into Spanish, transcribed, and used as one basis for the development of the coding system described in this document. However, because these ideas are highly cultural in nature, because they involve very threatening content, and because the very discussion of many of these issues is foreign to the respondents, the precautions described in Chapter III may not have been sufficient.

a. Language Translation: Many, but not all, of the conversations were in Quechua. Because Quechua is not a Western language, it is often difficult to translate many abstract concepts into Spanish. Because individuals were being asked to talk about themselves, often in very abstract ways, translation was complex, conceivably errors have been committed.

b. Cultural Translation: Even more difficult was the task of translating cultural concepts. Because verbal expression was the foundation of the coding process, how an individual said something was impor-

tant. When that expression was complicated through the screen of two cultures, possibilities for error exist. Take, for example, the word slavery. In Quechua, there is no such word; there is, rather, a long explanation related to a series of specific events. "Slavery is when . . . ." For readers more familiar with the Spanish-English cultural interface, another example might be clearer. What is the word in English for patron? It is more than a language translation problem, it is a problem related to cultural understanding. You cannot understand what patron means in Latin America unless you know what paternalism means in Latin America, and how it works. This difficulty of cross-cultural understanding may have also affected some of the interpretations given the protocols.

c. Technology: Where tape recorders were used, it was unclear exactly what effect the tape recorder had upon a rural Ecuadorian respondent. Many of them had never seen a tape recorder before, which may have been an advantage in reducing their fear of being "exposed" to authorities at some later date. While it is not clear that all respondents understood the tape recorder's long-range potential or implications, i.e., that words were "captured" and could be played for individuals not present when they spoke, a few respondents did understand that their words could be used against them. This is threatening and could have caused them to say things they felt were "safe" to say. Consequently, we are not sure about the degree to which the responses were affected by the utilization of a foreign technological innovation.

d. Interview Format: Freire says that "naming" is a powerful force in the development of "C". The protocol collection instrument,

because it poses the question "why," has, in itself, a "naming" function. At the lower levels of "C", individuals do not ask why. The absence of causal reasoning is highly associated with magical thinking. The question "why" creates a dissonance between magical understanding, which doesn't perceive causality, and the world represented by the question "why?" The effect of this dissonance is not clear, but it may have contributed to producing naive appearing responses.

e. Interviewer-Interviewee Relationship: Magical individuals are unaccustomed to being questioned, even in an open-ended conversation. The fact that the interview is composed of a series of questions posed over and over again may have affected the honesty of the respondents' answers. Secondly, the fact that the interviewers were not members of the interviewees' communities and obviously held a superior-role status, even though they spoke Quechua and in fact were indians, may also have affected the respondents' answers. Finally, the effect of the interviewers' friendship with the naive group and lack of prior relationship with the magical group constitutes a significant difference in interview process which also could have influenced responses. This is particularly possible because the naive group's protocols were much longer than the magical group's protocols.

f. Visual Literacy: The protocol collection instrument relies on a series of drawings. These drawings were pilot-tested before being used and there is substantial evidence that they represent easily recognizable objects and individuals from the respondent's environment. However, it should be pointed out that oppression carries with it a number of side effects, one being visual illiteracy. In one extreme case, a respondent, when asked what he saw in a picture of three adults, answered,

"three flowers." On this basis, his responses were disqualified, and did not enter into the coding results. Responses could be affected by more subtle and even more powerful visual factors. Size of figures in a 3-dimensional drawing could affect how a respondent perceives power, for example, the larger figure being perceived as more powerful. Perspectives and distance could also function to alter power and status perceptions, particularly for respondents unaccustomed to 2-dimensional representations.

g. Significance: What we do not know at this point is how significantly these factors affect the perceptions of the magical and naive criterion groups. Each constitute an area for future investigation. We have no reliable information that they caused significant distortion, but we are led by logic to accept them on areas in which distortion could have resulted. These factors would argue for careful development of the visual stimuli, particularly in a new cultural setting where totally different visuals would have to be developed.

## 2. Limitations of the Coding System

There are a number of factors related to the coding instrument's validity which have not been adequately established in this study and which must be established before an individual can be certain that the instrument is a reliable, valid measure of conscientização. These factors have been divided by the author into two categories: those related to external validity and those related to internal validity.

a. Reliability refers to those factors which would tend to alter a coding score but which are not related to any change in the respondent's level of consciousness. These factors would necessarily constitute a scoring distortion and provide the coder with an inaccurate picture of the respondent's level of conscientização.

Coder Reliability: Are scores the same when a given protocol is coded by more than one coder? If different coders produce significantly

different coding scores for the same protocol, then the coding process is unreliable. Significantly, different coding results between two different coders may indicate that too many of the coding categories depend upon individual interpretation rather than objective coding definitions. In order to establish coder reliability, a larger number and a broader range of coders must be selected and trained in using the code. They must then be given identical protocols to code, and their coding results compared. If areas of significant discrepancy results, those areas must be reviewed and more precise coding definitions generated, until a minimum of 80% coder reliability is established.

We have some evidence that the coding system is sufficiently objective. Two coders in the United States used the manual (Chapter III, IV, and Appendix C) to learn the coding system. They did not have access to the "expert" consultation of the author. However, using ten protocols collected in the U.S. using different visuals, they were able to achieve .923% agreement on the sentence in the protocol to be scored and .949% agreement on the levels assigned to the codable sentences for an overall agreement of .877%. These data code well for the adequacy of the training manual for learning the scoring system.

Coder reliability may also be affected by a series of other influences. Take, for example, a coder who had strong personal biases concerning the concept "oppression." It is possible that these biases could affect the coding judgments and alter the scoring decisions. For this reason, it is important to establish coder reliability using coders who have demonstrated a wide-variety of political persuasions. This coding instrument is particularly susceptible to bias-distortion because of the highly political nature of the vocabulary. This factor has not as yet been taken into account in establishing coder reliability.

A coder's personal knowledge of a given respondent is also a possible cause for scoring distortion. The coder in this instance was not aware of which respondent was being coded; however, he did know which criterion group (magical or naive) was being coded. The perceptual set associated with a thorough understanding of the coding categories can influence certain coding decisions. For example, when coding the magical group, the coder was more sensitive to "problem denial" than when coding the naive groups. Whenever possible, a coder should not be asked to score a protocol of an individual whom they know personally, or to insure that, during coding, the coder does not know to whom the protocol belongs. In some cases, this may be impossible, however, and the effects of perceptual sets should be studied to determine how seriously they affect coder reliability.

A third possible cause of coder unreliability refers to the effect of multiple coding on a given coder. Take, for example, the situation in which a coder is given a set of 20 protocols to code. Are the last five coding judgments affected by the nature of the first fifteen protocols? Is a coder affected by the impact of coding fifteen naive level protocols and then given a critical level protocol to code? Does the order in which a coder receives a variety of protocols affect the coding results? Are critical level judgments more affected by prior naive responses or vice-versa? Is the scoring of the first protocols affected by the lack of experience of the coder; that is, would coders code the first protocol in a set of fifteen protocols the same way after coding the entire fifteen as they did before coding the fifteen? Does the coder's level of consciousness affect the coding re-

sults? Can a magical or naive level individual be trained to code critical responses accurately? In this study, for example, the coder was not a critical level individual. The naive criterion group was coded prior to the magical criterion group. Consequently, the coder was sensitive to the dramatically shorter protocols which the magical group produced. This coder was experienced and probably not affected by lack of coding experience. The significance of these factors remains to be explored in relation to this coding instrument and constitute limitations to the existing code's reliability.

Stability over Time: If conscientizaçao is a valid developmental concept, it must be stable over time. Developmental stages, as has been pointed out in Chapter III, are not transitory states through which an individual passes rapidly, but irreversible, major conceptual frameworks within which individuals perceive the world. If the coding system tends to produce results which are susceptible to changes up and down over short periods of time, it is likely that it is not reflecting structural developmental stages, but rather "stages" in some different sense. It is not clear, at this point, whether these coding results are stable over time, and increased attention should be given to this question.

Situational Stability: Are the coding results for the same respondent stable when the protocol is collected in different physical and emotional environments or when different visuals are used? For example, if respondents are given the same protocol collection instrument first in their home and then in a school room, does the situation alter the coding results? Is the environment in which the respondent

is given the collection instrument important in affecting their responses? One can imagine that a school could carry with it a series of perceptual biases: the collection instrument might appear to be a "test" in a school room and simply a "conversation" in a home situation. This study used two different environments but ones which were felt to have the same basic characteristics for the magical and naive criterion group respondents.

The presence or absence of certain key individuals might also affect the results of the collection instrument. If, for example, the patron were present while campesinos were responding to the collection instrument, their answers might be significantly different than if they were alone with the interviewer. The physical and social characteristics of the interviewer may also significantly affect the responses to the collection instrument. It seems almost certain that these variables would affect coding responses in some way; what is not clear as yet is how significantly they might affect reliability.

Another meaning of situation stability refers to the reliability of predicting C-level in different real-life situations. A given individual may be in several oppressive situations; family relationships may constitute one oppressive environment, while work relationships another. In the home, the individual may score near the critical level, while at work scoring at the naive level. While developing the coding system, a series of protocols were collected from non-indian respondents who were coded at critical level when talking about indian problems. When talking about their own work situation, they scored first-level naive. This experience raises questions about Kohlberg's characteris-

tics being applied to this system. If the measure is totally situational, dependent on the particular oppressive context, it would not meet Kohlberg's "consistent whole" criteria.

a. Internal Consistency: If the stages of C are coherent, integrated world views, this should be reflected in two types of empirical qualities of the coding system; (1) a high correlation between C-scores derived from responses to separate visuals; (2) a high intercorrelation between C-scores for the naming, reflecting, and acting aspects of the C-score. The first assesses consistency of C-level across visualized situations. The second assesses the degree to which the three aspects of the levels are consistent in reflecting the same basic stage or world view.

A split half correlation is the usual way of assessing the first type of internal consistency. Using the 17 protocols, we obtained a C-score, using scoring Method #2, based on the first and third visuals and correlated that score with the C-score based on the second and fourth visuals. The Pearson V is .760, indicating quite high consistency of scores across different visual situations.

The second type of internal consistency is reflected in the intercorrelations between the three aspects in Table 7. These data strongly suggest that responses within each of the three aspects of conscientizacao are highly related to the type of responses within the other aspects. The stages appear to be relatively coherent, integrated perspectives, or world views. Although the sample size is quite small, these initial data are very encouraging in suggesting adequate internal consistency.

Table 7

Intercorrelations of C-Scores for the Three Aspects  
of Conscientizaçao for Criterion Group Protocols

ASPECTS	NAMING	REFLECTING	ACTING
Naming	----	----	----
Reflecting	.838	----	----
Acting	.746	.781	----

b. External Validity refers to the correlation between the coding results and other measures of consciousness. Basically, we are concerned here with the code's ability to coincide with other related measures and with the real-life behaviors of individuals. It is not very important if the code is internally reliable if it does not accurately predict real-life behavior. Its value as a diagnostic and evaluative instrument is non-existent if it does not relate to real-life activity. Effort was given in this study to establishing validity. At least four types of factors need to be explored before we can be certain that this coding system measures what it pretends to measure.

Concurrent Validity: There exist a number of other social science measures which are related in a variety of ways to conscientizacao. In a book by Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba entitled, The Civic Culture, the authors examine the results of testing over 1,000 persons in each of five countries (Mexico, United States of America, Italy, Germany, and Great Britain). They divide respondents into three general classes, the "parochial," the "subject," and the "participant." Each of these terms describes how the respondents see their relationship with the power structure, or with the "system," although Almond and Verba don't use that term. The principal scale used by Verba and Almond to assess the activists' attitudes was the Guttman Scale called the "Subjective Political Competence Scale." Similar measures have been developed by political scientists David Easton and Robert Hess ( 1960 ) in their studies of political socialization of American school children. Their scale is called "Political Efficacy."

These and other similar efforts should be compared with the results of the code developed here. Such comparisons could help show the extent to which this measure correlates with other measures which would help determine its validity.

Generalizability is concerned with the code's ability to function with both inter- and intra-cultural differences. It is important to know if this measure is culture-specific or if it can be used successfully in a variety of cultural settings. Most of the specific coding categories are the results of work done in a single culture and with a specific sub-culture. Are the coding categories only valid within that culture? Is "Playing Host to the Oppressor," for example, a uniquely Latin American quality? This question is even more important because the bulk of Freire's theoretical work, upon which the specific categories are based, was also done in a Latin American setting. But this specific coding process would have to be tested in different cultural settings before we could be sure that the code's reliability was not dependent upon a specific cultural setting. Given Freire's claims for relatively extensive validity across cultures, this aspect needs to be assessed.

Real-Life Predictability: This code is a measure of verbal behavior; a measure of what individuals say. An important question yet to be answered is the relationship between what they say they think and the way in which they actually behave. Do individuals who have been coded as first level naive really try to model the oppressor in their everyday life, or do they try to change norms, policies, procedures? There is always a tenuous relationship between what individuals really believe, what they say they believe, and what they do.

This limitation is given when relying on any verbal coding system. The crucial point to discover here is if the relationship is unreliable in this coding process, exaggerated to such a stage that there is no reasonable relationship between expressed thought and action. Some work was done in this study on establishing a relationship between real-life and verbal responses. The correlation between the behavior of the a priori magical and naive level groups and the coding scores was significantly positive.

A second study using the coding system has been conducted in Massachusetts assessing the effects of womens consciousness-raising groups on levels of consciousness. (Bailey) In comparing 20 women about to enter C-R groups with 20 women matched on relevant background variables who had been in a C-R group for a year or more, Bailey found that differences in the ways the two groups named the problems were particularly pronounced ( $Z = 2.80, p < .003$ ). Additional validation studies of this type need to be conducted to determine the extent of the coding system's applicability and validity.

### 3. General Questions Concerning Conscientizaçao

As a result of the development of this coding process, several basic questions suggest themselves. These questions are related to the assumption that this coding system reflects a major new developmental theory, a theory which defines a conceptually systematic educational ideology.

a. Stage Fluidity: How fluid are the stage definitions provided in this coding system? It is almost certain from the present work that they are not entirely inflexible; that is, that a single in-

dividual can demonstrate behaviors in more than one stage at a given time. The question is, to what degree is this fluidity tolerable before we have to say that the categories do not represent true stages, but rather a conglomerate of variables organized in a conceptually consistent manner, but one which does not predict behavior across situations?

b. Stage Sequence: Kohlberg and Mayer in their article entitled, "Development as the Aim of Education," state:

Instead they (the progressives) define development as a progression through invariant ordered sequential stages. p. 454

If conscientizacao is a new developmental concept, then it must demonstrate that the stages it defines constitute an "invariant ordered sequence." This means simply that all individuals must move through the same sequence; that movement is from magical to naive to critical. Every individual need not achieve critical consciousness, but it is unacceptable for an individual to move directly from magical to critical. The question of stage sequence raises another interesting point. Is it necessary for every individual to begin at the same point? In the case study of Malcolm X, it was suggested that he was born into a naive conceptual environment and had no demonstrable personal experience with magical consciousness. It might be argued that certain maturational stages such as those defined by Piaget or Maslow would substitute for magical consciousness in Malcolm X's earliest childhood experiences. These experiences might not appear in his autobiography. This provides an interesting question for further exploration.

c. Sub-Stages: What is the relationship of sub-stages such as Fanaticized Consciousness and "Playing Host to the Oppressor" to the

three principal stages of consciousness? Are they really new stages? Are they, as Freire says, "distortions?" What role does the distortion play in overall development? Are there other sub-stages that can be identified? Freire has discussed a post naive stage in which an individual perceives what critical consciousness means and "cops-out" or reverts back to naive or fanatical consciousness in order to avoid the consequences of critical consciousness. Is such a "cop-out" a legitimate stage or sub-stage, or is it a simple regression? These questions deserve more attention than they have been given in this document and pose interesting areas for new experimentation.

#### B. Applicability of the Coding System

In Chapter I, six problems related to the field of consciousness-raising were outlined. This coding instrument offers the individual interested in consciousness-raising a new tool for addressing each of those problems. The coding instrument does not, in itself solve these problems, but rather provides a new way of seeking appropriate answers. This part of Chapter VI will attempt to suggest ways in which this instrument might be used to address each of those six problems.

##### Problem 1: The Nature of the Problem

How can we establish more precise and more effective consciousness-raising goals? As long as goal-setting relies on the instinctive feelings of trainers and workshop organizers, how can we be sure that these goals are related in a meaningful way to increased critical consciousness? This coding instrument offers a way in which the results of consciousness-raising seminars and workshops can be understood.

Indeed, this instrument opens a series of new perspectives on how those workshops might be organized. First, the code suggests that a diagnostic evaluation of participants is important before training goals are established. Is it, for example, appropriate to set critical goals for magical individuals? Should not the training goals be designed in relationship to the consciousness levels of participants? Secondly, this instrument will allow us to measure changes in consciousness and thus allow us to validate training goals against long-range changes in behavior. Thirdly, the instrument and our present understanding of it lead us to question whether the changes in consciousness take place over short periods of time and due to training-style in-puts. If magical, naive, and critical levels of consciousness are truly developmental stages, we are led to believe that changes from one consciousness level to another are extremely difficult and require long-range intervention. Perhaps training goals should be focused on changes within a given level, rather than changes between levels. By indicating what kinds of changes do take place, this instrument can help us address these questions more effectively.

#### Problem 2: Setting Objectives

The appropriateness of training activities in relation to goals is also a crucial question which the coding instrument can help us address. Kohlberg suggests that there may be "critical" periods in an individual's stage development which is more appropriate than others for change between stages to take place. The suggestion is that individuals who have just moved into a new stage need time to internalize that stage before moving on to a higher level stage. It seems

equally plausible that individuals who spend too much time in a given developmental stage create defenses against stage growth. If this is so, it would be important to identify individuals for training at an optimum moment of their stage development. (Kohlberg/Mayer 1972, pp. 489-490) This instrument would help make those diagnostic decisions.

Training activities like training goals should be appropriate to the stage in which the trainees are and be neither too challenging nor too retarding. Kohlberg and Mayer say:

As applied to educational intervention, the theory holds that facilitation of the child's movement to the next step of development involves exposure to the next higher level of thought and conflict requiring the active application of the current level of thought to problematic situations. This implies: 1) attention to the child's mode of styles of thought, i.e., stage; 2) match of stimulation to that stage, e.g., exposure to modes of reasoning one stage above the child's own; 3) arousal, among children, of genuine cognitive and social conflict and disagreement about problematic situations (in contrast to traditional education which has stressed adult "right answers" and has reinforced "behaving well"); and 4) exposure to stimuli toward which the child can be active, in which assimilatory response to the stimulus-situation is associated with "natural" feedback. (Kohlberg/Mayer 1972, p. 459)

If this holds true for adult consciousness-raising as well as for the developmental stages which Kohlberg/Mayer are discussing, it would seem essential to understand within what level an individual is presently functioning, and establish training experiences which require conflict in the application of that current level of thought. Kohlberg/Mayer also quote Dewey as saying:

Some experiences are miseducative. Any experience is miseducative that has the effect of arresting or distorting the growth of further experience. . . . (Kohlberg/Mayer 1972, pp. 25-28)

If experience can be miseducative, then it is possible that unconsciously some training experiences presently being offered as developmental are, in fact, retarding, or distorting consciousness growth.

This presents a serious challenge to the trainer, a challenge which this instrument can help to meet by providing the trainer with information about the participants, both before and after the training experience.

Problem 3: Durability of Learning

The question of durability is absolutely crucial to understanding whether consciousness-raising is a superficial change in behavior or a significant long-term change in an individual's world view.

Kohlberg/Mayer state:

Psychologically, the distinction between humanitarian and developmental criteria is the distinction between the short-term value of the child's immediate experience and the long-term value of that experience as it relates to development. . . . The progressive (developmental) approach maintains that the worth of an educational effect is decided by its effect upon later behavior and development. Thus, in the progressive view, the basic problems of choosing and validating educational ends can only be solved by longitudinal studies of the effects of educational experience. (Kohlberg/Mayer 1972, pp. 462-463)

If "C" is a truly developmental concept, and if Kohlberg/Mayer are right, long-term studies of behavioral change are necessary before we can be sure that the short-term achievements of training programs are having truly developmental effects. This coding system gives us one way of designing, implementing, and evaluating such longitudinal studies.

Problem 4: Training Trainers

The problem of trainer preparation rests upon an understanding of the training results, and upon a systematic and coherent training rationale which can be transmitted to new trainers. We have seen the difficulty of simply training trainers in the use of specific training exercises. New trainers require a framework within which they can understand the impact of exercises. They need to know why an exercise

is used as much as they need to know how it is used. They also need to know how to evaluate the results of their in-puts on a more objective basis than simply participant-satisfaction. This coding instrument provides a coherent conceptual framework against which specific training exercises can be planned and evaluated. It provides a new trainer with a conceptual whole, with an explanation of the consciousness-raising process. Such a fundamental understanding offers the trainer creative possibilities for developing new training experiences as well as simply "performing" a set of learned training skills.

Problem 5: Evaluation

Evaluation is related to each of the other five problems. It is mentioned here separately to emphasize its importance. The coding system is basically an evaluation process which can be applied to assess a variety of concerns; e.g., what factors most effectively facilitate individual changes from one level of consciousness to another, what factors stimulate growth and what factors retard growth. Once these factors have been isolated and verified, it may be possible to develop other measures with broader implication. If, for example, we can show conclusively that a certain behavior frequently retards consciousness growth, that it works to maintain oppression rather than promoting liberation, we can then, in some objective sense, identify oppressive regimes. It would be more difficult for such regimes to defend educational policies which promote oppression, without overtly identifying themselves as oppressive. Much work has to be done before such a measure could be developed, but the coding process offers us such an opportunity if it proves to be a reliable measure of consciousness-growth.

Problem 6: Relating Personal Growth and Political Consciousness

We can only answer this question if we have some measure of personal growth and then if we can compare changes in personal growth with changes in the political-social context. A number of interesting possibilities present themselves. It has often been said by observers of the Chilean social revolutions which brought Salvador Allende into power that such a bloodless political revolution was due to the high level of consciousness among the bulk of Chileans. Is that statement justified by the facts? How could we retroactively attempt to measure the level of consciousness in the Chilean population? Newspaper editorials, school texts, popular novels, and/or television and radio scripts, other social science questionnaires, and political cartoons are examples of information which might be analyzed retrospectively. What does this information show about the level of consciousness? If it indicates a relatively high level of consciousness, how far back would we have to go before similar materials began to demonstrate a lower level of consciousness? What political events could be associated with the change in consciousness if it appeared? How could such a change be explained? If consciousness-raising is, as Freire suggests, an interaction between the external environment and the internal perception of individuals and groups, how could this interaction be traced? Is there a predictable time-lag between consciousness changes and political changes? A whole series of fascinating questions are forthcoming from such speculation. This coding instrument can help begin such an investigative process, during the course of which the instrument itself would be enriched, made more precise, and reliable.

A final word of caution is appropriate here. Before such wide-ranging social investigation is begun, the instrument itself requires increased validation. The scope of this dissertation has been relatively small. The purpose has been to initiate a process, to develop an instrument which is precise enough to warrant further validation; an instrument sufficiently validated to suggest that future investment in understanding the problem of oppression and in having a behavioral instrument (even one which relies primarily on verbal behavior) is justified. But that task is not sufficient to justify, now, wide-ranging social research into politically sensitive and emotionally packed areas. Because this one area is sensitive, one's care must be taken in how this instrument is used. It should be a tool of creating more liberating educational programs rather than a tool of creating more oppressive educational programs. It holds, unfortunately, potential for both.

### Summary

The coding system described in this document has a number of limitations. While care was taken to minimize the impact of such factors as translation, cultural mis-interpretation, the novelty of tape recorder technology, and the interview relationship, these factors merit further exploration before we can be certain how seriously they may have affected the protocol data. Similarly, a number of internal validity factors require further experimentation. Coder reliability should be established using a broader range, and larger number of coders. Stability of the coding measure over time, in different situations and using alternative visuals should be challenged by further

experimentation. The coding measure should be compared with other similar measures in political science and developmental education, and its generalizability should be measured with increased care. While work has begun on establishing the code's ability to predict real-life behavior, much more work needs to be done before we can be certain of its validity.

In addition to these limitations, several general questions concerning conscientizaçao resulted from the development of this coding process. How fluid are the stages described in the code? Can individuals demonstrate behavior across all three stages simultaneously? Are the stages sequential? At what developmental point does conscientizaçao become a viable concern? What is the relationship of sub-stages to the overall conceptual framework? Do they constitute transition stages, or can they be considered to be complete stages in themselves? What factors promote growth from one stage to another? What factors hinder or retard growth? Is there an optimal moment at which a given individual is "ready" for stage transition? If so, how could such a moment be predicted and perceived? Each of these questions constitutes a major area of study which should logically succeed the establishment of greater coding reliability and validity.

The coding instrument has been shown as a potentially powerful tool for addressing the six problems posed in Chapter I. These problems, related to the greater understanding and control over consciousness-raising programs, constitutes challenges for all individuals concerned with the problem of humanization and its antithesis, oppression.

While the code requires greater validation, we are led to believe that despite these limitations, future investigation is warranted on the basis of existing results.

The pedagogical implications of this coding system lend support to educational programs which focus on transforming systems, rather than reforming individuals. The coding system clearly implies that collaborative educational pursuits are liberating, while non-collaborative ones are less effective in achieving transforming goals. This places emphasis on group rather than individual educational processes. The coding system also suggests that education is not something that is done to someone else, but rather a being with and growing with others. The full implication of this is not clear, but it raises questions about the effectiveness of short-term relationships such as seminars, workshops, laboratories, in positively affecting consciousness-raising.

Out-of-school educational programs seem to be one area in which these ideas may be most immediately applicable. Programs such as drug education, social work, adult literacy, and community development, as well as overt consciousness-raising programs offer fertile ground for experimenting with these ideas. Because these programs are largely concerned with real-life problems, the potential impact of transforming goals as opposed to reforming goals appears to be greater.

Reference has already been made to the possible dangers of, on the one hand, using the coding system carelessly, and on the other hand, using it unethically. Carelessness can result in sweeping generalizations, pigeon-holing, and in alienating individuals and groups

who quite rightly resent being "labeled." Unethical utilization of this system could result in the strengthening of already oppressive regimes and environments. Ultimately, the author can only point out these dangers and hope that the reader will be ethically sensitive to their importance.

APPENDIX A

HOW TO COLLECT THE PROTOCOLS

I. Random Protocols

The coding categories described in Chapter III are designed to be applied to any legitimate sample of an individual's thought. Such a sample is referred to here as a protocol. A legitimate protocol is one that 1) represents an honest response, 2) reflects in some way the answers to the following questions: What problems do you have? Should things be as they are? Why are things as they are?, and What can be done to change things?, and 3) represents individuals' responses to their own, their peer group's life problems and not those of another socio-cultural group.\* Using these three criteria for legitimacy, one can imagine a variety of protocol possibilities: newspaper editorials, books such as the Autobiography of Malcolm X, songs, open-conversations, and even cartoons, although cartoons would require a special interpretation.

Using only randomly gathered protocols, however, can present some serious coding problems. Take, for example, an editorial written a few days after Salvador Allende's death. The emotional impact of such a dramatic event is likely to exaggerate certain aspects of the writer's normal thought patterns. In this case, one can imagine an

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\*White liberals, for example, responding to "C" stimuli related to indian problems have proven to score relatively high on the "C" scale, but when the same individuals discuss their own white problems, their score drops considerably. It seems easier to be conscientizaçao about someone else's life situation than it is about one's own.

editorial skewed toward fanaticized characteristics, for example. More importantly, random protocols are not likely to provide responses to all three aspects of "C". An even distribution of responses is essential for a reliable thought sample. During an open conversation, in a song or whatever random protocol sample, it is probable that an individual would focus on only one or two of the three coding aspects. This would make it difficult to rely upon the "C" score derived from such a protocol. In longer protocols, such as books like The Autobiography of Malcolm X, one would be more certain of having responses to all three aspects of "C", but the coding process would be complicated by the way in which the responses were ordered in the protocol. It would be easy to confuse a naming aspect with a reflecting aspect or an action aspect with a naming aspect. These problems can certainly be overcome, and random protocols should not be excluded from consideration, but care must be taken in their selection and in their interpretation.

## II. The Protocol Collecting Instrument

In order to avoid these problems, a simple TAT-style interview has been developed. The interview is used to gather an honest, evenly distributed, and relatively short protocol from a disparate range of individuals. This "collection instrument" has two purposes: 1) collecting the kind of protocol which will allow for a fair adjudication of the individual's level of "C", and 2) educating the respondent as to his own level of "C" awareness. The two purposes must be separated in time, the collecting function preceding the educating function, if

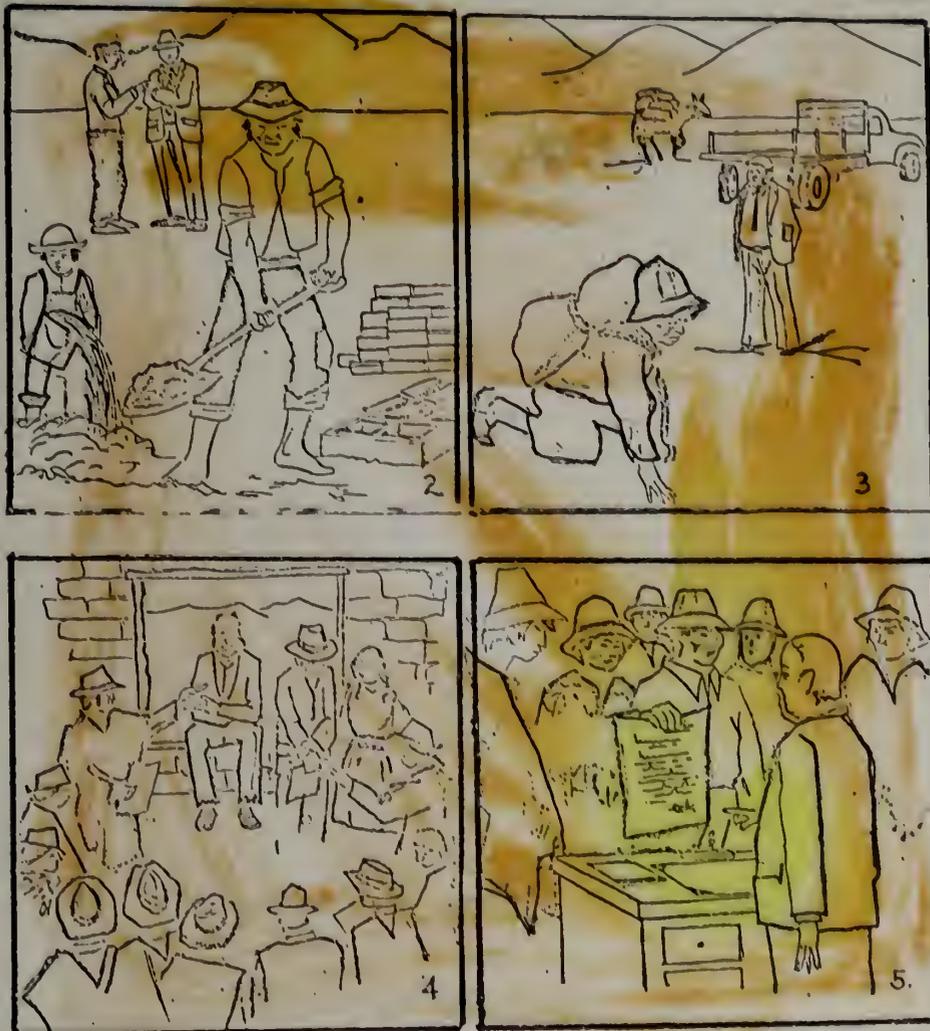
the protocol to be coded is to be unbiased by the educating function. The collection instrument should not be used alone but rather accompanied by some device for assisting the respondent in clarifying his own "C" development. This issue will be discussed in greater detail later in this Appendix.

A TAT-style interview format was chosen for the collection instrument because it was felt that: 1) it most closely corresponds to the kind of stimulus which Freire used in his first attempts at increasing "C" growth, and 2) it provides a proven method of gathering a representative thought-sample. So much work has been done with TAT pictures that it is not necessary here to cite the basic validity of the technique. Suffice it to say that individuals, when confronted with a picture and asked to invent a story involving the people in that picture, draw upon their own thought patterns to do so. It is these thought patterns the code is designed to measure.

To function well, the TAT pictures must relate to the individual's own life experience; in essence, they must be culture-specific. The collection instrument which will be described here was developed for the Ecuadorian rural sierra. New pictures should be developed for different cultural groups. In the United States, blacks could not be expected to relate to the same pictures as Ecuadorian indians, nor women's groups to react to the same pictures as North American blacks. The pictures should, however, maintain certain basic characteristics across culture groups.

Figure 4

Four visuals used to collect  
criterion group protocols



### III. "C" Characteristics of the Visuals

These characteristics include: 1) some visualization of oppression between the culture group being sampled and their corresponding oppressor. In the case of women in the United States, this might be a woman vacuuming a rug while her husband sits reading a newspaper. The relationship should come from everyday experience and should not be unduly exaggerated. The woman should not be sweating profusely, nor the man have his feet in a tub of water being washed by the woman. For the rural areas of the Ecuadorian sierra, we chose a drawing (#2) of a cargador (literally a "carrier," in practice an indian who comes to the city to work for two or three months carrying heavy bundles for whites. These individuals are payed little and are treated as pack animals.) In the picture, the cargador is getting up from the ground while in the background a white man stands in front of a truck and a loaded burro stands still further in the background. This picture is concerned principally with the relationship between oppressor and oppressed and stimulates a wide range of responses across the "C" scale. Examples in Ecuador include: "The indian was hit by the white man's truck but there is nothing he can do about it." (fatalism) "Here we can see clearly that the indian is like a pack animal, he needs help from the white man to change his lot." (dependent on oppressor) "The white man is an oppressor, the one who keeps the indian like an animal" (rejection of oppressor), or "We must understand that we work like pack animals and earn practically nothing. We are part of a system which uses us to transport its goods. The white man is but a product of that system." (understanding the system)

2) A visualization of the oppressor relating to one of his agents while the oppressed individual is present. The concern in this case extends beyond the oppressor/oppressed relationship; it deals as well with the oppressor's agents. The oppressor's agent should be a member of the oppressed class and yet be in an obviously superior status position from the other oppressed individuals in the picture. Once again, in the case of women in the United States, one might conceive of a woman at a drawing board working on an advertisement for bras or lipstick while over her shoulder a man discusses the drawing with a second woman. In Ecuador, we chose a picture (#1) of an indian working with his son making adobe blocks while in the background two white men, one dressed in a suit and one in work clothes, talk between themselves. Sample responses to the Ecuadorian drawing include: "They are talking about how bad the worker's bricks are. All the worker can do is try to make better bricks and teach his son to make good bricks" (playing host to the oppressor), "The mayordomo is worse than the patron; he is the one to blame for this situation" (horizontal violence), "The indian must quit and find a job where they treat him like a man" (defending), "All of these men are part of the system, each plays his role, the patron, the mayordomo, and the worker" (understands system).

3) A visualization of a group discussion among the oppressed group. No oppressor should be present. This visual focuses on the horizontal violence, peer support, and group decision-making variables. One member of the group should be clearly talking, but not necessarily in a formal leadership position. For women in the United States, one might imagine a livingroom setting in which a group of women, with no

men present, are sitting around. It would probably be best not to give the impression of a "tea party" but rather a discussion. One woman should be talking, perhaps pointing to another woman in the group. In Ecuador, we chose (#3) a community meeting with both men and women present. One man is talking and pointing to another member of the group. This is a typical setting for community problem-discussion. This visual was particularly powerful in Ecuador in exposing the dependence on a peer leader who takes the role of the "good patron," the patron who obeys the rules. Another common theme which appeared in Ecuador was horizontal violence. Some individuals saw the group as fighting among itself with no hope of resolution.

4) A visualization of the oppressed group gathered together facing a long oppressor. This visual explores the "peer action," "paternalistic dependence" variables. Women in the United States might respond to a picture of a male university professor facing a group of women students. The women should be standing; and it should be clear they are not receiving classes at the moment of the picture, perhaps with a document in their hands to present to the male professor. In Ecuador, we chose (#4) a group of campesinos, mostly dressed as indians, facing a lone white behind a desk. One indian has a decided scowl on his face while another is holding up a large official-looking document. In one case, for example, campesinos saw that the indians had been fighting among themselves over land, and they had come to the patron to solve their problem. In another case, they saw the indians as going for help to the lawyer who took their money but

never helped them. In still another case, they saw the indians as claiming their rights from an evil oppressor who represented the entire oppressor class.

#### IV. Developing the Visuals

The drawings used in Ecuador were pilot-tested in rural areas before the final set was agreed upon. Visual literacy was a principal concern, particularly among rural farmers. Careful questioning revealed that individuals could identify visual details such as clothing styles, tools, trucks, and facial expressions. Changes were made in cases where visual images did not correspond to the local reality. For example, in the first drawing, the boy is holding a bucket of water. In the original drawing, the bucket was a square lard can commonly used as a bucket on the coast, but the sierra people did not recognize it as a bucket and were confused as to what the two people were doing. Once the change was made, the brick-building activity was clear to them. A number of these changes were made before the final drawings were agreed upon. The verification process is important in all cases, but particularly so with a group where visual literacy is a major concern.

#### V. The Collection Process

Once the visuals have been prepared, a decision has to be made as to whether the collection process is to be written or oral. In Ecuador, there was no choice as most of the individuals interviewed were either completely illiterate, or at such a low literacy level that written responses would be too short to provide a codable sample. If the target group were fully literate, however, it would be entirely

possible to collect written samples simultaneously on a large scale. An auditorium setting with the visuals projected on a large screen and the standardized questions printed on answer sheets given to each participant would be acceptable. In Ecuador, reliance was placed on individual interviews which were tape recorded and later transcribed. The time necessary to complete this process accounts, in part, for the small sample size.

#### A. The Interview

##### Step 1. The Setting

The setting for a tape recorded interview should be a space where the respondent will not be distracted. Creating these stories requires a good deal of concentration for an individual unaccustomed to this task. There should be no spectators, either peers or outsiders. The interviewer and respondent should be as alone as possible. The tape recorder should be in good operating condition, with fresh batteries and placed where clear recording is possible. If the familiarization procedures described below are followed, it is not necessary to hide the tape recorder. It is preferable to be honest with respondents as to both the purposes and methods of the collection procedure. In many countries, an individual's response to this kind of questioning can have political consequences. The individual should have the option to say "no."

##### Step 2. Familiarization

Because both tape recorders and the idea of making up stories about hypothetical individuals is foreign to the rural culture in Ecuador, before beginning the standardized coding process a familiarization process was conducted. Individuals were asked to speak into

the tape recorder, say anything they liked, in some cases to sing a song. This was tape recorded and then played back. They were allowed to run the machine themselves and gradually, after a few tries, the tape recorder lost its mystical quality. A more difficult problem was getting individuals to understand what story-making was all about. When asked, for example, who are the people in the picture, they answered, "I don't know. Could it be you?" They thought at first the drawings were photographs and that they were being asked to identify who the real-life people were. After several trial runs with different groups, it became clear that if a fifth picture were added and used in a very open-ended way to teach the story-telling skill, the individuals soon caught on to the idea. Consequently, a fifth picture has been included in the sequence. The interviewer uses this picture first to establish the story-telling set in the mind of the respondent. Leading questions and helping questions are permitted. The interviewer plays a much more active role in telling-the-story than in the proceeding four pictures. Once the interviewer is satisfied that the respondent has gotten the idea of story-telling, he begins the formal interview process.

### Step 3. The Interview Questions

The interviewers show the picture to the respondents and allow them a few seconds to look at the picture without saying anything. They then explain, "We are going to make up a story about these individuals just like we did before. Remember?" They then ask the respondent to describe what they see. The interviewers may ask the following questions to help the respondent give a full description. "What do you see

in the picture?" "What is taking place in this picture?" "Who are the people?" "What are they talking about?" No other questions should be asked with the exception of simple probing questions such as, "Do you see anything else?" "Can you think of anything else?" "What else might they be talking about?" The interviewer's non-verbal cues should indicate support for the respondent's answer. The cues may vary from one culture to another. A non-committal stance with Ecuadorian campesinos, for example, proved to be a sign of disapproval, and they would immediately try to find another answer which they felt the interviewer wanted to hear. In order to avoid this, a simple affirmation, a nod of the head, a "yes, go ahead" was sufficient to establish the respondent's confidence in his own answers.

Once respondents are satisfied with their description of the picture (for rural people this may be only a few phrases) the interviewer should go on to the set of questions which focus on how respondents name or define the problems in their life. To begin, they ask, "What kinds of problems do you imagine each of these individuals to have?" After respondents have answered, the interviewer should be sure that each individual, or group of individuals in the picture are referred to. If, for example, respondents forget the mayordomo in the first picture, by simply pointing to them in the picture and asking, "And what problems does this individual have?" sufficient attention is drawn to them. Each of the respondents' answers should be followed by a simple probe, "Can you think of anything else?" After all the principle individuals have been discussed, the interviewer asks, "Do you think things should be as they are in this picture?" The respondent's answer should be followed once again by the probe.

The third set of questions relates to the way in which the respondent reflects or understands why things are as they are. The interviewer asks, "Why do these individuals have problems?" Once again, they should try to get the respondent to refer to each of the major figures in the drawings, following each answer by a simple probing question.

The fourth and final set of questions refers to actions that can be taken to remedy the situation the respondent has described. The interviewer asks, "What can these individuals do to change the situation, to make things better?" A probing question should follow each of the respondent's answers. Once all the questions have been asked for one picture, the interviewer goes on to the next picture and repeats the process.

The interviewer must be careful not to lead the respondent, not to intervene, only to ask the questions presented here and provide affirmative support for the respondent's answers. This process attempts to reduce the interviewer's influence upon the respondent. By asking only standardized questions and by not intervening either verbally or non-verbally during the respondent's answers, the interviewer's personality plays a lesser role in orienting the respondent's answers. The written format reduces this influence even more and is preferable from this point of view.

#### B. The Written Format

In a situation where the respondents are familiar with imaginative story-telling, and a written response is practical, the interview process is not necessary. Indeed, the entire collection process is simplified and speeded-up. It becomes possible to collect responses

from a large group of individuals simultaneously. The setting can range from a single individual to a large group gathered together in an auditorium. Distraction should be reduced to a minimum, and respondents should work individually. The visuals to be used should follow the same guidelines previously outlined, and the respondents should be from a culturally homogeneous and necessarily oppressed group. When different culture groups are mixed in the same collection process, the visuals, which should be culture-specific, lose their impact. Because it is preferable that this collection instrument be used in conjunction with an educational process related to "C" growth, the description which follows assumes that the respondents are gathered together for such an educational experience, perhaps a two-day training seminar, or course work related to "C" growth. Once the group is settled, the following explanation of the task is given to them.

We will be discussing problem-solving during the course of this seminar. And in order to begin, we would like to give each of you a chance to try your hand at naming and then solving some common problems. We will show you several pictures. These pictures are taken from our own daily experience and should be familiar to you. We will ask you to answer four basic questions\* about each picture; a general description of what is taking place in the picture, what problems the individuals in the picture might have, should things be like they are, why things are as they are, and what can the individuals do about the situation to make it better? You will have ten minutes for each picture. We will tell you when you have five minutes left and when you have two minutes left so you can pace your answers. Each of you has a set of answer sheets for each picture. Please be careful to match appropriate answer sheets with the right picture.

Once the introduction has been given and procedural questions answered (questions related to the content of the exercise should be avoided until after the collection process), answer sheets should be dis-

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\*The standardized questions are included at the end of this Appendix.

tributed to all respondents. The visuals are then shown one at a time. Even though the group is literate and skillful in imaginative story-telling, it is recommended that the pre-visual be used to help the group become accustomed to the story-telling task. No special explanation need be given to the group concerning this visual. For their purposes, it is like any of the other four. However, for coding purposes this first visual should be discarded. A time limit should be established according to the group's needs. The important factor is that the group has enough time so as not to feel pressured, but not so much time that the stories become sophisticated examples of creative writing, rather than legitimate thought-samples. Time should be strictly observed and time cues given to the group at established intervals.

Papers are collected after everyone has finished and the group is thanked for their participation. It should be explained that this process will become the focal point for the training session which is to follow and that the group will have more opportunities to define and solve problems. At this point, the formal collection process ends.

#### VI. Education For "C" Awareness

As was stated earlier in this Appendix, it is considered important that the collection process which has been described be followed by a short, but essential, educational process in which respondents come to understand more clearly the meaning of conscientizaçao as it relates to their own life. This is a moral rather than a scientific position. Take, for example, the following situation which actually occurred:

In a rural village outside of Quito recently, a group of university students were applying an investigative questionnaire as part of their academic program. The students questioned a group of young farmers standing in front of a nearby house:

Student: "We are here to talk with you about your problems and to see if there is anything we can do to help you. But first we would like to ask you a few simple questions. Would that be all right?"

Farmer: No Response

Student: "What is your name?"

Farmer: "They don't have names for us."

Student: "Where do you live?"

Farmer: "We don't live."

Student: "Well, how old are you?"

Farmer: "We don't have age."

Finally the student asked the farmers what was going on. The farmers responded, "What good does answering these questions do us? We know our names, where we live, and how old we are. We are tired of answering your questions so that you can get a degree from the university and then get a job in Quito while we remain here." And they walked away.

A common rationale used by social scientists to justify social investigation is that the results of investigation advance "science" by increasing human knowledge, and consequently serve mankind in general, even though the evaluation may, in fact, take advantage of the small groups who serve as scientific "samples." It is, of course, important that these groups are not harmed in a lasting way from the investigation. Few social scientists would justify experiments which were potentially destructive. It is, however, commonly recognized that a particular community will not benefit in any specific way from the intervention, and indeed may suffer a mild form of cultural dislocation from the cross-cultural contact. But for many social scientists, this dislocation is justified by the importance of the knowledge to be gained.

It is the author's position, and the position of the project under which all of the investigative information leading to the creation of this coding process was gathered, that this rationale is no longer sufficient to justify the hundreds of third world communities which are being used to advance the industrial countries' knowledge of the third world. It is not justified on two counts: 1) because the information rarely, if ever, benefits third world populations at all, and 2) that the benefits which do accrue from those investigations are determined by, administered by, and accredited to agents of the industrial countries. It is, for the most part, the social scientist who reaps the benefits of social science: they who earn academic degrees, they who increase salary levels, they who gain prestige from the results of these investigations. Without undue hyperbole, it is the author's position that the social scientist has a more profound obligation than collecting information for the advancement of human knowledge. They must make an attempt to leave something in terms of social growth with the people they are utilizing. In our minds, this is not a paternalistic position. The obligation is not "to help the downtrodden," but rather to respect the individuals upon whom the information depends as individuals with whom, rather than for whom, we work. And most importantly, to make those individuals aware of their contribution to the ultimate success of that work.

The following set of exercises are suggested as one way in which a beginning can be made towards the achievement of that goal. Because they are developed in Ecuador, they are both specific to the

local culture and to the level of individuals with whom we worked. The exercises can be divided into three classes: skill-fluency games, simulation games, and visual de-codification.

1. Skill-Fluency Games provide practice in some basic skill such as literacy, numeracy, concept organization, or problem-solving. Numeracy proved to be an area in which Ecuadorian campesinos were often at a disadvantage when facing a white or mestizo authority figure. Because campesinos either couldn't read numbers or were slow at making mental calculations, they were literally at the mercy of mestizos and/or whites who could write numbers and who could add, subtract, multiply, and divide more rapidly. Numeracy was associated with social respect. While unable to recognize written numbers, campesinos were also handicapped when confronting a mestizo in a situation involving numbers, i.e., the marketplace. When the campesino learned to read numbers, confrontations did not always follow; fear often played a role in suppressing confrontation even when the individual was sure he was right and could prove it. But at least the option to confront and possible success were open to the individual able to use written numbers. Two skill games proved to be particularly helpful in increasing numeracy skills: a card game entitled, El Mercado, and a bingo-like game entitled, Quena.\* Our experience with numeracy in Ecuador suggests that basic skills are related to codable variables such as self-esteem, confrontation, peer aggression, and peer support. By helping increase a carefully selected basic skill, we were also helping to increase capacity for "C" growth.

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\*Detailed description of these games are available in Technical Notes #4 and #5 from the University of Massachusetts NonFormal Education Project in Ecuador.

2. Simulation Games. One of the most widely publicized efforts of the Massachusetts NonFormal Education Project in Ecuador was the creation of a simulation board game entitled, Hacienda or Juego de la Vida.\* Hacienda attempts, in a concentrated period of time, to replicate a series of complex socio-economic interactions typical of the Ecuadorian sierra. In Ecuador, although the game board resembled Monopoly, the game itself was transformed by the campesino players into a series of socio-dramas representing the major confrontations in their lives. Emphasis was placed upon the inter-relatedness of events and on alternatives open to rural individuals to make changes. Through analyzing the interaction in the game and the results, individuals came to see, in their own terms, how they themselves were behaving and what "C" growth might mean.

As part of the operating procedure in applying the collection instrument, the materials just described were used. With more sophisticated groups, the PCI visuals were used with small groups of respondents after the individual interview process. This allowed us to draw on Freire's experience in Brazil and was very helpful in providing the respondents with an opportunity to exchange ideas among themselves. With still more sophisticated groups, the actual coding vocabulary was shared. In most cases, interest was not that a given individual would be able to "label" himself as to his own level of "C" growth, but rather than the opportunity to confront and discuss their own beliefs was available to them.

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\*Also available in Technical Note #3 in the University of Massachusetts Nonformal Education Series.



3. Why are things as they are? Who and/or what is to blame for these conditions? What is the individual's role in this situation?

4. What can be done to solve these problems? What have these individuals done? What should they have done? What will they do in the future to solve these problems?

APPENDIX B

DETAILED CODING RULES

I. Overview of Coding Process

The developmental process described as conscientizacão in this document is divided into three different levels: magical, naive, and critical. Each of these levels is subsequently divided into three aspects which correspond to the answer to one of three existential questions: naming (what is the problem?), reflecting (why do these problems exist?), and acting (what can be done to change this situation?). Each aspect of each level is further divided into sub-levels which represent two different answers to each of the three questions posed at each of the three levels. For example, the naming aspect of the magical level is divided into two sub-levels: 1) survival problems, and 2) problem-denial/supports oppressor. The coder is consequently faced with three basic decisions, at what aspect, at what level, and at what sub-level should a given coding unit be coded or classified. The purpose of this coding guide is to provide readers with a set of materials which will train them to make these decisions.

Step I in this coding process is to establish that the protocol relates to oppression, and consequently is codable. This is done by searching for a "marker sentence," a sentence which indicates that references to oppression or the potential for oppression exists in a given protocol. Step II consists of reconstructing the protocol, using actual phrases in the protocol but reordering them on the Coding Summary Sheet according to the aspect to which they refer: naming, reflecting, and

acting. In Step III, the coder returns to each sentence that has been recorded on the Coding Summary Sheet and based upon the specific rules detailed in this Appendix, classifies each sentence to its level of consciousness (magical, naive, or critical) and justifies this classification in terms of the sub-level it illustrates. The fourth step is to record the coding decisions on a coding tally sheet.

## II. Detailed Coding Rules

### Step 1. Selecting the Marker Sentence

Freire defines oppression as:

Any situation in which 'A' objectively exploits 'B' or hinders his pursuit of self affirmation as a responsible person. (Freire 1968, p. 40)

In order for a protocol to be codable, some indication that an oppressive situation exists must be established; some indication that there is an "A" (an oppressor) and a "B" (an oppressed). Furthermore, a relationship must be established between the two. In order to establish this relationship, the coder must look for sentences which relate superior role individuals to inferior role individuals. These sentences may either be statements of a superior role individual taking action on or for an inferior role individual or statements of an inferior role individual taking actions on or for a superior role individual. These statements are called marker sentences. The coder should scan the entire protocol looking for marker sentences. Only one marker sentence need be underlined to justify the protocol for coding. Examples include: "The hacienda owner hit the indian." "The policeman locked the indian up." "The teacher was speaking to the class." "The son told his father not

to go." It is also possible that the subject of the sentence be passive. Examples: "The indian was hit by the owner." "The indian was locked up by the policeman." "The teacher was being frustrated by the class."

Role status is crucial in determining the presence of a marker sentence. Some understanding of the specific culture being coded is necessary to make an accurate determination. For example, in a patriarchal culture, the male holds a superior role status, while in the matriarchal, the female holds a superior status. In one culture, an older brother may be a superior status, while in another, older and younger brothers may have equal role status. This information is obviously important if marker sentences are to be identified accurately.

A few examples of both marker and non-marker sentences follow. Try to determine which is a marker sentence and then compare your answers with the suggested answers that follow.

- Examples:
- #1. The father hit his son.
  - #2. The indian killed the hacienda owner.
  - #3. The indian is hurt.
  - #4. The passenger asked the porter to take his bags.
  - #5. The indian was taken to jail by the policeman.
  - #6. The porters are playing cards together.
  - #7. The city woman gave money to the rural women.
  - #8. The hacienda owner and the indian are talking.
  - #9. He told her what she should buy.
  - #10. He told him when they should leave.

Suggested Responses:

- #1. Yes, status role difference between father and son.

- #2. Yes, an inferior role is acting upon a superior one.
- #3. No. There is no role status in this example.
- #4. Yes, clear role difference, verb "asked" indicates what passenger is doing to porter.
- #5. Yes, even though indian is subject, he is being acted upon by a superior role person.
- #6. No. No status difference.
- #7. No, this is ambiguous. It is necessary to know if in this culture there is a status difference between rural and urban women.
- #8. Yes.
- #9. Yes, if there is a status difference between men and women in this culture.
- #10. No, both he and him are pronouns. It would be necessary to know to whom they refer. Without this clarification, it would be impossible to use this as a marker sentence.

The coder's first step is then to determine if the protocol has a marker sentence. If one is located, it should be underlined. A given protocol may have several marker sentences. Only one is necessary to justify coding. If the protocol has no marker sentence, then the coder must look for a clear, overt statement in which respondents indicate that they believe that no problem exists. Overt denial is a clear indicator that an oppressed respondent is at a magical level of consciousness. Such an oppressed individual is unable to perceive any differences, or even a relationship, between self and oppressor. By overtly denying that a problem exists, they avoid participation, action, or even questioning. This is a clearly magical response. Summary: Every protocol must have a marker sentence to be coded. Marker sentences are either 1) statements of a superior role individual taking action on or for an inferior role

individual, 2) statements of an inferior role individual taking action on or for a superior role individual, or 3) a clear direct statement that no problem exists. Statements of this third type mean that the whole protocol should be coded magical and no further coding is necessary. If no marker sentence is in the protocol, do not proceed with subsequent coding steps.

Step 2. Reconstructing the Protocol According to Aspects

Reconstructing the protocol is simply a process of selecting out coding units which correspond to the three aspects of naming, reflecting, acting, and organizing them in a sequential format on the Summary Coding Chart. Because the respondent does not always respond in logical thought order, it is important for this restructuring to take place before the respondent's statements can be coded efficiently for levels. It is especially important that the respondent's actual words are not changed during this restructuring process. This is not a re-writing, but rather a re-ordering of the respondent's actual statements. When the collection instrument described in this appendix is used to collect the protocol, re-ordering may be slight. For protocols taken from other sources\* such as autobiographical sketches, or open-ended fantasies, however, this reordering process may be more necessary.

The Coding Summary Sheet is divided into three horizontal sections, each corresponding to one of the three basic aspects of "C"; naming, reflecting, acting. Through reconstructing the protocol, the key sentences which correspond to each of these aspects are written verbatim as they appear in the protocol under their appropriate section. A sample Coding Summary Sheet follows.

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\*Referred to in this document as "random protocols."



A. Selecting Coding Units

When reconstructing the protocol, the coder will be required to select coding units for restructuring. This section gives the coder a set of guidelines for selecting appropriate coding units.

1. A coding unit is defined as any and every complete thought or idea that can be classified as naming a problem, reflecting on it, or acting to solve it. Complete thoughts may be expressed in a variety of sentence structures.

- a. Simple sentences without compound parts should be coded as a single unit.

Example: "The indian was hit by a truck."

- b. Simple sentences with compound parts (nouns, verbs, objects, prepositional phrases, adverbs, adjectives, etc.) should be separated into separate coding units when those parts represent a complete thought or idea.

Example: #1. "The indian and the hacienda owner are oppressed."

- This should be separated into two coding units as follows:

"The indian is oppressed." and "hacienda owner is oppressed."

#2. "Both the indian and the hacienda owner are oppressed."

- This would be coded as one unit because the word "both" indicates that the respondent is expressing the unity of indian and hacienda owner.

#3. "The indian must learn to read and write."

- This would be coded as one unit because reading and writing are generally thought of as a single unit, literacy.

#4. "The indian must learn to accept and fight."

- This would be separated into two coding units because accepting and fighting are two separate thoughts. It would read as follows:

"The indian must learn to accept. . ."

". . . and (the indian must learn to) fight."

c. Separate compound sentences into their independent clauses and code each independent clause as a separate unit.

#5. "The hacienda owner wishes to go to town, and the indian wishes to stay home."

- This should be separated into two units as follows:

"The hacienda owner wishes to go to town. . ."

". . . and the indian wishes to stay home."

It may also be possible for one independent clause in a compound sentence to have compound parts. In this case, the compound parts are also separated into independent coding units if they represent complete thoughts or ideas.

#6. "The indian wishes to fight and accept, but the hacienda owner only wishes to fight."

- This would be separated into three coding units as follows:

"The indian wishes to fight. . ."

"... (the indian wishes to) accept..."

"... but the hacienda owner only wishes to fight."

d. Code complex sentences, sentences which have one independent clause and one or more dependent clauses, as one

unit. The presence of a dependent clause indicates that the entire sentence depends upon it for its meaning and, consequently, it represents a single thought.

#7. "The hacienda owner, while he is in power, beats the indian."

- The clause "while he is in power" qualifies the rest of the sentence and is therefore indispensible to its meaning. This would be coded as one unit.

In the case of clauses which include the word "because" it is common for individuals to bring naming and reflecting statements together in a single complex sentence.

Example: "They are poor because they are oppressed." The dependent clause "because they are oppressed" cannot stand alone. It is a single thought. At the same time, it answers the question "why" they are poor, a thought which constitutes a problem or naming statement. This sentence could logically be coded as either naming or reflecting. Code such cases as this as a single reflecting unit. This is justified by the fact that the central issue being addressed in "because" statements is a causal one and as such should be coded as reflecting rather than naming.

2. DO NOT feel you have to code every unit present in a protocol. Code only those units which are related to naming, reflecting, or acting.

3. DO NOT code units which have been repeated verbatim in the same protocol. Code units in the same story which repeat the same idea, but which are expressed differently each time they appear.

4. In reconstructing a protocol feel free to borrow a noun from an adjacent sentence which clarifies a pronoun in an adjoining sentence.

#1. "The farmer is tired. He was beaten by the hacienda owner."

- The second sentence could be reconstructed in the following manner.

"He (the farmer) was beaten by the hacienda owner."

A Few Additional Examples:

#1. "We are poor because we are without work and we are without work because the patron refuses to give us work."

- This would be separated into two coding units at the word "and." Both units would be coded as reflecting units as they contain the word "because."

#2. "We are poor because we are without work."

- This would be coded as a single reflecting unit due to the presence of the word "because."

#3. "We are poor and sick."

- This would be coded as two separate units as follows:

"We are poor..."

"... and (we are) sick."

#4. "Both the indians and owners are wrong for while they both make money neither of them works hard."

- This would be coded as a single unit. The presence of the concept both indicates that the respondent wishes to relate indians and owners together as a single idea. The word "for" functions as "because" and makes the rest of the sentence a dependent clause.

#5. "The indian needs leadership to organize against the white man, to trust in one another, and to work together to form strong groups."

- This would be coded in three separate units as follows:

"The indian needs leadership to organize against the white man..."

"... (he needs leadership) to trust in one another..."

"... and (he needs leadership) to work together to form strong groups."

- Each of these units represent a new thought or idea expressed as compound parts of a simple sentence.

## B. Identifying NAMING Statements

The naming aspect is identified closely with the problem statement. The problem statement indicates the initial concrete conflict around which most of the story revolves. The conflict may be between individuals (example: "The two men are fighting.") or it may be between what individuals have and what they want. First, identify the initial problem, the set of circumstances or events which began the chain of events described in the protocol. Second, look for elaborations or further details and descriptions of that event. Then look for results of that event. Be careful to distinguish results of the event from causes of the event. List the initial event, elaborations, and results of that event under the problem statement section of the Coding Summary Sheet.

Examples:

#1. "They took everything from us. We need 500 sucres to fight to get our land back."

The second phrase is a result of the initial conflict - a second problem resulting from the first.

#2. "They took everything from us. They are bastards who hate us."

Here is a second sentence which is not a result of the initial conflict, but rather a cause, "because they hate us, they took everything from us." The second sentence would be recorded under reflecting, not naming statements.

- #3. "The indian was hit by the truck. He is hurt. His leg is in pain."

The second two sentences are results of the first problem. His leg hurts because he was hit by a truck. All three should be recorded as naming statements.

- #4. "The teacher is beating the children. He never shows up on time. He is threatening the indians."

Here each statement is a slightly different aspect of the same problem. Statements provide multiple descriptions of teacher's behavior. All should be coded separately under Naming Statements.

It is also possible that in a given protocol, more than one central problem may be discussed. In this case, the two problems should be coded separately.

### C. Identifying REFLECTING Statements

Reflecting statements explain why the identified problem exists. There may be both multiple and contradictory explanations. These explanations are called causal statements because they indicate the causes of the problem. The coder must be careful that causal statements do not state actions which should be taken to solve the problem but rather are only explanations of why the initial problem exists. "Because" is often a key word signaling causal statements. Multiple causal statements often appear in a single protocol. Statements which indicate various causes or statements which are re-wording of the same basic cause should be coded separately. The important variable is that the statements explain in some way why the initial problem conflict exists. It is important to list all the causes separately under the reflecting section of the Coding Summary Sheet.

D. Identifying ACTING Statements

Acting Statements define what the respondent states should, could be, or has been done to solve the problem. Action statements are not necessarily, or always, related to the causes which the respondent identifies, but rather lead toward a resolution of the problems or the goal which the respondent has identified. Action statements often are in future tense, indicating actions which the respondent feels should be taken in the future, but in the case of protocols which are histories of past events, they may be action taken in the past to solve the problem posed in the protocol.

E. Three Sample Stories

In the following three stories, try to identify first the marker sentence and then the naming, reflecting, and acting statements. Underline the marker sentences and record your other answers on copies of the summary sheets given on page 201. Remember, naming statements identify the central problem and any results or elaborations on that problem; reflecting statements indicate why the problem exists; and acting statements indicate what the individual proposes should be done to solve the problem. Do not attempt to code level, sub-level, and sub-category at this point.

STORY 1

Here there are four people. Two whites in the background and two indians working together in front. It looks like the one indian is the son of the other. The two men in the background are talking. Yes. They are happy, each has his work given to him by God. The indians are hungry because they have worked all day. The white men in the back are worried because the work goes slowly. Yes, they are satisfied. The white men are worried because the indians do not work hard enough. They are lazy and do not know how to work well. The boy, because he is young, is little help to his father. The man is hungry because he has not eaten. The indian must learn to work harder and teach his son to work hard. The white man can find more indians if these do not work hard enough.

STORY 2

Here we see a situation in which a truck driver is waiting for the indian to load the truck. The indian has fallen down, he seems tired while a burro in the background is waiting to be unloaded. Obviously, the indian has some problems. He is hungry and tired because he has been working all day without proper food. These cargadores are all alike, they eat as little as possible so as to save money and then they get sick and cannot work. You should see what they eat, maybe a little corn all day long and they expect to work well. The white man is coming to help the indian who has fallen. He understands that the indian does not eat properly and needs help. This is a question of tradition. The indian's parents and grandparents taught him to be this way. He is uneducated, ignorant, that is why. They will never change, this will go on for years and years. They fight among themselves, spend all their money on alcohol, and go home and beat their wives. Because they are ignorant. Their parents and grandparents are to blame. They never let them go to school. They work as little as possible. They are dirty. They can go to school and get jobs. They need not be cargadores all the time. They could be school teachers; there are many indians who are even studying in the universities now days.

STORY 3

"I must be honest. Negroes-Afro-Americans showed no inclination to rush to the United Nations and demand justice for themselves here in America. I really had known in advance they wouldn't. The American white man has so thoroughly brainwashed the black man to see himself as only a domestic 'civil rights' problem that it will probably take longer than I live before the Negro sees that the struggle of the American black man is international. The black man was scared, he was cautious, he was apprehensive. I feel that when the law fails to protect Negroes from whites' attack then those Negroes should use arms, if necessary, to defend themselves. It may be the American black man does need to become involved in a real revolution. Revolution means the destroying of an old system and its replacement with a new system. A discussion I had with an ambassador gave me a new insight--one which I like; that the white man is not inherently evil, but America's racist society influences him to act evilly. The society has produced and nourishes a psychology which brings out the lowest, most base part of human beings. I have fought the best I know how and the best that I could with the shortcomings that I have had. I know that my shortcomings are many. My greatest lack has been, I believe, that I don't have the kind of academic education I wish I had been able to get. I would like to learn African languages and Chinese because Chinese will be the most powerful political language of the future."\*

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\*This protocol is a composite of statements from Chapter 19 in the Autobiography of Malcolm X, Ballantine Books, 1964.

F. Suggested Re-Structuring and Coding of Aspects Statements in Sample Stories

STORY I:

1. Selecting the Marker Sentence

There are three clear marker sentences in Story I.

- a. "The boy is little help to his father."
- b. "The indian must teach his son to work hard."
- c. "The white man can find more indians if these do not work hard enough."

The subject is a superior role individual, the verb indicates what the subject will do to the inferior role individual.

Other sentences which may appear to be marker sentences, but which aren't, include:

-- "The two men in the background are talking."

No object.

-- "The white men are worried because the work goes slowly."

This sentence is very close as there is a strongly implied "worried about the indians." This would be considered a borderline case.

-- "God gave them work."

God is not a person and consequently does not qualify as a superior role individual.

2. The Problem Statement

- a. "The white men in the background are worried because the work goes slowly."

A few other phrases appear to be problem statements, such as:

-- "The indians are hungry."

-- "The boy is little help to his father."

These are explanations, reflecting statements as to why the work goes slowly.

3. The Reflecting Statements

In this protocol, there were several reasons why work goes slowly.

- a. "Because they worked all day without food."
- b. "They are lazy."
- c. "The boy because he is young is little help to his father."
- d. "The indians are hungry."

4. The Action Statements

Three possible actions are mentioned in the protocol:

- a. "Learn to work harder."
- b. "Teach son to work hard."

These two appear in a compound sentence and for coding purposes should be separated into two separate responses.

- c. "The white man can find more indians if these do not work hard enough."

Even though this is a marker sentence, it may be coded as an aspect. Each coded unit may only be listed once as an aspect. The same unit cannot be coded under two different aspects.

STORY II:

1. Selecting the Marker Sentence

There are several marker sentences in this protocol.

- a. "A truck driver is waiting for the indian to load the truck."
- b. "The white man is coming to help the indian who has fallen."
- c. "The indian's parents and grandparents taught him to be that way."
- d. "They go home and beat their wives."

There is a status differentiation in Ecuador between parents and children, husbands and wives.

In each sentence, the subject is a superior role person and the object an inferior role person. The verb shows some action which the superior role person is doing to or for the inferior role person.

- e. "He (the white man) understands that the indian does not eat properly."

This is not a marker sentence because "understanding" does not constitute an action taken for or on the inferior role person.

2. The Problem Statements

The problem statements here are:

- a. "The indian has fallen down."  
b. "He (the indian) is tired and hungry."

Both these statements are different aspects of the same problem. Even though "he is tired and hungry" is a possible cause for his having fallen down, it is so closely related to the problem as to constitute another part of the same problem.

3. Reflecting Statements

"Because he has been working all day without food."

"They eat little to save money."

"Parents and grandparents taught them to be this way."

"He is ignorant, uneducated."

"They fight among themselves."

"Spend all money on alcohol."

"(They go and) beat their wives."

"They are ignorant."

"Parents and grandparents are to blame."

"They work as little as possible."

"They are dirty."

"He is hungry and tired."

Even though some of the problem statements are repeated al-  
most verbatim, they should be recorded separately on the  
summary sheet. When it is time to code the statements, then  
the coder will only code those statements which repeat the  
same idea but express it differently. Statements repeated  
verbatim in the same protocol should not be coded more than  
once.

4. The Action Statements

"By studying in the universities..."

"They could become school teachers."

"They could go to school and get jobs."

These indicate the specific action which the respondent is suggesting.

STORY III:

1. Selecting the Marker Sentence

"The American white man has so thoroughly brainwashed the black man to see himself as..."

"I feel that when the law fails to protect Negroes from whites' attack then those Negroes should use arms."

The first sentence is a clear example. Subject is superior role status acting upon inferior role status. The second example could easily be re-written to read "whites attack Negroes." The second example represents a different grammatical structure, but a clear example as well. The key section is "to protect Negroes from white attack." This clearly implies that the superior role status is doing something to the inferior.

A third possible example is "The society has produced and nourishes a psychology which brings out the lowest, most base part of human beings." Society in this example is the superior role status, "bringing out" in human beings which have an inferior status to the society as a whole. This, however, is not a strong example.

2. The Problem Statement

The basic problem identified here is that:

"Negroes--Afro-Americans--showed no inclination to rush to the United Nations and demand justice."

All the other seeming problems are really reasons why "the black man - Afro-Americans" have not demanded justice.

3. Reflecting Statements

- a. "The American white man has so thoroughly brainwashed the black man that it will probably take longer than I live before the Negro sees that this struggle of the American black man is international."

- b. "Black man was scared."
- c. "(he) was cautious."
- d. "(he) was apprehensive."
- e. "The white man is not inherently evil; America's racist society influences him to act evilly."
- f. "The society has produced and nourished a psychology which brings out the lowest, most base parts of human beings."
- g. "My greatest lack has been, I believe, that I don't have the kind of academic education I wish had been able to get."

These statements all answer the question why blacks showed no inclination to go to the United Nations.

#### 4. The Action Statements

- a. "I feel that when the laws fail to protect Negroes from white attack then they should use arms if necessary to defend themselves."
- b. "It may be the American black man does need to become involved in a real revolution."
- c. "I have fought the best I know how and the best I could with the shortcomings I have had."
- d. "I would like to learn African languages and Chinese because Chinese will be the most powerful political language of the future."

### Step 3. Coding the Re-Constructed Protocol

#### A. Labeling the Coding Units

The Coding Summary Sheet, p. 201, is used to register the labeled coding units. Symbols have been selected to make the coding process more efficient. Each level of consciousness is represented by the beginning letter of that level (magical - M, naive - N, critical - C). Each level is, in turn, sub-divided into two sub-levels at each of the three aspects,

naming, reflecting, and acting. For example, magical consciousness at the naming aspect is divided into Problem Denial and Survival Problems. Problem Denial is labeled #1 and Survival Problem is #2. Naive consciousness at the acting aspect is divided into Actively playing host to the oppressor and Defending. Actively playing host to the oppressor is labeled #1 and Defending is #2. In the column marked coding levels, the coder should record one letter (M, N, or C) and in the column marked sub-level, one number (either 1 or 2) on the appropriate line corresponding to each codable unit on the Coding Summary Sheet.

To code each statement recorded on the Coding Summary Sheet, the coder should look at the appropriate aspect on the Coding Category Diagram (the appropriate horizontal); e.g., for naming statements the coder looks at the top row. The coder then searches for the level, sub-level, and category that most accurately classifies the statement. For example, if the coder is trying to code a naming statement, they would search only in the naming horizontal on the categories diagram. When the coder has determined the level (in this case, suppose it is magical), they would record an "M" on the line corresponding to that unit on the Coding Summary Sheet. Then the coder would have to decide at which sub-level the unit corresponds. If it were "Survival Problems," the coder would record the number two (2) next to "M" in the adjacent vertical column, (M2). Once the coding level and sub-level have been established, the coder must justify that coding decision in terms of one or more of the categories listed under the sub-levels on the categories diagram. In the case of survival problems, for example, there are five alternatives each labeled with a small letter of the alphabet.

Once one or more justifications have been found, the corresponding small letter(s) are recorded in the category column. The coder must identify an appropriate level, sub-level, and category before the unit is properly coded. If the coder fails to find all three, then the unit is not codable.

To facilitate this coding process, the coder should refer to the Summary of Coding Definitions and the Conscientizacao Coding Categories Diagram. These definitions are also described in detail in Chapter III. The coding rules, examples, and practice stories in the remainder of this manual provide coders with the opportunity to clarify their understanding of these definitions, focus on ambiguous points and check the accuracy of their coding against "expertly" coded protocols. In addition to the practice materials available in this Appendix, a set of 22 practice stories and expert coding are available from the author.

#### B. Selecting Coding Levels, Sub-Levels, and Categories

This section describes how the coder is to make the specific decisions as to which level, sub-level, and category a given unit corresponds. Each aspect is described separately giving examples and general guidelines for distinguishing between magical, naive, and critical levels, for distinguishing between sub-levels, and finally for selecting a justifying category.

##### 1. The NAMING Aspect

###### a. Magical Level

Two sub-levels of responses can be defined as characteristic of the naming aspect of magical consciousness: problem denial and survival problems. At the problem denial sub-level, individuals either openly

deny that they have problems or they avoid problems by locating them in another time or place. At the survival sub-level, individuals are concerned with physical states, external physical characteristics of the environment. Poor health, poverty, lack of work, insufficient work and money as an end in itself take on special importance. Some care must be taken when money appears in a protocol. References to money can be coded in several different ways. If money is referred to in-and-of-itself, without reference as to how it is to be used, the coder should assume that it would be used to meet only survival needs and be coded under magical consciousness. If, however, the context in which the word appears clearly suggests that it is to be used to buy some other product or service, it should be coded as though it were that product or service. Examples: "I need money to buy a present for the patron." "I need money to buy a gun." In the first case, the sentence would be interpreted to mean "I need a present for the patron," and in the second case, "I need a gun." In these two examples, it is clear that money is a means to an end. The end as defined by the respondent should be coded and not the concept of money itself.

EXAMPLES: Code the following examples by the appropriate sub-level and category.\* Then check your answers with the suggested coding on page 237.

- \_\_\_\_\_ #1. The man is tired.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #2. If only we had more money.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #3. There used to be problems here, but now things have changed.

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\*Because some examples in this entire section are taken out of context, multiple sentences have been used so the reader will have enough information to code the unit properly. For actual coding, multiple sentences would be coded separately.

- \_\_\_\_\_ #4. Money is needed to bring a doctor.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #5. If only there were work for everyone.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #6. If only I had some money to buy a gun.

b. Naive Level

At the naive level, individuals name the problem in terms of deviation from ideal norms. The problem is in individuals who are not behaving as they should. At the first sub-level, oppressed individuals blame themselves and their peers. The goal is to reform their individual role performance, to become more like the oppressor. References to conflict between peers is also common as problems of horizontal aggression are mentioned. At this stage, there is no rejection of horizontal aggression, rather an acceptance of it as a problem. At the second sub-level, the oppressed individual blames the individual oppressor for violating either laws or norms of the system. The problem here is that evil individuals of a superior role status are taking advantage of the system, are not behaving as they should.

EXAMPLES: Code the following naming examples and then check your answers with the suggested coding on page 237.

- \_\_\_\_\_ #1. The campesinos are dirty; they never wash.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #2. That patron is always getting them in trouble; he never pays their wages on time.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #3. The owner's wife did not accept the gift we gave her, but called us names and beat us.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #4. All the patrons are alike, they never pay wages to anyone on time.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #5. The campesinos are poor because they are treated unjustly by the system.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #6. Harry and Joe (two campesinos) are fighting.

c. Critical Level

Individuals at the critical level are characterized by two sub-levels of responses: rejection of oppressor groups and self-affirmation, and an emphasis on transforming the system. At the first sub-level, oppressed individuals come to understand that they cannot be like the oppressor and that, indeed, they do not want to be like the oppressor. They reject the oppressor's values, norms, and habits, and look to themselves and their own peer group for new values. There is a crucial difference here between blaming an individual oppressor, which is characteristic of the naive individual, and blaming oppressor groups. Respondents at the critical level focus on oppressor groups - seeing the oppressor as more than a single or several individuals. There is also an interest in maintaining peer ethnicity and a need to affirm the oppressed's own uniqueness. To be no longer means to be like the oppressor.

At the second sub-level, the oppressed individuals are concerned with the system, not with individuals or groups of individuals, but with procedures, norms, rules, laws, or policies that violate standards of fairness and justice, more than with accidents or violations of norms. The interest is not in reforming individuals, but in transforming the norms and procedures which govern their role behavior, in creating new norms, new policies, new laws, new procedures. The respondent may also overtly reject the oppressive system demonstrating a critical attitude by emphasizing the system rather than an individual. This rejection of the system is more than a rejection of the oppressor, but of the norms, laws, policies, rules, and procedures.

EXAMPLES: Code the following naming examples and then check your answers with the suggested coding on page 237.

- \_\_\_\_\_ #1. I want to be myself.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #2. But we campesinos want to keep our braids and not cut them off as the whites do.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #3. What campesinos need is money.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #4. The campesino is not to blame; it is the rules of the game which make him as he is.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #5. Yes they have their way of making money, but it is not for us to learn to cheat our neighbors.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #6. The patron puts them in jail when they don't come to work.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #7. All lawyers are alike; they steal our money.

## 2. The REFLECTING Aspect

### a. Magical Level

The reflecting aspect of the magical level is characterized by two basic orientations: attributing facts to a superior power and a simplistic view of causal relationships. The magical individual relies on some supernatural power to explain the events of their life. God, fate, luck, the times are all examples of reasons the magical individual accepts. In an oppressive situation, this reliance goes even further than upon super-natural forces, but is invested in the oppressor as well. The oppressor is seen as an actor, a subject, almost free from the influences of these supernatural forces. This level of understanding results in humility, fear of the oppressor, and ultimately in a belief that the oppressor is always the winner. Paradoxically, the individual at this level may also empathize with the oppressor, demonstrate an understanding and a sympathy for the oppressor's position, the

conflicting pressures and problems the oppressor may have. This sympathy is accompanied by a sense that the oppressor is right, that his behavior is justified by the oppressed's weakness, or by other external events.

The second sub-level in magical reflecting is a simplistic view of causal relationships. Relationships between events, objects, and people are rudimentary. "We cannot study because we don't have money." "Our people are ignorant because they don't go to school." Causal reasoning stops at this level, deeper reasons are not sought. Blame is placed on things (money, school) rather than on people or the interaction of events and procedures.

Special care should be taken when coding references to God. They should be coded as magical only if the individual is expressing absolute dependence on some superior being labeled God. Everyday expressions such as "God will repay you."; "God be with you."; "In God's name."; are often cultural clichés which have ambiguous meanings. DO NOT code them at all. Likewise, when references to God are accompanied by overt statements indicating the respondent's belief that despite God's existence men have either the capacity or the responsibility to act in their own behalf, they should not be coded. Example: "God helps those who help themselves."

EXAMPLES: Code the following reflecting examples and then check your answers with the suggested coding on page 238.

- \_\_\_\_\_ #1. He was lucky to get that job.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #2. That is in God's hands; He will decide.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #3. We are poor because we have no money.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #4. It is the "times," there is no other explanation.

- \_\_\_\_\_ #5. Because the oppressor has lawyers and money and power, it is hopeless.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #6. God is our guide, but we too must act.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #7. The patron is not to blame, what else could he do in that situation.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #8. They are hungry because they have nothing to eat. They have nothing to eat because the patron treats them badly and never pays them.

b. Naive Level

The reflecting aspect of the naive level is divided into two sub-levels: playing host to the individual oppressor's ideology and understanding how the individual oppressor violates norms expectations. At the first sub-level, the respondents accept the oppressor's explanations for why things are as they are. One frequent explanation is the lack of education. When education is seen as an end-in-itself, it should be coded as naive. When education has other goals, it should be coded by its ultimate goal. In this sense, it is a means to an end like money. Additionally, the oppressed accept the oppressor's expectations of how things should be. This acceptance of the oppressor's world view leads necessarily to self-deprecation, to negative references toward self and peers, and to blaming one's ancestors for present problems.

Respondents will make negative references to their peer group referring to physical characteristics or abilities; "This is the way these bastards (campesinos) are." "They (campesinos) go bad in their business and they become a woman-chaser and a drunkard." "They (campesinos) drink because they are vice-ridden." (These are all statements made by campesinos about other campesinos). They will demonstrate a

lack of confidence in self and peers and engage in self-pity. "We don't know how to remember, we can't think; there is no one to teach us."

Blaming their ancestors, starting with their parents, is still another way in which the oppressed individual places blame on themselves. By accusing their families of having done nothing for them, they strike out against their own cultural roots and consequently against themselves.

References to ancestors, parents, grandparents, past community leaders, should be coded as blames ancestors only when these individuals are blamed for present conditions. "Our grandparents did not worry about our education. This is why we are dumb now." When references to ancestors are made in such a way that the respondent indicates understanding of why the ancestors behaved as they did, these should be coded as sympathy for peers. Example: "They didn't give us schooling because they did not know, they didn't understand."

Respondents will also engage in self-pity, feeling sorrow for self without any suggestion that the system is to blame. When self-pitying statements appear by themselves without blame being applied to any individual group or system, they are coded simply as self-pity. When such statements are accompanied by blame, then the statement is coded according to who or what is to blame. Examples: "The poor campesino." This alone would be coded as self-pity. "Yes the campesino is poor because the patron hates him." This would be coded as blaming the individual oppressor. "Yes the campesino is poor because the system takes advantage of him." This would be coded as blaming system.

An important distinction must be made between different levels of generalization when coding references to the oppressor. All refer-

ences to individual oppressors are coded as naive. "He (the policeman) is to blame." "The lawyer does not want to help them." References to entire oppressor groups such as "lawyers" or "all lawyers" are coded as critical, sub-level 1; and reference to oppressive systems, norms, or procedures such as "the legal system," "the laws," "the rules," are coded as critical, sub-level 2. The key to coding naive level references to the oppressor is that a single individual or several individuals are being referred to by the respondent.

Naive stage respondents will see the relationship between the individual oppressor and their agents. "And what she told her workers to do, they did." Also, respondents will set the individual oppressor against oppressed individuals or groups. "The campesino works for the benefit of the owner." Statements such as, "We have a problem with the boundary between the community and the hacienda." would not be coded without clarification as to whether the term "hacienda" represents an individual or a system to the respondent.

Oppressed individuals at the naive level of consciousness accept that something is wrong. They can identify specific injustices and relate long stories of how they are exploited. But their understanding does not go beyond blaming individuals. They fail to see that a system of powerful forces acts together to coerce both the oppressed and the oppressor. They naively, romantically, nostalgically assume that individuals are free agents, independent of the socio-economic system in which they live and can be reformed to make that basically good system work.

EXAMPLES: Code the following reflecting examples and then check your answers with the suggested coding on page 238.

- \_\_\_\_\_ #1. Things are this way because we are ignorant.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #2. Campesinos are dirty and untrustworthy.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #3. Because the patron doesn't allow them to go to school.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #4. They do as they are told, because they work for the patron.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #5. They are just like us, campesinos, but the patron hires them and they work for him, so they beat us.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #6. If our parents had sent us to school we would not be poor now.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #7. The campesino knows that the lawyers are to blame.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #8. The priest charges us more than is right.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #9. Because he will beat us if we speak out.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #10. Politicians and priests are the same thing, they both try to get our money by making promises about the future.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #11. His parents never let him go to school, but they had never been to school and knew no better.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #12. The hospitals and the courts are alike, both work to favor the rich and hurt the poor.

c. Critical Level

The critical level of reflecting is divided into two sub-levels:

- 1) understands/rejects oppressor's ideology and oppressed's collusion, and
- 2) understands how system works. At sub-level 1, individuals are interested in self and in oppressor groups. Understanding of and empathy for one's victimized peers replaces the self-pity characteristic of naive consciousness. Rather than lone references to how put down or how exploited the oppressed are, respondents begin to explain why they are taken advantage of or put down. When these explanations take the form

of sympathy or understanding of peers, they should be coded as first sub-level. Instead of statements such as "they spend all day in the sun, poor guys," the critical individual says, "we drink (alcohol) because we are poor and the poverty hurts."

At sub-level one, individuals become self-critical, they are able to define the contradictions between their critical goals and their own behavior. Critical actions are related to: a) self-affirmation, b) seeking ethnicity, c) opposing oppressor groups, or d) changing the norms, rules, law, procedures, or policies which govern the system. They see how they collude with the system to make it work. "How is it that I am being paid by the system but working against it?" "I don't believe in consumerism, but yet I just bought a piece of land I don't really need."

Individuals come to openly reject horizontal aggression and intra-punitiveness. They realize how this aggression is misdirected, how it serves the oppressor in dividing the oppressed into opposing factions and groups and is a natural result of their increased understanding and sympathy for peers. This understanding grows into self-affirmation, as shown in statements which indicate that the oppressed are not only good but powerful.

Critical individuals' views of the oppressor also change. The oppressor is no longer an invulnerable individual, rather a weak victim divested of magical power. The oppressor's weaknesses are discussed in terms of a group of individuals, how they too are victimized by the system. This is distinguished from sympathy for the oppressor in that while the oppressed demonstrate an understanding of the oppressor's

situation, they also overtly reject his ideology and his behavior. If statements of sympathy or understanding for the oppressor are not accompanied by statements of rejection, then the statements should be coded as magical, rather than critical.

Sub-level one individuals are able to generalize from one oppressor group to another. At the naive level, individuals can see that a particular lawyer is like a particular doctor. But at the critical level, individuals see the problem in terms of oppressor groups. They see that lawyers and doctors, rather than individuals are alike. Still they are unable at sub-level one to generalize between oppressive systems. They blame oppressor groups, rather than an oppressive system.

At sub-level two of critical reflection, individuals turn more towards the system, with less emphasis on groups of oppressors. They see the system as the basic root cause behind social events. It is no longer self, or the individual oppressor, or even groups of oppressors, but rather the laws, norms, procedures, which cause existing injustices and which victimize both oppressor and oppressed.

At sub-level two, critical individuals are able to define contradictions between the system's rhetoric (myths) and the real life social reality. They are often able to express irony at these contradictions. Examples: "We are asked to pay taxes for schools, but there are no schools." "We work and they make the money." "Why is it that those who own the land don't know how to plant the land?" Irony often occurs in the form of rhetorical questions.

Finally, individuals are able to see macro socio-economic involvement. Analysis goes beyond local or even national causes, but

extends to the international sphere. Complex inter-relations are mentioned involving world economics and politics. This macro-analysis allows the individual to generalize from one oppressive system to another. Now the individual is not only interested in individual oppressors or in oppressor groups, but is able to see the relationship between oppressive systems. "The marketplace and the legal system both work to keep us poor." This is a level of broad generalization, indicating the oppressed's macro-analysis.

EXAMPLES: Code the following reflecting examples and then check your answers with the suggested coding on page 239.

- \_\_\_\_\_ #1. The patrons are only men, we must exploit their weaknesses.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #2. Poverty is what we were born to, it is the only thing we have been taught.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #3. We are to blame, we who want to change the system and yet continue to work for the oppressor.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #4. We are to blame, we are dirty and ignorant.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #5. Because we don't work as a group, because we lack power is why these things have existed.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #6. It is not the white man, but the system in which he was brought up that keeps us poor.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #7. Our parents are responsible, they never let us learn.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #8. We are poor because we are without work.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #9. This is not only a problem here, but in other communities, in other countries the system works the same way.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #10. The haciendas here are like the factories in the developed countries; both keep the worker in bondage to the owners.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #11. It is because we fight among ourselves that we remain poor.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #12. Because we are uneducated we are oppressed.

- \_\_\_\_\_ #13. The priest must also live, he needs to charge us for these Masses.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #14. Priests must also live, the system forces them to charge us for these Masses.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #15. This priest must also live, the system forces him to charge us.

3. The ACTING Aspect

a. Magical Level

The magical level of acting is divided into two sub-levels:

fatalism and passively playing host to the oppressor. At the first sub-level, oppressed individuals demonstrate resignation and acceptance of events as they are. There is a denial that any action is possible or would result in affecting the situation. Effort is seen as futile. At the second sub-level, individuals are consciously waiting for something good to happen, for good luck or for God to solve the problem, or for the good patron to come and solve their problems. This leads to a dependence on the oppressor, a belief that the oppressor is the actor, while the oppressed are only acted upon.

Sub-level 2, or "Depends on Oppressor" is scored whenever the respondent depends on an authority figure to solve one of two types of problems: 1) minor problems in which legal intervention is customary (in the case of Ecuador, robberies involving the patron, public drunkenness, disrespect for authority), and 2) minor problems which could be solved without legal intervention (in Ecuador, non-public drunkenness and wife-beating, robberies involving neighbors). The exception is major problems (in Ecuador, murder, large-scale robberies, land invasions) in which there is no alternative to legal intervention by

authorities and on which public attention would be focused. Dependence actions relating to major problems are not scored.

EXAMPLES: Code the following acting examples and then check your answers with the suggested coding on page 240.

- \_\_\_\_\_ #1. There is nothing we can do.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #2. The patron will solve that problem, we need not become involved.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #3. The patron will take them to the city and there the police will tell them what they must do.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #4. We must talk with the patron, he will know what to do.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #5. We must go to the lawyer ourselves, he knows the laws.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #6. There has been a murder, we must call the police.

b. Naive Level

The naive level of acting is also divided into two sub-levels actively playing host to the oppressor, and defending. At the first sub-level, individuals try to become like the oppressor, to dress and look like the oppressor. They model the oppressor's habits, and become concerned with the oppressor's activities. Education when seen as a good in-and-of-itself, when it is good because the oppressor does it, is one way in which the oppressed model the oppressors behavior, in which the oppressed seek the titles and opportunities which the oppressor has. Education, however, when sought for other ends should be coded to those ends. "We want to learn so we can defend ourselves," would be coded as defending. "We want to learn to be able to stand up to the oppressor," would be coded as rejecting the oppressor. If the oppressed wants to be like the oppressor, they also want to reject their own uniqueness.

They do this by striking out against their own values and their peers by misdirecting their aggressiveness. Through misdirected aggressiveness, the oppressed incorporate the oppressor's behavior towards the oppressed in their own actions against peers. They blame individuals rather than the system and they blame the victim rather than understanding their victimization. This takes the form of either horizontal aggressiveness or intra-punitiveness.

The differences between horizontal aggressiveness and intra-punitiveness is simply that horizontal aggressiveness refers to violence, or aggressiveness against members of the social peer group, while intra-punitiveness is a similar kind of violence directed against self and/or immediate family. In the first case, fighting in bars, swindling peers, cheating peers, lying to peers, are examples. In the second case, drunkenness, wife-beating, child-beating are examples.

At the same time, respondents are paternalistic towards their peers. They see them as needing leadership and being helpless in the hands of the oppressor as weak. The respondent will also try to live up to or meet the oppressor's expectations. If the oppressor expects the oppressed to "go to the governor" to solve a problem, the respondent will believe this is the way to do things.

At the second sub-level of naive acting, it is the oppressor who is to blame and the oppressed must defend themselves against their actions. Defending can take several forms. Gregariousness and defensive activity are the most common. These should be distinguished from comradeship which takes place at the critical level of acting.

All three of these concepts refer exclusively to relationships among oppressed peers and in group settings. Gregariousness is coded when references are made to peer gatherings in which no specific mention is made of problem-solving goal orientation. Drinking, dancing, purely recreational gatherings are common examples. Gregariousness is also coded, however, when the respondent refers to a discussion group, but does not mention a specific problem to be discussed. Example: "We should keep meeting like this, we have learned a lot."

Defensive activity, other than gregariousness, is directed at:

- 1) correcting an action, an instance of injustice, making the system work;
- 2) avoiding an individual so as not to suffer the consequences of that individual's evil violations;
- 3) opposing or changing an individual rather than the nature of the role that person occupies; or
- 4) changing the physical environment, building a latrine or bringing a power line into the community rather than changing norms, laws, or procedures.

These are typically short-lived projects which bring individuals together for relatively brief periods. In contrast, comradeship, coded as critical, forces a long-term relationship which proposes changes in policies, laws, and norms. In this sense, forming a bus cooperative which promotes wide-scale participation would be critical while forming a group to buy a bus would be naive; changing a law or norm about trials would be critical, while bringing an individual to trial would be naive. Organizations which replace superior role oppression with inferior role oppressors, that is, which deny wide-scale and broad based participation, are coded as avoids oppressor rather than comradeship because they seek to avoid contact with individual oppressors rather than changing the oppressive situation.

Comradeship should be coded when the respondent places emphasis on creating an on-going new group or changing permanently some law, policy, regulation, or norm. Comradeship emphasizes peer learning, peer abilities, peer strengths, participation/decision-making, directed not only at defending, but at creating some lasting new relationship or system.

Finally, defensive activity must be distinguished from "explores unorthodox solutions." A defensive activity may often be courageous within the context of the cultural norms. A campesino going to the Governor is a courageous action, but it is not an unorthodox action; it has happened in the past. Even though it represents a degree of peer group confidence, it is not imaginative. If the campesino were to decide to call a press conference on the steps of the Governor's office and had statements prepared which would compromise the Governor's position, this would be considered not only courageous, but unorthodox as well. Unorthodoxy relates to novelty defined by the norms of the culture being coded. Press conferences in Alabama were not unorthodox, "sit-ins" in the 1950's were. Defensive activity is always non-violent.

Any violent action is necessarily, but not the only type of boldness and risk-taking. Violence would include kidnapping, murder, assault, some event in which physical harm was done. These are coded as risk-taking because in almost all social contexts, they are prohibited by law, and consequently incur risk.

EXAMPLES: Code the following acting examples and then check your answers with the suggested coding on page 241.

\_\_\_\_\_ #1. You should give up your poncho and wear a jacket.

- \_\_\_\_\_ #2. If you beat your wife she will do the chores she should do.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #3. If we have a dance tonight, people can get together and enjoy themselves.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #4. We should keep meeting like this, talking is a good way to understand our problems.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #5. What this community needs is a rice cooperative like our neighbors have.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #6. We must build a school so that our children can learn and be different from us, have good jobs.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #7. We should work together to study the laws, each of us reading carefully and then discussing what we can do to change them.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #8. The only thing I can do is to go to the police and ask them to make him stop beating me.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #9. We must form a cooperative in which our leaders can guide us instead of the white middle man.

c. Critical Level

The first sub-level of critical acting is self-actualizing. At this sub-level, individuals seek out appropriate role models, individuals who have similar backgrounds and experiences but who have liberated themselves or who are in the process of self-liberation. Heroes tend to come from the oppressed group and not from the oppressor group. This is related to a feeling of personal and ethnic self-esteem, a valuing of ethnic norms and procedures. Individuals place themselves in the subject role, feeling that not only can they act, but that their actions will have some positive results. This self-esteem extends to peers and a faith in peer learning is valued over what can be learned from the oppressor or the oppressor's agents, i.e., teachers. Deliberate attempts are made to locate new information designed to support self-growth, learn-

ing which can be applied to the problem of liberation and system transformation rather than learning for itself, or learning to be like the oppressor. There is a reliance on community resources, rather than on the oppressor, and an emphasis on the importance of community participation in decision-making. Boldness and risk-taking become more a part of the individual's style. They are less afraid of change; in fact seek change. They are more willing to act in a way which seemed dangerous and inappropriate. If need be, they are willing to oppose oppressor groups openly, risking violence and even death.

At the second sub-level of critical acting, individuals are concerned with changing norms, procedures, laws, rules, regulations, or behavioral norms. A scientific approach is taken to problem-solving.

In Education for Critical Consciousness, Freire elaborates on the significance of scientific problem solving.

The critically transitive consciousness is characterized by depth in the interpretation of problems; by the substitution of causal principles for magical explanations; by the testing of one's "findings" and by openness to revision; by the attempt to avoid distortion when perceiving problems and to avoid preconceived notions when analyzing them; by refusing to transfer responsibility; by rejecting passive positions; by soundness of argumentation; by the practice of dialogue rather than polemics; by receptivity to the new for reasons beyond mere novelty and by the good sense not to reject the old just because it is old - by accepting what is valid in both old and new. (Freire 1973, p. 18)

Additionally, importance is placed on comradeship and group participation in determining solutions. Dialogue replaces polemics. Individuals are unwilling to make the decisions themselves or allow the oppressor to make the decisions for them. The most important fact is changing, transforming the system, not just making an individual obey present rules which are unjust, but changing the rules themselves.

EXAMPLES: Code the following acting examples and then check your answers with the suggested coding on page 241.

- \_\_\_\_\_ #1. I want to be like the patron who owns land and is rich.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #2. Now there is a man who rose from poverty to make his own decisions and guide his own life. He is my model.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #3. But we can learn from each other too.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #4. I want to study, to know why things are as they are; through study I can become more powerful.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #5. Black is beautiful. I want to be black.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #6. We don't need their money, we can do it ourselves.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #7. Sure that guy is a bastard, but what we have to do is change the procedures they use for selecting those kind of people.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #8. The system is too big, what can we do, nothing.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #9. If we get together and talk about the problems we can solve them.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #10. Talking together is the important thing.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #11. Getting together is fine, but what we have to do is form a cooperative, some way in which we are not taken advantage of.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #12. What I suggest is that we buy guns and when they come for us to shoot back.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #13. Self-defense is important but there are no classes. We must wait until they are offered and then we can learn self-defense.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #14. We must get a collection going, ask everyone to chip in and then we can build the school ourselves.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #15. We cannot expect the government to build the school alone, we must help them, collect money and provide labor free.

C. Suggested Coding for Examples

Examples (from page 217): Naming Aspect/Magical Level

- IM2a #1. Key word tired, physical state.
- IM2e #2. No reference to how money will be used. Considered as end in itself.
- IM1b #3. Places problem in another time.
- IM2a #4. Money is used to solve health problem.
- IM2c #5. Key word work.
- #6. Not codable because use of gun is not clear. Money would not be coded because money is only means to get gun. If use of gun were clarified in context of story it could then be coded.

Examples (from page 218): Naming Aspect/Naive Level

- IN1a #1. Problem is campesino, he is violating norm of cleanliness.
- IN2b #2. Patron is problem, he violates rule by not paying.
- IN2b #3. Wife is problem, she violates norms by not accepting gift and beating them.
- IC1a #4. This is a reference to a whole group of individuals and not a single oppressor individual. The respondent, by using "all", is implying a norm for a role, therefore indicating a critical awareness.
- IIC2a #5. This is a complex rather than a compound sentence. It should be coded as a single coding unit. The word "because" is clearly a reflecting cue and takes precedence over what might be otherwise a naming sentence.
- IN1b #6. Horizontal Aggressiveness - conflict between two inferior role status persons.

Examples (from page 220): Naming Aspect/Critical Level

- IC1c #1. Key word, myself, demonstrating uniqueness.
- IC1b #2. Key words, Keep our braids.
- IM2e #3. Money is mentioned with no other use suggested.
- IC2a #4. Key words, it is the rules, demonstrate emphasis on procedures versus people.

- IC1a #5. This would be coded if the "they" is clarified in the story as referring to an oppressor group.
- IN2b #6. Blames an individual patron for putting them in jail, a violation of norms which in Ecuador indicates that jail is not a commensurate punishment for not coming to work.

Examples (from page 221 ): Reflecting Aspect/Magical Level

- IIM1a #1. Key word lucky.
- IIM1a #2. Straight-forward dependence on God.
- IIM2b #3. A complex sentence blaming the object "money" for the poverty.
- IIM1a #4. Key word is times.
- IIM1c #5. The it is hopeless indicates that the respondent feels the oppressor is the inevitable winner.
- #6. NOT CODED, respondent indicates that men also can act.
- IIM1d #7. Key words Not to blame, what else could he do.
- IIM2a  
IIN2a #8. The first sentence is a good example of simplistic causal relationships, but the second sentence goes on to indicate that the respondent is blaming the patron. Both sentences should be coded separately. Code all sentences in a causal chain.

Examples (from page 225 ): Reflecting Aspect/Naive Level

- IIN1a #1. Ignorant, key word. Accepts oppressor's explanation.
- IIN1b #2. No understanding indicates clear self-deprecation.
- IIN2a #3. Patron is to blame.
- IIN2b #4. "They work for the patron" indicates agents of oppressor.
- IIN2b #5. Same as above.
- IIN1c #6. Shows no understanding for parents' problems. Blames parents.
- IIN2a #7. Even though more than one lawyer is mentioned, the reference does not extend to all lawyers, but rather to several individuals.
- IIN2a #8. Blames priest for charging more than is just.

IIM1b #9. There are two alternatives in this case. In order to know which is correct it is necessary to know what precedes the word "because." If a phrase like "We will not go" precedes it, then it is clear that the oppressed are hindered in their activity by fear of the oppressor. If, however, the phrase is preceded by "The patron is unfair" then it is clear that the respondent sees intentionality on the part of the oppressor.

IIC1f #10. Groups of oppressors are being referred to here rather than systems of oppression or individual oppressors.

IIC1a #11. The last part of the phrase from "but..." indicates an understanding of and sympathy for the ancestors.

IIC2d #12. Hospitals and courts refer to systems rather than individuals, or groups of individuals.

Examples (from page 228 ): Reflecting Aspect/Critical Level

IIC1d #1. Use of word weaknesses here is key.

- #2. Not codable. In order to be codable the coder will have to know "who" or "what" did the teaching.

IIC1b #3. The first part "we are to blame" is clarified by following section and indicates that the respondent is doing more than blaming himself, but rather sees a contradiction between his goals and his actions. Rather than self-deprecating it is self-critical. Self-critical goals imply a transformation of the system, where self-deprecating goals imply only a change in the individual to reform the self.

IIN1a #4. Here the goal is to reform the self, become clean and educated, become in essence like the oppressor.

- #5. NOT CODABLE in this form. It is necessary to know what the group would work towards. If the group is designed to defend the oppressed against the system, then it would be coded as defending behavior. If the group is designed to change the system, then it would be coded as transforming the system. Group power in and of itself is not codable.

IIC2a #6. Key word system.

IIN1c #7. No sympathy or understanding for parents demonstrated.

IIM2a #8. Blames work - simplistic causal relationship.

IIC2d #9. The key words here are other countries and system.

- IIC2d #10. The key words here are factories and haciendas which represent oppressive systems. If the words the patron and the factory boss had been used it would have been coded as N2d, generalizes from one oppressor to another.
- IIC1c #11. The key words are fight among ourselves which indicate that this is not self-deprecation but rather an understanding and a rejection of horizontal aggression.
- IIN1a #12. This is a difficult phrase to code. On the one hand the respondent clearly is accepting one of the oppressor's explanations, but on the other he is naming the problem in terms of oppression rather than poverty, or norm violations. Without a clarifying phrase later in the protocol which indicates that the respondent is sympathetic or understanding, this would have to be coded as N1a. With a clarifying sentence it would be coded as Cl1a.
- IIM1d #13. These three responses appear to be very close. The first makes no mention of the system, however, while the second
- IIC1d #14. makes an explicit reference to the oppressor being forced (victimized) by the system. The first example also clearly deals with a single individual rather than a group of individuals. The third example also deals with a single individual, but because system is mentioned it also qualifies for critical coding.
- IIC1d #15.

Examples (from page 230): Acting Aspect/Magical Level

- IIM1a #1. Key word nothing.
- IIM2b #2. Depending on patron.
- IIM2b #3. Depending on patron to take them to the police.
- IIM2b #4. Depending on the patron.
- IIN1a #5. Examples 3, 4, and 5 are very close. In the first case the individual depends on the patron to take him to the proper official. In the second case it is straightforward dependence on the patron, but in this fifth example, the individuals are demonstrating sufficient self-confidence to go to the proper authority themselves. This would not be coded as dependence on oppressor, even though a good case could be made that the lawyer is also an oppressor upon which they are depending. The crucial difference is that the lawyer has a specific, titled role which is to provide information. Such role dependence should be coded as "modeling oppressor's behavior." The individual is following the guidelines, norms, rules, laws of the existing system and demonstrating sufficient independence of the patron to go on their own.

\_\_\_\_\_ #6. NOT CODED. "Murder" refers to major crime.

Examples (from page 233 ): Acting Aspect/Naive Level

- IIIN1a #1. Wearing a jacket makes the individual look like the oppressor.
- IIIN1b #2. Wife-beating is key word.
- IIIN2a #3. No purpose other than recreation.
- IIIN2a #4. Even though they are discussing problem there is no action suggested.
- IIIC2b #5. "Cooperative" suggests change in norms and heavy community participation.
- IIIN1a #6. School is key along with have good jobs. School is way to become like oppressor.
- IIIC2b #7. Emphasis is on each playing a role and in changing the laws.
- IIIN2b #8. This is individual defensiveness because the individual is going on his own to the authority, but not asking that any norm be changed - only that the evil individual stop beating him.
- IIIN2c #9. Phrase "our leaders can guide us" indicates lack of broad participation and exchange of one oppressor for another.

Examples (from page 236 ): Acting Aspect/Critical Level

- IIIN1a #1. Clearly wants to be like patron.
- IIIC1a #2. This individual's background is more like that of the speaker.
- IIIC1e #3. Demonstrates a belief in peers.
- \_\_\_\_\_ #4. Ambiguous. Study is directed at understanding "why" and at becoming more powerful. It is not clear why the individual wants to become more powerful. This would have to be clarified in the context of the protocol. If he wants power to seek transforming goal, it would be critical, but power could be to seek reforming goals as well.
- IIIC1b #5. Esteem for self if this is a black talking.
- IIIC1g #6. This demonstrates a faith in peers and a reliance on community resources.
- IIIC2d #7. The important words here are change the procedures.

- IIIM1a #8. Even though this individual is talking about the system they demonstrate a resignation, acceptance that nothing can be done.
- IIIC1e #9. These three are very close. In example nine, the key phrase is we can solve it. The individual clearly demonstrates a faith in his peers. In example 10, there is no mention of faith in peers or in any concrete action. Gregariousness is the goal, just getting together. In number 11, a concrete action has been suggested, an action which requires a long term association. Key words are cooperative and not taken advantage of.
- IIIC1f #12. Even though the action is basically defensive, any violent action necessarily incurs risk. This should be coded as boldness/risk-taking.
- IIIM2b #13. Here the individual is talking about defense, but the suggested action is to wait until the classes are offered.
- IIIC1g #14. These two responses seem to be very close. In the first case however, the community is going to rely entirely on its own resources. In the second case, they are going to meet the government's expectations, by providing free labor and collecting money. The second case is where they are helping the government meet its own need, while in the first they are meeting their own need by themselves.
- IIIN1c #15.

#### Step 4. The Scoring Tally Sheet

On page 244 of this appendix, there is a copy of the Conscientizacao Scoring Tally Sheet. Once that the coder has completed coding a single protocol, or a series of protocols, the coded responses should be recorded on the Tally Sheet in the following manner.

The Tally Sheet is divided into eighteen (18) separate boxes. Each box is labeled with a number which corresponds to the number of one of the coding sub-levels described in the Coding Categories Diagram. The Tally Sheet is a schematic replica of the Coding Diagram. The coder simply places a check (✓) in the tally sheet box which represents the appropriate level and sub-level of the coded unit. Only levels and sub-levels are recorded on the Tally Sheet. Sub-categories need not be re-

corded here. Each protocol should be recorded on a separate Tally Sheet. At the bottom of the Tally Sheet, sub-levels are sub-totaled in the spaces marked SUB-TOTAL and levels are then totaled in the space marked TOTAL.

The Four Story Coding Summary Sheet (p.245) is used to register the total responses of each respondent on all four stories.

Step 5. Scoring the Coded Protocols

How to determine a person's stage of conscientizacao from the coded responses of the test protocols.

Method 1. For the total number of protocols obtain three sums, the sum of critical responses, naive responses, and magical responses. Note that overt denial should count as three magical responses since there is embedded in this response a denial of a problem, a denial of causes and a denial that action should or could be taken. Problem avoidance should count as 2 magical responses since it is a similar but less intense avoidance of seeing problems, causes, and appropriate actions. Rank order the three sums. This rank order is the person's stage. The sequence of stages from lowest to highest is as follows:

M > N > C  
M > N = C  
M > C > N  
M = N > C  
N > M > C  
N > M = C  
N = M = C  
N > C > M  
C > M > N  
C > M = N  
C = N > M  
C > N > M

Figure 6

Conscientizacao Coding Tally Sheet

Coder \_\_\_\_\_  
Story \_\_\_\_\_

	M MAGICAL		N NAIVE		C CRITICAL	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
I						
II						
III						
SUB-TOTAL						
TOTAL						

Table 8

Four Story Coding Summary Sheet

\_\_\_\_\_ Group  
\_\_\_\_\_ Aspect

Indiv.	Story	MAGICAL		NAIVE		CRITICAL	
		1	2	1	2	1	2
A	1						
	2						
	3						
	4						
B	1						
	2						
	3						
	4						
C	1						
	2						
	3						
	4						
D	1						
	2						
	3						
	4						
E	1						
	2						
	3						
	4						
F	1						
	2						
	3						
	4						
G	1						
	2						
	3						
	4						
H	1						
	2						
	3						
	4						
I	1						
	2						
	3						
	4						
J	1						
	2						
	3						
	4						

There are several caveats to bear in mind with this method. While this sequence makes logical sense, it cannot be assumed that they compose an equal interval scale. In other words, for example, the total interval between  $C > M > N$  and  $C > M = N$  may be smaller than the interval between  $C > M > N$  and  $N > C > M$ . Thus, if these 12 stages are designated by regular sequential numerical values for statistical purposes, the assumption on which some statistical procedures are based (i.e., equal interval scales) may be violated.

Second, the raw score totals for magical, naive, or critical responses from one individual or a group of individuals should not be compared directly with the raw score total for another individual or set of individuals. The raw scores are strongly influenced by the total protocol lengths which in turn are influenced by such factors as type of test administration (oral vs. written) instructional set, tester-testee relationship (e.g., similarity or differences in sex, race, social class, etc.). The rank order of the number of responses at magical, naive, and critical levels obviates this problem by reflecting only the relative emphasis on the three levels. This relative emphasis, in contrast to the raw scores, is more directly comparable among subjects.

Method 2. This is the preferred method as it does not appear to be highly sensitive to protocol length nor does it contain obvious, unequal intervals between stages as in Method 1. Specifically, the total number of scored responses in each stage are determined as well as a grand total number of scored protocol responses. Then the three stage sub-totals are converted into percentages of the grand total.

Then, the percentage of responses at magical is multiplied by 1, the percentage of responses at naive is multiplied by 2, and the percentage of responses at critical is multiplied by 3. Finally, these three totals are summed.

The scores will range from 100 to 300, i.e., if 100% of the scorable responses are magical (100), or if 100% of the scorable responses are critical ( $100 \times 3 = 300$ ). It is also possible to obtain separate stage scores for the three aspects using this method.

Method 3. An alternative type of examination of test responses involves assessing the completeness of a person's thinking at the predominant stage, i.e., of the total possible number of sub-categories at a stage, how many have been mentioned in the test response? This would allow the following types of predictions to be made. Individuals at the naive stage who emphasize categories blaming others for problems are more likely to take action directed at reforming those individuals than they are to attempt personal changes to correct perceived problems. Or, individuals who have naming and reflecting responses but few action responses at a given stage are less likely to engage in action to correct the problem than when these are response categories in all three aspects of the stage.

The adequacy of this method of test response analysis is more dependent on the protocol length, since the longer the protocol, the greater the chance for including a larger number of the categories (see caveat "B").

### III. Summary Coding Rules

Review carefully the following coding rules before coding the sample stories which are provided in Section IV.

Step 1. In order for a protocol to be considered codable, it must contain one of the following:

- A. Marker Sentence - describes action taken by one person (or persons) on another person (or persons) of a higher or lower role status.
- B. An overt denial that any problem exists.
- C. If there is no marker sentence or overt denial of a problem, the protocol is not codable.

#### Step 2. Selecting Coding Units

- A. A coding unit is defined as any and every complete thought or idea that can be classified as naming a problem, reflecting upon it or acting upon it. Simple sentences with compound sentence parts should be separated into separate coding units. Compound sentences should be separated in separate coding units. Complex sentences should be coded as one unit. Complex sentences with the word "because" should be coded as a single reflecting unit.
- B. DO NOT feel you have to code every sentence and/or independent clause.
- C. DO NOT code units which have been repeated verbatim in the same protocol. Code units in the same story which repeat the same idea but which are expressed differently each time they appear.
- D. In reconstructing a protocol, feel free to borrow a noun from an adjacent sentence which clarifies a pronoun in an adjoining sentence.

#### Step 3. Identifying Aspect Statement

- A. Naming Statement - The initiating event or circumstance around which the majority of reflecting statements and acting statements refer plus any elaboration and/or results of that event or circumstance.
- B. Reflecting Statement - Explanations as to why the initiating event or circumstance and its elaborations and results exist. Because is key word indicating a reflecting statement. Re-structure all reflecting units even if they are multiple and contradictory.

- C. Acting Statement - Action, proposed or taken, designed to solve the initial problem and/or its elaboration and results.

Once the coder has identified naming, reflecting, and acting statements, transfer these statements to the corresponding sections on the Coding Summary Sheet.

Step 4. Coding the Reconstructed Protocol

A. Labeling:

- M = magical
- N = naive
- C = critical
- I = Naming Statement
- II = Reflecting Statement
- III = Acting Statement
- 1 = sub-levels of M, N, or C at I, II, or III
- 2 = sub-levels of M, N, or C at I, II, or III
- a - h = justifying categories of 1 or 2

A coding label which stands alone should first indicate I, II, or III then M, N, or C, then 1 or 2, and a - h. Examples IM2a = Naming/Magical/Poor physical state/Health

A coding unit which appears on the Coding Summary Sheet need not be labeled I, II, or III as its location on the sheet indicates its aspect.

B. Selecting Coding Level, Sub-Level, and Category

Beginning with Naming Statements located in Coding Summary Sheet review, only Naming categories on the Conscientizacao Coding Categories Diagram and select the appropriate level, sub-level, and finally a justifying category for each codable unit. Where a unit does not correspond to any given level, sub-level and category, it is considered uncodable and left blank.

- Step 5. Classify each Restructured unit according to the appropriate level of consciousness (magical, naive, critical) sub-level and category. If an appropriate specific category cannot be found for the unit, it is not codable.

A. Naming Aspect

-- Magical Naming - concerned with problem denial and/or with survival problems.

1. Problem Denial

- a. Overt Denial - an explicit statement that no problem exists.

- b. Problem Avoidance - places problem in another time or place.
2. Survival Problems
- a. Poor physical state/health. References to illness, accidents, injuries.
  - b. Poverty - references to lack of financial resources.
  - c. Lack of work - emphasis on unemployment.
  - d. Insufficient work - references to not enough work.
  - e. Money as an end in itself. References to money are coded as survival problems unless it is clear that money is to be used for a specific purpose. In this case, money is coded as though it were the final purpose specified in the protocol.
- Naive Naming - concerned that an individual deviates from an ideal role. The problem is in individuals as opposed to being a problem in the external environment, or in the social environment.
1. Oppressed Deviates from Ideal Expectations - the problem is in the inferior role person.
- a. Oppressed not like oppressor - not meet oppressor's expectations. The oppressed is either not like the oppressor or they fail to meet the oppressor's expectations as to what should be done. The problem is in the oppressed because they don't meet the oppressor's idea of what they should be.
  - b. Horizontal aggressiveness/intra-punitiveness - the problem is a conflict between two inferior role persons. This conflict is accepted as a problem in itself, without recognition that the conflict is a result of either the oppressor's design, or the system's norms.
2. Individual Oppressor deviates from Ideal Role Expectations - The problem is in the individual oppressor, not in the oppressed, oppressor groups, or the system.
- a. Individual oppressor violates laws - emphasis here is on an existing law, formalized, institutionalized norm.
  - b. Individual oppressor violates norms - emphasis here is on broad norms, rather than institutionalized norms.

-- Critical Naming - concern is on either oppressor groups or on the system.

1. Rejection of Oppressor/Self-Peer Affirmation

a. Rejects oppressor groups - emphasis is on natural associations of oppressors, or on formal oppressor groups: lawyers, doctors. Individual sees that more than an individual is to blame. The oppressor is seen as a multi-individual entity but not yet as a set of norms, procedures, laws, etc.

b. Seeks to maintain ethnicity/affirm uniqueness - individual names problem as lack of uniqueness, loss of ethnicity.

2. Transform System - concern is for norms, procedures, policies, laws.

a. Procedures people - concern is for norms, procedures, policies, laws rather than individuals or groups of individuals.

b. Rejects oppressive system - overt negative references to system and/or its effects.

B. Reflecting Aspect

-- Magical Reflecting

1. Facts Attributed to Superior Powers

a. Uncontrollable factors - God, fate, luck, age, etc., Aspects over which no individual has any control is seen as cause of events. References to God are coded as magical, unless a) they appear as everyday clichés. Example: "God be with you." or b) an accompanying statement indicates clearly that the individual feels man can/must act despite God's omnipotence. In these two cases, references to God are not coded at all.

b. Fear of oppressor - reference to being afraid of oppressor.

c. Oppressor as inevitable winner - reference which indicates action is useless because the oppressor always wins.

d. Empathy for oppressor - when no reference is made to oppressor being victimized by system but rather indicates oppressor's behavior to be right: "The patron must beat the indian, it is the only way that they will learn."

2. Simplistic Causal Relationships

- a. Blames physical state - such as poverty or poor health. The causal relationship is taken no further.
- b. Blames objects over people or events - sees concrete objects as the blame for problems.

-- Naive Reflecting

1. Playing Host to Oppressor's Ideology

- a. Accepts the oppressor's explanations and expectations as to why the oppressed deviates from norms - Education when seen as an end in itself is coded here.\*
- b. Self-peer deprecation - when negative characteristics mentioned reflect oppressor's values and/or when characteristics are not accompanied by a phrase relating them to changing the system or opposing the oppressor. "We are dirty." "We are ignorant." "We are ignorant but we will learn so we can depend on ourselves."
- c. Blames ancestors - and parents for not preparing them, for making them ignorant, or poor.
- d. Self-pity - is coded when the respondent refers to ways in which they are disadvantaged without any indication of anger, or without reference explaining that these disadvantaged characteristics are the result of oppression. Examples: "We are taken advantage of, poor, helpless."

2. Understands How Individual Oppressor Violates Norms

- a. Sees intentionality on the part of an individual oppressor.
- b. Sees relationship between the individual oppressor and their agents, those members of the inferior role group who work for the oppressor.
- c. Generalizes from one individual oppressor to another, but does not make reference to oppressor groups or norms and procedures.

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\*Education may be coded as either reflecting or acting depending upon its time frame reference. It is always coded as naive, however, when it is seen as an end-in-itself.

-- Critical Reflecting

1. Understands/Rejects Oppressor's Ideology and Oppressed's Collusion
  - a. Sympathy and understanding of peers - is coded when respondent refers to disadvantages which are accompanied by anger or by an overt statement indicating that disadvantages are not the oppressed subject's fault. Examples: "We have been treated like dogs, so we act like dogs. We are not to blame for this poverty. It is the..."
  - b. Self-critical - sees contradictions between actions and critical goals. The difference between self-critical and self-pity is that the individual criticizes actions which are contradictory to change goals, rather than characteristics unrelated to change goals (naive). There is overt mention of change goals in self-critical statements. Critical goals relate to - self-affirmation; seeking ethnicity; opposing the oppressor; changing the system, norms, procedures, rules, policies.
  - c. Rejects horizontal aggressiveness/intra-punitiveness and affirms self - overt negative references to horizontal aggression or intra-punitiveness are coded here. Statements which individuals see self or member of peer group as good, powerful, talented, capable are also coded.
  - d. Sees oppressor groups as weak/victim of system - here the oppressed sees oppressor groups as weak and as wrong. Some understanding that oppressor is wrong must accompany these references to distinguish them from sympathy for oppressor. The concern is not for a single individual but rather a group of oppressors: lawyers, doctors.
  - e. Rejects oppressor group and/or their ideology - negative references to oppressor groups are coded here.
2. Understands How System Works
  - a. Sees system as cause - references to system as being cause of events is coded here.
  - b. Sees contradictions between the system's rhetoric and the real life results of the system's norms, rules, etc.

- c. Macro-socio-economic analysis - sees relationship between large scale aspects of problem. Extends to international sphere.
- d. Generalizes from one oppressive system to another. References are to norms, procedures, policies, systems rather than single individuals or groups of individuals.

C. Acting Aspect

-- Magical Acting

1. Fatalism

- a. The individual demonstrates resignation to a reality he does not enjoy.
- b. The individual demonstrates acceptance of a reality which he does not reject.

2. Passively Playing Host to Oppressor

- a. Individual waits for something, some supernatural or superior force to act. Luck, God.
- b. Individual demonstrates dependence on oppressor as individual or group to act. Major problems which require legal dependence on authorities are not scored as dependence on oppressor.

-- Naive Acting

1. Actively Playing Host to Oppressor (Colluding)

- a. Individual models oppressor's behavior in terms of clothes, habits. The effort to become educated is coded here if education is sought as an end in itself. Money is also coded here if sought as an end in itself. If other goals are mentioned, for education or money, the goal for which it is to be used is coded rather than the unit itself.
- b. Action proposed is against a peer or a family member. It is coded as misdirected aggression.
- c. When action suggests that individual feels peers are incapable, weak, useless, and proposes to "do things" for them, it is coded as paternalistic towards peers.
- d. Meets oppressor's expectations is coded when the individual uses devices which are consistent with the superior role individual's expectations.

2. Defending

- a. Gregariousness is getting together for social fun, without any aim broader than simply being together and avoiding problems through group activities.
- b. Making the system work refers to actions which try to put a norm, procedure, law, or policy which has not been enforced into practice. This contrasts with trying to change existing norms, policies, procedures or laws. Individuals will try to use existing laws to make short-term changes or correct injustices.
- c. Avoids oppressor refers to actions in which the oppressed try not to see or participate with the oppressors. Cooperatives or other organizations which seek to replace superior role oppressors with inferior role oppressors are coded here.
- d. Opposes individual oppressor - actions taken against an individual oppressor. Do not code action taken against oppressor groups or the system here.
- e. Changing Environment - actions which focus on changing the physical environment rather than norms, procedures, laws, policies, or oppressor groups.

-- Critical Acting

1. Self-Actualizing

- a. Seeks appropriate role model's. Appropriate refers to individuals from inferior role status who have or are trying to change system or oppose oppressor groups rather than model oppressor.
- b. Actions which indicate personal and ethnic self-esteem.
- c. Learning, education which is directed at ethnic knowledge, awareness and growth toward self-knowledge.
- d. Actions which put the inferior role individual the subject in terms of their own life decisions which indicates that inferior role individual is deciding for self.
- e. Faith in peer and peer learning rather than in dependence on oppressor for all knowledge.

- f. Boldness/risk-taking/unorthodox solutions refers to actions which are unordinary, which risk violence and demonstrate imagination directed at opposing the oppressor groups, self-affirmation or changing the norms, policies, procedures, laws.
- g. Reliance on community resources/participation refers to action in which individual values community resources and participation equally or more than external oppressor-dominated resources.
- h. Opposed oppressor groups - actions which go against the interest of the oppressor groups. Do not code actions against individual oppressors here, but rather as naive.

2. Transforming the System

- a. Dialogue vs. Polemics is concerned with actions which promote equal participation rather than those which seek to dominate the oppressed with inferior role polemics.
- b. Comradeship refers to the formation of long-term groups or organizations whose goals are changing the norms, policies, procedures, and laws which govern the system.
- c. Scientific approach refers to actions which are measured, evaluated, experimental and directed at changing the system.
- d. Any action, individual or group, not covered under the previous three categories but which seeks to change the norms, laws, procedures, policies of the system.

Step 6. Coding Aspects Which Require Special Caution

A. Definition of Oppressor

- 1. Oppressor is any superior role individual.
- 2. Oppressor is coded as:
  - a. Naive when respondents refer to a single individual, or several individuals who do not constitute a firm group. Example: "The patron," "Those three patrons," but not "patrons," or "all patrons."
  - b. Critical sub-level one (1) when respondent refers to a single or several oppressors' groups. Example: "All lawyers, doctors, whitemen, men, etc."

- c. Critical sub-level two (2) when respondent refers to norms, laws, procedures, policies, or oppressive system.
- B. Money, Education should be coded as valued in and of themselves, unless the respondent overtly defines them as means to a specific end. In the latter case, they are coded as though they were that end.
- C. Phrases in which the word because defines why an event or circumstance exists should be coded as compound sentence, the event or circumstance coded separately as a naming aspect and the "because..." coded as a reflecting aspect.
- D. Difference between Self-Pity and Sympathy for Peers. Self-Pity is coded when the respondent refers to ways in which they are disadvantaged without any indication of anger, or without reference explaining that these disadvantaged characteristics are the result of oppression. Examples: "We are taken advantage of, poor, helpless." Sympathy-understanding of peers is coded when respondent refers to disadvantages which are accompanied by anger or by an overt statement indicating that disadvantages are not the oppressed subject's fault. Examples: "We have been treated like dogs, so we act like dogs. We are not to blame for this poverty. It is the..."
- E. Difference between Empathy for oppressor and Sees Oppressor as Victim of System. Statements which indicate understanding of the oppressor's problems are coded as:

Empathy for oppressor when no reference is made to oppressor being victimized by system, but rather indicates oppressor's behavior to be right: "The patron must beat the indian, it is the only way that they will learn."

Sees oppressor as weak, victim of system, when accompanied by recognition that oppressor is wrong, and is manipulated by system. Overt reference to system is necessary: "The patron has no choice. He was taught by the system to beat indians."

- F. Difference between Self-Deprecating and Self-Critical Negative statements about oppressed are coded:

Self-deprecating when characteristics mentioned reflect oppressor's values and/or when characteristics are not related to changing the system: "We are dirty." "We are ignorant."

Self-Critical when respondent indicates some contradiction between actions and critical goals. Critical goals relate to a) self-affirmation, b) seek ethnicity, c) opposing oppressor, d) changing system.

APPENDIX C

RESULTS OF THE VALIDATION CODING PROCESS

I. Raw Scores of Respondents in Magical and Naive Groups

The following tables provide the reader with the raw coding data for each of the 17 magical and naive level respondents. Each page represents one respondent. The number at the left side of the page indicates which story is being coded. Sub-totals and totals have been provided at the bottom of the page. The symbols in the boxes refer to 1) I, II, III, the Aspect; 2) M, N, C, the Consciousness level; 3) 1, 2, the sub-levels, and 4) small letters (a, b, c, etc.) to specific coding categories. When a symbol has been repeated, this indicates that this category was scored more than once in the same story. A numerical value of 3 has been given to Overt Denial and 2 to Problem Avoidance as indicated in Chapter IV.

Table 9

CONSCIENTIZACAO CODING SUMMARY SHEET

Individual     A      
Group     NAIVE    

St. #	MAGICAL		NAIVE		CRITICAL	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
NAMING	1	IM2e	IN1a			
	2				IC1a	
	3		IN1b IN1b			
	4		IN1a			
REFLECTING	1	IIM2a				
	2			IIN2a		
	3		IIN1b IIN1b			
	4		IIN1a			
ACTING	1		IIIN1a IIIN1a IIIN1a IIIN1a			
	2			IIIN2c		
	3				IIIC1g	
	4		IIIN1a IIIN1a			
Sub-Total		2	13	2	2	
Total		2	15		2	

Table 10

CONSCIENTIZACAO CODING SUMMARY SHEET

Individual          B  
Group          NAIVE

St. #	MAGICAL		NAIVE		CRITICAL	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
NAMING	1				IC2a IC2a	
	2			IN2b IN2b		
	3	IM2b				
	4	IM2b				
REFLECTING	1		IIN1a			
	2	IIM1a	IIN1a			
	3			IIN2a IIN2a		
	4		IIN1a IIN1a			
ACTING	1		IIIN1a/d			
	2		IIIN1d			
	3			IIIN2b		
	4				IIIC1a	IIIC2d
Sub-Total	1	2	6	5	3	1
Total	3		11		4	

Table 11

CONSCIENTIZACAO CODING SUMMARY SHEET

Individual          C  
Group          NAIVE

St. #	MAGICAL		NAIVE		CRITICAL	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
NAMING	1		IN1a IN1a			
	2				IC1a IC1a	
	3		IN1a			
	4	-	-	-	-	-
REFLECTING	1		IIN1a			
	2				IIC1a IIC1b	
	3		IIN1c			
	4			IIN2b		
ACTING	1			IIIN2b IIIN2b		
	2		IIIN1c		IIIC1g	
	3		IIIN1a			
	4			IIIN2b		
Sub-Total	-	-	7	4	5	-
Total	-	-	11		5	

Table 12

CONSCIENTIZACAO CODING SUMMARY SHEET

Individual         D          
 Group         NAIVE        

St. #	MAGICAL		NAIVE		CRITICAL	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
NAMING	1		IN1a	IN2b IN2b		
	2			IN2b IN2b		
	3		IN1b			
	4	-	-	-	-	-
REFLECTING	1		IIN1c IIN1b	IIN2a		
	2		IIN1b IIN1b	IIN2a		
	3		IIN1c			
	4		IIN1a			
ACTING	1		IIIN1a	IIIN2a IIIN2a		
	2			IIIN2a IIIN2d		
	3		IIIN1c IIIN1c		IIIC1g	
	4	-	-	-	-	-
Sub-Total	-	-	11	10	1	-
Total	-		21		1	

Table 13

CONSCIENTIZAÇÃO CODING SUMMARY SHEET

Individual       E        
Group       NAIVE      

St. #	MAGICAL		NAIVE		CRITICAL	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
NAMING	1	IM2b				
	2		IN2b			
	3	NOT CODABLE	-----			
	4	IM2b				
REFLECTING	1	IIM1b	IIN1d		IIC1e	
	2		IIN2a			
	3	NOT CODABLE	-----			
	4	IIM1a				
ACTING	1		IIIN1a			
	2			IIIN2a/b		
	3	NOT CODABLE	-----			
	4		IIIN2a IIIN2a			
Sub-Total	2	2	6	1	1	-
Total	4		7		1	

Table 14

CONSCIENTIZACAO CODING SUMMARY SHEET

Individual F  
Group NAIVE

St. #	MAGICAL		NAIVE		CRITICAL	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
NAMING	1			IN2b IN2b		
	2		IN1a	IN2b IN2b		
	3		IN1a			
	4		IN1a	IN2b		
REFLECTING	1		IIN1a			
	2			IIN1c		
	3		IIN1b			
	4		IIN1a IIN1a			
ACTING	1		IIIN1a			
	2			IIIN2c		
	3				IIIC1g IIIC1g	
	4		IIIN1a			
Sub-Total	-	-	9	7	2	-
Total	-	-	16		2	

Table 15

CONSCIENTIZACAO CODING SUMMARY SHEET

Individual     G      
Group     NAIVE    

St. #	MAGICAL		NAIVE		CRITICAL	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
NAMING	1			IN2b		
	2			IN2b IN2b		
	3		IN1a			
	4		IN1a	IN2b		
REFLECTING	1		IIN1a IIN1a			
	2	IIM2b	IIN1c IIN1c			
	3	-	-	-	-	-
	4	-	-	-	-	-
ACTING	1		IIIN1c	IIIN2c		
	2			IIIN2a IIIN2a		
	3				IIIC1e	
	4				IIIC1c IIIC1c IIIC1c	IIIC2a
Sub-Total	-	1	7	7	4	1
Total	1		14		5	

Table 16

CONSCIENTIZACAO CODING SUMMARY SHEET

Individual II  
Group NAIVE

St. #	MAGICAL		NAIVE		CRITICAL	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
NAMING	1		IN1a	IN2b		
	2	IM2a IM2a				
	3		IN1a	IN2a		
	4	IM2b	IN1a			
REFLECTING	1		IIN1a IIN1c			
	2		IIN1c IIN1a IIN1c			
	3		IIN1a/b IIN1a/b			
	4		IIN1a IIN1a			
ACTING	1			IIIN2a IIIN2b		
	2		IIIN1a IIIN1a			
	3		IIIN1c	IIIN2a		
	4		IIIN1a			
Sub-Total	-	3	16	5	-	-
Total	3		21		-	

Table 17

CONSCIENTIZAÇÃO CODING SUMMARY SHEET

Individual I  
Group NAIVE

St. #	MAGICAL		NAIVE		CRITICAL	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
NAMING	1	IM2e				
	2		IN1a IN1a			
	3		IN1a			
	4			IN2b		
REFLECTING	1	IIM1a	IIM2a	IIN1b IIN1b		
	2			IIN1a IIN1a		
	3			IIN1a		
	4			IIN1a		
ACTING	1			IIIN1c		
	2			IIIN1a IIIN1a		
	3				IIIN2a	
	4			IIIN1d		
Sub-Total	1	2	13	2	-	-
Total	3		15		-	

Table 18

CONSCIENTIZACAO CODING SUMMARY SHEET

Individual     A      
Group     Magical    

	Story No.	MAGICAL		NAIVE		CRITICAL	
		1	2	1	2	1	2
NAMING	1	OVERT DENIAL					
	2	OVERT DENIAL					
	3	OVERT DENIAL					
	4	OVERT DENIAL					
REFLECTING	1	OVERT DENIAL					
	2	OVERT DENIAL					
	3	OVERT DENIAL					
	4	OVERT DENIAL					
ACTING	1	OVERT DENIAL					
	2	OVERT DENIAL					
	3	OVERT DENIAL					
	4	OVERT DENIAL					
Sub-Total		12					
Total		12					

Table 19

CONSCIENTIZAÇÃO CODING SUMMARY SHEET

Individual B  
Group Magical

	Story No.	MAGICAL		NAIVE		CRITICAL	
		1	2	1	2	1	2
NAMING	1		IM2a				
	2	OVERT DENIAL					
	3	OVERT DENIAL					
	4			IN1b			
REFLECTING	1	IIN1a		IIN1a IIN1a IIN1a			
	2	OVERT DENIAL					
	3	OVERT DENIAL					
	4	----	----	----	----	----	----
ACTING	1	IIIM1a	IIIM2a				
	2	OVERT DENIAL					
	3	OVERT DENIAL					
	4			IIIN2b			
Sub-Total		8	2	5			
Total		10		5			

Table 20

CONSCIENTIZACAO CODING SUMMARY SHEET

Individual         C          
 Group         Magical        

Story No.	MAGICAL		NAIVE		CRITICAL	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
NAMING	1		IN1a	IN2b		
	2	IM1a				
	3		IN1b			
	4		IM2d IM2d			
REFLECTING	1	IIM2a	IIN1c			
	2	IIM1b/c				
	3	IIM2a IIM2a				
	4	IIM1d		IIN2a		
ACTING	1	IIIM1b				
	2	IIIM1b IIIM1b IIIM1b				
	3	IIIM1b				
	4	IIIM1a IIIM1a IIIM1a		IIIN1a		
Sub-Total	11	5	4	2		
Total	16		6			

Table 21

CONSCIENTIZACAO CODING SUMMARY SHEET

Individual     D      
Group     Magical    

	Story No.	MAGICAL		NAIVE		CRITICAL	
		1	2	1	2	1	2
NAMING	1	PROBLEM AVOIDANCE					
	2	OVERT DENIAL					
	3		IM2a				
	4	OVERT DENIAL					
REFLECTING	1	PROBLEM AVOIDANCE					
	2	OVERT DENIAL					
	3	IIM1a					
	4	OVERT DENIAL					
ACTING	1	PROBLEM AVOIDANCE					
	2	OVERT DENIAL					
	3	IIIM1b					
	4	OVERT DENIAL					
Sub-Total		10	1				
Total		11					

Table 22

CONSCIENTIZAÇÃO CODING SUMMARY SHEET

Individual     E      
 Group     Magical    

	Story No.	MAGICAL		NAIVE		CRITICAL	
		1	2	1	2	1	2
NAMING	1		IM2a				
	2		IM2d				
	3		IM2b				
	4			IN1b			
REFLECTING	1	IIM1a		IIN1a			
	2	IIM1a					
	3	----	----	----	----	----	----
	4	----	----	----	----	----	----
ACTING	1	IIIM1a					
	2	IIIM1a					
	3		IIIM2a				
	4			IIIN1d			
Sub-Total		4	4	3			
Total		8		3			

Table 23

CONSCIENTIZACAO CODING SUMMARY SHEET

Individual          F  
 Group          Magical

	Story No.	MAGICAL		NAIVE		CRITICAL	
		1	2	1	2	1	2
NAMING	1				IN2b		
	2		IM2a				
	3			IN1a IN1a			
	4		IM2d				
REFLECTING	1			IIN1a			
	2		IIM2a				
	3			IIN1a			
	4				IIN2a		
ACTING	1			IIIN1d			
	2	IIIN1a	IIM2b				
	3		IIM2b				
	4				IIM2b		
Sub-Total		1	5	5	3		
Total		6		8			

Table 24

CONSCIENTIZACAO CODING SUMMARY SHEET

Individual     G      
 Group     Magical    

	Story No.	MAGICAL		NAIVE		CRITICAL	
		1	2	1	2	1	2
NAMING	1	OVERT DENIAL					
	2		IM2a	IN1b			
	3				IN2b		
	4	NOT CODABLE					
REFLECTING	1	OVERT DENIAL					
	2		IIM2a				
	3		IIM2a				
	4	NOT CODABLE					
ACTING	1	OVERT DENIAL					
	2			IIIN1a			
	3				IIIN2b		
	4	NOT CODABLE					
Sub-Total		3	3	2	2		
Total		6		4			

Table 25

CONSCIENTIZACAO CODING SUMMARY SHEET

Individual         H          
 Group         Magical        

	Story No.	MAGICAL		NAIVE		CRITICAL	
		1	2	1	2	1	2
NAMING	1			IN1b			
	2				IN2a		
	3	PROBLEM AVOIDANCE					
	4			IN1a			
REFLECTING	1			IIN1a			
	2			IIN1a			
	3	PROBLEM AVOIDANCE					
	4		IIM2c				
ACTING	1			IIN1d IIN1d			
	2		IIIM2a		IIIN2c		
	3	PROBLEM AVOIDANCE					
	4		IIIM2b				
Sub-Total		2	3	6	2		
Total		5		8			

Table 26

II. Stage Distribution for Magical and Naive Groups

Using Method I for determining stage levels described in Scoring Manual, Appendix B, page 243, the following distribution of stages was obtained.

STAGE	NAIVE GROUP	MAGICAL GROUP
C N M	-	-
C N M	-	-
C M N	-	-
C M N	-	-
N C M	4	-
N M C	-	-
N M C	2	-
N M C	2	2
M N C	-	-
M C N	-	-
M N C	-	2
M N C	1	4

Statistical analysis of these scores using the Mann-Whitney U Test\* yielded a Z score of 2.64 with a probability value of  $p < .005$ .

---

\*See "Selected Quantitative Techniques" F. Mosteller, R. R. Bush, Chapter 8 in Handbook of Social Psychology (ed. G. Lindzey, Addison-Wesley, Cambridge, 1954.)

Table 27

III. Rank Orders of Criterion Group Scores on Naming, Reflecting, and Acting Using Method 2, Appendix B, p. 246.

<u>Naming</u>	<u>Reflecting</u>	<u>Acting</u>
240N*	240N	256N
200N	200N	240N
200N	200N	240N
200N	200N	217N
200N	183N	213N
200N	180N	200N
186N	180N	200N
175M	180N	200N
163N	175N	173N
160M	175M	167M
150M	150M	150M
150M	150M	140M
133N	133M	125M
125M	128M	120M
125M	100M	111M
100M	100M	100M
100M	100M	100M
 Z = 2.93** p < .001	 Z = 3.37 p < .0005	 Z = 3.41 p < .0005

\*N and M designate which criterion group this score came from.  
 \*\*This Z score is based on a Mann-Whitney U Test.

APPENDIX D

CONSCIENTIZACAO CODES

The following sequence represents the development of conscientizacão code.

Conscientizacão Coding Categories\*

Conscientizacão can only be understood within the context of an oppressive situation, a situation in which one individual or group is exploited or denied self-affirmation by another individual or group. In essence, the oppressive group is making the basic life decisions for the oppressed group. If oppression is one end of a spectrum, humanness is the other end. One level of humanness is critical awareness, the ability to perceive the world as it is, to understand the social, economic, and political contradictions in one's life and to question the justice of those contradictions. A second level of humanness is critical action or doing something as part of a group to change the world, to reduce the contradictions, to bring the individual into a harmony with the world at that particular moment in time.

Consequently, conscientizacão can be defined as a process of moving from oppression to humanness. It is a process of increasing an individual's ability to look at his own world, to measure that world against his own needs, and to act to transform it.

---

\*This represents a second draft of the coding categories based upon a re-reading of Freire and discussions with Dr. Alschuler. It is a second draft of the original format.

The reader will notice as he reads the coding categories that they relate exclusively to the oppressed's behavior. Freire makes a point of stating that it is only the oppressed who have the option, indeed the power, to transform the oppressive situation. While the oppressor seems in control of the situation, they are more imprisoned by it than the oppressed. Their own well-being is so identified with oppression that to deny oppression is to deny themselves. Consequently, while the oppressed perceived themselves as objects controlled by the oppressor, during the process of liberation, the roles are reversed and it is the oppressed who becomes the actor, and the oppressor a passive beneficiary of the transformation.

Conscientização, as perceived by the author, can be broken into four components: belief in the possibility of change, playing host to the oppressor, a sense of social injustice, and critical action.

#### Component I: Belief in the Possibility of Change

##### A. Oppression

1. Individuals\* deny the existence of a problem. The world is as it should be.
2. They see the world as static, unchanging, and unchangeable.
3. They prefer stability to the uncertainty of change. They fear change and prefer to believe that external forces make their important life decisions.
4. They rely on all-powerful forces beyond their control, gods, fate, etc., to explain why events happen as they do.
5. They demonstrate an ignorance of history, or an acceptance of the past as a rigid formula for the future. A reliance on tradition as a guide for behavior today is characteristic. They avoid developing new formulas for their behavior.

---

\*Individuals refers to a single response within a group setting.

B. Humanness

1. Individuals believe that they can affect change. They reject all-powerful forces as the explanation for why things happen.
2. They can cite examples of how the world is changing.
3. They state that they prefer change to a reliance on the past.
4. They are aware of history as a dynamic process of change. They know that their people had a past which was free of the oppressor's domination.
5. They are willing to question old solutions and reject tradition as an adequate justification for action.

Component II: Playing Host to the Oppressor

A. Oppression

1. Self-deprecation

- a. Oppressed individuals refer to themselves and members of their group in self-deprecating terms. They internalize the oppressor's myths about themselves.
- b. They refer to themselves as an object or as a generalized group rather than using the pronouns "I" or "we."
- c. Within the structure of a sentence, they or members of their group, will often appear as objects indicating their passive role.

2. Relationship with Peers

- a. Individuals demonstrate a horizontal aggressiveness directed against their peers. They strike out at their peers instead of the oppressor.
- b. They strike out equally against their family through social activities such as drunkenness, wife-beating, or unfaithfulness.
- c. Group meetings are generally problem-sharing groups, rather than problem-solving groups. Little effort is made to elicit help, provoke new ideas, or develop strategies for mutual protection. They are mere recounting of events with no analysis.

3. Relationship with Oppressor

- a. Individuals see the oppressor as all-powerful, invulnerable to attack. The oppressor occupies the active grammatical part of the sentences.

- b. The oppressor's values and products are taken as models for the oppressed individual.
- c. Oppressed individuals set their goal as "getting into the system." Rather than trying to change the system, they try to change themselves. They identify themselves as the problem.

## B. Humanness

### 1. Self-Affirmation

- a. Oppressed individuals refer to the positive qualities of their group. They reject the myths which the oppressor has established to sustain the oppressive situation.
- b. They refer to themselves and their group in the first person indicating that they accept themselves as capable of action.
- c. They deny that they alone are the cause of all their problems.

### 2. Relationship with Peers

- a. Individuals demonstrate affection and understanding for their own group and their problems.
- b. They reject normal cultural outlets for aggression, wife-beating, drunkenness, etc.
- c. Comradship replaces gregariousness. The group is seen as a common alliance, an opportunity to seek help and advice, to seek solutions to common problems.

### 3. Relationship with Oppressor

- a. The oppressor is recognized as another human being with faults and weaknesses.
- b. Individuals reject the values of the oppressor's culture. In a sense, they reject the oppressor as a role model.
- c. They begin a process of re-evaluation of their own cultural values.
- d. They no longer try to get into the oppressor's system, but rather question that system's validity for themselves.

## Component III: A Sense of Social Injustice

### A. Oppression

1. Individuals accept things as they are. They do not ask if they should be different.
2. They are unable to see that several events are related causally to each other. They accept events as part of a whole beyond their control.
3. They are unable to generalize from one set of events to another. They see them as isolated actions.
4. They express no personal indignation or anger, rather they appear passive and accepting, ever hopeful that oppression will simply go away.

B. Humanness

1. Individuals realize that things are not the way they should be. The use of "should" is an important indication of this growing consciousness.
2. They are able to explain why social injustice exists. They can show how events are causally related to each other.
3. They are able to see commonalities between seemingly different events. They are able to generalize from one event to another.
4. They are able to "name " or accurately define social relationships as to their ultimate consequences.

Component IV: Critical Action

A. Oppression

1. Individuals deny that there is anything they can do to alter the situation. Or, they simply do not mention any action that might change the oppressive situation.
2. They reject conflicts. They avoid confrontation with the oppressor at almost any cost.
3. They accept a leadership role which is domineering. Leading means following the only role model they have ever had, the oppressor.
4. They are paternalistic towards their peers, preferring to make decisions for them until they are mature enough to make their own.
5. Their proposed plan of action is well within the oppressor's expectations. They do what the oppressor would predict, and would support. These actions do not threaten the oppressive situation.

6. They choose actions which do not correspond to the resources available. They plan elaborate schemes which they realize are doomed to failure.

B. Humanness

1. The individual sees the inevitable conflicts which exist between themselves and the oppressor. They realize that they are denied by the oppressor status and advantages on the one hand, and told to emulate the oppressor on the other.
2. They accept confrontation as a necessary part of their role.
3. Their leadership behavior is oriented towards group participation and decision-making.
4. The group which they lead is unwilling to accept a passive role or domineering leadership.
5. They cast off rational limits when considering alternative actions. They propose ideas which would scandalize or frighten truly oppressed members of their community.
6. When selecting alternatives for action, they measure the resources available to themselves and select the alternatives which have a reasonable chance of success and which best offer hope of changing the oppressive situations.
7. They act.
8. They reflect on their action. They realize that one isolated response to oppression is insufficient. They learn from their reflection and begin again the process of critical reflection.

These factors are listed as components rather than levels because the term levels implies some form of sequence. While such a developmental sequence may exist, it is unclear to the author at this time what that sequence is. Rather than hypothesize any further than he already has, he prefers to let the issue lie fallow until evidence based upon subjects' responses can be analyzed.

"C" Code:

Component I: Belief in the Possibility of Change

Oppression

1. The individual denies that a problem exists.

Humanness

1. Individual recognizes a problem, unable to define it clearly.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 2. They see the world as static and unchangeable.                                      | 2. They are able to cite examples of how the world is changing.                       |
| 3. They fear change.   | 3. They express willingness to change.  |
| 4. They rely on all-powerful forces to make decisions in their life.                   | 4. They reject all-powerful forces as decision-makers.                                |
| 5. They are ignorant of their own history; unable to cite heroes from their own group. | 5. Aware of their group's history. They can name cultural heroes from their past.     |
| 6. Rely on tradition as a basis for making decisions.                                  | 6. Seek new formulas for their behavior, reject traditional formulas, <u>per se</u> . |

Component II: Playing Host to the Oppressor

Oppression

1. Self-deprecation
  - a. Refer to themselves and their group in negative terms.
  - b. Internalize the oppressor's beliefs about themselves.
  - c. Individuals refer to themselves and group as an object. Often appears as the object in a sentence.
  - d. They believe themselves to be the cause of all their problems.
2. Relationship with Peers
  - a. Horizontal aggressiveness. Individuals strike out against their peers.
  - b. Intra-punitiveness. They attack themselves through drunkenness, or their family through wife-beating, unfaithfulness.

Humanness

1. Self-affirmation
  - a. Refer to themselves and their group in positive terms.
  - b. Reject the oppressor's beliefs about themselves.
  - c. Individuals use first person when referring to themselves/group.
  - d. They deny that they alone are the cause of all their problems.
2. Relationship with Peers
  - a. Horizontal supportiveness. Individuals demonstrate understanding and affection for members of their group.
  - b. Rejects intra-punitiveness. Show concern for their own and families' well-being.

- c. Gregariousness/problem-sharing orientation. Group meetings are problem-sharing. Little attempt made to elicit help, provoke new ideas, or develop strategies for mutual protection.

3. Relationship with Oppressor

- a. Oppressor is seen as super-human, invulnerable to attack.
- b. Individual's goal is to get into the oppressor's system. They change themselves rather than the system.
- c. Oppressor is taken as a role model.

- c. Comradeship/problem-solving group. Individuals meet to help each other, develop ideas and strategies for change.

3. Relationship with Oppressor

- a. Oppressor is seen as another human being with weaknesses.
- b. Individual's goal is to change the system to meet their own needs.
- c<sub>1</sub> Oppressor is rejected as role model.
- c<sub>2</sub> Re-evaluation of individual's own culture takes place.

Component III: A Sense of Social Injustice

Oppression

- 1. Individual accepts that things are the way they should be.
- 2. They do not see causal relationships between events. Unable to answer why things happen by relating different events.
- 3. They see events as isolated actions. Unable to see commonalities between events.
- 4. Uses traditional terminology to describe social events; example, hacienda owner is called patron.
- 5. Individual appears passive, hopeful that oppression will just go away.

Humanness

- 1. Individual realizes that things should be different.
- 2. They are able to explain why social injustice exists, to show how one event causes another.
- 3. They are able to generalize from one event to another.
- 4. They are able to name events as to their causes; example, hacienda owner is called oppressor.
- 5. Expresses anger, indignation at existing social injustice.

Component IV: Critical Action

Oppression

1. Individuals do not mention any course of action, or they deny that any action can be taken.
2. Action which they take or suggest demonstrates a reliance on a "good" patron.
3. Individual rejects any action that might lead to conflict.
4. Individual takes the oppressor as a role-model and accepts a domineering leadership role.
5. Individuals demonstrate a paternalistic attitude towards group. They say they need time to develop.
6. Individual develops plans for action which are within the oppressor's expectations. Plans pose no threat to the oppressive situation.
7. Individual develops elaborate schemes beyond the resources available and necessarily doomed to failure.
8. Fails to act.

Humanness

1. Mentions the need for action to be taken. Makes a concrete suggestion.
2. Action demonstrates a reliance on themselves and the community's resources.
3. Accept conflict as a possible risk which they are willing to take.
4. Leadership role oriented towards group participation and decision-making.
5. The group itself demonstrates its unwillingness to be led. They demand a participatory leadership style.
6. Individuals cast off rational limits to their thinking. They propose plans which would scandalize their peers.
7. Individual suggests plan of action which balances resources against possible gains.
8. They act.

These factors are listed as components rather than levels because the term levels implies some form of sequence. While such a developmental sequence may exist, it is unclear to the author at this time what that sequence is. Rather than hypothesize any further than he already has, he prefers to let the issue lie fallow until evidence based upon subjects' responses can be analyzed.

Component I: Belief in the Possibility of Change

Oppression

1. Individual denies existence of problem.
2. Sees world as static and unchangeable.
3. Fears change, believes all-powerful forces make their decisions.
4. Relies on all-powerful forces.
5. Ignorance of history, reliance on traditional solutions.

Humanness

1. Individual recognizes problem. Rejects.
2. Cites examples of how world is changing.
3. Rejects all-powerful forces; prefers change to stability.
4. Rejects all-powerful forces.
5. Aware of history, rejects traditional formulas of behavior.

Component II: Playing Host to the Oppressor

Oppression

1. Self-Deprecation
  - a. Refers to self and group in negative terms.
  - b. Internalize the oppressor's beliefs about themselves.
  - c. Refers to self/group as an object.
  - d. They believe themselves to be the cause of all their problems.
2. Relationship with Peers
  - a. Horizontal-aggressiveness.
  - b. Intra-punitiveness.
  - c. Gregariousness/problem-sharing.

Humanness

1. Self-Affirmation
  - a. Refers to self and group in positive terms.
  - b. Reject the oppressor's beliefs about themselves.
  - c. Uses first person pronouns when referring to self/group.
  - d. They deny that they alone are the cause of their problems.
2. Relationship with Peers
  - a. Understanding and affection for their own group.
  - b. Rejects intra-punitiveness.
  - c. Comradeship/problem-solving.

3. Relationship to Oppressor

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| a. Oppressor seen as invulnerable.      | a. Oppressor seen as having weaknesses; an ordinary man. |
| b. Goal to get into oppressor's system. | b. Goal is to change system to meet own needs.           |
| c. Oppressor is taken as role model.    | c <sub>1</sub> Oppressor rejected as role model.         |
|   | c <sub>2</sub> Re-evaluation of own culture.             |

Component III: A Sense of Social Injustice

Oppression

Humanness

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Accepts that things are the way they should be.          | 1. Realizes things should be different.                            |
| 2. Does not see causal relationship between events.         | 2. Able to explain why social injustice exists, shows causality.   |
| 3. Sees events as isolated acts.                            | 3. Sees commonality, able to generalize from one event to another. |
| 4. Uses traditional terminology to describe events.         | 4. Able to "name" things in relation to their cause.               |
| 5. Appears passive, expecting that oppression will go away. | 5. Expresses anger, indignation at existing social injustice.      |

Component IV: Critical Action

Oppression

Humanness

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. No mention of action is made. Denial of ability to act.                 | 1. Mentions that some action should be taken.                           |
| 2. Action demonstrates reliance on "good" <u>patron</u> to solve problems. | 2. Action demonstrates reliance on self and community resources.        |
| 3. Rejects action leading to conflict.                                     | 3. Accepts conflict as possible outcome of actions.                     |
| 4. Accepts domineering leadership role.                                    | 4. Leadership oriented towards group participation and decision-making. |

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 5. Paternalistic attitude towards peers.                     | 5. Peers unwilling to be led.                                   |
| 6. Plan of action within oppressor's expectation. No threat. | 6. Cast off rational limits - explore seemingly wild solutions. |
| 7. Elaborate schemes doomed to failure selected.             | 7. Measure resources against gains to select action.            |
|  | 8. Acts and then reflects.                                      |

I. Situational Awareness (How are things?)

A. Recognition of a problem (Does a problem exist?)

1. Denies a problem exists

- a. Places problem in other times
- b. Places problem in other place
- c. States there is no problem

2. Accepts that a problem exists

- a. Describes circumstances as though they were a problem.
- b. Places the problem in the here and now.

B. Attitude toward change (Can things be changed?)

1. Denies change is possible.

- a. Accepts things as they are/passivity.
- b. Feels problem exists, but it is unsolvable.
- c. Fears change/Shows dependence on things as they are.
- d. Relies on tradition/custom/nationality.

2. Accepts that change is possible

- a. Cites examples of change.
- b. States preference for change/need for change.
- c. Rejects tradition/custom.

II. Sense of Social Injustice (Should things be this way?)

- A. Expresses a realization that things should be different.
- B. Expresses anger, indignation at social injustice.

III. Causality (Why are things the way they are?)

- A. Playing Host to the Oppressor (Because things are beyond our control, the oppressor is all-powerful and we are weak and useless.)
  - 1. Reliance on metaphysical factors external to the situation (Powerful forces are to blame.)
    - a. God
    - b. Fate
    - c. Luck
    - d. the "Times"
  - 2. Identification with the oppressor (Oppressor is to blame because he is all-powerful and right.)
    - a. Oppressor is seen as invulnerable.
      - 1) Individual is controlled by oppressor.
      - 2) Expresses fear, humility toward oppressor.
      - 3) Oppressor is inevitably the winner.
    - b. Oppressor is taken as role-model.
    - c. Empathy for oppressor.
    - d. Dependence on the oppressor.
    - e. Belief in oppressor's myths about the system.
    - f. Oppressed becomes part of the system.
  - 3. Self-Deprecation (I/we are to blame because of an innate flaw in our character.)
    - a. Direct
      - 1) Negative references to self/group.

- 2) Use of third person.
- 3) Internalizes oppressor's beliefs.
- 4) Ignorance of their own history.

b. Indirect

- 1) Horizontal Aggressiveness
  - a) blame others
  - b) intra-punitiveness
- 2) Gregariousness/problem-sharing - no mention of action is made with statements of group solidarity.

B. Liberating Attitude

1. Rejection of Oppressor (Oppressors are to blame because they are evil.)
  - a. Shows independence of oppressor.
  - b. Resists oppressor.
  - c. Makes negative statements about oppressor.
  - d. Oppressor seen as vulnerable, weak.
  - e. Uses oppressive situation to meet own need.
2. Self-criticism (I/we are to blame but because of characteristic we can change.)
  - a. Self-affirmation/self-confidence.
  - b. Empathy, understanding, affection for peer group.
  - c. Negative statements about group followed by a plan or suggestion they can be changed.
  - d. Comradeship/problem-solving
    - 1) Peer learning.
    - 2) Group strength with concrete action mentioned.
3. Relationship between events (The "system" is to blame.)
  - a. Sees incomplete causal relationships.

- b. Use of word "because" to indicate causal relationship.
- c. Generalizes from one event to another.
- d. Is able to name events as to their causes.
- e. Defines contradictions between events/irony.

IV. Action (What can I/we do about the situation?)

A. Passivity (nothing or very little)

- 1. No action is suggested.
- 2. Action is talk among themselves.
- 3. Action rejects conflict with oppressor.

B. Domesticating Action (rely on others to do it for us.)

- 1. Rely on "good" patron.
- 2. Attempt to get into oppressor's system.
- 3. Attempt to make small changes.
- 4. Accept domineering peer leadership.
- 5. Paternalistic attitude towards peers.
- 6. Suggest conservative plan of action.
- 7. Suggest elaborate schemes doomed to failure.

C. Liberating Action (rely on ourselves)

- 1. Accept conflict as possible outcome.
- 2. Rely on group participation/decision making.
- 3. Explore unorthodox solutions.
- 4. Measure resources against gains.
- 5. Action demonstrates reliance on self and community resources.

I. Situational Awareness (What are things like?)

A. Problem-Denial

1. Openly denies problem exists.
  2. Avoids problem.
    - a. Places in another time/place.
    - b. Excuses for problem.
  3. Ignorance of problem.
- B. Problem Definition
1. Economic problem.
  2. Physical problem.
  3. Understanding of oppression.
    - a. Defines contradictions between events/irony.
    - b. Generalizes from one event to another.
    - c. Sees consequences of events.
    - d. Sees intentionality by oppressor.
    - e. Sets rich against poor.

II. Sense of Social Injustice (Should things be as they are?)

- A. Expresses anger, indignation at social injustice.
1. Uses strong language.
  2. Uses exclamation.
- B. Expresses realization that things should be different.

III. Causality/Domestication (Why are things the way they are?)

- A. Reliance on metaphysical explanations.
1. God
  2. Fate/luck
  3. Tradition/custom
  4. the "Times"

B. Playing Host to the Oppressor

1. Internalization of Oppressor's beliefs/myths

a. Invulnerability of the oppressor.

- 1) Fear of the oppressor.
- 2) Humility towards oppressor.
- 3) Avoidance of oppressor.
- 4) Oppressor as inevitable winner.

b. Weakness of the oppressed.

- 1) Lack of education.
- 2) Lack of "union."
- 3) Laziness
- 4) Egoistic
- 5) Ignorant
- 6) Equality

2. Identification with the Oppressor.

a. Empathizes with the oppressor.

b. Takes oppressor as role-model.

- 1) Adopts oppressor's values.
- 2) Paternalistic towards peers.
- 3) Domesticating towards peers.
- 4) Selfish

3. Self-deprecation (self and peers)

a. Uses third person for self/peers.

b. Makes negative references to self/peers.

c. Pessimistic about self/peers.

d. Lacks self-confidence in self/peers.

- e. Humble about self/peers.
  - f. Self-pitying about self/peers.
  - g. Blames ancestors.
  - h. Ignorant of history of self/peers.
  - i. Intra-punitiveness.
  - j. Horizontal aggressiveness.
4. Gregariousness/problem-sharing.

Causality Liberation (III Continued) (Why are things the way they are?)

A. Rejection of Metaphysical Explanations

- 1. God
- 2. Fate/luck
- 3. Tradition/custom
- 4. the "Times"

B. Rejection of Oppression

- 1. Denying the Oppressor's beliefs/myths.
  - a. Recognizes Oppressor's weaknesses.
    - 1) Sees oppressor as weak/ordinary man.
    - 2) Shows independence of oppressor.
  - b. Recognizes oppressed's strengths.
    - 1) Numbers
    - 2) Capable of learning.
    - 3) Equal to oppressor.
- 2. Rejection of Oppressor.
  - a. Makes negative statements about oppressor.
  - b. Rejects oppressor as role-model.
    - 1) Rejects oppressor's values.

- 2) Relies on group participation/decision-making.
  - 3) Generous
3. Self-affirmation (self/peers)
    - a. Use **first** person self/peers.
    - b. Confidence in self/peers.
    - c. Empathy, understanding, affection for self/peers.
    - d. Self-critical but positive about self/peers.
    - e. Belief in values of self/peers.
  4. Comradeship/problem-solving.
    - a. "Union" with concrete action.
    - b. Peer learning.

IV. Action (What can I/we do about the situation?)

- A. Passivity (action is . . .)
  1. Seen as useless/ineffective.
  2. Talk among themselves.
  3. To reject conflict with the oppressor.
  4. Dependent on things as they are/tradition.
- B. Domesticating Action
  1. Relies on "good" patron.
  2. Attempts to get into oppressor's system.
  3. Attempts to make small changes.
  4. Suggests elaborate schemes doomed to failure.
- C. Liberating Action
  1. Cites examples of change.
  2. States preference for change.
  3. Rejects tradition as inevitable guide.

4. Accepts conflict as possible outcome.
5. Explores unorthodox solutions.
6. Measures resources against gains.
7. Relies on self/community resources.

APPENDIX E

Conscientização Stimuli Used to Elicit "C" Protocols

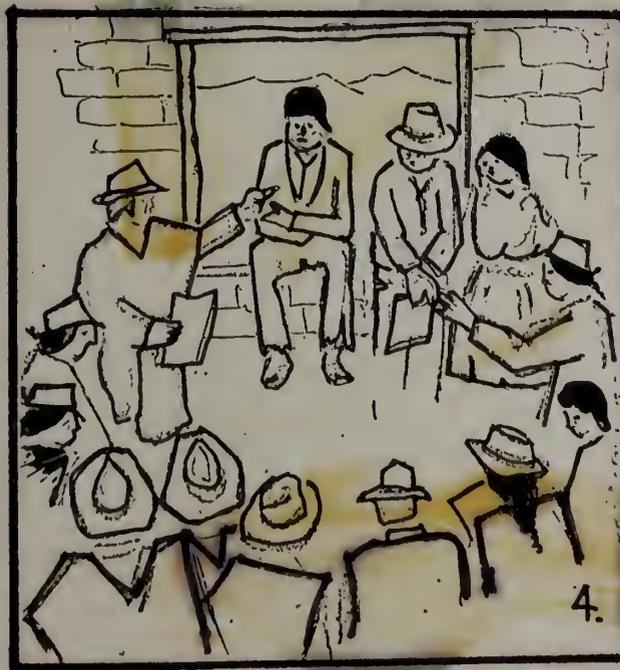
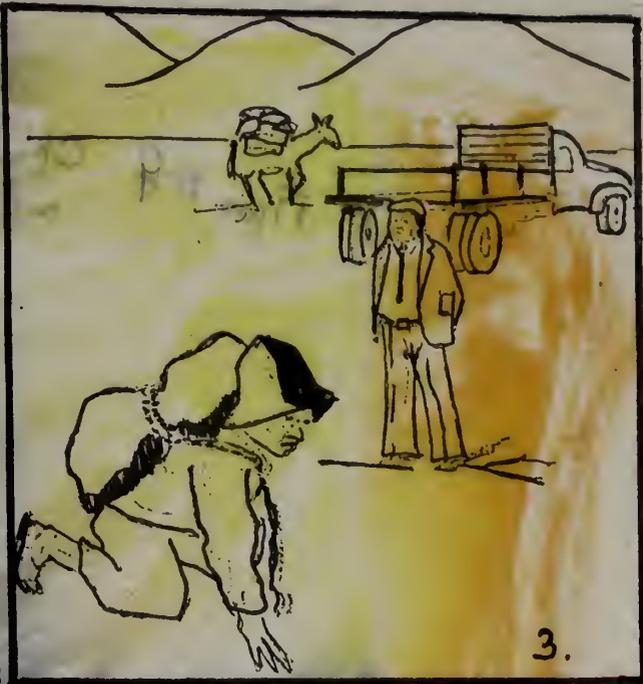
I. The following page is a reduction of the Hacienda/Juego de la Vida game board. The Hacienda game board was inspired by Monopoly, but the game itself is played quite differently. Emphasis is placed upon spontaneous role-plays rather than rigid adherence to fixed rules. Hacienda provokes player participation in the creation of the game's interaction processes, particularly as they are related to the real-life experiences of the players. This game was used in both the Shaushi and the San Martin coding experiences.



II. The following drawings were adapted by the author from a series produced by Professor Mario Guzman Molina and Carlos Doria Medina V. of the Department of Pedagogical Elaboration of the Institute of Cultural Investigation for Popular Education (INDICEP) in Bolivia. Slight changes were made in styles of hats and shoes to make the visuals more recognizable to Ecuadorian participants.

All four drawings were used in the Office Personnel protocol experience and numbers 1 and 3 in the SENARED protocol experience.

Figure 8



III. The following visuals are line drawings made over photographs developed by the Ecuadorian Ministry of Education for their national literacy program. The photographs were not of a reproducible quality, and the line drawings give only a superficial idea of the visual content.

These drawings were used during the San Martin protocol experience.

Figure 9



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