

# Popular Education and Social Transformation in Nicaragua

Peter Mayo interviews Maria Zuniga,  
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Nicaragua has captured the imagination of several educators and other cultural workers striving for social change because of the many initiatives in transformative popular education carried out in the country before and, most particularly, after the Sandinista-led revolution of 1979. The most important initiatives were the Literacy *Cruzada*, carried out soon after the revolution, and its sequel, the popular basic education programme (EPB)<sup>1</sup>. Important popular education initiatives were also carried out in the area of health education. Maria Hamlin Zuniga has been involved in primary health care programmes in Central America since 1968. She is a founding member of the Regional Committee for the Promotion of Community Health and the International People's Health Council. She is presently the Director of the Nicaraguan NGO, *Centro de Información y Servicios de Asesoría en Salud* (CISAS). In this interview, which took place during her visit to Toronto in 1991, Maria Zuniga draws on her first hand experience of popular education in Nicaragua to discuss some of the issues related to the field.

MAYO *In your view, to what extent did popular education help change social relations in Nicaragua after 1979?*

ZUNIGA The whole philosophy of popular education, in Nicaragua, is not that of one person being a teacher and the other person a learner but of people learning together and building a new society, transforming structures from the old to a new and just society. The popular education movement in Nicaragua was therefore extremely important leading up to the revolution but especially after the revolution. Of course, the first experiences centered around literacy training. It was literacy training that helped people to understand a history that had been kept from them. This consisted of a history of the struggle for liberation - how it began, in the times of Sandino. Revolutionary words and revolutionary processes were used

as generative words in the literacy training for adults and also in the instruction of children. People were helped to understand the meaning, then, of their history, their culture and to build from that to create a more just society. People were helped to understand this. We worked with them to help them create new ways of going about doing things, to enable them to realise that they had something to say first of all, and that they had a right to speak out. It involved a process of reciprocal learning. Persons working on literacy training, for example, but who never lived in the countryside with peasants and were, for perhaps the first time, going out and sharing experiences with a peasant family, were learning from that family the things that they could teach. And so the educational process involved was a two way one and was not restricted to the literacy that the young person was teaching them. It involved the entire experience of many people coming to know one another and learning to respect one another. This brought about a change in the society. There wasn't the kind of separation whereby city people felt they were different from country people or country people felt that they were inferior to city people because they had less education. City and country people shared this experience and learnt from one another. I think this was terribly important in all the processes of popular education taking place in Nicaragua under the Sandinista government but certainly at the beginning, during the *Alfabetización*, the literacy crusade.

MAYO *A question which arises concerns the role of popular education prior to the revolution. Did it help generate the right climate for a revolution?*

ZUNIGA Well, I had to leave Nicaragua in 1975. Because of the work that I was doing on the east coast, I was asked to leave the country. One of the things that we were doing was working with people in what we call *consentización*. This involved raising awareness of what people's rights were.

People always knew they had responsibilities but many people did not know that they had rights or that they could demand from their government or the authorities certain kinds of services, for example. And so I think that those who were working in the early literacy programmes, those who were working with cooperatives, those who were working with the Indian people, as we were, on the east coast of Nicaragua and those who were doing *conscientización* in general, were helping people become more aware of the fact that they had something to offer, that they were important as individuals. The idea of human dignity was being conveyed. There was also the idea that, because one has human dignity, one can go on and make demands. And people began to do that. This kind of work is, of course, subversive. And people who worked in popular education, in the area of *conscientización*, before 1979, were certainly viewed as being subversive because they were leading to the Revolution. All those education programmes were seen by the people in government as dangerous to them. So such action was obviously important to the Revolution or there wouldn't have been attempts to repress it.

MAYO *Your constant references to 'conscientização' immediately brings to mind the work of Paulo Freire, a leading figure in the popular education movement in Latin America, although I understand that the 'conscientização' movement started well before Freire. A question which comes to mind is: Where and When does Freirean pedagogy work? Does it work in a process of cultural revolution, as was the case in Nicaragua after 1979, when it was promoted by a government seeking to create social relations on the lines advocated by Freire? Alternatively, does it work better in a pre-revolutionary situation, in the context of what Freire would call 'cultural action for freedom'? The Nicaraguan experience provides an answer to the second question. It may have taken a guerrilla movement to effect the final change but the actual process of struggle was a long drawn out one, which involved other movements, like the popular education movement you have just described.*

ZUNIGA Yes. Well, I don't think that one must have a revolution to be involved in Freirean kinds of *conscientización* and popular education. I think that it can be applied in many different situations where one is looking or hoping for social change. We are not going to have revolutions in Canada, for example, or we are not going to have revolutions in the United States, but there are moments when the kind

of process that one goes through with popular education can be very important. It can be very important to particular groups of people in their particular moments in bringing about conscious social change that will lead to permanent kinds of transformation in the society. I believe that this is possible. Of course, that's revolutionary in a small sense. I am not talking about societies and overthrowing governments but overcoming injustice in particular kinds of situations. So yes, I think it can be applied in different contexts. I think it can be applied in neighbourhoods. I think it can be applied in cities, in factories, in different kinds of situations where people find themselves, notably in structures which are unjust and need to change. One can find it in the university - consciousness raising in the university to bring about changes in the curriculum, to bring about changes in the way classes are done. And that wouldn't be revolutionary in the sense of an armed revolution but many of the principles can be applied to our everyday situations. In fact, this is one of the reasons why I am here in Toronto. I am trying to share with people what we do so that they can learn to apply it to their particular fields, whether it be health education, nursing or the students that are in the classroom.

MAYO *What you're saying is that, although it has a Latin American ring to it, conscientisation is not context specific. It can be applicable elsewhere.*

ZUNIGA Yes, I believe that it can. I think that it came at a moment in Latin American history that was very conflictive. It came too at a moment when many people within the Church were talking about a theology of liberation from oppressive structures. And so the two came together and made it very important. An explosive mix, if you will.

MAYO *Many of the Brigadistas who acted as facilitators in the Nicaraguan Literacy Crusade were young students, some of them from the urban centres who moved into the rural areas in a process intended to bring together country and city and therefore to provide a sense of 'national popular unity'. How successful were they in carrying out a pedagogical practice on Freirean lines? Given their age and inexperience, was there a lot of 'Banking Education' going on?*

ZUNIGA Well, I think there are two ways of looking at it. Certainly, 'Banking Education' happened and continues to happen and it is done by people who call themselves popular educators. But I think one of the advantages was that many of the

people were young people and so they were open to doing things differently. They weren't teachers. They were students themselves. They were young people. They were going out to a new kind of situation. Unlike peasants, they didn't have the skills to live out in the countryside. And so literacy workers and peasants were actually forced to learn to live with one another. And you can imagine what it was like for the peasants to have these city persons come out and live with them, attempting to live a peasant's life. They would laugh at them and make fun of them because they didn't know how to do certain things. The literacy workers weren't used to washing their own clothes and perhaps did not have the conveniences that they would have in the city and in their homes. The process involved both literacy workers and peasants getting to know one another and sharing, without all of these preconceptions of how it should be done, because neither had the experience of having been with the other. I think where you start having difficulty is as people start getting older, as they get more set in their ways. If they've been teachers, the tendency would be to teach the same way. And so in the workshops that preceded the literacy training, people learnt new teaching skills and, because they didn't have old teaching skills, ongoing experiences of teaching, they were able to change more easily than persons who had been teachers, who had their ways set and had to adapt to a new process.

MAYO *The former Nicaraguan Literacy Crusade Coordinator and Minister of Education, Fr. Fernando Cardenal, is on record as having said that it is only now that Nicaragua is beginning to move away from 'Banking Education'. What is your reaction to his statement?*

ZUNIGA With the Revolution, there was a tendency to institutionalise popular education. It was done in the educational system. It was done in the health system, in health education, whereby people at ministerial levels, made decisions about what it would be that people would learn and how it would be that they would learn. They would talk about popular education. But if popular education comes from where people are at and what their needs are and what they want to work on, then we can say that the idea of the orientation from above was not 'popular education'. We may have gone through a lot of the motions of popular education, a lot of the methodology of popular education, but the very idea of developing a programme from the base instead of from above was often not taken into account. And I

can speak more clearly about health in this case. For example, in the popular health campaigns, we would be working on the importance of vaccination and trying to get everybody involved in the vaccination campaign. And we would develop materials at the national level with a view to carrying out workshops at the regional levels and at the local levels. This would involve a process in which we would work on these materials together, explain how they should be applied to the base levels, to the community levels and this, in itself, is the antithesis, if you will, of popular education....which is one of the problems that I felt in my work. I felt that, many times, our teaching and educational work was 'top down' and people would say 'well, what is the orientation from above?' And this happened in many, many ways during the Revolution....the whole idea of the *Dirección Nacional*. The people followed the directorate instead of saying 'we're going to make the decisions here and communicate them above'. This became much more difficult during the war years. It was a military kind of reaction instead of a 'popular education' kind of reaction. But that is not to say that, at the local level, people weren't able to apply principles. However, if people are used to taking directions, sometimes they don't want to be flexible with respect to the application of the things they were learning. So if we developed a plan for a workshop at the national level, many times people wouldn't make those adaptations but, in other places, they were creative enough to realise: "Well, this comes from above but here our situation is different and so we are going to have to work on this problem first because that's what our people are demanding of us" But not everybody is creative or flexible.

So Fernando says today we have more possibilities and that's because those of us who are doing popular education are no longer in power. We really have to relate more to the base and that's where we're coming from now. When Daniel Ortega said the Frente Sandinista would rule from below, therefore promoting the idea of organising and mobilising the population to make demands on the new government, he advocated a process which is much more 'popular education' oriented than was the case when the Sandinistas were in government.

MAYO *During the Contra War, a lot of popular educators lost their life. Many of them were the target of deliberate attacks. Were there any casualties in the area of community health education, the area in which you worked?*

ZUNIGA Oh yes. As I already stated, both health and education were attacked by the counter-revolution, especially at the beginning of the War in 1982 and in 1983 and 1984. Many people who were *Brigadistas* or were popular educators or popular health educators were a target for the counter-revolutionary forces. Popular education and popular health programmes were the first and most important ones of the Revolution. Maybe people didn't see land reform or didn't see housing development or the provision of jobs as products of the Revolution but they did have popular education, they did have the literacy training, with new schools being established later on. There was the extension of health services to the entire countryside, even to the most remote areas, with the establishment of health posts and the extension services. So, being against the Revolution, the counter-revolutionaries would attack those forces, those persons, that extend the Revolution to those remote areas. And so the first people who were attacked were the teachers and the health workers. And many health workers disappeared, or were killed, as were teachers. They were kidnapped and never found. Some were taken away to the Contra camps and others were killed. I can't remember how many casualties were suffered but there were many victims among those kinds of workers.

MAYO *Did you experience such a risk?*

ZUNIGA Well, I didn't work in a conflictive area. Our offices are in Managua and we did work in the countryside, especially the North West region of the country. On one particular occasion, the truck that I was driving was attacked by counterrevolutionary forces on the Northern Border of Nicaragua. It was just harassment of the vehicles to frighten people away from that area. So I was never subjected to great dangers but people with whom I work certainly were. People who worked in the regions of Esteli and Nueva Segovia or Matagalpa or Jinotega were certainly, almost on a daily basis, subjected to conditions that were extremely difficult and stressful, living with constant counter-revolutionary attacks. And a very close friend, Benjamin Linder, was assassinated by the counter-revolution when he was working to build a hydroelectric plant in the Northern part of Nicaragua. So I was touched by many deaths of Nicaraguan people and many sons of women who are my friends - sons who went off to war. I am also personally touched by the deaths of people who were personal friends of mine. Nobody in Nicaragua has been untouched by the War because some people had

relatives who joined the counter-revolution. Others had relatives and family who were in the *servicio militar*, the compulsory service for young people. So, in that way, we feel that there isn't a family that wasn't, in one way or the other, touched by the War. And that's why so many people voted for Dona Violeta (Violeta Chamorro), for they were voting against the war, voting against the idea of their sons and, in some cases, their daughters, going off to war.

MAYO *Part of the problem facing the Sandinista government in implementing programmes of popular education lies in the fact that a civil war was going on. This government also had to survive in a competitive, Capitalist economic environment. As Martin Carnoy and Carlos Alberto Torres have indicated, in a study on education in Nicaragua<sup>2</sup>, the Government faced the pressure of having to accumulate capital and, at the same time, to spread its sense of democracy and legitimise itself in the process. How true was this conflict, in your view?*

ZUNIGA How true was it? It certainly is true now! I would say that it was true also in the revolutionary process. There was a conflict between what is popular education and formal education. It was the idea that I spoke of earlier, where the orientation was 'top-down', so you would get the same thing in the formal education structure. Now, within formal education, you can use popular education techniques but, if you have a programme that's handed down to you, although the content of that programme and part of the methodology can be very democratic, the way the teacher imparts the knowledge can be very *anti-popular*, if you will. I think that there are very good formal education teachers that have the required ability and flexibility. Remember that, in Nicaragua, before 1979, the vast majority of the population was illiterate and so you are suddenly expecting people to take on a philosophy and take on new positions in the society without the proper preparation for them. So you will work fast to get somebody trained to do something and that will be formal education. Then you would be expecting them to apply this to non formal education, or do adult education in a way that was different from the way that you were training them. And so there was a lot of this kind of contradiction. I experienced this all the time, with people are in the health field. We are preparing practical nurses, nurses who have a one year training programme in the field and their training programme is hospital oriented. There are doctors' orders regarding what they should do. That's the way their training is. But then, where do you put

them? You put them in a health post in the countryside and they are the persons who are responsible for running the health post. However, they are not prepared. And so I think that there was a lot of this. We don't always prepare people for the roles that are expected of them in a more democratic society. We prepare them in a very dogmatic way and then expect them to adjust and be flexible, and we haven't given them those skills in their own training programme.

MAYO *Has there been an attempt to deprofessionalise the process of disseminating knowledge in post-'79 Nicaragua, at least in the area of popular education?*

ZUNIGA I certainly think so. I think it should have gone much further. But certainly there has been that idea. Remember that most professional people left Nicaragua and so you have a young inexperienced population that very quickly has to take on major responsibilities. That's why a lot of mistakes were made. The mistakes were made by people who weren't prepared professionally. Maybe that was good because, at least, people were willing to take on responsibilities and wanted to do a good job when they were given those responsibilities. And they would try to learn to do a better job, to develop the skills that were needed for the job. So you'd have some people who had very little formal education and very many workshops and seminars that prepared them for the work that they do. And many of those people are much more capable than somebody who has been sitting in the university for years and learning it through books, because they have the 'hands on' experience, they've had practice, they've made mistakes, they know how to go about it. At the same time, it means that you have a professional level that can be deficient. I have been concerned about the people who are working in the medical field because if I compare what a medical student might have here at the University of Toronto's Medical School, in terms of practical possibilities and facilities, and what we have available for our medical students, by far those who have been at the University of Toronto have a greater opportunity to learn in that respect. But they don't have the opportunity to have lived through a revolution, to have been involved in literacy training and to have been involved in the war and to have come out of that with a whole new idea of what society is. Sometimes we have in mind that, in order to be a good professional, you have to have all the things mentioned earlier and we don't have all those things but we can learn to ask the

right questions or know where we need to ask questions or look for more information. But it's a very difficult situation when so many people have to take on responsibilities and do not have the opportunities to prepare themselves.

MAYO *The whole notion of being a popular educator, or, more specifically, an educator in the way Freire understands the term is, in my view, antithetical to the notion of THE PROFESSIONAL - the one who knows best what is good for you.*

ZUNIGA I want to make a distinction between a medical doctor and people who are community based health workers. In my whole professional life, I have been trying to promote the idea of community based health workers, precisely because doctors may have scientific knowledge but what they often lack, if they are not from the particular community, is the cultural sensitivity, the understanding of the society or the ethnic group or whatever it is with whom he or she is working. And most of the time, professional people have developed a shell, if you will, part of which is their professional composure, their white coats, their language, that separates them from the people and makes people respect them and fear them. There is also the fear of asking questions because people do not want to appear to be ignorant. As for the community based health workers, they know where they live. They've got a family. They speak the same language. They have the same customs and they can solve their problems together. And so, for most of us who are working in the field of community based, people centered health care, we are more concerned with providing knowledge, on an understandable basis, to a large group of people rather than spending time and effort and resources in preparing very few people at a highly professional level. Because most of the problems that we have in developing countries are problems that can be solved through education and community organisation and are not dependent upon anti-biotics. Most of our problems don't need anti-biotics. They need social change.

MAYO *What is the impact of mobile global capital on the kind of social programmes introduced by the Sandinistas?*

ZUNIGA Most of the social programmes of the Sandinistas are suffering greatly today because of the change in the government, the requirements of the international lending banks and the requirements of such governments as the US government, on making these famous 'structural adjustments'. And

'structural adjustment', although it sounds very good - it sounds as though you're changing structures - creates problems since what you're really doing is taking away from people the possibility to carry on with some of the most basic functions in their lives. You're taking away from them their educational services, their health services, their day care and social services, pensions for the elderly, care for disabled people - all of those services that make life, make living, more possible for the majority of the people. And it's very disturbing because it is all talked about in such inhuman terms. However, all of that happens on a very human basis. So what we see is, in a very short time, levels of poverty - poverty in many senses of the word, not just capital. People are really disturbed because, for example, if you have a family of young children and you did not have the opportunity to have an education and your children had started to have that opportunity, as simple as that education might be, then you will feel that this education must go on. The people would have hopes that their child can be in secondary school and can go on to the university and then, all of a sudden, these programmes are being cut back, substantially, and people have to pay to go to school. They have to pay for their books. They have to pay for their health services - these services which people regarded as their rights and what we call the 'conquest of the revolution'. People did not vote for the new government to have those removed and it's quite disturbing to people. Structural adjustment sounds like a very reasonable combination of words. It sounds alright. But when you start putting human beings into these structures, you realise that it's eventually going to lead up to a very explosive situation throughout the world because it's simply increasing the gap that exists between the rich and the poor. What we now discover is that the middle class is becoming poor and so the situation today is much more divisive than was the case with poverty in the past when we didn't have a middle class and we didn't have people with so many expectations.

MAYO *It's a bleak scenario. Are there possibilities for change?*

ZUNIGA There are a lot of people who are hopeful. Of course, the way out, at the present time, is not through armed revolution. What we talk about a lot, in Central America, is the whole idea of *concertación*, of the different social actors and social forces in the community coming together because, if the wealthy are reasonable, they will realise that, unless there is some way of people working together

and having certain kinds of possibilities for a better life, the situation will become so explosive that they are not going to be able to maintain their wealth and their power. And so those who have wealth and power must sit down at the table with the other social actors and try to bring about reasonable social change. And that's what happening in Central America. There's a lot of what we call *concertación*. There are many social actors. The government, business, private industry, social forces such as unions and political parties are sitting down together. It's not the way they've solved problems before. So it takes a great deal of understanding to do things this way and there are situations which I think can be quite explosive. We have situations of social unrest in Nicaragua but they are localised reactions to pressure. One would hope that people could reason together over a table. And I think that military leaders and the very wealthiest Latin Americans and the younger people are aware that they can't continue to be killing people, to massacre people as they have done in the past because, in the world society today, those things cannot continue to go on. And so they, at least, have to try to present a more reasonable face. But it's very, very difficult. It's very difficult for people to stop because they haven't done that before. Force has been used against people and not reason.

MAYO *I'd like to shift the discussion to an analysis of the role of social movements. There has been a lot of talk about mass popular organisations being accorded a big say in the running of the country by the Sandinista government. Were they perceived as the more likely agents of social transformation?*

ZUNIGA Oh I would say so! Yes, the mass organisations had members at all levels of society and all levels in the city and the countryside: the Workers, the Agricultural Workers, the Factory Workers, the Teachers' Union, the Health Workers' Union. Those were important social actors at the time of the Sandinistas. But they were very SANDINISTA and so, now, with the change in the Government and certain discontent on the part of people in the mass movements, you see, for example, the Federation of Workers taking a much more radical stand than the party itself. Whereas, during the time of the Sandinistas, there was a close relationship between the party and the State, now the party is out of power. It is no longer the State and the workers now have a more radical point of view than the party itself. And some people say "Can't the party control those?". No, because the mass organisations, all

those people, don't belong to the party. The party cannot say you do this or do that because the organisations have a broader base than the party itself.

And now what's happened in the women's organisation, for example, is that, whereas during the time of the Sandinistas, there was one major women's organisation, there is now what we call the Women's Movement and, in the Women's Movement, there are different organisations and no single organisation is in the vanguard. And no single organisation can say that it speaks for all women. And we have a coordination of groups that work with, for and are of women. And, at any given time, we might be able to have twenty or twenty five different groups working together. We have a Movement of the 52%. 52% of the population are women. And the members of the 52% are different groups that have their own particular point of view and ways of working. But they come together to discuss basic women's issues and they don't feel that one organisation represents them. There is a recognition that women have many interests and that they should be able to organise around their particular interest. But there is a sense of gender and so the movement is a women's movement but it is not the kind of organisation that it was seen to be during the time of the Sandinistas. So many things happened after the elections .

MAYO *Of course, there are other movements, such as the Lesbian Movement. Is it very powerful?*

ZUNIGA Well no, it's not powerful. Although it is small, however, it can come out and be a social force. That didn't happen before 1990. It happened after the Elections. It happened basically after March 8 of 1991. They are one of the organisations that make up the Movement of the 52%.

MAYO *What about the other powerful sector in Nicaraguan and Latin American society - the Church? Now we tend to think in terms of two churches in this context, what Freire calls the 'modernising church', very much associated with the upper echelons of the hierarchy, and the 'prophetic church' which is the one that is very much into Liberation Theology. How strong and how influential is Liberation Theology still in Nicaragua ?*

ZUNIGA I think the basic christian communities have suffered a great deal in the last few years. The basic christian communities were extremely important during the pre-revolutionary times and at

the time of the Revolution. But today there are other powerful forces working in the community. One is the modernising church, as you put it, namely the hierarchical church. This church is characterised by its possession of a great deal of money and resources and a social plan. Besides that, there are the Evangelical churches. There is an attempt to evangelise. Some of that is led from North American sects that are putting a great deal of money into Nicaragua. Others are the more prophetic, evangelical churches who have a base in Liberation Theology. And all over Central America, there is a plan to reduce or eliminate the power of the popular church. However, there are moments when you see the upsurge of the popular church and the people's response. A typical example was the reaction to the death of the Jesuits in El Salvador. But I think that most of the people who are in the popular church in Nicaragua are closely identified with the Sandinistas. A sense of anguish and sorrow surrounded the defeat of the Sandinistas and the change in the social programme, and, in some cases, one notices a sense of desperation in trying to look for hope in this new situation. But almost daily there are reactions to the kinds of pressures that are being put on society. We didn't have social problems related to drugs or street violence. Of course there was the war, but there wasn't so much theft and assaults. Now that has become a daily occurrence and people don't know how we're going to come out of this. We really don't know how we're going to come out of this. There are moments of reaction in the society and then things calm down again because people do not want to have a civil war. But there are retreats and forward movements and church people are caught up with this. And some people have a crisis of faith because they don't believe in the hierarchical church. They don't believe that it's right for the Cardinal to be building a three million dollar cathedral when there is extreme poverty fifty yards away from where he's building this cathedral. This is the kind of contradiction they are attempting to grapple with. So, where is it that we're going to go? I don't know. I think that we are in very troubled times. But people do have hope that some day things will be better.

MAYO *What about the Liberation Theology movement throughout Latin America in general? Is it still powerful?*

ZUNIGA I think that it's powerful among the people who are part of the Christian communities but because Christian communities are small communities working together, that's where they find

their Church and not in the institutional church. And so because it's here and there and is not big, it doesn't have big buildings, it is hard to measure its force. But I believe that it is still there in many places in the faith and the hope of small groups of people working for something within their possibilities. It is present among people looking for justice in their neighbourhood or community. It doesn't have the spokespersons or the attention. I mean somebody like Monsignor Romero brought what was happening in the popular church to people's attention every week and it had publicity. Today there is not so much publicity. But I feel there are strong Christian communities still working today.

MAYO *How great was Freire's influence on you in your role as popular educator?*

ZUNIGA I would say that it was extremely important to me to have had the experience, first of all, to be involved in what is called *conscientización* and then study about it more theoretically after having been involved in the practice. It was equally important to discover that this is something that I really wanted to learn more about and become better at in my own work in health and to look for ways to apply specifically those kinds of theoretical frameworks to the health field. So I came at it not from a theoretical base and wanting to go out and do it but from the popular base and in accordance with the needs of the people. I was looking for a theory with which I could identify at critical moments in my life. I could see what it did when I was working with the people. I learnt a lot from the people by the decoding process. We learnt together and I discovered the process to be quite exciting. So Freire did influence me. So did the people around me who knew Freire. These are people who don't have the name that he does, but who exerted a great influence on my life. And there are many situations in which I wish I could apply much more Freirean theory but what happens

in the world today is things occur so fast and to do that kind of teaching you need time.

### Notes:

1. For an excellent account of these initiatives, refer to R.F. Amove's *Education and Revolution in Nicaragua*, N. York: Praeger, 1986.
2. Camoy, M., Torres, C.A. (1990), 'Education and Social Transformation in Nicaragua 1979-1989' in Camoy, M, Samoff, J., *Education and Social Transition in the Third World*, N. Jersey: Princeton University Press.