It is proposed that a paradigm for training English-as-a-Second-Language teachers based on the educational philosophy of Paolo Freire would provide a more humanistic approach to the education of minority language groups. Freire's writings are reviewed, focusing on his plea for greater consciousness about the rights of others and the political aspects of education, particularly English language teaching (ELT). Historical and other possible impediments to adoption of these views within ELT are examined, and it is proposed that the current climate may be receptive to a Freire-based paradigm. The work of an international human rights organization, Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO), is cited as a model for such a paradigm. Five suggested courses are described briefly, class activities for use with the courses are outlined, and ideas for incorporation of historical and literary perspectives, use of non-governmental organizations as resources, attention to non-violent conflict management, complementary disciplines, and government policies and programs as sources of further curricular ideas are offered. A list of resources is appended. Contains 48 references. (MSE)
Suggestions for a Liberating Education Paradigm within ELT

Concept (Freire), a Model for ideas (UNPO), Course Descriptions

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This project by Susan S. McGrew is accepted in its present form.

Date

Project Advisor

Project Reader

This paper is dedicated to the people of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO), its membership and staff.
Paolo Freire's writings, which advocate a philosophy of educating that assists students in understanding and utilizing the politics of power, and referred to by the term liberating education, has been available in English translation since the 1970s. That the present post-Cold War period offers a climate particularly conducive to consideration of a liberating education paradigm within English-language-teacher-training institutions is supported by initiatives such as the publication, in recent years, of books and articles critical of traditional teaching perspectives; the World Englishes movement; and on a global political level, the birth of an international human rights organization (the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) which serves to assist its disenfranchised members in access of their needs and aspirations. The UNPO is presented as a model for building a Freire-based paradigm within ELT, followed by course descriptions and other recommendations for consideration of a liberating education paradigm.

ERIC Descriptors: Humanistic Education; Course Descriptions; Political Power; Minority Groups; Majority Attitudes; English (second language)
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PREFACE TO THE PAPER

I first learned of the concepts of Paolo Freire when I was assigned to read his works during my time of study in the M.A.T. program at the School for International Training in Brattleboro, Vermont, USA. For me, many of his views expressed a sensitivity to students' backgrounds and needs that I did not find elsewhere in readings and also helped me to understand my own discomfort concerning teaching methods and materials that were culturally-grounded—from and about the perspective of English-speaking groups that dominate the English language teaching industry: the US and UK. Since then, I have read other works, of more recent publication, such as Robert Phillipson's Language and Imperialism and articles in the journal World Englishes, which point to the politics that accompany the teaching of English and post a need for reform, alike Freire's. That this political consciousness is a trend of the times may well be; nevertheless, it offers promise for adoption of a paradigm for ELT that is built on Freire's appeal to educators, as identified in several of his books. (See Bibliography).

This appeal is for educators to exchange views, or dialogue with students, rather than to simply transfer information; and to challenge students to probe—to exercise critical inquiry—in assessment of beliefs and practices and policies. This Freire refers to as true learning—or, using the term in his writings—liberating education.

As part of my own learning experience in writing and researching this paper, I found myself churning with questions, some that created an uneasiness, and decision-making that involved answering those questions. In the process of this sorting out, I became aware of the aptness of so many of Freire's statements, how they applied to learning, to educators, to society. Because I feel it is important for the reader to share Freire's words, many direct quotations are used in this paper. Also, since I feel it
equally important to utilize those important Freirean tools, dialogue and critical inquiry. I have taken liberties, in writing this paper, to digress from conventional style in ways that utilize these tools and, it is hoped, invite the reader to do so as well. Thus, I have included quotes from Freire in a "Freire and ELT Writers: Dialogue of Sorts"; in "Survey 1970-1995: a Critical Inquiry", I do a little probing of history; and in the Preface to Part Two, I have written a "Dialogue with Self" to show what, in another form for a treatise, would not be revealed of my thinking. That thinking led me to cross an ocean, to go out of the bounds of education to The Hague, The Netherlands, where I worked for and researched the international human rights organization, Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO), for most of 1994. That I would enter the political domain to learn about education is essential Freire, who postulates that education is politics. This premise is important to know regarding Freire's views, for the pedagogy he espouses grows from this tenet. It must also be understood that the purpose of a pedagogy based in liberating education is to challenge people "to mobilize or organize themselves to get power." (Freire, 1987:34).

As a result of what I learned in the process of following Freirean clues, I argue for the establishment of a new focus within ELT that responds to the humanist views of Freire and others who have followed in his tracks. As a useful model for such a paradigm, the UNPO is presented, followed by suggestions for course-building in language teacher-training institutions. Evidence in the present day that such a focus would reflect a current humanistic sensitivity in certain quarters is the recent barrage of books and articles both inside the profession and out (See Bibliography) that call for a re-thinking of language human rights, including the teaching of English; and, relatedly, the as yet out-of-mainstream movement within ELT, World Englishes. Other recommendations conclude: these relate to expanding scope and perspective in teaching programs and materials.
Part One: In advocacy of a Freire-based paradigm within ELT

Overview

That it is timely to take a hard look at Brazilian writer Paolo Freire's humanist views in terms of constructing a paradigm that educators can implement through courses taught in English-language teacher-training institutions may be supported by the vast attention being given today to diversity and human rights, which includes language human rights. Part One looks at Freire's ideologies as pioneering a voice that speaks for a greater consciousness about the rights of others and the political aspects of education, particularly the teaching of English. It also considers historical and other possible impediments to adoption of these views within ELT and offers evidence (principally, by way of introduction to the purposes and work of the international organization, Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization) that the present may be a time providing political receptiveness to a Freire-based paradigm.
1.1 FREIRE AND HIS CONCEPTS

Paolo Freire (1921- )

Paolo Freire is a Brazilian philosopher and educator who has received notice for his liberationist views, made known to English speakers through the English translation publication of his book, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1970) and more recent works in which he has honed his original thinking. This represents an evolution from viewing education as an aspect of politics to the view expressed in his "talking" book-- a dialogue with fellow author and educator Ira Shor-- A Pedagogy of Liberation (1987), that education is politics; and so, politics has educability. Freire's definition of a liberating educator is one who is "with the students instead of doing things for the students". (1987: 114)

The Portuguese word "contientизация" defines Freire's credo. The word signifies a learning process involving "the perceptions of social, political and economic contradictions and the actions taken to combat oppression". (Harman, Saturday Review, June 19, 1971) Within English translation books of Freire contentización becomes two words: liberating education; it is the term that will be used in this paper.

Freire states that in order for a liberating education learning process to be inculcated, the instructor must teach students to employ "critical inquiry"-- to question the practices and perceptions of the dominant class and culture within their society as well as their own in-grained beliefs, for the purpose of assessing the validity of their premises. This process implies a study of periods of history as representing an amalgam of social, economic and political forces. The dialogue that the instructor promotes with students is used to encourage students' examination of long-held views they may have never
thought to challenge. Why this learning process is important, believes Freire, is this: students learn to question rather than accept the role they are assigned in society; this is the first step toward empowerment; subsequently, students must learn how to organize in order to gain their own power; for this, it is necessary that they acquire skills.

What these skills are, exactly, and how to implement them is left unanswered in Freire's writings, for as he states repeatedly in his books, he prefers that others invent methodologies from the theoretical philosophy he proposes.

Education concepts primary to Freire's philosophy, noted in the previous paragraph, are ones that are meant—if one chooses a popular term in English that seems closest in meaning—to empower. "Empower", by the dictionary definition, means "to give power or authority to"; this suggests the idea of one party favoring another with a gift; it is solicitous in nature. That is exactly what Freire does not perceive as the nature of the philosophy he advocates (and for which reason he eschews the word 'empower'). Rather than having students being granted the offerings of the instructor, Freire writes that "the teacher is with the students rather than doing things for the students." That Freire emphasizes this is not at all a matter of semantic nit-picking. He wants students, not to be dependent on authority figures for answers, but to seek their own independence through assertive and intelligent questing for understanding—that includes learning and making assessments about their
history, a.k.a. politics—and ultimately acquiring the skills necessary for them to organize to gain their own power.

1.2 RELEVANCE OF FREIRE'S VIEWS TO THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH

Though Freire was writing, within his several books that cover his philosophy, in response to the conditions of Brazilian peasants (since illiteracy among this group is high, he writes of basic literacy—referred to in his books as "transformative literacy"—as a preliminary step in the progression of conscientização), his ideas have resonance throughout the world where minorities, indigenous peoples and others know the experience of living under a dominant group or society. That Freire's ideas apply to the teaching of English is all too apparent when reading the many critics in the field of English language instruction who have denounced practices, historically and present-day, that accompany English language instruction. In fact, reading Freire and these critics in tandem can present a thoughtful dialogue of sorts, with text from Freire providing comparisons or responses to the critics' observations. The next three paragraphs in this section make use of this complementation; other quotations from Freire's books appear throughout the paper, so that the reader may compare their ideas with related text within the paper; they are also intended to invite the reader's consideration of what these quotations mean for teaching English.
Freire and ELT Writers-A Dialogue of Sorts

"We know that it's not education which shapes society, but on the contrary, it is society which shapes education according to the interests of those who have power."

This statement by Freire (1987: 35) is a theme that, at this particular point in history, is gaining urgency in the writings of many professionals in the area of English language instruction. Robert Phillipson excoriates the ELT profession for its complicity with power in his book, *Linguistic Imperialism* (1992). He goes so far as to raise the ultimate question: should English be taught abroad at all? To justify its preeminence as a lingua franca worldwide, Phillipson lays out what is at stake in terms of the economics of ELT—the business of English language instruction that relates to the publication of textbooks and other materials; language schools and teaching institutions. (1992: 353) Phillipson writes from his perspective of nine years' experience with the British Council in Algeria, Yugoslavia, and London as well as his position as administrator and teacher for several years in Europe. (cited by Kachru in *World Englishes*, 1993) Heidi Ross (1993: 18-19), in surveying foreign-language teaching in China during the years 1860-1903, refers to the proselytizing zeal with which English-language teaching was carried out by Christian missionaries, as a way of initiating 'the native youth' into a new atmosphere. Fishman, Kachru, Achard, Bamgbose, Berns, Fairclough, Giroux, Strevens, Chineizu, wa Thiong'o, Chaudhuri, Chesshire, Skuttnabb-Kangas, Markee, Ohannessian and others (see bibliography for particular works by writers referred to) have written on the issue, most from the perspective of prevailing attitudes and consequences, respective to history and culture.
In North American culture, Freire observed a belief system which could explain the propelling force for English everywhere:

"The question of manipulation is very interesting to me, especially when I am asked about it in North America. In the culture here, in the daily life, there is great manipulation. There are many messages and directions for what you should be doing, what you should buy, what you should believe. Also, the culture here has many, many myths about freedom and happiness and about the rest of the world, which you also hear every day. "The American Way of Life,' for example, is a political idea often presented as the only good one in the world. Another myth is that the special mission of America is to teach the whole world how to be free. I know that there are good aspects of life here and also good dimensions of American democracy. But, when such myths become global crusades, then they are instruments for manipulation."

(1987:173)

World Englishes

One example of present-day movements within ELT that deserves attention is World Englishes, which recognizes that English has regional variants that should be made a part of English language teaching. India, where the government has given "associate language" recognition to English, offers an example of a country with its own English. The work of World Englishes scholars relates to a larger concern today for cultural human rights--with language as a part of culture that should not be allowed to disappear. Brazil, Freire's home, has been cited by one linguist (Whaley, Vox, 1995, 1) as one of those countries where government policy is indifferent to the multiplicity of languages spoken there. To educators in his homeland, Freire counsels:

"To my thinking, teachers in popular areas of Brazil need first to give testimony to common students that they respect the language of the people. Secondly, they would have to give testimony that the language of the people is as beautiful as theirs. Thirdly, they would have to help them believe in their own speech, not to be ashamed of their own language, but to"
discover the beauty in their own words. Fourthly, teachers who work among ordinary people would have to demonstrate that the common form of language also has a grammar which is invisible at the moment to them. Their ordinary way of speaking also has rules and structure. Their language exists because it is spoken. If it is spoken, it has a structure. If it has a structure, it then has grammatical rules too. Behind this ordinary speech, there is an unwritten grammar and unrecognized speech, there is an unwritten grammar and unrecognized beauty, which of course the dominant class would not draw to the attention of the common people. To organize such knowledge and make it clear to the people would be to challenge the dominance of the elite forms and thus of the elite class itself.

(1987: 72)

World Englishes represents the language human rights arm of ELT. In the journal it publishes (World Englishes), its articles focus on the many variants of English, with samples of writing that illustrate their distinct literary styles. Braj Kachru, at the University of Illinois (one of two major centers in the US where scholars are conducting extensive research in World Englishes, the other being the U. of Hawaii at Manoa) has been a leader in advocating the recognition and acceptance of separate regional and national standards of these Englishes. (Brown, World Englishes, 1993). In 1988 he suggested that it was time for a paradigm shift which takes into account the changing role and functions of English around the world in linguistic research and in language pedagogy. Brown (1993) reports that Kachru’s view has remained a minority perspective among ELT educators.

Other voices for change within ELT

Even within the mainstream TESOL camp appeals for reform are evident. Freeman and Richards (TESOL Quarterly, 1993) reported on "the lack of organized examination of the conceptions of teaching which undergird the field
of second language instruction and influence various areas of endeavor within it. Though they are not specific about what these conceptions of teaching which undergird…are, there is an inference that the paradigm framework used for instruction may not always be clear and needs indentification. (Compare this with Brown’s first recommendation, p. 36). None other than the prominent language-educator Earl Stevick takes up the matter of humanism in his book, *Humanism in Language Teaching* (1990), in which he calls for a re-thinking of that concept, which to this day tends toward the instructional humanistic models of the 1970s that Stevick refers to as quasi-religious. Phillipson’s *Language and Imperialism* is so chock-full of citations for articles and books on the subject that anyone wanting additional sources pointing to a general stagnancy toward change in ELT is advised to read that book as a primer on the subject.

1.3. SEARCHING FOR REASONS: A CRITICAL INQUIRY

It is apparent that critics within the field of English language instruction indicate a degree of concern about English-language instruction. Also, it can be supposed that Freire’s ideas, first promulgated in the English translation of his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), have been read and known to informed educators within ELT since the time of that first book. (Interestingly, in reading the publications by critics in ELT—all of quite recent date—no reference is found for Freire having provided the early warnings.) This leads to the question, why has not more attention been given to this particular current of thinking within English-language teaching institutions, which, in the main, lean toward methodology with little of the kind of “critical inquiry” and “dialogue” framework that Freire advocates and which could be a way to address and
understand the criticisms that surround English-language instruction? Why is there not evidence of the kind of paradigm for ELT that takes into account the factors that Freire and the critics cite?

**Assessments by ELT Educators**

Patton (1975) provides this possibility: “Paradigms are deeply embedded in the socialization of adherents and practitioners telling them what is important, what is legitimate, what is reasonable.” Thus, she states, changing paradigms is not a simple process. So this may be, but does this analysis go far enough in explaining the resistance to change? Jane Nicholls (1993) submits that research into the politically sensitive question of the role of English—in particular in respect to local languages in education—could question the very legitimacy of the entire ELT 'aid' operation, raising ethical questions that could prove threatening to ELT's survival. There is also the view, among some in the profession, that English teaching should be depoliticized, which, given just the fact that the US and UK dominate the field of English-language instruction, through publications of materials, teaching facilities, and methodologies, seems naive at best. Whatever the factors are, they should be identified in order to understand why change has not been achieved and how those factors fit into what proponents of change within ELT are saying.

**Clues offered by history**

Mining for answers solely within the profession of English-language instruction gives one kind of view. It is to history that Freire suggests we should also look for possible evidence. This writer has chosen to track a course from 1970, the time of publication of Freire's first English translation book. (the...
assessments those of this writer's) in order to develop a sense of the times and to relate those times to Freire's ideas.


The decade of the 1970s was not a time conducive to the self-examining mood that Freire’s ideas necessitated, as the West and, in Asia, Japan pursued a course of economic expansion. This culminated in the buying fever of the 1980s, when capitalistic ventures were fueled by a consumerism tied to more accessible forms of borrowing. It was this advent of the credit card age, when the spread of English language schools worldwide mushroomed.

Given this boom period for teaching English that continues to this day, it can be imagined that responding to demand—through providing materials, training teachers, opening schools—became an important order of business.

**Freire and Teaching English in a Boom Period**

Freire's concepts, on the other hand, require the teaching of a process: a highly deliberative one—with time spent on developing and practising skills of questioning and assessing, hardly an approach designed for a high-demand, need-it-now dynamic. (However, at the same time, it does not make a Freirean approach unthinkable, for many of those approaches from the 1970s that are taught in a few schools of instruction (CLL, the Silent Way, the Natural Approach) are very much process-based.)

Though this quick-fix methodology-based approach to teaching English is not expected to abate, as long as English continues to be used as the language of
choice in the business world, by international organizations such as the European Union, recent years have seen the following: the organization World Englishes was founded; many critics began writing of the spread of English as imperialistic, with the subject of humanism coming to the forefront.

**The Post-War Period as a Signal of Change**

That these developments occurred during the post-Cold War period may be significant. It is the ending of the Cold War from which emerged a climate that seemed more attuned to the issues of minorities, indigenous peoples and others who were under or had known repression and subjugation by dominant groups. Thus, the 1990s have also witnessed the re-emergence of national identities and their cultures and languages. At the same time, many peoples and nations have indicated a desire for cooperative strength, which has led to the formation of regional alliances. For one, Europe is spawning, through the European Union, what the Abbe de Saint advocated for two centuries ago--- a mechanism for guaranteeing collective security through a perpetual alliance between sovereign rulers, who are subject to the majority decision of a 'European' senate with a joint army at its command (Bederida in Mommsen, 1994:14). Other multilateral governmental groups and a host of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) also have been founded in the period of the 1990s.

**A New Organization, Founded to Assist Minorities, Indigenous and Other Disenfranchised Peoples**

Among global organizations, the United Nations holds a preeminent position, for fifty years having served as a forum for the issues of many in the
world. However, excluded from this assembly have been minority, indigenous and other nations and peoples. That is why these groups have rallied, in recent years, to establish an organization that provides them with a place to make their distinct and common issues known within an international forum and to enter into participation in the global community. The organization borne out of these needs is of particular interest in terms of what Freire was espousing and critics writing of imperialism are saying. It is called the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) with central offices (Secretariat) located in The Hague, The Netherlands. The UNPO, as a mechanism for a new global view attendant to diversity, greater inclusion—offers particular promise, if humanistic value is considered.

1.4 TIME FOR A LIBERATING EDUCATION PARADIGM

Given Freire's statement that education reflects society, the climate of the times that contributed to the birth of such an organization as the UNPO—along with the recent publication of calls for reform and assessment from many writers within ELT—it seems that the present may offer a particularly receptive climate for consideration of Freire's ideas in creating a liberating education paradigm for English language instruction.

A Liberating Education Paradigm: How to Implement

Possibilities for building and implementing a Freirean liberating education paradigm are the foci of Part Two of this paper. The goals and objectives of the proposed paradigm follow:

Goal: to train English-language teaching students using the processes of dialogue and critical inquiry to examine their own beliefs and the teaching of
English; as well as to acquaint them with the teachings of Paolo Freire and the model of the international body, Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization.

**Objectives:** to assist English-language teaching students in becoming "liberating educators" through developing

- a definition of Freire's "liberating education"—what it means; what it does not mean; how to achieve it.
- an historical perspective of political and related forces that impact on society and education, in particular English language teaching
- increased awareness of diverse cultures and their issues
- skills for assisting English-language students in access of "liberating education" and of their needs and aspirations
PREFACE TO PART TWO: A DIALOGUE WITH SELF

"Experience teaches us not to assume that the obvious is clearly understood. So it is with the truism with which we begin: All educational practice implies a theoretical stance on the educator's part. This stance in turn implies—sometimes more, sometimes less explicitly—an interpretation of man and the world. For man this process of orientation in the world can be understood neither as a purely subjective event, nor as an objective or mechanistic one, but only as an event in which subjectivity and objectivity are united."

(Freire, 1985: 43-44)

Much of Part Two is the result of my having spent nearly a year working and conducting research for this paper at the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization in The Hague, The Netherlands. Though the decision I made to travel to The Hague represents a leap of distance, other decisions I was making prior to that one were part of a more step-by-step process. It would seem an omission to leave out this process, which involved my answering tough questions I held in my mind—that had been generated by reading the critics of English-language instruction, as well as my own disquiet concerning certain English-language-instruction practices. I suppose such a state of questioning and disquiet constitutes the trials of learning, in Freirean terms, if these of his words are considered—"...action, critical reflection, curiosity, demanding inquiry, uneasiness, uncertainty...all these virtues are indispensable to the cognitive subject, to the person who learns!" (1987:8)

What follows here is a Dialogue with Self (for I was the questioner, I the one who answered). It might be called a self-exercise in the kind of searching inquiry that Freire writes should engage instructor and students. Carrying out this exercise enabled me to examine whether the very teaching of English and
the task I set for myself through this paper were appropriate in terms of what I could accept as part of my belief system.

A Dialogue with Self

Should English be taught abroad at all?

That English is in demand worldwide cannot be denied, withal accompanying controversy and dissent about this status and how it was achieved. The question might be, "As a native speaker, should I teach English? Or should this be preserved for non-native speakers? This matter may resolve itself, over time, as non-native speakers of English increase and enter the field of teaching, though, even so, that does not assure that all non-native teachers will have the best interests of students at heart. The issue seems more a matter of attitude and philosophy of the teacher, how he or she interacts with students and works with them. In this regard, Freire's liberating education ideas are important. Also, if the ethics of teaching English abroad are related to its being a dominant language and therefore to be avoided, Freire had this to say:

"Finally, teachers have to say to students, Look, in spite of being beautiful, this way you speak also includes the question of power. Because of the political problem of power, you need to learn how to command the dominant language, in order for you to survive in the struggle to transform society......Not grasping the elite forms would only make it more difficult for them to survive in the struggle."

But Freire was espousing political change. Should a teacher do that? Why not just teach pragmatics: grammar and vocabulary and structure. That's probably what students want anyway, not somebody who's trying to get them to question and organize.

Whatever else language-teaching education consists of---from the scholarly dissecting studies involved in linguistics and semantics, the materials
development and course designs that grow out of such studies—it seems to me that to teach English there must be a political undergirding that the teacher has thought about and defined for her or himself. This is what I feel is necessary for me, anyway, so I suppose it’s a personal choice. In the process of this thinking and defining, I wanted to develop a sense of what it would be like to be a user of English in another land; wanted to explore books and articles; look for avenues that could lead me to define my own stand on issues. Though I had been exposed to many writers and approaches on the subjects of language-instruction and culture at SIT, Freire alone seemed to set a course that I wanted to explore, in terms of my own leanings, which were strongly in favor of not presenting myself as a member of a dominant culture but as one who aspired to assist students in becoming able accessors of their needs.

Freire said there’s a danger in teaching in a different way. Students may feel uncomfortable if you try to dialogue with them, get them to examine, rather than just give them rules and standard practices. That’s why change is difficult. Freire states that students may even feel manipulated by teachers trying something different.

Was it necessary to go outside education for this model?

One reason is that my reading did not identify what I sought. Another is that since politics is education, it made sense to turn to an area that is political, particularly one that fits so well what Freire was writing about. For, in my search to find models for implementing Freire’s ideas related to assisting peoples in access of power, I became aware that what I was reading was analytical, even intriguing at times, but failed to offer concrete examples for the concepts. Freire, himself, refers to concepts alone, expanding on these through
philosophical analysis. Education is the meeting-ground of theory and application. A paradigm is made valid through, to coin a current political term, an "action plan; otherwise, it is too like a political candidate's hope-stirring but empty campaign promises. The model I did not find through reading, I located through going to The Netherlands and researching the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization. Freire had this to say on the subject:

"I think if it were possible for lots of teachers who work just inside school, following the schemes, the schedules, the reading lists, grading papers, to expose themselves to the greater dynamism, the greater mobility you find inside social movements, they could learn about another side of education not written in books. There is something very important outside formal education, which the people are creating. It would be for teachers an experience of opening windows.

(1987: 39)
Part Two: Liberating Education: A Model and Course Suggestions for Use in English Language Teacher-Training Institutions

Overview

Part Two includes a brief description of the organization, UNPO, which addresses issues of its members—minorities, indigenous and other disenfranchised peoples, through training in skills of empowerment; and which provides a real-life model for study and building on Freirean motifs. This description is followed by specific course suggestions for use in English language teacher-training institutions; other recommendations conclude.
2.1 THE UNPO

"In the last analysis, liberatory education must be understood as a moment or process or practice where we challenge the people to mobilize or organize themselves to get power."

(Freire, 1987:35)

The UNPO is an international human rights organization that assists minorities, indigenous peoples and other disenfranchised nations and peoples in the process and access of their needs and aspirations. Founded in 1991, UNPO currently consists of 48 member nations and peoples who have joined together to make their voices heard in the international community. "Members include Tibet, East Turkestan, East Timor, Taiwan, Republic of Kosova, the Aboriginals of Australia and other indigenous and unrepresented nations and peoples."

(UNPO Three-Year Report)

Origin

In 1991 a window had been opened: the Berlin Wall become rubble; the end of the Cold War symbolizing release from old masters and foes and an international view seeming to invite greater global participation. Many minorities, indigenous peoples and others who felt excluded politically wondered if this epoch would be a time for them as well—to raise awareness of their identities, needs and aspirations—and to become engaged with and listened to by the international community. Acting on the "open window" feeling of the times, three citizens from different cultures—an Estonian, a Tibetan, a representative of Greeks in Albania—met to discuss creating an
international forum, at which nations and peoples, without recognized states or
governments of their own, could have a say about their own destiny. They
approached a Dutch international lawyer who was knowledgeable about their
issues, and proficient in a number of languages, to steer the organization as its
General Secretary. (Crossette, New York Times, Dec. 18, 1994) On February
11, 1991, the UNPO became an official entity, with an office in The Hague, The
Netherlands. Working closely with General Secretary M.C. van Walt would be
Deputy General Secretary Tsering Youden Jampa, of Tibet.

Important Principle

The UNPO Covenant, prepared by the Founding Assembly, governs
UNPO policy and action. Article 1 of the Covenant states the following:

It shall be the aim of the Organization, by assisting Participating Nations
and Peoples ("Participants") to express their positions, needs, and grievances in
legitimate forums and, by providing a community of support, to advance the
fulfillment of the aspirations of Participating Nations and Peoples by effective
non-violent means.

Criteria for Membership

The UNPO Three-Year Report lists these:

Participation in UNPO is open to all nations and peoples who are
inadequately represented at such as the United Nations and who declare
adherence to the following five principles which form the basis for the
Organization's Charter:

1. The equal right to self-determination of all nations and peoples;
2. Adherence to the internationally accepted human rights standards;
3. Adherence to the principles of democracy and rejection of totalitarianism and intolerance;
4. Promotion of non-violence and the rejection of terrorism as an instrument of policy;
5. Protection of the natural environment.

Services to Members

Among the activities of the Organization are included the following:
• providing an information service for the dissemination of information relevant to its membership;
• training in bilateral and multilateral diplomacy;
• training in negotiation skills;
• training in non-violent strategies

The above training, which UNPO members receive, emphasizes practice in skills through simulation of situations in which members may participate, such as conferences and workshops, as well as other venues where members' issues are presented.

2.2 MODEL FOR A LIBERATING EDUCATION PARADIGM

The organization, Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization, offers a model for a liberating education paradigm for teaching English through providing:
1. information about its membership;
2. ideas for skills that can be taught students in assistance of their own power: diplomacy training, negotiation skills, non-violent strategies;
3. ideas for practice of skills
2.3 IMPLEMENTING THE PARADIGM

The following section looks at ways that a liberating education paradigm may be implemented. These ways have been presented as Course Suggestions (Course Descriptions, Course Aims, Suggested Source Information, and Class Activities for Use with Courses). Direct quotations are used abundantly as Supporting Source Information to direct the reader to the source of these quotations as well as to initiate discussion and thought based on primary and other important sources. A concluding section offers further thoughts for consideration.
2.4 LIBERATING EDUCATION COURSE SUGGESTIONS FOR USE IN TEACHER-TRAINING INSTITUTIONS

Course 1
Liberating Education—Beginning with Freire

Course Description

What is liberating education? What is Freire's view of liberating education? Others? In this course students first gain an understanding of Freirean concepts; then are introduced to the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization. Through study of its principles, membership, and mission, students draw comparisons with views absorbed through readings.

Supporting Source Information

These quotes from Freire offer possibility for analysis and comparison with specific statements within UNPO documents, such as the Covenant, as well as other instruments and aspects of the organization.

Freire

"A liberating educator challenges people to know their actual freedom, their real power."

(1987: 173)

"Then in the last analysis, liberatory education must be understood as a moment or process or practice where we challenge the people to mobilize or organize themselves to get power..."

(1987: 34)

"....even when you feel yourself most free, if this feeling is not a social freedom, if you are not able to see your recent freedom to help others to be free by transforming the totality of society, then you are exercising only an individualist attitude towards empowerment or freedom...."
....but in understanding this global task of involving learners in their relationships with the world and others and based on their social experience, learners contribute to their own ability to take charge as the actors of the task—the praxis. And significantly, as actors they transform the world with their work and create their own world. This world, created by the transformation of another world they did not create and that now restrains them, is the cultured world that stretches out into the world of history...

(1970:15)

"Finally, teachers have to say to students,'Look, in spite of being beautiful, this way you speak also includes the question of power. Because of the political problem of power, you need to learn how to command the dominant language, in order for you to survive in the struggle to transform society.' 

(1987: 15 )

"Someone may ask me, 'But, Paulo, if you teach correct usage, the poor or working-class student may just get ruling ideology through the elite usage. Yes! It is a danger. But dominant ideology is not being reproduced exclusively through language or through school. There are other ways of reproduction in society, and language is only one mechanism. For me, what we cannot deny to working-class students is the grasp of some principles of the grammar common to the dominant class. Not grasping the elite forms would only make it more difficult for them to survive in the struggle. The testimony that must be given to students as we teach the standard form is that they need to command it not exclusively in order to survive, but above all for fighting better against the dominant class."

(1989:73)

"We give something to the students only when we exchange something with them. This is a dialectical relationship instead of a manipulative one."

(1989:173)

These specific statements from Article 2 of the UNPO Covenant focus on non-violence, concern for the environment, and rejection of totalitarianism. They suggest ideas for comparison with Freire and further reflection.
"Participants favor the use of peaceful means to achieve their goals. Participants shall not use the Organization or any of its bodies, specialized agencies or services in its name, to promote the use of violence."

(UNPO Covenant, Title II, Article 9, 1991)

".........the activities of the Organization shall include but shall not be limited to:
(c) training in bilateral and multilateral diplomacy, including United Nations diplomacy and the principles of international law;
(d) training in negotiation skills and professional assistance in conflict management and resolution;
(e) training in non-violent strategies and professional assistance in the development of strategic plans and policies;
(b) assistance in the development of democratic institutions and processes and in the monitoring of elections and referenda;
(i) assistance in the development and implementation of measures designed to protect the natural environment and the creation of sustainable development projects."

(Title I, Article 2)

"(b) Adherence to the internationally accepted human rights standards as laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights;
(c) Adherence to the principles of democratic pluralism and rejection of totalitarianism and any forms of religious intolerance;
(d) Rejection of terrorism as an instrument of policy;
(e) Respect for all peoples and population groups, including minority or majority populations within territories inhabited by the Participant but belonging to different ethnic, religious, or linguistic groups."

(Title II, Article 5)

Aim

The purpose of the course is to define liberating education; to acquaint students with the UNPO as a model to study; and to develop students' critical thinking as a basis for developing their own belief-system in respect to the teaching of English.
Course 2
Politics is Education
The Teaching of English and Prevailing Attitudes--then to now

What does Freire mean by the statement, "Politics is education," by "unveiling truth"? What is the time-line for English-teaching worldwide? How have prevailing views of the times influenced the teaching of English? Readings are selected that provide reflection on the effects of colonialism and imperialism. Different governmental policies in regard to local and indigenous languages are also presented. World Englishes is introduced. Sources include UNPO and other materials on member language-rights issues.

Supporting Source Information
See Bibliography Section for possibilities (particularly the section, "Non-governmental Organizations").

Aim
The purpose of the course is to examine past and current political influences on the teaching of English, both externally and within ELT.

Course 3
Nationalism and the teaching of English

How does the teaching of English relate to nationalism? Language as a part of cultural rights? How has this issue been addressed throughout history? After World War II? The topic of English as the official language of many international organizations and within other contexts is presented and discussed.
"While it is true that English is predominantly used by elites in underdeveloped countries, so that the charge of linguistic elitism is well-founded, many indigenous African and Asian languages (such as Arabic or Hindu) have High varieties which are phonologically, lexically, syntactically and discoursally inaccessible to uneducated users of the Low varieties of these languages. These High varieties are just as much the preserve of these elites as English is. Thus, linguicism is not the unique preserve of English........just like English, some of these indigenous African or Asian languages are burdened by significant colonial or other negative associations of their own. Two African examples are Amharic and Swahili. Amharic spread through many areas of Ethiopia primarily as the result of Amhara military imperialism; and Swahili developed as a Bantu-Arabic pidgin, whose sociolinguistic origins are historically associated in part with the Arab slave trade in Eastern Africa."

(Markee, 1993:350)

"Once before, at the end of World War I, Europe and the world confronted the great task of building a new political and economic order for East-Central Europe after the collapse of the Hapsburg monarchy and the czarist empire. In 1917 American President Woodrow Wilson proclaimed it as his objective 'to make the world safe for democracy'. This great goal was a complete failure at that time, mostly because the European nations, East and West, failed to repudiate an aggressive nationalism, which had risen to unprecedented heights in World War I, rather than seek common solutions for Europe. Instead, these aggressive nationalists, after an interlude of Left-radical revolutionary attempts right after the war, went on an uncontrolled rampage between the two wars. This was encouraged by oppressive economic conditions in most of the European states, made even worse by narrow-minded selfish policies..

For this reason, conditions were favorable for the rise of the fascist movement or the proto-fascist regimes, founded on a policy of native nationalism and contemptuous of the efforts of the League of Nations to ensure appropriate protection for the national minorities in the newly created national states. In turn, ethnic minorities joined the predominantly radical nationalist parties, which rejected any compromise between the ethnic groups, advocating instead the breakup of the respective native state and the homecoming to one's own national state, like the Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia, the Hungarians in Rumania and the Poles in the Ukraine and in Lithuania. The great undertaking to give Europe a stable new order based on the foundations of the democratic right of self-determination failed, with far-reaching consequences obvious to us all, particularly the world catastrophe of World War II, which brought about the physical annihilation of more
than 25 million people. It is good to remember this today, because we stand at a similar point of historical development as that of 1920, a point at which even Soviet policies under the NEP temporarily considered departing from the course of forced collectivization of its economy and opening its own society toward Europe. It is as if Europe is given a chance to put its own house in order for the second time in history. But today, in view of the advanced unification of West European nations and their economic influence, conditions are far more favorable.

(Mommsen, 1994: 3)

"In The Chosen Tongue (1969) English is assumed to have been chosen by some non-native communities, viz., from Africa and the Caribbean, for literary creativity. As suggesting a free choice, nothing could be farther from the truth, for the choice is hardly independent of the will of history and providence, aided by colonial headmasters who disallowed and punished the use of local languages in the school......The partisans of English keep discoursing on its value as a status symbol in countries previously governed by the British but appear oblivious of the resistance it breeds."

(Tripathi, Oct 1992: 32: 3)

"The French do not feel threatened by the morphological and syntactic features of English, or even by the ease of word-compounding. What is most threatening is the domination of technical vocabulary by English, because this makes all other languages seem less functional..."

(Kibbee, 1993:344)

"The question one must ask now is: how can English, which was an instrument of oppression and disenfranchisement of indigenous peoples, be made into a pliable tool capable of articulating authentically meaningful experiences..."

(Dissanayake, 1993:336)

Aim

The purpose of the course is to present issues surrounding national identity, as an example, the use and teaching of English relative to local and indigenous languages.
Course 4

Awareness of diverse peoples and their cultures.
Who and what Freire was writing about

Who are the minorities, indigenous and other disenfranchised peoples of the world? What does Freire say about the educator being with the people? How can the teacher of English be with the people? What does this mean in political terms? Information on peoples who constitute UNPO membership will be studied to promote understanding of their history, culture, and issues. Published writings by and about these peoples will be read and discussed.

Supporting Source Information

Facts about Some UNPO Members:

Two of the 48 UNPO members are presented here:

1. Batwa of Rwanda

Within Rwanda are three ethnic groups: Batwa, Bahutu, and Batutsi. Batwa, one of the pygmy peoples, are, historically, the oldest settled group in Rwanda, living in the forest as hunters and gatherers. Since settlement in Rwanda by the agriculturist Hutu and Tutsi, Batwa have remained unrecognized by these larger, more dominant groups and are discriminated against in all sectors of society. As Batwa are discouraged from attending school, being the victims of harassment and other forms of oppression, only ten Batwa are known to have a secondary school diploma. An artistic people, known for their pottery, the Batwa have even this area of their life threatened through denial of their rights to dig clay. Since Batwa have no representation in the government of Rwanda, they lack any advocacy for their cause on the national level.
2. Assyria

Located primarily in northern Iraq, populations of size are also found in northwestern Iran and eastern Turkey, as well as Syria and Lebanon. Christians from the first century, they are descendants of the ancient Assyrian people who built the empires of Assyria and Babylonia, which fell to the Persians and Ottomans in 600-700 B.C. More than a million people of Assyrian descent live in modern Iraq. Their fate is similar to that of the Kurds. Numerous Assyrian villages have been devastated, along with historical churches and monasteries. Assyrians struggle to end human rights abuses directed against them and gain recognition of their distinct identity.

(UNPO Fact Sheets)

Aim

The purpose of the course is to raise awareness about disenfranchised nations and peoples, their cultures and issues.

Course 5

Skills of intercommunication
Discourse training: diplomacy and negotiation

What did Freire mean by his injunction that the people need to learn how to command the dominant language in order to survive in the struggle to transform society? Diplomacy training and negotiation techniques are studied, with attention to how the UNPO assists members with these techniques and the contexts in which they are used, such as conferences and UN working groups. Other foci will be terminology and differences in national negotiating styles. Students in the course will be expected to adapt techniques taught to teaching English.
Supporting Resource Information

"UNPO's first course in diplomacy training was organised in response to a request of the Tibetan Government in Exile. In April 1992, thirty senior Tibetan officials, including all foreign placed diplomats, took part in a ten-day intensive course, which included introductions to international law, human rights law, the United Nations system, bi-lateral and multi-lateral diplomacy and negotiation, press relations, and the legal status of Tibet. During the course participants had to simulate meetings with foreign ministers, write press releases, conduct their own press conference, as well as simulate a UN meeting. Diplomacy training workshops are also given during UNPO's General Assembly sessions."

(UNPO Three Year Report, 1994: 11)

"Recently, a US ambassador working in a region where we at the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy have an active project asked half-jokingly if we had a glossary of conflict resolution terminology. He was hearing our 'language' frequently in conversations with some of our project partners, but not knowing what the terms meant."

(Diamond in "Conflict Resolution Notes, June 1994, 8)

"One of the greatest pitfalls of international negotiations, whether political or business, is to assume that whereas the ends and goals of the interaction are admittedly different, the two participating sides in a negotiation event use the same act sequences, the same keys, the same instrumentalities, the same norms, and the same genres. Several of these components of a communicative event may be different in different cultures."

(Dirven and Putz, 1993:144)

Aim

The purpose of the course is to acquaint students with diplomacy and negotiation training in consideration of their application to teaching English.
Suggested Class Activities for Use with Courses

1. Create class covenant.

2. Develop glossary of terms that relate to Freire, such as transformative literacy, liberating educator, dialogue, critical inquiry, dominant class.

3. Develop glossary of terms that relate to diplomacy and negotiation, such as conflict prevention and resolution; mediation; international community.

4. Develop glossary of terms that English-language educators come across during their studies.

5. Report on World English research.

6. Create role-plays involving
   a) a Freire-based classroom that uses dialogue and critical inquiry
   b) a UNPO General Assembly or conference that addresses issues such as human rights abuses, conflict prevention
   c) an imperialistic classroom
   d) disenfranchised peoples telling about themselves
   e) a Francophone speaking against the adoption of English by multilateral groups within the international community

7. Share another language with classmates. Talk about its melody, pronunciation or other characteristics that make it interesting to you.

8. Read and report on literature that expresses a colonialist point of view.

9. Report on different styles of communicating by different cultures.

10. Learn a song in another language.

11. Read and report on conflicting views on nationalism.
12. Read and report on differing views on assimilation.
13. Debate the question, "Should English be taught to other cultures?"
14. What is intercultural? multicultural?
15. Learn about the Brazil that Freire refers to. Report on some of these peoples.
16. Read and report on the culture, history, issues of a minority or indigenous people.

2.5 OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS

History

To have the English teaching educator consider the effects of histo-political forces on culture and identity, to determine the different positions of ELT at different times in history, it is pertinent to make a study of these influences a part of language-teaching education. It is what Freire meant when he referred to not "perpetuating the school as an instrument for social control and (by) dichotomizing teaching from learning," citing Marx's warning, 'The educator should also be educated.' (1970:105) The works of historians from different periods abound (see bibliography, "History and Politics" section) and can be read critically in view of their times and their biases. Edward Said, who razes the subject of language as wed to culture and politics, is one historian whose Culture and Imperialism is filled with facts and analysis.

Works by and about minorities, indigenous peoples and others

Certainly, for authenticity of content concerning cultures, histories and views of indigenous peoples, minorities and other disenfranchised peoples, their own writings are a primary source for creating awareness about the real-life
consequences of legislation and policy that historians may refer to in a more academic way. Books by such authors are not widely available but sometimes can be found through specialized publishers or NGOS (for a list of some of these, see bibliography). The alternative press, Inner Traditions, is one house that includes works by and about indigenous peoples and minorities, focusing on spiritual traditions. A recent catalog lists, for instance, several by Africans, including The Healing Drum, African Wisdom Teachings, by Yaya Diallo and Mitchell Hall. The UNPO offers a list of publications available through their offices in The Hague.

Literature

Literature provides another way to see history and politics as a judgmental code. Edward Said invites a reading of Kipling for a measure of insight into colonial attitudes, India, and English:

"What a sobering and inspiring thing it is therefore not just to read one's own side, as it were, but also to grasp how a great artist like Kipling (few more imperialist and reactionary than he) rendered India with such skill, and how in doing so his novel Kim not only depended on a long history of Anglo-Indian perspective, but also, in spite of itself, forecast the untenability of that perspective in its insistence on the belief that the Indian reality required, indeed beseeched British tutelage more or less indefinitely."

(1993: xxi)

Like Kipling—Salman Rushdie, Joseph Conrad, Alexander Solzhenitsyn are among those major authors of literature often cited as representing particular attitudes about the politics of their times. As useful as it is to read these authors' perspectives, it is equally so to become familiar with writers less known in this part of the world. Inclusion of works by these writers as part of a liberating education curriculum, within English language teacher-training institutions, would give authenticity to cultural awareness courses.
NGOs as Sources of Information

Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) (of which the UNPO is one) have exploded in number in recent years, some attributing that rise to information accessibility—the Fax, the Internet. Like the UNPO, these NGOs are new players on the field of politics, internationally. They also will increasingly provide source materials about the peoples and issues they represent, a service which should contribute to better understanding of who they are and what they aspire to. (It has been mentioned that the UNPO provides an information service for and about its members.) It is to these groups that the ELT profession can look for the distinct perspective they offer. Sources of information, such as the Internet, can be less reliable, cautioned Jessica Tuchman Mathews, speaking at Dartmouth College. Seeing news items on Rwanda pour onto the Internet, she was astounded by the swell until she reasoned that she knew nothing about the biases of the reporters and so could not judge reliability or authenticity.

Non-Violence, Conflict Management and Resolution

Despite such problems, the new global configuration of techno-access spheres of influence, the ending of the Cold War have produced a unique moment in history. Unfortunately, too many moments in history have borne victims and bloodshed, the cost of violent responses. Contained within any liberating education paradigm should be endorsements and ways to assist in conflict management and resolution. The UNPO adheres to this through its covenant, listing commitment to non-violence; but, more importantly, through
the training they provide in diplomacy and negotiation. This training involves simulation of situations, such as UN working group sessions, conferences, and negotiations with governments and other bodies, so that its members become practiced in non-violent techniques and diplomatic procedure. In this way, the UNPO serves as a model for a paradigm that seeks to empower in a non-violent way, providing examples of how to secure necessary safeguards for preservation of peace and protect against the devastation that violence brings. Environmental protection is another area, also sanctioned by UNPO, that should be adopted.

Complementary disciplines

Other areas of study—such as philosophy, cultural linguistics, sociology, law—also reflect histo-political themes, are useful to providing insights into the influence of English throughout the world and to creating a paradigm for ELT that, as Freire states, opens windows. This is not to say that the field of education need be overlooked but considered part of an interdisciplinary curriculum within English-language teacher teaching education institutions. In this regard, recommendations by Brown are worth a look, and include these:

1. Language education preparatory programs must name the paradigmatic frameworks we work under.
2. We must actively combat linguicism and geocentrism, particularly institutional linguicism, characterized by structures which promote inequality.
3. We must help promote a diversity of perspectives, not only a perspective which suggests that the native speaker of an Inner Circle variety of English is the most appropriate professional language educator.
Government Programs and Policies

Actual programs and policies of governments are another source for ideas. The following are some of the objectives of a government program for language and cultural awareness in Queensland, Australia:

• the development of an awareness of and an interest in the many Aboriginal and community languages;
• the development of an awareness of how languages communicate;
• the development of an understanding of the role that language plays in culture;
• the development of an appreciation of the validity of other world views;
• the development of a recognition that the English language and Australian culture have their roots in many other languages and culture;
• the provision of an opportunity for pupils to discover the common ground which forms a bridge between their culture and other cultures; and
• the achievement of some functional competence in a language/languages other than English

(LoBianca in Dirven and Putz:150)

Conclusion

What has not been difficult in conducting research for this paper is finding the view, among those writing for re-direction within ELT, that a re-thinking of practices and philosophies among English-language educators is in order, with a more humanistic, inclusive response called for. What has been difficult is finding a large amount of evidence of any movement toward this as reflected in educational resources, such as those listed in catalogs from publishers of teacher resource materials. The emphasis of these materials is teaching techniques, probably because that is what publishers view as the needs and desires of the ELT community.
In conducting my own informal survey of catalogs, I found that attention given to historical and political aspects of teaching English is slight, with Heinemann Educational Books a notable exception (among its books is this: *Freire for the Classroom, A Sourcebook for Liberatory Teaching*, by Ira Shor—certainly worth a look by educators framing a liberating education paradigm. See bibliography for other Heinemann publications). I found no reference to World Englishes in any of the five English-language-teaching publishers' catalogs I checked. Profiles of peoples and their cultures received some representation. Pro Lingua lists an item called *Nations of the World*, cards containing information on 42 countries. Addison-Wesley lists among their publications a book with the title, *Our Own Stories, Readings for Cross-Cultural Communication Practice*. In a survey conducted by Brown, three of the most popular Methods texts, Celce-Murcia (1991), Brown (1987) and Long and Richards (1987) were seen as devoting little attention to the concept of World Englishes.

**Educators as Activators of Change**

It seems likely that if change within ELT of the order envisioned by Freire, called for by many within ELT, is to come, it must come from educators. Those within ELT who support the idea of liberating education must actively advocate for a new paradigm. Certainly this would produce a ripple effect throughout the profession, with an increase in materials and methodologies that take into account this new way of looking at education. It is important to note, however, that materials and methodologies are not alone the answer to what a liberating education paradigm would mean. Freire again is a source:

*The liberating educator has to be very aware that transformation is not just a question of methods and techniques. If liberating education was*
just a question of methods, then the problem would be only to change some methodologies by some modernized ones. But that is not the problem. The question is a different relationship to knowledge and to society.

(1987:35)

Changing How We Think

Perhaps what is needed, before adoption of a liberating education paradigm can be taken seriously within ELT, is a change in how ELT educators relate knowledge to society. For this, it is possible that new voices will first need to be listened to--like those who constitute UNPO membership---ones that have known what it is not to be heard, are still vastly misunderstood and who may invite a way of looking at others, ourselves that will help us to transform our perceptions of education, society and, ultimately, the role of those who teach English.

I offer here yet another quote, this time the words of an unknown Aboriginal woman:

If you have come to offer me your form of aid, you have wasted your time.
If you have come to share with me your power, yes, we can work together.
APPENDIX
UNPO MECHANISMS IN ASSISTANCE OF ITS MEMBERSHIP

General Assemblies and International Conferences: intercultural communication

UNPO members address the international community through General Assemblies and special conferences which bring together various representatives of UNPO member nations and peoples; governments and international organizations, such as the UN and the CSCE (Security Council). Subjects discussed include prevention of conflict, the use of force, population transfer, self-determination; and human rights. Through these general assemblies and conferences UNPO Members participate in the development of law and policy between nations and peoples as well as engage in multilateral diplomacy. Conferences have had these titles: The Prevention of the Use of Force by States Against Peoples Under Their Rule; Human Rights Dimensions of Population Transfer; Self-Determination and Its Relation to Democracy, Individual Human Rights and Protection of the Environment; and Conflict Prevention: the Post War Challenge.

UN Participation and International Awareness

As the principal channel of communication to the international community, the UNPO Secretariat informs governments, the UN and other appropriate parties of member issues, at times providing early-warning notification of threats and incursions that could lead to conflict. An example is the people of Ogoniland in Nigeria, who continue to suffer the effects of environmental devastation and ill treatment, with imprisonment of prominent leader Ken Saro-Wiwa. UNPO has continued to raise awareness on the situation in Ogoniland. The UNPO has also organized diplomatic visits by leaders in Sanjak, in the former Yugoslavia, to address the threat of ethnic
cleansing. Several similar trips were arranged for other member representatives, that included the foreign minister of the exiled Tibetan government, the foreign minister of the Sahrawi Democratic Republic (Polisario), and representatives of the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh.

Election monitoring (Taiwan, 1993, 1995) and fact-finding, diplomatic, and conflict prevention-related missions also constitute a portion of UNPO's activities.

Training and Diplomacy–UN Participation

The structures and processes of the United Nations and other international organizations can be intimidating to those unfamiliar with their manner of operation. Members of the UN have this familiarity through training and experience. National minorities, indigenous and other unrepresented peoples usually do not. The UNPO assists members in presenting their issues and cases to bodies within the United Nations. These include the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, its Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, the Working Group on Indigenous Populations and the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. They also provide training in the workings of the UN. Diplomacy and human rights training are also a dimension of UNPO assistance to members.

Cultural and national awareness

Through materials produced by UNPO's Information services, governments, the UN, NGOs, and the media are informed about minorities, indigenous peoples, and others that comprise UNPO membership. These materials may be fact sheets on members; press releases; in addition to extensive reports related to specific issues, such as those requiring urgent action from the international community.
Bibliography of Works Cited


Mathews, Jessica Tuchman (Feb. 21, 1995) Old States and New Actors: The Shape of a New World Politics. Lecture presented at Dartmouth College.


Selected Sources

Liberating Education and the Teaching of English


History and Politics


Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

(this list of sources for information on language rights and other issues is a sampling of the many NGOs that exist; contact the UN for a list of NGOs in Consultative Status with the Economic and Social Council)

Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, Sec. Gen. Mr. Nouri Abdel Razzak, 89 A. Aziz Al-Saoud St., Al Manial, Cairo, Egypt.

American Indian Language Development Institute, Dept. of Language, Reading and Culture, Univ. of Arizona, Tucson, A, 85721.

Centro Editorial en Literatura Indigena, A. Box 1530, Oaxaca, Oax. Mexico 68000.


The Endangered Language Fund. Contact: Doug Whalen, Dept. of Linguistics, Yale U., New Haven, CT 06520.


Indian Council of South America, Coordinator Mr. Eleutorio Ramirez Jara, Ave. José de Canterác No. 373, Apart. Postal 2054, Lima 100 Peru.


Society for Threatened Peoples, Pres. Tilman Zülch, P.O. Box 2024, 37010 Gottingen, Germany.