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## **Beyond Capitalism?** Organizing Architecture Education

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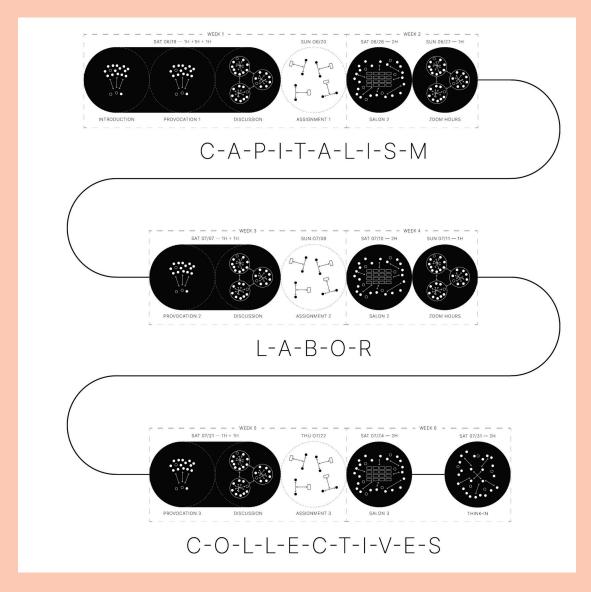
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A power map of an electric toothbrush; an influencer; an architecture license. An organizational map linking the precarity of a construction worker to a window cleaner to an asset manager. A resource map of a public university; an architecture firm; a food coop. These collaborative projects emerged during a free and virtual summer school named Architecture Beyond Capitalism (ABC), which launched in 2021 as an experiment in architecture education. Organized by members of The Architecture Lobby, the ABC School's planning, structure, and participation revealed insights about academia's subservience to capitalism. The school focused on organizing-with practitioners, educators, students, and the public—as a pedagogical practice that could unite historically fragmented sites, workers, and concerns of architecture education in order to meet the structural challenges of the current planetary crises.

The seven-week-long summer school formed in response to the siloed and uncoordinated nature of education within architecture—design schools offer professional degrees for students; the profession promotes independent courses for continued licensure; firms sponsor classes and exchanges to further internal knowledge; and academic organizations provide educators with opportunities for discourse and disciplinary debate. Yet despite the siloed nature of architecture education, students, teachers, and architects alike have been conditioned across these sites to prioritize aesthetic objects over the systems by which they are bound and to accept the precarious nature of architectural work.

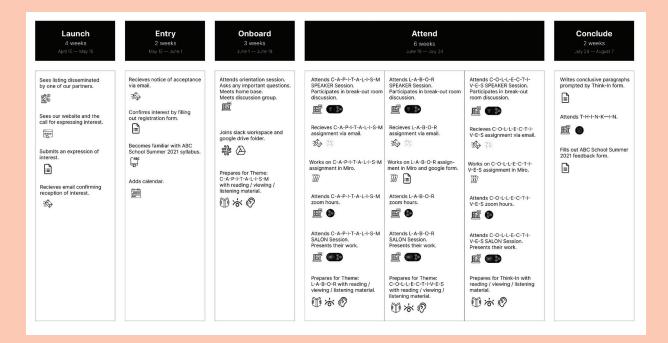
This segmentation of architecture education is paralleled by an enduring obsession with what is taught within academies—the "content"—which has made considerations of structure, method, and community difficult, such as how one teaches and who might be able to teach or access architecture education in the first place. As concerns about endowments and profit increasingly take priority over the guiding functions of many western universities and professions, cultural production is replaced by hollow and self-referential terms. "Content" has come to mean everything and anything that can be consumed-even claims of "critical pedagogy" itself. Terms derived from the history of business, such as "innovation," "leadership," "growth," "excellence," and "performance" have become the defining metrics within architecture education; it is evident that the business of architecture and the education of architects are now indistinguishable. Inward-facing accreditation criteria and curricula prioritize course topics over pedagogy and well-being, licensure exams prioritize business over the environment and community, and a persistent culture of exploitation is maintained and reproduced across states and national borders, generations, and work sectors.

The ABC School aimed to consider how the terms of capitalism have historically prevented structural change by demanding perpetually new content, as well as how new pedagogies based upon the techniques and principles of organizing might encourage change across architecture's siloed sites: students learning *with* practitioners; faculty learning *with* students; members of the public learning *with* all of the above. The school was inspired by the intersectional work of thinkers such as bell hooks and Paulo Freire who challenge the "banking system" of education by connecting critical pedagogy to labor organizing. Organizing was imagined to be central to reconstructing the discipline of architecture and society at large.<sup>1</sup>



## ^ A diagram of the school's 2021 curriculum.

Image courtesy of the authors.



## A diagram of a "participant's journey" within the school.

Image courtesy of the authors.

#### What to teach?

When The Architecture Lobby's Academia Working Group convened online for the first time in August of 2020, the leading agenda item read "Pedagogical Structures." Thirty members from around the world took turns sharing their personal experiences, alternative practices, resources, theories, and hopes for change through pedagogy. In subsequent meetings, the group formed a committee to focus on short-term experimentations that would consider why architecture education seemed unable to commit to structural change. The group wondered if change from within was even possible at all. Turning to the scholarly works of K. Wayne Yang, who suggests that change is indeed possible from within, the ABC School emerged from a collective desire to share knowledge, experiences, and techniques with which to resist capitalism and its associated partners: colonization, exploitation, racism, production, financialization, and extraction.<sup>2</sup>

The school's organizing committee quickly found itself obsessing over the selection of speakers and spent weeks mulling over books and essays in order to get the school's content "just right." "Radical pedagogy," the group contended at first, following Beatriz Colomina's analysis of Denise Scott Brown and Robert Venturi's 1968 Levittown studio at Yale, could be "radical simply by virtue of its content."<sup>3</sup> The committee conducted a survey of 132 architecture school websites in the United States, and most described themselves in a contrasting manner: "content" had come to mean anything, everything, and nothing all at once. And, despite the fact that individual schools aimed to distinguish themselves from one another in their competition for prospective students, there was an astonishing similarity across program descriptions. Most touted their high rankings within various surveys, making clear that competition is the name of the game for both student and institution.<sup>4</sup> Other common descriptors masked the emptiness of their signifiers with terms that did not describe content at all: a majority of programs (60%) boasted their "design excellence/expertise/experimentation;" "creative practice/expression/thinking" (36%); and "innovation/ experimentation" (23%). Less frequently described, but still prominent, were "leadership" (18%); global (16%); and environment/sustainability (16%). "Diversity" was repeated, but in many different contexts. Some claimed to offer a "diverse environment" (9%); others to work with "diverse communities/constituents" (2%); while still others to "develop a diverse community" (2%). Other descriptors, as one might guess, received less exposure, such as "critical engagement" (11%); "social engagement" (3%); "collaborate/collaborative" (3%); "politics" (2%); "affordability" (1.5%); "labor" (0%); and "capitalism" (0%). As historian Bill Readings has argued, many of these terms are economically-not ideologically-determined. "Excellence," he argues, "is like the cash-nexus in that it has no content. It is hence neither true nor false, neither ignorant nor self-conscious. It

may be unjust, but we cannot seek its injustice in terms of a regime of truth or of self-knowledge.<sup>5</sup> In other words, architecture education, as described by schools themselves, is swayed more by the economic potential of its descriptors than by its commitment to cultural production or pedagogical change.<sup>6</sup>

The ABC School's first curriculum draft was ambitious: forty-nine speakers were identified to share insights about topics in sequence, from capitalism to land to construction to the environment to professional practice to the academy itself. The school was not to be a series of lectures, however.<sup>7</sup> The organizing committee was invested in disrupting the traditional studentteacher binary and in reconsidering how "design" could be taught in such a way that it expanded the meaning and value to the world. Despite the committee's best intentions, the curriculum was imbalanced. The substance of the discussions the school hoped to foster overshadowed the methods of learning and teaching. An overwhelming fear of making mistakes had created protective blinders that inhibited conversations about the kind of pedagogical transformations called for by those such as bell hooks and Paulo Freire on the very pages the committee was reading. "Even though there are those overly zealous among us," hooks writes, "who hope to replace one set of absolutes with another, simply changing content, this perspective does not accurately represent progressive visions of the way commitment to cultural diversity can constructively transform the academy."8 (Figure 1)

With this self-critique in mind, the committee developed a working model for the school that balanced ideas and methods-the "practices"-through tools of organizing. The school's penultimate curriculum was organized into three two-week themes: a historical and theoretical interrogation of capitalism; an exploration of how and why organizing labor within and across sites of work encourages change; and a reconsideration of how workers might identify resources and opportunities for building a future based not on individuals and top-down hierarchies, but on communities and grassroots efforts. Within each theme was a provocation, or "speaker session," in which invited scholars, activists, and practitioners presented thoughts and readings to the larger group; an "assignment," in which participants were prompted to practice collectively applying the concepts to lived scenarios; and a "salon," in which participants were encouraged to reflect and discuss their experiences of mapping and relating to these concepts with their peers.

This model was intended to serve as an antidote to the subtly disempowering effects and uneven relationships that lectures traditionally set up between those who "know" (and speak) and those who "learn" (and listen). It was this three-part structure—establishing an understanding of capitalism, organizing labor, and sharing resources across boundaries of working and living—that formed the underlying structure of the ABC School. Not only did the organizing committee hope to encourage dialogue and exchanges that might empower the school's participants, but the school's "content" was fundamentally connected to practice in order to find common ground, build power, and connect sites of education in ways that may not have otherwise been possible.

#### Who has access?

The term "pedagogy" implies not only a focus on *what* is taught, but perhaps more importantly, *who* has access to education in the first place. The persistent majority of white students and white faculty within architecture schools reveals numerous things; most prominently, the profession's and discipline's exclusive nature.<sup>9</sup> Exclusivity is historically constructed: architects are protected by and celebrated within the collective imagination as solo geniuses or "*genteel* architects" with (seeming) upper middle-class privilege and socio-economic security. In addition, the material circumstances of architecture education—its expense and the future low salaries—excludes and marginalizes. In other words, architecture, whether in academia or in practice, edits its subjects and stamps out any motivation for radical change.

The organizing committee of the ABC School distributed its call for participants through design organizations, journals, and fellow and allied academics. In total, 445 people expressed interest, each offering a brief description of their location, worker identities, and narrative of how their own experiences related directly to the thematics of the school (Figure 2). While no single geography dominated, a majority of the interested participants were located in Western regions of the world: 53% in North America, 25% in Europe, and 10% in Oceania, while only 5% were based in Asia, 4% in South America, and 3% in Africa.<sup>10</sup> In terms of worker identities, applicants were not just students, but teachers; not just academics, but practitioners; not just architects, but also workers in construction, planning, finance, marketing, and media. 35% self-identified as educators of various kinds (full-time, part-time, as well as writers and journalists), 56% as practitioners, and 45% as students (half from architecture and half from other disciplines).11 Among those, 5% identified as all three categories (student, educator, and practitioner), 27% as any combination of two categories, and 68% as only one category.<sup>12</sup> Considering the logistical limitations of an online school, a cohort of nearly 200 people was formed—one that attempted to uniquely balance participants by their experiences, geographies, and worker types. The remainder of people were invited to audit each theme's speaker sessions (Figure 3).

Participation varied by topic and exercise, though speaker sessions overwhelmingly attracted more participants than salon sessions. This interest in specific presentations revealed valuable insight about the correlations between worker identity and what they each hoped to—or needed to—learn about architecture and capitalism. And, it reveals who within and across architecture may be most interested in organizational change, who may not, and precisely where the barriers to change exist (Figure 4).

First, participants who self-identified as full time "academics" attended more presentations than participated in assignments. In addition, academics were least interested in the labor session and organizing exercises; they preferred the first session—"capitalism"—above others. This suggests that, despite their titles, those who identified as academics may indeed be the most obvious, though carefully disguised, thorns within an activist, organizing-centered curriculum. Despite holding the most power within traditional academic institutions, their secure status as bonafide educators, and the historical role that they play as producers of cultural knowledge, may trump their interest in organizing and bottom-up change. As U.S. political commentator and Ivy League critic Matt Stoller argues, "rich meritocratic institutions are natural refuges for leftists or progressives in an oligarchy [...] but the basic social logic of meritocratic life is one of exclusion. Combining an existential commitment to this meritocratic exclusion with sincere progressive beliefs leads to dissonance."<sup>13</sup>

Second, a higher percentage of people who identified as either "students" or with multiple worker identities (eg: "student/practitioner" and "practitioner/academic") participated in the "labor" session and organizer training than did full time practitioners or academics. While this again reveals an obvious connection between content and worker position (that those who felt most precarious were those who were most interested in learning about tools for change), it also highlights where community solidarity may begin: *between* students and part-time academics or practitioners.

Third, a higher percentage of people who identified as "practitioners" participated in the "commons" session than did students or educators. Practitioners are perhaps the most intimately embedded in the making of the material world and are most connected to communities by training; therefore, their interest in sharing resources may be derived not only from the low pay and precarity of architectural work in general, but also by a moral and ethical interest in collective good. In contrast, students were least interested in the theme of collectives, perhaps due to their financial statuses limiting their availability for collective innovation. Yet the ultimate goal of the ABC School was to begin to break down these "content"based barriers through practice, since the empowerment of one group demands the empowerment, sharing, and organizing of all.

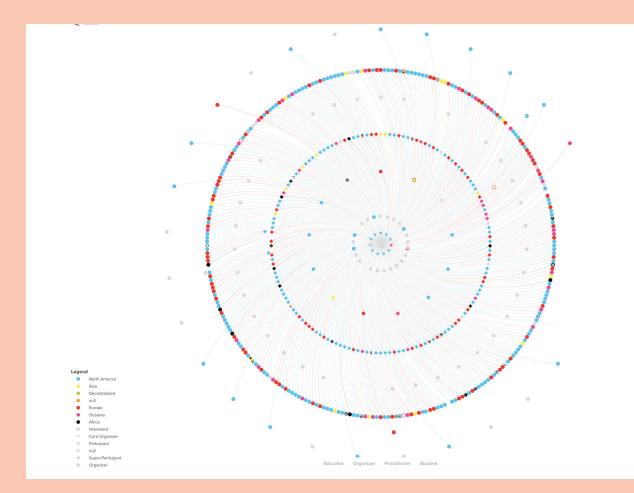
Finally, the school's participation demonstrates a need for a radical shift in a definition of an "architect" one that attracts people to the discipline not for the perpetuation of its own internalized self-image and its traditional institutions, but for its ability to end the capitalist-led destruction of society and the planet.

#### How does one encourage change?

While experiments in radical pedagogy often focus on content without careful attention to who has access to architecture education and how their lived experiences shape the very methods by which they learn, the school considered how knowledge could be shared and empower all participants. Pedagogy was defined as a method of organizing-of people, objects, materials, and systems alike. While this method draws on a key practice of architecture itself (organizing materials), the most common methods of design education have not bridged this gap between design and pedagogy. The persistence of atelier and Beaux-Arts models of studios, the power structures and hierarchies of guest star and content-driven lectures within firms and schools, and the administering of neoliberal politics of knowledge in assessing work are cases in point.

The disinterest in expanding the methods of architecture education seems to stem from institutionalized and state-sanctioned accrediting boards whose criteria are passed down as demands by instructors who were educated in the same way. The National Architectural Accrediting Board (NAAB) does not offer guidelines about how architecture should be taught, stating instead that "it specifies neither the education format nor the type of work that may serve as evidence" for achieving accreditation.<sup>14</sup> What's more, in the U.S., these power structures exist in private universities that distinguish themselves through the capital power of their endowments, the longevity of their establishment, and the dominance of their claims through their physical campuses. Even outside the academy, one must watch videos online and study guides (for a fee) in their spare time just to become licensed. After licensure, practitioners must keep learning to maintain their licenses: AIA Continuing Education (CE) Learning Units (LU), AIA University (AIAU), and courses by private companies provide additional training. Corporations sponsor "Lunch-and-Learns," where product reps sell materials, technologies, and services. Even courses offered by larger offices, such AECOM University, Gensler University, Albert Kahn University, or SHoP "U" are motivated by capitalist survival, sharing knowledge internally in order to reproduce themselves. Some follow the same methods of professional development and CE credits (in the case of AECOM), while others are more socially based to mask underlying labor conditions (in the case of SHoP U).15

This status quo follows what Paulo Freire identifies in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* as the "banking" model of education, which resists dialogue in favor of a teacher who expounds on a topic. Students act as knowledge repositories, and they are expected to reproduce the banked ideas in the future. While most participants



## ^ A visualization made with Kumu of participants by geography.

Image courtesy of the authors.

who attended the ABC School were likely not interested in the "banking" of content that Freire critiques, it is deeply entrenched: it was still what ABC School participants most preferred. Freire further distinguishes between "systematic education"—which he argues can only be changed by political power—and "educational projects"—which he suggests should be carried out together with those who are oppressed through the process of organizing.<sup>16</sup> Organizing, he argues, can be viewed as an educational process through which one might not only challenge entrenched and imposed "banking systems" of education, but to initiate broader liberatory projects.<sup>17</sup>

#### Conclusion

By structuring its curriculum for change around practices of organizing, the ABC School ultimately aimed for what Freire calls "liberation [as] a praxis" or "the action and reflection of [people] upon their world in order to transform it."<sup>18</sup> Yet transformation is not easy. Many participants in the ABC School struggled to engage with a curriculum charged with organizing and actions and finding common ground. One conclusion to draw may be that pedagogies that forefront the practices of organizing might benefit from coupling virtual dialogue with a more situated, local, on-the-ground presence. Future iterations of the ABC School (or architecture schools more broadly) could better engage the participants within and from their own material conditions in order to connect the logics of organizing against capitalism to what Freire describes as their "human-world."<sup>19</sup> It is clear that the totalizing virtuality of the school and the abstraction of the screen may have contributed to a feeling of alienation among the participants. While this virtual component is crucial for broadened participation, it also excludes those without access to technology and those who want to work hands-on in localized capacities. Despite the challenges, organizing efforts continue for a 2022 iteration of the school that continues to unite workers and students



# A screen capture of participants during the school's first session about "capitalism."

Image courtesy of the authors.

across architecture. The next iteration seeks to consider the tools of design *as* tools for labor organizing and to reimagine the very site of most crossover: the "studio."

As a pedagogical project and experiment, the school evolved and prompted new questions: what would an architecture school look like if it centered organizing ("bow"), rather than content ("what"), look like? How could the tools of the architect be repurposed to foster blueprints for action that respond to collectively articulated theories of change? What would an educational model look like in which those who wish to learn about architecture could access education without socially imposed hierarchies of race, gender, class, and sexual orientation ("who")? How could a school offer a space for student organizers to work with faculty organizers, faculty to work with professional organizers and the public? What roles could extra-institutional organizations like The Architecture Lobby play in reconstructing and reimagining architecture education? Ultimately, the school compels one to act and to face the challenges of the present by learning about, sharing with, and defining new communities through action. Practitioners, educators, students, and members of the public: unite!

**Frank Burridge** practices and teaches architecture in naarm/Melbourne. He is the founder and former chapter steward of the Victorian Chapter of The Architecture Lobby. Burridge is a teaching associate at Monash University. His current teaching and research focuses on the role of architecture in ecosystem biodiversity, decolonial food systems, and agricultural education. Burridge is currently designing contemporary learning spaces and community centers with a focus on research-led design.

**Aaron Cayer** is an ethnographer, historian, and educator whose work focuses on architecture practice. He is currently an assistant professor of architecture at the University of New Mexico. He received his PhD in Architecture from UCLA, as well as undergraduate and graduate degrees in architecture from Norwich University in Vermont. His current research focuses on the histories and theories of corporate practice within architecture, examining how they overlap with histories of labor, imperialism, and political economies. He is currently finishing his first book about the rise of multinational conglomerate architecture firms during the second half of the twentieth century. **Kirsten Day's** teaching expertise includes architectural practice, applied design thinking, contemporary architectural archives, and thesis design studio. Her publications, workshops, and studios explore themes of future scenarios and the impact of change on the architectural profession and the human condition. She is a chief investigator on the *ARC Project: The Australian Emulation Network: Born Digital Cultural Collections Access.* Day is chair of the Education Committee for the Victorian Chapter of the Australian Institute of Architects, and an examiner for the Architects Registration Board (Victoria). She is registered as a practicing architect and director of Norman Day + Associates Architects.

**Peggy Deamer** is professor emerita of Yale University's School of Architecture and principal of Deamer, Studio. She is a founding member of The Architecture Lobby, a group advocating for the value of architectural labor. She is the editor of Architecture and Capitalism: 1845 to the Present (Routledge, 2014) and The Architect as Worker: Immaterial Labor, the Creative Class, and the Politics of Design (Bloomsbury, 2015), and the author of Architecture and Labor (Routledge, 2020). Her theory work explores the relationship between subjectivity, design, and labor.

Andrea Dietz is an architect, curator, and writer. She is assistant professor and director of graduate studies in exhibition design at The Corcoran School of the Arts & Design at George Washington University. Her creative and scholarly practice is focused on "architecture(s) of and on display"—or the translation and exhibition of the built environment. Through "architecture(s) of and on display," she advocates for diversifying the representations of architecture and design.

Jessica Garcia Fritz is a citizen of the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe (Itazipco). She has studied and practiced architecture in the United States and Europe, including the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Lisbon in Portugal. After earning an MArch from the University of Minnesota, Garcia Fritz worked as an intern architect in New York City and began working as an exhibit designer at the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI). Garcia Fritz is currently an assistant professor at DoArch, South Dakota State University, where she coordinates the option Research Studios and Humanities sequences.

Palmyra Stefania Geraki is an architect and educator. She is the founding principal of Palmyra PLLC and an adjunct assistant professor at the University of Illinois Chicago. She previously taught at California College of the Arts and practiced in Thessaloniki (Greece), New York, and San Francisco. She received her BA in Architecture and Ethics, Politics & Economics from Yale University and her MArch from the Yale School of Architecture. She is a licensed architect in New York, Illinois, and her native Greece.

Daniel Jacobs is an architect and educator whose research and writing centers around the labor production and material ecologies of the built environment. He is the cofounder of the design collaborative HOME-OFFICE and is adjunct faculty in architecture at the University of Houston. Jacobs received his MArch from the Yale University School of Architecture and a BS in Architecture from Washington University in St. Louis. He is a registered architect in Texas and New York.

Valérie Lechêne is a designer, researcher, and strategist. She currently facilitates advancement and community engagement at the Institute within Earthshot Labs. Lechêne also serves as design coordinator of The Architecture Lobby. With TAL's Green New Deal Working Group, Lechêne coauthored a set of policy proposals and calls to action which established working relationships with U.S. congressional offices, aligned groups, and frontline communities. Previously, Lechêne worked on architectural projects with Rem Koolhaas' OMA in the Netherlands, BIG in New York City, and Rogelio Salmona in Colombia. Lechêne holds a MArch from Columbia University.

Natalie Leonard is a researcher at the University of Michigan Institute for Social Research. She manages study design and implementation for the University of Michigan's HomeLab: a simulated one-bedroom apartment that enables the simultaneous collection of behavioral and psychophysiological human-subjects data. She received her BS of Psychology from the Georgia Institute of Technology in 2018 and her MS of Architecture Research from the University of Michigan in 2019. Leonard approaches human-subjects research from an empathic perspective: minding interactions between research staff, participants, and the surrounding environment with implications for ethics, reproducibility, and data quality.

#### Notes

- 1 On the "banking" model of education, see Paolo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum, 2000), 54.
- 2 la paperson, *A Third University is Possible* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017).
- 3 Beatriz Colomina, "Denise Scott Brown and Robert Venturi 'Learning from Levittown," in *Radical Pedagogies*, n.d. https:// radical-pedagogies.com/search-cases/a14-new-haven-denise-scottbrown-robert-venturi-learning-levittown-yale-school-architecture/. Accessed Jan. 7 2022. Website inactive as of July 6, 2022.
- 4 The statistics were gathered from the "about" or "vision" sections of websites of the 132 architecture schools in the U.S.
- 5 Bill Readings, *The University in Ruins* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 13.
- 6 For other pedagogical experiments in anti-capitalist architecture, see Roger Huiberts, "Aldo van Eyck, 'De Elite,' 'Stielos'

Student Body: Delft School of Architecture, 1969–1971," Radical Pedagogies, n.d. https://radical-pedagogies.com/scarch-cases/ e21-delft-school-of-architecture-institute-of-technology/.

- 7 The organizing committee noted an imbalance of power often present within the university classroom between those who know and those who do not yet know. This often leaves the student chasing the teacher's knowledge, and it gives the teacher the power to stay two steps ahead. Even if the teacher is called out as wrong, in any instance they can say "I was testing to see if the student would pick up on the mistake." This imbalance has the subtle but profoundly disempowering effect of undermining the students' capacity to challenge the teacher's knowledge and by extension to question the curriculum and its underlying commitment to capitalist modes of extraction, competition, individualism and so on, within the institution.
- 8 bell hooks, Teaching to Transgress (New York: Routledge, 1994), 32-33.
- 9 As reported by the National Architectural Accrediting Board in 2020, 39 percent of students studying architecture were white, compared to 5 percent Black and .02 percent American Indian/Alaskan Native. National Architectural Accrediting Board "2020 Annual Report on Architecture Education," (Alexandria, VA: NAAB, 2020), 10.
- 10 The geographic spread of entries is as follows: eleven people were located in Africa; twenty-two in Asia; 116 in Europe; 234 in North America; seventeen in South America; and forty-five in Oceania. To accommodate the many time zones, the school's weekly meetings were scheduled from 4:00 to 6:00 PM Eastern Time (or 10:00 PM to 12:00 AM and 6:00 to 8:00 AM in Africa and Asia respectively), which was not ideal and could be improved in the future.
- 11 Upon reflecting, the committee understood that those who signed up for the school were overwhelmingly "professionals" or "academics" in architecture. Very few who signed up were members of the public. This was also sensed by participants. In a survey reflecting on the school, one participant noted, "It would be nice to hear from non-architects; since most participants are left-wing architects themselves some of the lectures and reading materials felt like preaching to the choir, and I think we didn't connect the dots quite enough between architecture and its external context in communities. The background context is of course important though, so it may just be a matter of tacking on a few more sessions."
- 12 It is perhaps not surprising that the school received its lowest number of applications from those working independently, such as owners of companies or freelance workers. There are many possible reasons for this, such as the school's strategy of outreach, the critical aim of the school, or the precarity of those workers. Fifty-three people identified as academics, 114 as students, 139 as practitioners, fifty-two as academics and practitioners, twenty-three as students, academics, and practitioners, twenty-six as students and academics, and thirty-eight as students and practitioners.
- 13 Matt Stoller, "Break Up the Ivy League Cartel," BIG by Matt Stoller, April 25, 2021, https://mattstoller.substack.com/p/ break-up-the-ivy-league-cartel.
- 14 National Architectural Accrediting Board, Conditions for Accreditation (NAAB, 2020), 3, https://www.naab.org/wp-content/uploads/2020-NAAB-Conditions-for-Accreditation.pdf.
- 15 Aaron Cayer, "Architecture University, Incorporated," *Ardetb*: "Competency," no. 10 (forthcoming).
- 16 Freire, Pedagogy, 54.
- 17 Freire, Pedagogy, 148.
- 18 Freire, Pedagogy, 79.
- 19 Quoting Pierre Furter, Freire writes: "This task implies that revolutionary leaders do not go to the people in order to bring them a message of "salvation," but in order to come to know through dialogue with them both their objective *situation* and their *awareness* of that situation—the various levels of perception of themselves and of the world in which and with which they exist. One cannot expect positive results from an educational or political action program which fails to respect the particular view of the world held by the people. Such a program constitutes cultural invasion, good intentions notwithstanding." Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 95. See also: Pierre Furter, *Educagdo e Vida* (Rio, 1966), 26-27.