Paulo Freire: His Thoughts on Adult Education

RAGHVENDRA KRISHNA PRATAP*

Abstract

The present article focuses on the development of Paulo Freire as an adult educator and an educational thinker. For his views and practices he was arrested and exiled in March 1964 by the military government of Brazil, and could only return in 1980. In the mean time he was working as an advisor to World Congress of Churches. During 1980-1988 he was made in charge of Adult Education projects of Workers' Party. In 1988 he was appointed Minister of Education. The key features of Freirean approach are 'dialogue' and 'problem solving'. For native language literacy, words are selected showing the most important concerns of the people. The literacy training is provided through three sub-stages: motivational sessions , development of teaching material and literacy training (de-codification). Of course the scholars and workers in the field of adult education, have shown several flaws in his approach.

Paulo Freire (1921-1997), the famous author of the Pedagogy of the Oppressed, was born on 19 September 1921 in Recife, the capital of Brazil's Northeast province, in a middle class family. His father was an officer of military police. The children were educated in $traditional\ Catholic\ way\ by\ their\ mother.$ The peculiar quality of his father was the communication allowed by him and the closeness that was brought by dialogues with his children that opened new vistas of thought in children. It is said that the father taught his children alphabets by writing in the sand and combining them to form words, before they started their schooling. During the economic depression (1928-32), Freire family had to move to a less expensive place named Jaboatao in a nearby province. That gave a loss of two years of secondary education to young Paulo. After his graduation, he joined Law but his studies were interrupted many times since he had to earn a living and support his family.

Freire, in his youth, was influenced by a lawyer Rui Barbosa and a medical doctor Cameiro Ribeiro. After the completion of his law degree Freire became qualified for teaching in secondary schools. During 1944 and 1945 years he taught Portuguese language and also worked as a trade

^{*} Head (Retd.) of P.G. Department of Education, A.P.N.P.G.College, Basti (U.P.)

union lawyer and lectured on legal matters in the suburbs of Recife.

The contact with state-run trade unions helped him to be appointed in Social Service for Industry, SESI, as the head of department of Education and culture. In 1954 he became the director of the organisation, but resigned from the post when his open, democratic and free style of administration was criticised

It was in SESI's kindergartens and schools where Freire had made an attempt to involve students and parents in discussions about educational matters. He was firm that most of the educational problems related with educational milieu, such as malnutrition and child labour could only be tacked with the support and involvement of parents.

In 'workers clubs' Freire encouraged the workers to come out with their problems, but insisted that they should not leave the solution of the problems to SESI only. They should themselves found ways to overcome the problems facing them. According to Gerhardt (1993, p.2), the aim of such work was to 'integrate the worker into historical process' and to 'stimulate him to the individual organisation of his life in the community'. Freire asserted that for the real democratisation of Brazil, the principles of dialogue, parliamentarisation and self-government could be practiced within the institutional boundaries. He also worked in many parishes of Recife. For example, he undertook a project with priests and lay persons in 'Casa Amarela', where seven units of the parish, from kindergarten to adult education, worked together in the areas of curriculum development and teacher education; the results were to be shared with other groups who would be encouraged to work together on organisation and content with the aim of parliamentarisation of the participants. Techniques like study groups, action groups, roundtable discussions, debates and the distribution of themed flash cards were used in the work.

Freire's experience with the educational project of SESI helped him to get appointment as a part-time teacher of Pedagogics at the University of Recife. But the political situation of Brazil in 1950s and in 1960 was intellectually ferment. There were influences from European intellectuals like Karl Mannheim, Karl Jaspers, Gunnar Myrdal and Gabriel Marcel on the Brazilian intellectuals related with Higher Institute for Brazilian Studies at Rio de Janeiro, therefore contemporary sociological and philosophical outlooks were read and discussed in educated circles frequently. It was the Catholic Students' Club, which was trying to submerge itself in the social problems, and during his years at the university Freire became deeply involved with their activities and literature. It provided a system to his thinking and acting. But he was an eclectic who took good ideas from persons as divergent as Jaspers and Marx.

Freire appreciated and applauded the involvement of students in political activities inside and outside the university and this was severely opposed by some of his colleagues, but his nearness and friendship with Joso Alfredo Gonclaves da Costa Lima, first vice chancellor and then chancellor of the university saved his tenure. He became special councilor for student relations and later in 1962, the director of university's extension services. When in 1960, the administration of the city of Recife was taken by left-wing leader Arraes, who started Popular Culture Movement (MCP); Freire advocated and supported it most sealously. But the irony of the situation was that the Catholics. Protestants and communist militants inside MCP had different interpretations of their educational and organisational tasks. And a primer for literacy work with adults resulted in a conflict in Freire's education department concerning the process of instruction and cultural awareness.

The authors of the primer had used five 'generative' words: povo (people); voto (vote); vida (life); saude (health); and pao (bread). The authors used the syllables of the words and made sentences like 'The vote belongs to the people', 'People without houses live in slums', 'In the Northeast there will only be peace when the grievances are remedied at the roots' and 'Peace emerges on the basis of justice' were created. The authors had thought that they will inspire people for having political discussion and also be able to form its structure and content. But Freire were opposed to giving messages to illiterate people. Messages would always have devastating effects whether they came from the rightists or leftists. Then both sides would demand the uncritical acceptance of the doctrines, resulting in manipulation. For Freire, avoiding manipulation meant:

The convictions and opinions, i.e. the curriculum, must directly came from the people and must be prepared by them; yet the convictions and opinions should correspond to the transition phase.

But Freire could not convince the authorities by his view point. Part of MCP (Popular Culture Movement) started working the directive approach. As a result Freire reduced his association with MCP; he began to experiment and develop his own ideas with his colleagues in the Extension Department of the University. He knew that people had talent to reason, and when he showed a picture of a boy along with the Portuguese word for a boy to his illiterate housemaid, repeating the syllables of the word and then uttering the full word, he found that the housemaid noted the missing syllables and thus 'learned' that the word was composed of syllables. He had already observed that many workers showed interest in political questions, related with their needs and problems, therefore, it was necessary to show the pictures that depicted the problems, to arouse the workers to learn the words, and then to read and write the words related with the actual problems. Freire had learnt that for illiterate people it was not sufficient to begin with the discussion of reality, because they had severe impressions of their failures in school and other learning environments. It was necessary to motivate the persons, and this could be done with the help of folk-materials like pottery, weaving, wood-carving, singing, theatre etc., that the person was acquainted with. This method proved its merit, because it was said that one person, only with twentyone hours of training could read newspaper articles and write the sentences. The experiment was brought to an end after thirty hours, at the rate of one hour per day for five days per week.

Writers and workers related with adult literacy and literacy education have named Friere's approach as Problem –approach, the psycho-approach, the learner-approach, the liberatory approach, the participatory-approach and the contextual approach. All of these names signify and emphasise different perceptions of the same approach. It can also be considered a variant of the whole-language approach to literacy.

According to David Spener (p.1), and it is an important part of the Freire's approach, the thematic content of literacy-education in Freire's programmes is drawn from the culture of the learners. And, the culture is not what the idealists' perception of it is. Culture comprises of how the people labour, create, and make life-choices. It is never a static-unchanging- set of customs, beliefs- religious and social, attitudes, forms of address and dress and foods. It is a dynamic process of transformation and change laden with conflicts to resolve and choices to be made both individually and as a community. Freire has also been viewed as an exponent of 'literacy for social change', because Freire argues that unjust social conditions are the cause of illiteracy, and the purpose of adult basic education is to enable the learners to participate in liberating themselves from the conditions that oppress them. We don't need proof of it. In large chunks of Asia, Africa, Latin America, the privileged classes, forcibly deprived the majority of the population from the literacy and education for centuries.

The two key features of Freirean approach are dialogue and problemsolving. For Freire, 'dialogue' is an "I-thou relationship between two subjects" in which both parties confront each other as knowledgeable equals in a situation of genuine two-way communication. It should be noted that for Freire, teacher and student are on equal footing. And if the teacher is knowledgeable about his subject- the language in literacy setting- the learner knows well about his and community's culture. The teacher is not solely responsible for transmitting knowledge to the learner. Here the student and the teacher both are viewed as if they in a circular mode of transmission, both facing each other and reflecting and developing insights, as well as discussing the issues concerning their own lives.

In the Freirean approach the cultural themes are presented in the form of open problems, which are incorporated into the material as stories, pictures, comicstrips, and video dramas, and these are used to open discussion. The teacher asks the learners to talk about the themes presented in the material and expand them. That way, the questioning leads the learners to define, the 'real problem; its cause and the possible solutions.' These solutions evolving from group discussions require the skill of reading and writing to give them a concrete shape. That gives the learners the purpose and motivation for literacy.

For native language literacy, the Freirean approach was based on the

discussions Freire made with a team of anthropologists, educators, and students in Brazil. It was to develop the literacy instruction in Portuguese for the rural peasants and rural people.

The first phase of the literacy plan consisted of social research in the communities where the programme was to be implemented. Members of the team lived in the communities, had discussions with students, observed their culture, and during informal conversations listened to their actual life stories. They took extensive notes of the meetings and conversations and found out the most recurring themes and words that affected the life of these people deeply.

In the second phase, the members of the team selected 'words' from the lists that were to be used in the actual literacy programme for decoding and encoding printed material. According to Freire, in 1970, only 15 words of Portuguese language were needed to generate all other words of the language. Freire was of the belief that the chosen or 'generative' words must have special affective importance to learners and should have the power and force to evoke the social, cultural, and political context in which learners make use of them.

In the third phase, termed the actual process of literacy training, comprises of three sub-stages: motivational sessions, the development of teaching material, and literacy training (decodification). According to Ojokheta (p.2-3), in the motivational sessions, the coordinator shows the pictures to students, without using words. The purpose of this step is to provoke among learners, some sort of debates and discussions about the

situation in which these people live. This promotes among illiterate students learning and reflection, helping to promote group consciousness.

The sub-stage of development of teaching materials, involves materials to be developed according to different situations. These materials are of two kinds: The first type consisting of a set of cards or slides showing the breakdown of words into their parts. The second type consists of a set of cards which depict situations related to the words and designed to impress various images upon the students. These pictures are designed to stimulate the students to think about the situations which are connoted by words. This process of developing images of concrete realities has been called by Freire, the codification. Several pictures shown to students depicting the situations and conditions in which they live, codify the situations. The codification process serve as aids in teaching process, and also help in initiating and stimulating the process of critical thinking in students.

In the stage of actual literacy training (decodification), each session is built around words and pictures. Here, the generative words are presented with a picture of the word. The literacy class starts with breaking down both- the word and the picture. The students discuss the existential situation of the word and the relationship between the word and the reality it signifies. Then a slide is shown, showing how the word is separated into its syllables. And the first syllable is combined with other vowels, forming a family. The process is repeated with other syllables. The students are then led to make other

words using these syllables and their families, simultaneously discussing and analysing the real context represented in the codification. This shows that the process of literacy training is intimately connected with the political and cultural life of the students.

According to John A. Sparks (p.3), there are three tenets of Freire's educational thinking or in other words Progressivism. These are: (1) Opposition to transmission of knowledge, (2) The classroom should provide environment of freedom in which the students' expressed interests and impulses give direction to classroom activities, and (3) The traditional teachers' role of guidance, control and direction should be reduced so as be almost non-existent.

Freire is of the opinion that knowledge cannot be transmitted from one person (the teacher) to another (the student). He calls this a "banking" concept and altogether rejects it. He criticises the traditional teacher's approach to preparation in which the teacher chooses the content, prepares it and then conveys it to the student. He says that by such a teaching process, the student may memorise the material but doesn't cognise it. He abhors the teaching of classics on the ground that these are not related to the world of reality, envisioned and experienced by students.

Regarding the second tenet-the classroom should provide environment of freedom in which the students' expressed interests and impulses give direction to classroom activities- Freire again vehemently opposes traditional education saying, "Traditional education anaesthetises and inhibits creative

power". The dialogical education advocated by him is, instead, "constituted and organised by students' view of the world where their own generative themes are found." (Freire, 2002, p. 109). In this method, subject matter of the classroom is manufactured out of the real life experiences and struggles of the students. Freire emphasises that the students experiences, problems and adversities, although incomplete and limited, must be the focus of attention, and not the 'external cast material imported by the teacher'. According to Shor, quoted by Sparks (p.5) "The teacher should 'situate learning in the students' culture, i.e. their literacy, their themes, their present cognitive and affective levels, their aspirations, their daily lives." (Shor, 1987, p.24)

For Freire the role of teacher is that of a 'partner'. (Freire, 2002, p.75). He says that a teacher will be taught by students, and not indulge in 'traditional education' which he calls an "exercise in domination". For Freire, a teacher's role is not that of a 'prescriber' or 'domesticator'.

There are three 'terms' used by Freire, that deserve special mention. These are: pedagogy, praxis or conscientisation, and revolution. Freire considers 'teaching' and 'instruction' to be tools for the revolution, not for the preservation of 'status quo'. It is an irony that traditional education and teachers have been encouraging the students to master certain subjects in the name of the same tools... It is noteworthy, that Freirean literacy training is a programme for radical political education, although a little bit of grammar and syntax instruction is a part of it. The educational

endeavour, according to Freire, must radically transform the political outlook of the students; then only it can be called the 'pedagogy of the oppressed.'

The second term 'conscientisation' means 'the gradual transformation of a person's view of life and that of the world from a kind of naïve consciousness to a critical consciousness.' In other words, it means "the ongoing process of action and reflection of people upon their world in order to transform it." For example, a Brazilian begins his view of life that is apathetic and fatalistic, guided by the view that the events happening in his life are under the control of some magical supernatural power. Critical consciousness, on the other hand, is a deep awareness of the cause and effect in social and political relations. It is a particular kind of awareness, involving a realisation in the illiterate peasant-learners, for they were Freire's original students, that their conditions of life might be improved if social and economic conditions can be altered by their political actions. It was this thinking that made Freire and his method beloved of all who had leftist tendencies, were convinced about the evils of Capitalism and hoped to engender a revolution on the Marxist lines. But, it is important to note, as Gerhardt writes, "He was not willing to Marxism or Existentialism because of some interesting points he found in the writings of these two authors." (p.3).

The third term 'revolution' may imply violence justified on the ground that the oppressed people cannot change their conditions by peaceful social or economic change.

Freire is of the view that the

revolution sought out by the oppressed people will be vehemently opposed by the oppressor class and certain myths- private property is a must for human progress, industrious people can achieve economic well being and all men are created equal-will be propagated through families and schools to keep the status-quo of domination. The strategy Freire suggests for combating such an anti-revolution campaign is a sort of 'cultural revolution' with the aim of conscientisation of every one of the oppressed. In other words, Freire wants a complete remake of the society, where there are no oppressors and oppressed, no domination of any kind and pedagogy is the tool which has to achieve it.

It was assumed that the method would make literate forty million illiterates of the country, but the overthrow of federal government by military forces in March 1964 abruptly stopped the experiment. Freire was arrested and exiled for over 15 years. He worked in Chile for five years in the Christian Democratic Agrarian Reform Movement. In 1967 his book Education as the Practice of Freedom appeared; in 1968 he came out with much acclaimed and honoured book, Pedagogy of the Oppressed. In 1969 he was invited to the Harvard University as a visiting professor.

In 1970 he was invited to Geneva where he worked for 10 years as an advisor to the World Congress of Churches. In 1980 he could return to Brazil and joined worker's Party, in which he from 1980 to 1986 was the in-charge of its adult literacy project. In 1988 Freire was appointed Minister of Education for Sao Paulo. In 1991 an institute in his name was inaugurated

with the aim of 'fostering the new educational theories and concrete interventions in reality'.

Paulo Freire died of heart failure on May 2, 1997.

Representative Works: Education: The Practice of Freedom; Pedagogy of the Oppressed; Pedagogy of the Heart; Politics of Education.

The Critique

Freire's three tenets have been criticised by many scholars, although the scholars belonging to the Marxist stream have praised the method.

The criticism leveled against the first tenet, is based on the assumption that education broadens the mind and culture of the learner. According to Dr. John A. Sparks, "Freireans are, in effect, maintaining that a student in a modern classroom in Detroit, USA, or Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, cannot be expected to connect with Cicero's essay on 'Friendship,' the Book of Daniel in the Old Testament, or the Sermon on the Mount in the New Testament. They refuse to acknowledge even the possibility that the Western (read traditional) canon might have a universal appeal."

Sparks gives two additional reasons why students should have contact with traditional canon during their formative years. First is that by following Freirean method, the student becomes a victim of 'the provincialism of time' as T S Eliot did phrase it, meaning thereby that they know only their limited and narrow experiences, wherever they may be, and not provided the means to broaden their contact with the rich and vast world of faith, practice and thought that

has preceded them. As Hirsch, quoted by Sparks, (p.4) says that students to whom knowledge is not transferred experience a kind of poverty of mind and spirit produced because they do not posses the "shared knowledge," the "cultural literacy" of their predecessors and therefore cannot stand on their intellectual shoulders.

The second reason is that such ignorant students become easy prey for those who propose shallow and illusory interpretations of the world. The followers of Freirean method will not be able to raise intelligent objections to poorly formulated ideas, opinions and propaganda, because of their lack of fundamental learning.

Regarding the second tenet of Freire, we note that he and his followers are loathe to inhibit students' interests and inclinations by the use of traditional methods, content as well as conventions. "Freireans believe that they can coax, out of each student, rudimentary, albeit often inelegant, knowledge that then can be shaped and polished into usable insights. The fact that these 'experiences' come from the young ignorant and even illiterate is not a matter of concern for Freire." (Sparks, p.8)

The problem is that the student's nature is neither better nor worse; his immaturity may take him to certain directions and ventures that may not be in the best interest of society and community. His impulses are often misdirected, short-sighted, unfocused, peripatetic, and in other words 'childish.' He is totally ignorant of certain disciplines, may know something of some others, but for being a part

of the community he needs direction, molding and corrections. His often naïve experiences are not the best material for instruction, as Freire asserts. And schooling, provided, it is not dead, removes his ignorance, takes him to a miniature society, expands his mental horizons, and makes him a member of the human stream. Student experiences the world and the conclusions drawn from them, regardless of whether they are labeled 'authentic' or not.

Researcher after researcher has proved the supremacy of structured, teacher-centered methods for the lower socio-economic status students. Harvard's late Jean Chall, quoted by Sparks (p.6), in 'The Academic Achievement Challenge," wrote long ago, "...the evidence on the superiority of structured, teacher-centered methods for low-socioeconomic-status children is so consistent over the years that it would be difficult to reject it." (Chall, 135-152).

Lisa Delpit, quoted by Sparks (p.6), who worked among black children in urban areas, remarked in her 'Harvard Educational Review' article that her teacher preparation, which emphasised progressive tenets, did not produce the results she expected. Her conclusion was that black children need direct instruction and development of skills that the open or child-centered classroom did not provide. "Each year my teaching moved," she wrote, "further away from what I had learned (in graduate school) even though in many ways I identified myself as an open-classroom teacher. As my classroom became more traditional, however, it seemed that my black students steadily improved in their reading and writing."(Delpit, 381)

Roland Barth, quoted by Sparks (p.6), who worked in two city schools and employed progressive methods, found, that the experiment ended in failure. (Barth, 137-156).

The three educators, who had tried the Freirean method sincerely, were unanimous in arguing that the weaker students respond best to structure, order and guidance through well ordered material.

Says Sparks, "Freirean pedagogy may actually produce meager learning results that will tend to keep disadvantaged students exactly where they are; that is, in the grasp of ignorance, low productivity and poverty. The irony is that the Freireans are dedicated to helping the poor and disadvantaged, and sincerely so. However, well-meaning and good intentions are not enough. The methods must produce real learning; if they do not, one must not be afraid to return to greater structure, the directness of carefully organised instruction with traditional content and methods." (Sparks, p.6)

The third tenet of Freirean method is that the teacher's role should be reduced to that of the 'partner' instead of the traditional one, that is of controller, guide and one who directs the educational activities of the students. Freire vehemently criticised the traditional teachers calling them 'bank clerk teachers', whose only roles are that of prescribers and domesticators .Later, Freire corrected his viewpoint saying that "I do not think that there is real education without direction...There is no educational practice that does not point to an objective.."(Freire and Macedo, 1995, p.2). But Freire thought that

teacher is a 'liberator', and liberates his students from the clutches of Capitalism and its accessory, exploitation.

A traditional teacher has authority, derived from educational need. The student is a developing individual, with exuberant energy and imagination, but they lack direction moral sense and discipline. A student needs control, so that his energy and abilities are given proper direction, lest it may go waste. Traditional education disciplines the student for freedom, not for slavery. The moment the student has the grasp of method and the direction, he is asked to experiment, have variety of experiences and travel on his course. Good teachers, usually disciplinarians, have always been loved, because they controlled, disciplined, directed and gave freedom to the students, when needed. The art of a teacher lies in finding the proper moment and giving the student proper treatment.

There is another experiment which shows that the third stage usually does not follow the second one. K.O.Ojokheta, who investigated the application of Paulo Freire's literacy training methodology in three carefully selected basic literacy centers, one situated at Ibadanland, Oyo State, Nigeria, managed by the Baptist Mission; second at Department of Adult Education, University of Ibadan; and the third at Iddo community, Iddo Local Government Area, organised and sponsored by Oyo State Agency for Adult and Non-formal Education. Three teams comprising four postgraduate students who had undertaken a course on Philosophy of Adult Education, served as research assistants and facilitators for the study.

In the first stage of the study, 18 participants of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds of the first center focused their discussion on leadership corruption, 20 participants of the second center focused on mismanagement of the nation's resources, and the 20 participants of the third center focused their discussion on political crisis in states.

At stage two, the facilitators, on the basis of the discussion among the learners, selected the Generative words. These were resources, money, abundance, crude oil, stealing, pocket, begging, plenty, poverty, suffering, frustration, crying, hunger, crisis, dying, and death.

These words were then depicted in pictorial form showing the concrete realities and situations in the lives of the people. The pictorial display provoked an emotional outburst among the participants, showing pity and anger, and asking why! Why! Why!

After the completion of second stage, it was found that no participant wanted to go further, that is for literacy training. The major finding of the study was, "When the political consciousness of the learners is raised, they may not be patient enough or be interested in the acquisition of literacy skills since the first two stages may have thoroughly conscientised and sensitised them to the realities of their lives." (Ojokheta, p.6).

Freire was a sensitive personality. As Rosa-Maria Torres remarked once in an article, 'The Million Paulo Freires', "Freire was sensitive to both criticism and self-criticism around his work. In numerous opportunities he acknowledged naïveté, subjectivity, ambiguity, and lack of political-ideological clarity in his early

writings, and a margin of personal responsibility in what he perceived as 'appropriations' or false interpretations of his ideas. In particular, he referred many times to the naïveté of his initial notion of 'conscientisation'. 'I was ideologised as an intellectual petite bourgeois,' he admitted in 1973. 'I started to worry about the term conscientisation. The corruption that word suffered in Latin America and in Europe was such, that I have not used it for the last five years.' He said in 1974. 'A less naïve reading of the word does not yet imply a commitment with its transformation, much less transformation as such, as idealist thinking might pretend.' He insisted in 1986, when he received UNESCO's Education for Peace award in Paris." (p.3)

When Freire took the post of Secretary of Education in State of Sao Paolo, his department and NGOs working in the area of primary education, found the retention rates of the state's primary schools improving from 79.46% to 87.7%. This was achieved through engaging in a dialogue with the communities of Sao Paolo and by removing the barriers separating the school and the community.

Freire was a citisen of the world but his name was closely linked with the countries of Latin America or particularly with Brazil. Freire has been the object of both the warmest reception and the hardest criticism. In life and in death, his ideas and positions generated and will continue to generate strong sentiments, passionate adherents and rejecters, very different and even diametrically opposed interpretations.

In answer to question, 'What legacy did Paulo Freire leave us?' Monacir Gadotti, General Director of Paulo Freire Institute, and Carlos Alberto Torres, Director of Paulo Freire Institute, wrote: "In the first place Paulo Freire leaves us with a life, his biography. Paulo enchanted us with his tenderness, his sweetness, his coherence, his commitment and his seriousness. His words and actions were words and actions of struggle for a world 'menos feio, menos maivado, menos desumano' (less ugly, less cruel, less inhumane) as he used to always tell us. Living from the perspective of love and hope, he also leaves us a legacy of indignation to injustice, which he used to say we could not speak about with sugar coated words. In addition to the testimony of a life of commitment to the cause of oppressed peoples, he leaves us with an immense body of work, transmitted through many additions of books, articles and videos which are found throughout the world." (p.2)

We may agree with Rosa-Maria Torres, when she summed up the life and works of Paulo Freire, in her article saying, "In fact, rereading Freire is always finding something new. But to find something new, one must have advanced oneself since the last reading." (p.8). In the same spirit, Shelley Walia remarked about Freire's contribution, when she wrote, "His contribution to pedagogy will be reinvented and reinterpreted, redefined and recontextualised as long as we remain involved with new teaching and learning." (p3)

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