

Beyond Banking: Applying Paulo Freire's Critical Pedagogy to Educational Reform in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq

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Abstract: This paper explores the application of Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy to educational reform efforts in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. Drawing from Freire's rejection of the traditional "banking model" of education, the study examines how dialogical, student-centered learning approaches can address systemic issues in Kurdish educational institutions, including rote learning, centralized curricula, and lack of critical engagement. Through qualitative analysis of current reforms and pedagogical practices in the region, the paper highlights both the challenges and opportunities of integrating Freirean principles in a post-conflict, culturally rich context. The findings suggest that fostering critical consciousness among students and educators could be a transformative step toward a more participatory and democratic education system in Kurdistan.

Keywords: Critical pedagogy, Paulo Freire, educational reform, Kurdistan Region, Iraq, banking model, transformative education, dialogical learning, student-centered pedagogy, critical consciousness.

Introduction: Education, fundamentally, is a dynamic process intended to foster growth, critical consciousness, and societal transformation. Paulo Freire, an eminent Brazilian educational theorist and philosopher, reshaped global pedagogical discourse through his groundbreaking work, particularly *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* [4]. Freire's philosophy stands as a powerful critique of conventional, hierarchical educational paradigms, instead championing a liberatory approach that empowers learners to critically engage with their world and actively participate in its transformation [1, 2]. His foundational concepts, including the "banking concept" of education, "conscientization," "dialogue," and "praxis," collectively offer a robust framework for fundamentally reimagining educational practices beyond mere didactic transmission of information [4].

The Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI), having navigated a complex history of conflict and political evolution, has placed significant emphasis on the reconstruction and

advancement of its educational infrastructure [13]. While considerable efforts have been directed towards enhancing educational quality and aligning with international benchmarks, persistent challenges remain. These include issues related to curriculum relevance, the efficacy of teaching methodologies, and the cultivation of advanced critical thinking skills among students [10, 15, 23]. Historically, the KRI's educational system has been largely shaped by a centralized, content-driven model, frequently characterized by an overreliance on rote memorization and a predominantly teacher-centric instructional approach [15]. This entrenched traditional paradigm, which Freire famously termed "banking education"—where knowledge is passively "deposited" into students as if they were empty receptacles—can profoundly impede the development of independent thought, creative problem-solving, and active, engaged citizenship [4]. Indeed, recent research indicates that a significant majority of university students in the Kurdistan region perceive their learning experiences as

fitting this banking model [Kakamad et al., 2025, p. 1].

This article endeavors to undertake a comprehensive exploration of the profound and timely relevance of Paulo Freire's educational philosophy to the contemporary educational landscape of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. By meticulously analyzing core Freirean principles such as authentic dialogue, problem-posing education, and the process of conscientization, this paper seeks to articulate how these concepts can serve as powerful catalysts for informing and inspiring systemic reforms in curriculum development, pedagogical strategies, and the overarching educational culture within the KRI. The ultimate objective is to advocate for a paradigm shift: moving beyond a static, one-way transmission model towards a more dynamic, critically reflective, and genuinely liberating educational experience. Such a transformation would not only prepare students for academic success and examinations but, more importantly, equip them for active, informed, and transformative participation in the ongoing development and shaping of their society.

METHODS

This article adopts a rigorous conceptual analysis methodology, grounded in an extensive and systematic review of existing scholarly literature. This review encompasses foundational texts on Paulo Freire's educational philosophy, alongside a wide array of studies and reports specifically pertaining to the education system within the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. The chosen methodology involves a thematic synthesis, meticulously integrating key Freirean concepts with their potential applicability and implications within the unique socio-cultural and educational context of the KRI. This approach allows for a deep theoretical exploration without generating new empirical data, focusing instead on the analytical synthesis of existing knowledge.

2.1. Literature Search Strategy and Selection Criteria

A comprehensive search was conducted across academic databases (e.g., Google Scholar, JSTOR, Scopus) using keywords related to Paulo Freire's pedagogy (e.g., "critical pedagogy," "banking education," "conscientization," "dialogue," "praxis") and education in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (e.g., "Kurdistan education," "Iraqi Kurdistan higher education," "educational reform KRI," "student-centered learning Iraq"). The selection criteria prioritized peer-reviewed journal articles, academic books, doctoral dissertations, and reputable reports published by research institutions. Emphasis was placed on recent publications (within the last two decades where possible) to ensure contemporary

relevance, although foundational texts by Freire and early interpretations of his work were also included to establish a robust theoretical base.

2.2. Theoretical Framework: Paulo Freire's Core Concepts

The theoretical bedrock for this analysis is built upon Freire's seminal works, particularly *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* [4], which introduces the "banking concept" of education as a dehumanizing practice where teachers "deposit" knowledge into passive students. This stands in stark contrast to "problem-posing education," a dialogical approach where teachers and students co-investigate reality, fostering critical thinking and agency [4]. Other crucial Freirean concepts include:

- **Conscientization:** The process by which learners move from a naive understanding of their reality to a critical awareness of the socio-political contradictions that shape their lives, leading to a commitment to action [4, 20].
- **Dialogue:** More than just conversation, dialogue for Freire is an existential encounter between individuals, mediated by the world, through which they "name" and transform that world. It requires humility, faith, love, and hope [4].
- **Praxis:** The dynamic interplay of reflection and action. For Freire, authentic learning involves both understanding the world (reflection) and acting to change it (action), with each informing the other [4].
- **Teacher-Student Relationship:** Freire advocates for a horizontal, rather than vertical, relationship, where both teacher and student are simultaneously learners and educators, engaged in a mutual process of inquiry [4].

These concepts, along with critical analyses and interpretations by scholars such as Darder [1], Elias [2], Gibson [6], Giroux [7], and Haymes [8], provided the necessary depth for understanding Freire's vision for a liberating pedagogy.

2.3. Contextual Analysis of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq's Education System

To provide a nuanced understanding of the KRI's educational context, literature addressing its historical development, current structure, prevailing pedagogical practices, and identified challenges was thoroughly reviewed. This included studies discussing:

- The historical legacy of centralized, authoritarian educational models in Iraq [15].
- The emphasis on memorization and standardized testing [15, 23].
- The push for student-centered learning

initiatives, particularly in higher education [9].

- Challenges related to curriculum relevance and preparing students for global competencies [10, 13].
- The socio-political factors influencing educational development and reform [13, 15].
- Observations regarding student engagement and the "culture of silence" in classrooms [Kakamad et al., 2025, p. 9; 17].

Specific attention was given to research that either implicitly or explicitly highlighted the prevalence of teacher-centered approaches, the perceived lack of critical thinking among students, and the role of education in broader societal development within the KRI [9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 23]. The recent study by Kakamad et al. (2025) provided particularly relevant insights into student perceptions of banking education within the KRI higher education system.

2.4. Analytical Process: Thematic Synthesis and Implication Development

The analytical process involved a systematic, iterative approach:

1. Deconstruction of Freirean Principles: Each core Freirean concept was thoroughly analyzed to understand its theoretical underpinnings and practical implications in an ideal educational setting.
2. Identification of KRI Educational Characteristics: From the reviewed literature, specific characteristics, challenges, and reform efforts within the KRI education system were extracted. This included the observed prevalence of banking-style teaching, the "culture of silence," and the impact of a test-driven system.
3. Cross-Contextual Mapping: A critical comparison was then undertaken to identify direct parallels and contrasts between Freire's critiques and the realities of KRI education. This involved asking: How does Freire's concept of banking education manifest in the KRI? How could problem-posing education address the observed lack of critical thinking? How might dialogue counteract the "culture of silence"?
4. Synthesis and Derivation of Implications: The insights gained from this mapping process were synthesized to develop concrete implications and recommendations for curriculum, pedagogy, teacher training, and educational policy within the KRI. These implications are consistently supported by relevant citations from both Freirean scholarship and KRI-specific educational research.

This robust method allowed for a comprehensive theoretical exploration of how a philosophical framework, developed in a distinct socio-political

context, could be meaningfully applied and adapted to another, providing a conceptual foundation for future empirical investigations and policy formulation.

RESULTS

The conceptual analysis, informed by both Freirean scholarship and studies on the Kurdistan Region of Iraq's education system, reveals a compelling alignment between Freire's critiques and the prevailing educational realities in the KRI. This alignment highlights a significant potential for Freire's critical pedagogy to address existing challenges and catalyze transformative change within the region's educational landscape. The traditional educational model, historically dominant in Iraq and consequently in the KRI, has frequently been characterized by a hierarchical, authoritarian structure that prioritizes rote memorization and positions the teacher as the sole dispenser of knowledge [15]. This approach directly mirrors Freire's seminal critique of "banking education," where students are treated as passive vessels into which knowledge is deposited [4].

3.1. The Pervasiveness of Banking Education in the KRI

Freire vehemently argued that banking education, by its very nature, stifles creativity, inhibits the development of critical thinking, and prevents the emergence of a critical consciousness necessary for liberation [4]. In the KRI, concerns have been widely documented regarding the limited student engagement and underdeveloped critical thinking skills, often exacerbated by an overwhelming emphasis on standardized testing and the mere delivery of content [10, 23]. Recent research by Kakamad et al. (2025) provides compelling empirical evidence, indicating that a significant majority (94%) of university students in the Kurdistan Region perceive their learning experiences as fitting the "banking model." This finding, derived from a survey utilizing Freire's own 10-item questionnaire, underscores the pervasive nature of this pedagogical approach in the region's higher education system [Kakamad et al., 2025, p. 5].

Freire's call for a "problem-posing education" offers a direct and potent antidote to this prevalent banking model. Rather than teachers merely "depositing" facts, problem-posing education necessitates that teachers and students jointly investigate problems that are directly relevant to their lived experiences and social realities, thereby fostering active participation, critical inquiry, and genuine understanding [4]. While nascent initiatives and discussions in the KRI, such as the growing advocacy for student-centered methods in higher education (e.g., at Soran University), signal a burgeoning recognition of the imperative to transcend traditional approaches [9], these efforts often lack the

deep philosophical grounding that Freire's framework provides. Rauf and Shareef [16] explicitly underscore the profound relevance of Freire's ideas in re-evaluating architectural education within Iraqi Kurdistan, advocating for a fundamental shift from passive reception of information to active, collaborative, and problem-solving engagement. The current educational structure in the KRI, characterized by a lack of electives and student choice in curriculum, further reinforces the banking model, limiting opportunities for students to pursue their own interests or engage with subjects in a meaningful, self-directed way [Kakamad et al., 2025, p. 8].

3.2. The Imperative of Dialogue and Conscientization

Central to the transformative power of Freire's pedagogy is the concept of dialogue, which he regarded as an indispensable component of humanization and the primary means to achieve "conscientization" [4]. Conscientization is the profound process through which individuals come to critically understand the intricate social, political, and economic contradictions that shape their world, subsequently motivating them to take informed action against oppressive elements of reality [4]. The KRI, with its rich but complex history and ongoing processes of nation-building and development, presents a myriad of socio-political issues that are ripe for exploration through a truly dialogical educational approach [13].

By engaging in authentic, reciprocal dialogue, students can cultivate a much deeper and more nuanced understanding of their immediate local context, including pressing issues related to economic development, governance, social justice, and cultural preservation [13]. This dialogical engagement stands in stark contrast to an educational system that might inadvertently or intentionally avoid such critical discussions, thereby perpetuating a "culture of silence" or fostering passive conformity [Kakamad et al., 2025, p. 9]. Shun [19] powerfully emphasizes the application of Freire's principles in exploring educational advocacy and teaching transformation within the framework of new curriculum standards, strongly suggesting a necessary paradigm shift towards more critical, relevant, and empowering learning experiences. The current absence of robust classroom debates on politics, government, and systemic reform in the Kurdish educational system, as noted by Kakamad et al. (2025), highlights a significant missed opportunity for fostering conscientization and active citizenship.

3.3. Praxis: Bridging the Divide Between Theory and Action

Freire's concept of praxis—the dynamic and iterative interplay of reflection and action upon the world in

order to transform it—is absolutely crucial for any educational endeavor that genuinely aims for liberation [4]. In the KRI, where comprehensive societal development remains a paramount objective, an educational system that actively encourages students to apply their theoretical learning to real-world problems could yield immense benefits [13]. This implies a deliberate move beyond the mere acquisition of theoretical knowledge towards tangible, practical engagement, wherein students are actively encouraged to identify pressing community challenges, propose innovative solutions, and participate directly in their implementation.

While some commendable efforts towards practical application and experiential learning may exist within the KRI, a systematic and widespread integration of praxis across the entire curriculum could profoundly empower a new generation of active and responsible citizens. The existing application of Universal Design for Learning (UDL) in contexts such as the Center for English as a Second Language in Kurdistan [11], and the advocacy for Dogme "lite" EFL teaching approaches [17], hint at an underlying pedagogical openness within the KRI that could be significantly deepened and strategically developed through a more explicit adoption of Freirean praxis. This would allow for the creation of more responsive, contextually relevant, and ultimately transformative learning experiences.

3.4. Reconceptualizing the Teacher's Role: From Depositor to Facilitator

Freire passionately argued for a fundamental redefinition of the teacher's role: from being a "depositor" of knowledge to becoming a "problem-pose" and, crucially, a facilitator of authentic dialogue [4]. This necessitates a profound reorientation of existing teacher training programs and ongoing professional development initiatives within the KRI. Teachers would require comprehensive training and support to acquire and refine skills in facilitating critical discussions, collaboratively designing problem-posing curricula, and, most importantly, embracing a more horizontal, rather than hierarchical, relationship with their students.

Alfie Kohn [12] similarly advocates for a departure from traditional, rigid classrooms and an overemphasis on "tougher standards," aligning closely with Freire's critique of standardized, inflexible educational approaches. This fundamental shift in the teacher's role is absolutely vital for any meaningful and effective implementation of Freirean principles, as the teacher's disposition and pedagogical approach are pivotal in cultivating an environment genuinely conducive to critical inquiry, intellectual freedom, and ultimately,

liberation. Without this transformation, even well-intentioned reforms risk falling back into the banking model.

3.5. The Impact of Standardized Testing and the "No Child Left Behind" Paradigm

The KRI's educational system, much like many others globally, places a heavy reliance on standardized testing, often requiring students to memorize vast amounts of information for high-stakes examinations that determine their future academic and career paths [Kakamad et al., 2025, p. 9; 23]. This approach resonates strongly with the criticisms leveled against policies like the "No Child Left Behind" (NCLB) program in the United States. Critics, including prominent educators like Henry A. Giroux, argue that such test-driven systems transform classrooms into "dead zones" where genuine critical thinking, self-reflection, and meaningful learning are severely curtailed [7; Kakamad et al., 2025, p. 10].

Giroux, quoting Stanley Aronowitz, questions the narrow focus on basic literacy and numeracy, lamenting the neglect of education's role in fostering informed citizens capable of participating in democratic decisions [7; Kakamad et al., 2025, p. 10]. Freire, as interpreted by Aronowitz, did not conceive of education merely as a means to secure employment, but rather as a pathway to learning how to live meaningfully in the world and lead a "self-managed life" [7; Kakamad et al., 2025, p. 10]. The KRI's current emphasis on preparing students primarily for jobs or careers, often without imparting broader life skills or global competencies, directly contradicts Freire's vision [9; Kakamad et al., 2025, p. 10]. Despite efforts to send students abroad for higher education, the domestic system's narrow focus leaves many ill-prepared for the more critical and independent learning environments of Western institutions [10; Kakamad et al., 2025, p. 10]. Freire, along with Giroux and Aronowitz, believed that education must also strive to teach students how to create a socially just world [7; Kakamad et al., 2025, p. 10]. The observed absence of political and systemic reform debates within Kurdish classrooms, with such discussions relegated to outside the academic sphere, further exemplifies the disconnect between the educational system and the cultivation of active, critically engaged citizens [Kakamad et al., 2025, p. 10].

In essence, the theoretical application of Freire's pedagogy offers a clear and actionable pathway for the KRI education system to transition from a potentially oppressive "banking" model to a truly liberating, problem-posing one. This profound transformation would not only foster critical consciousness but also empower students to actively engage with their reality,

ultimately contributing significantly to the region's holistic and sustainable development.

DISCUSSION

The preceding analysis unequivocally underscores the profound resonance of Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy with the contemporary educational needs and inherent challenges confronting the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. Freire's incisive critique of "banking education" [4] directly addresses the deeply entrenched historical and current tendencies within both the Iraqi and KRI education systems towards rote learning, passive knowledge reception, and a general disengagement from critical inquiry [15, 23]. By passionately advocating for a "problem-posing" approach, Freire offers a compelling and transformative alternative that holds immense potential to cultivate critical thinking, foster creativity, and nurture active citizenship—qualities that are not merely desirable but absolutely essential for a developing and evolving region like the KRI [13].

4.1. The Critical Role of Conscientization in the KRI Context

The concept of "conscientization" holds particular salience and urgency for the KRI. Given the region's intricate and often tumultuous socio-political history, coupled with its ongoing processes of reconstruction and development, an educational framework that genuinely enables individuals to critically comprehend their reality and subsequently act upon it is not merely an abstract academic ideal but a concrete societal imperative [4, 6]. Empowering students to critically analyze and engage with pressing local issues—such as environmental degradation, economic disparities, the complexities of governance, or the pursuit of social justice—through a truly dialogical process can lay the groundwork for cultivating a generation of deeply engaged citizens who are not only capable of understanding their world but also committed to driving positive, transformative change within it. This aspiration aligns seamlessly with the broader objectives of educational advocacy and systemic transformation within the context of evolving curriculum standards, as powerfully articulated by Shun [19]. The current "culture of silence" observed in many KRI classrooms, where students are hesitant to challenge authority or engage in open debate, is a direct manifestation of the banking model and a significant barrier to conscientization [Kakamad et al., 2025, p. 9; 17]. Overcoming this silence is paramount for fostering true intellectual liberation.

4.2. Pedagogical and Curricular Shifts: Implementing Freirean Principles

The effective implementation of Freirean principles in

the KRI would necessitate profound and systemic shifts in both pedagogical practices and curriculum design. While the discernible move towards more student-centered methods, as evidenced in some higher education institutions like Soran University [9], represents a commendable initial step, it often constitutes only a partial adoption of Freire's holistic and comprehensive vision. Authentic Freirean pedagogy demands not just the integration of active learning techniques but, more fundamentally, a radical re-evaluation and restructuring of the inherent power dynamics within the classroom and the broader educational system itself [1, 7].

This transformation implies that teachers would require extensive and ongoing professional development to effectively transition from their traditional roles as knowledge dispensers to becoming skilled facilitators of critical dialogue and collaborative co-investigators of reality alongside their students [4]. This redefinition of the teacher's role is absolutely crucial for fostering an educational environment that is genuinely liberating and empowering. Furthermore, curriculum revision must move beyond superficial updates to allow for genuine flexibility, the introduction of elective subjects, and the explicit integration of open discussion and critical thinking exercises [Kakamad et al., 2025, p. 12]. The current lack of student choice and the rigid, standardized curriculum observed in the KRI are antithetical to Freire's vision of education as a practice of freedom [Kakamad et al., 2025, p. 8].

4.3. The Power of Praxis: Connecting Learning to Life

Moreover, the profound emphasis on "praxis"—the dynamic and cyclical process of reflection interwoven with action—offers an incredibly powerful framework for rendering education in the KRI more relevant, impactful, and ultimately, transformative [4]. Instead of learning occurring in isolation from real-world concerns, students would be actively engaged with authentic, pressing problems, applying their theoretical knowledge to devise and implement practical solutions. This approach holds the immense potential to bridge the existing gap between abstract academic learning and tangible societal needs, thereby contributing directly and meaningfully to the KRI's overarching development goals [13]. The existing openness to pedagogical innovation, as hinted at by discussions around preparing students for Western education [10] and the application of universal design for learning [11], suggests fertile ground for the further enrichment and strategic integration of Freirean approaches within the KRI.

4.4. Overcoming Obstacles and Navigating Resistance

However, the application of Freire's transformative philosophy is not without its inherent obstacles and potential sources of resistance. Overcoming deeply ingrained traditional educational practices, which have been perpetuated for generations, and challenging established cultural norms that often favor authoritarian structures can prove to be profoundly challenging [15]. Resistance to such radical change may emanate from various stakeholders, including educators accustomed to conventional methods, policymakers who prioritize standardization and control, and even parents who may be unfamiliar with or skeptical of alternative pedagogical approaches.

Furthermore, the prevailing political context and the persistent pressure for standardized outcomes within the KRI might conflict directly with the open-ended, dialogical, and often unpredictable nature of Freirean pedagogy. The ideological backgrounds and priorities of policymakers, as extensively discussed by Pir [15], could significantly influence the receptiveness to and ultimate success of such transformative educational philosophies. The current focus on education primarily as a means to secure employment, rather than fostering broader life skills or critical engagement with societal issues, represents a significant ideological hurdle that must be addressed [Kakamad et al., 2025, p. 10].

Despite these formidable challenges, the potential benefits—including the cultivation of a more critically engaged populace, the development of a curriculum that is profoundly more relevant to students' lived experiences, and the establishment of an education system that genuinely fosters liberation and self-determination—render the comprehensive exploration and strategic implementation of Freire's ideas exceptionally valuable for the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. The enduring global relevance and adaptability of Freire's work, as evidenced by its successful application in diverse contexts ranging from entrepreneurship education in Rwanda [18] to Islamic education [22], further underscore its profound and lasting power.

4.5. Limitations of the Current Study

It is important to acknowledge the inherent limitations of this conceptual analysis. This study is based solely on a comprehensive review of existing literature and does not incorporate new empirical data derived from direct implementation or observation within the KRI. Consequently, while it provides a robust theoretical framework, it does not offer insights into the practical complexities, unforeseen challenges, or specific successes that might arise during the actual integration of a radical pedagogical philosophy into an established educational system. Factors such as resource

constraints, the actual capacity for widespread teacher training, and the precise nature of political will and public receptiveness in the KRI remain areas that require further, more granular investigation.

4.6. Future Research Directions

Building upon this conceptual foundation, future research endeavors could take several critical directions:

- **Pilot Program Implementation and Evaluation:** Conducting small-scale pilot programs that rigorously implement Freirean principles in selected KRI schools or universities. These programs should be meticulously evaluated to assess their tangible impact on student engagement, the development of critical thinking skills, and the cultivation of social awareness.
- **Longitudinal Studies on Teacher Professional Development:** Initiating longitudinal studies focused on teacher professional development programs specifically designed around critical pedagogy. This would assess the effectiveness of such training in transforming pedagogical practices and fostering a Freirean mindset among educators.
- **Comparative Studies:** Undertaking comparative studies with other regions or countries that have successfully integrated Freirean approaches into their educational systems. Such comparisons could yield invaluable insights into best practices, adaptable strategies, and potential pitfalls for the KRI context.
- **Qualitative Investigations:** Employing qualitative research methodologies (e.g., in-depth interviews with students, teachers, and policymakers; ethnographic observations of classrooms) to gain a deeper, more nuanced understanding of perceptions, experiences, and challenges related to current educational practices and the potential for Freirean reform. This would complement the quantitative findings from studies like Kakamad et al. (2025).
- **Policy Analysis and Advocacy:** Conducting detailed analyses of existing educational policies in the KRI to identify specific areas that could be reformed to better align with Freirean principles, alongside developing concrete advocacy strategies for policymakers.

CONCLUSION

Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy offers an exceptionally compelling and timely framework for initiating and sustaining profound educational reform within the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. By directly challenging the inherent limitations and dehumanizing tendencies of "banking education," and by championing the transformative power of authentic dialogue, problem-posing education, and the process of conscientization,

Freire's philosophy illuminates a clear and actionable pathway for the KRI. This pathway enables the region to cultivate an education system that transcends mere knowledge transmission, instead focusing on empowering individuals to critically engage with their complex world and become active, informed agents of positive social change.

The pervasive nature of the banking model, as evidenced by recent student perceptions, underscores the urgent need for a fundamental paradigm shift. While the transition from deeply ingrained traditional pedagogical practices to a truly transformative, Freirean approach presents inherent and multifaceted challenges—including cultural resistance, institutional inertia, and the need for comprehensive teacher re-education—the potential benefits are immense. Embracing Freirean principles can foster a more relevant, equitable, and genuinely liberating educational experience for all students. This, in turn, will not only enhance individual intellectual and personal growth but will also contribute significantly to the holistic development, democratic consolidation, and self-determination of the Kurdistan Region, preparing its citizens to navigate and shape their future with critical consciousness and active participation.

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