

“A Long Loop”

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A PARABOLIC THOUGHT

Tao Te Ching, XI:

“We put thirty spokes together and call it a wheel;
But it is on the space where there is nothing that the
 usefulness of the wheel depends.
We turn clay to make a vessel;
But it is on the space where there is nothing that the
 usefulness of the vessel depends.
We pierce doors and windows to make a house;
And it is on these spaces where there is nothing that
 the usefulness of the house depends.
Therefore just as we take advantage of what is, we
 should recognize the usefulness of what is not.”¹

As Director of Parami University's Language & Thinking program (L&T), I read and write alongside twenty Myanmar youth in my section. Our group is one of six that convenes for a thirty-hour immersion into Liberal Arts pedagogy in the two weeks preceding our students' first semester. This intensive workshop exposes students to the writing-to-think and writing-to-read emphases of Parami University. We start with this Taoist wheel, vessel, and house. In the coming days, we will engage scores more pieces of fiction and nonfiction, poetry and parables, music and plays, diaries and comics, and political proclamations. We draw upon an L&T *Anthology* that features literature from Myanmar and other Asian cultures, as well as selections shared with other Global Higher Education Alliance for the 21st Century (GHEA21) universities. Several of these institutions, like Parami, persist, even thrive, though they are threatened or exiled by political oppressors. Hence, the *Anthology* is expansive, exuberant, and sobering. Sometimes this literature parallels these students' lives, and sometimes it stands in stark juxtaposition to their daily precarity.

* I am sincerely grateful to the Bard College Institute for Writing and Thinking CLASP Fellows Program. CLASP signifies the Center for Liberal Arts and Sciences Pedagogy. It funded three cohorts of teaching colleagues from across the Open Society University Network (OSUN), which has recently reconstituted itself as GHEA21, the Global Higher Education Alliance for the 21st Century, also housed at Bard College and collaborating with institutions and dual-degree programs worldwide.

As I form prompts for L&T writing exercises, I realize that these questions may occupy our minds, choices, and lives for decades.

Many Parami students' families have migrated, fled genocide, faced imprisonment and death, lost homes and villages to bombardment, forfeited professions to be part of Civil Disobedience, committed their savings to their children's education, and rebuilt after cyclones and earthquakes. Some students live in U.N. refugee camps across the border in Bangladesh or Thailand. Scores have moved to "learning hubs" arranged by Parami in Laos, Thailand, and safer areas within Myanmar. In this existential reality, students build camaraderie. They marvel at their newfound freedom to ask questions, having been raised on rote instruction. They adapt to writing like they've never been asked to write before. They share ideas and plans for the future. They speak and write about building a modern state with decentralized federalism in which regions and ethnicities can enjoy integrity, freedoms, autonomy, and accountability.

From the first morning of L&T, students experiment with a fresh approach to learning – Liberal Arts. So begins their foray into writing-based, student-centered learning, which will be replete with Private Freewriting, Focused Freewriting, Process Writing, Loop Writing, Gallery Walks, Writing in the Zones, and longer, more structured critical essays. The wheel, vessel, and house of Lao Tzu, who possibly never existed, hold our attention, nonetheless. We focus on the wheel stanza. We picture thirty spokes linked to an empty space upon which this wheel depends. We assume there is a rim to which the spokes connect. We notice the function of rolling forward or backward. We imagine the objects and people who "take advantage of what is." We wonder whether anyone pauses to recognize the "usefulness of what is not." After reading and discussing this passage, the class responds to its first writing prompt:

FOCUSED FREEWRITE 1

"How might students entering Parami – a liberal arts institution in a land of rote instruction – situate themselves in this Taoist thought from millennia ago?"

3 minutes; pens to paper; write and think; then bracket and share written thoughts.

Typically, I write alongside my students; necessarily so, if I am to keep pace with their discourse. On this first day of L&T, I wrote that this passage is not something to be memorized or recited. It is not a moral aphorism, nor was it ever part of a

Confucian code of conduct. It likely never appeared on a royal test of mandarins in feudal times. Nor will it surface on a twenty-first century exam. Nor is it an allegory, fable, or metaphor. Nor is it just about inanimate objects. I am drawn to the wheel. Although I am hardly an artist, I try to sketch the wheel of a cart that I have in mind. One may contemplate its common attributes across cultures, continents, and centuries, and so this Taoist thought affects me much as a parable. I am invited to step into the stanzas and descriptions. I can habituate the nature of each object. I am welcome to view things and others from an alternative point. This is not role-playing. This is living discourse.

Following two weeks of L&T, all six workshop sections form a matriculating class of about one hundred students, who aim to complete two baccalaureate degrees from Parami University and our partner institution, Bard College. Yet I have learned over several years of facilitating L&T that a number of students also mean to discern the “fit” of liberal arts in- and out-of-class and throughout life. For the former, the Course Catalog lays out the agenda and timeline for meeting Parami’s and Bard’s degree requirements: four semesters of first- and second-year seminar, a distributive core, major requirements, community service and citizen science, and a senior thesis. There are also Parami’s core values of equity, humility, integrity, excellence, diversity, empathy, freedom, and responsibility. But for the latter – discerning a liberal arts fit that is “in, for, and of” the people of Myanmar – there is no local catalog or guidebook. These students, their parents, and likely their ancestors, have been raised in cultures of rote instruction. L&T has opened the floodgates.

PEDAGOGY OF PLACE

Although I live in Colorado, my wife and I have worked with Southeast Asian, primarily Vietnamese, educators for thirty-six years. Presently, I am connected daily via Zoom, email, and our Learning Management System to Myanmar students “at” Parami University. As a founding faculty member of this fledgling institution, I am guzzling from the proverbial firehose, reading books, news, scholarly articles, and correspondence about Myanmar. My students are my most immediate source for all things related to Myanmar: their hopes and struggles, their pedagogy of place, their present and future way of knowing, their enabling and disabling environment, and their motivation.

The preposition “at” suggests a place, but therein lies a puzzle. In and surrounding Myanmar, there is no physical “at” for university students since the Tatmadaw military shuttered the country’s few private universities and minimized public and military education. Ever since Burma’s independence from British

colonialism and Japanese fascism – nearly eighty years ago – the Tatmadaw has insisted that it, alone, is the emerging state’s best bet for security and unity in a historically fractured country of at least 135 ethnic nationalities. Perversely, colonialism, fascism, and militarism, alike, have purposefully exacerbated ethnic fault lines by dividing and controlling the populace. Yet ironically, though the Tatmadaw has closed Parami’s physical “at” it has also provoked a ubiquitous “at” because the university’s “empty” campus paved a new way. Turn to Zoom. Consequently, Parami effectively reaches most of Myanmar and several neighboring countries. Instead of serving just Yangon-based students, who would be meeting in temporary classrooms and quarters on a new campus under construction, Parami now thrives on Zoom. It has an agile behind-the-scenes staff that recruits, enrolls, connects, and supports students and faculty with encrypted servers, laptops, solar energy, and patient guidance.

Yes, the political coup stalled Parami’s original build-out plans. That set-back, however, opened opportunities previously not considered. While Parami might have emerged as a modern Yangon campus open mostly to urban students, it has instead begun to earn its reputation as an accessible and affordable online international liberal arts university that teaches across the valleys, the upland Zomia, the borderland refugee camps, and the displaced learning hubs of a diverse study body. Through its pursuit of serious study, writing, discourse, and community science and service, Parami’s diverse student body is modeling a “decentralized federalism” of common learning objectives with local accountability.

To its huge credit, the Civil Disobedience Movement that responded to the Tatmadaw’s 2021 coup forged common cause among central valley citizens and peripheral upland citizens. The goal of these central-peripheral collaborators has been to remove the military junta, which is widely decried as the barrier to Myanmar’s realization of freedom and democracy. Their collaboration is political. It entails party organization and armed resistance. Timothy Snyder defines these activities as the pursuit of “negative freedom,” which is political activity to be *free from* something or someone.²

Snyder goes on to argue that life’s opportunities require much, much more than negative freedom. He relies upon five deepening forms of freedom that mirror how one matures across five stages of life. Living through each form or stage from childhood to seniority presents opportunities to engage “positive freedom,” which is to be *free for* something, to work horizontally across societal sectors, to recognize and diminish divisions among people, to respect and learn alongside others, and to know “what we value and bring it to life.”³

My L&T section, and certainly my politics, international relations, and environmental justice students are already collaborating for behavioral norms that will pre-

pare citizens for post-junta Myanmar. In Robert Dahl's terms, this is the twinned pursuit of polyarchic socio-political behavior and the building of just constitutionalism and inclusive nationalism.⁴ These students understand that from their dispersed places of study, they are carrying out now and will continue to cultivate positive freedom for broader and better education. Regardless of their choice of career, they sense a need for young people whose life vocation is improving their country's educational system. If that education is accessible, affordable, inclusive, imaginative, and critically thinking, it can build the capacity of society. It can serve federalist accountability, governability, and representation.

These students voice such thoughts as early as L&T. They carry these critical thoughts forward with writing and thinking exercises and essays soon after L&T. This past year, a group of these students drafted the new Parami University Student Body Constitution, which passed just one vote shy of Student Body unanimity. It was a striking Constitution for its attention to diversity. This semester, the Student Body voted into office their initial Student Government. Course-by-course, students examine Myanmar challenges, apply multiple disciplines, and solve problems. They discern whether, why, and how liberal arts is a fitting pedagogy for the future of Myanmar.

Negative freedom *from* the oppression of the Tatmadaw is necessary. Positive freedom, by contrast, would aim to build a better society with surer expectations of good governance, a just nationalism, democratic sensibility, higher standards of leadership, and the shape and purpose of Myanmar's future educational system. This latter objective faces head-on a culture of rote learning, and consequently obedience to hierarchic authority. Traditionally, Burma's valley floors and verdant paddies were home to Buddhist kingdoms. Its upland and borderland Zomia were a vast geography ruled by chieftains of many ethnicities and diverse beliefs. Both environments valued rote instruction to control populations. Regardless of internationalization after WWII, post-colonial and newly independent states such as Burma, then Myanmar, continued to shape youth and adults by didactic hierarchical and rote instruction.

FOCUSED FREEWRITE 2

"Rote instruction or liberal arts: whose reality counts in imagining and delivering the future of education in Myanmar?"

3 minutes; pens to paper; write and think; then bracket and share written thoughts.

DIGGING DEEPER

Arguably, there is scarcely time in subject-matter courses to dwell on L&T skill-building, let alone examine its most promising features for liberal arts. Still, last semester, I covered three courses' subject content while examining L&T practices and asking whether there was a genuine "fit" for liberal arts in some future Myanmar education system.

In each course, I began this inquiry by reiterating the above parabolic thought about a wheel from Taoism as well as the Focused Freewrite prompts. Students had progressed since their initial pre-matriculation L&T workshop, and were now in their second and third year of studies. They were, therefore, at least a full year removed from the L&T experience. These courses were Second Year Seminar, Comparative Politics of Southeast Asia, and Craft of Social Inquiry. In their bracketed and shared responses to the Focused Freewrite exercises, there was a common student emphasis on the need for improved education across Myanmar. I invited all three classes to help me dig deeper in discerning what sort of education, jobs, and hope they envisioned upon graduation. Together with the Second Year Seminar and Craft of Social Inquiry classes, we created a Google Form Survey, to which 26 of 34 students responded anonymously. This survey provided the following data showing a strong commitment to improving education, and in particular liberal arts approaches, and it showed student preferences among various writing-to-think approaches to liberal arts.

FINDINGS FROM CO-DESIGNED SURVEY AND OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS 3

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| 1 | <i>What is liberal arts education</i> | "What is liberal arts education," to which they agreed upon a dozen attributes: interdisciplinary, for critical thinking and problem-solving, communicative, for building broad knowledge yet supporting deep specialization, of vital importance to citizens in a developing country, about democracy and justice, holistic, open-minded, world-connecting, and of service to a country that seeks to deal with its past, present, and future. |
| 2 | <i>Is liberal arts pragmatic in the context of Myanmar</i> | "Is liberal arts pragmatic in the context of Myanmar," with 96.2% answering "yes." |

- 3 *Does liberal arts bear potential for the future of Myanmar* “Does liberal arts bear potential for the future of Myanmar,” with 100% concurring. The top reasons supporting that 100% potential are that liberal arts builds critical thinking skills (100%), broadens perspectives (96.2%), leads to concrete problem-solving (88.5%), teaches constructive argumentative skills (80.8%), leads to constructive discourse (73.1%), and democratizes societies (69.2%) and states (53.8%). The two top reasons for liberal arts not fitting well in the context of Myanmar are that it lacks specific on-the-job skill training (57.7%) and runs counter to authoritarian rule (38.5%).

- 4 *Capacities or interests for taking on additional workload for teaching* “What capacities or interests do you have for taking on additional workload for teaching,” to which they responded: motivation to provide formal or nonformal learning (84.6%), commitment to society (76.9%), desire to learn through teaching (76.9%), encouragement of family to do so (53.8%), and the potential to develop a stream of income (53.8%).

- 5 *Level of interest in teaching formally* Ranking their level of interest in teaching formally upon graduation, those who were extremely interested (42.3%), very interested (23.1%), and interested (11.5%) outnumbered those with only some or no interest in teaching (23.1%).

- 6 *Counter argument* The counter argument for assuming additional workload to teach is that it presents a security concern (69.2%) and there would likely not be enough time (57.7%).

- 7 *Confidence in finding a job* Asking about the students’ confidence in finding a job that matched their capacity and educational achievement upon graduation, there were those quite certain (7.7%), fairly certain (38.5%), and confident (42.3%).

- 8 *Level of hope* Asking about their level of hope for the future of Myanmar upon graduation, there were those extremely so (19.2%), very hopeful (23.1%), somewhat hopeful (19.2%), uncertain (26.9%), and not at all (11.6%).

- Greatest obstacles* In an open-ended question about the greatest obstacles standing in the way of liberal arts education, teaching opportunities, and hope in Myanmar, the seven most-oft mentioned reasons were poverty (10 responses), civil war (9), political instability (8), militarist authoritarianism (8), poor Internet and electricity access (6), ethnic conflict (6), and a culture of rote education (4).

- Greatest need* By contrast, another open-ended question strongly stressed that Myanmar’s greatest need was accessible, affordable, and inclusive education (18 responses), which

was greater than the students' expressed need for peace (14), economic development (10), and security (6).

Greatest assets How might Myanmar reach these goals? The students responded that Myanmar's greatest assets were cultural (9) and ethnic (7) diversity, both of which outnumbered the value of natural resources (5) and labor force (3).

Most preferred L&T writing-to-think approaches Finally, students weighed in on their most preferred L&T writing-to-think approaches. The top four choices were the Focused Freewrite exercise (76.9%), my own ten-step QT critical writing template (73.1%), Private Freewriting (46.2%), and storytelling (34.6%).

Breaking this down a little further, the most preferred variations on Focused Freewrite exercises were Loop Writing (27%), notice/wonder (23%), Process Writing (19%), and belief/doubt (15%).

While Focused Freewriting was the most highly valued writing-to-think approach (77%), its near rival was my QT template for critical essay construction (73%). I introduce the latter QT approach by scaffolding in-class and take-home writing exercises. I started with in-class/ungraded writing exercises and built up to take-home/graded critical essays. Typically, I use the L&T idea-generative Writing in the Zones activity to focus on question- and thesis-argumentation for critical essay writing.

My argumentative approach calls on students to hone integrative communicative skills to: a) read for an author's argument; or b) write to express one's own argument; or c) note-take to capture a speaker's argument; or d) prepare for oral presentations. The template identifies the same critical components for all four communicative skills:

- Q** *question* presented by author/writer
- T** their *thesis* argument answering this Q
- C** concise *contextual* information underlying the T
- C** defined key *concepts* or theories pertinent to the T
- FAS** T-supporting paragraph(s) with *facts*, *analysis*, and *synthesis*
- R** *reflection* of what has been learned from this exercise
- R** concrete *responsiveness* to that reflection; and
- Q** new *questions* that emerge, leading to another cycle of QT reasoning

The long acronym is Q T C C FAS R R Q, and the short is QT, and in social science genres, the QT cycle loops on and on.

No sooner had we examined these in-class and take-home writing-to-think exercises in liberal arts courses, then the 28 March 2025 7.7 Sagaing Quake shook all of Myanmar, as well as neighboring states. The Tatmadaw showed particular cruelty, theft of emergency aid, and insouciance in the face of horrific suffering. Parami students were directly and indirectly affected. The university took a three-week break for students to face calamity. In any event, there was scarcely any electricity, internet, potable water, and in some areas, safe shelter. Parami students served in multiple ways, including recovery of decomposing bodies, distribution of food, medicine, and tarps, vital fundraising, and communication links. They did so publicly despite the Tatmadaw's increased surveillance and conscription of young men and women for compulsory military service in the war.

Gradually, we re-convened on Zoom with informal class sessions. There were no assignments. Students were welcome to process their feelings and relay information. Arising from several students was one especially poignant refrain: "Leave No Student Behind." That sentiment shaped our next step, which entailed some revision to assignments for the second half of the term.

ANNOTATED LESSON PLANS

If a significant proportion of Parami students saw themselves as likely formal educators upon graduation (76.9%) and *every* survey respondent believed liberal arts belonged in Myanmar's future educational system, then in the Taoist "empty" space of post-quake numbness and rebuilding, what type of lesson plans might these students imagine devising for Myanmar youth lacking access to quality education – "Leave No Student Behind." To generate ideas about learning objectives and subject matter, these classes began with this prompt:

PROCESS WRITING 4

"What have I learned and presently consider the place for liberal arts pedagogy to be in Myanmar's educational and socio-political context, and if given the opportunity, how should I build a lesson plan for Myanmar youth on a critical topic?"

5 minutes with pens to paper; students write and think; and share written thoughts in self-selected twenty-minute breakout rooms of several members; each breakout room is to identify a spokesperson who will explain to the class their written thoughts and strategy for a single lesson plan.

This follow-up assignment had variations in each class, according to the course readings and learning objectives. This applied step to process the shock of the quake and include an annotated lesson plan that drew upon course materials narrowed the reach of potential topics. For example, one class addressed “Earth Politics” in the Sagaing Earthquake, delving into the political, social, and educational agenda encircling the communities and cities most affected by the quake. Another focused on how Timor Leste, a neighboring Southeast Asian state and the second newest state on Earth following its 2002 independence from Indonesia (and before that, Portugal), had shown resilience after its own calamitous challenges.

Most impressive, though, were particular student educational initiatives that went far beyond course deliverables. The Sue San Project devised a nonformal curriculum to teach rural youth with limited access to schooling in Southern Shan State to learn and conduct their own citizen science, thus addressing existential threats to their youth. Another endeavor, Project Luminary, developed a sophisticated lecture series that walks participants through preparatory materials on a topic that a guest speaker will address on Zoom. A third focuses on researching and normalizing national discourse on what “just nationalism” must entail to replace the Tatmadaw’s false narrative that only it can secure and unite a vexed and fractious country. Other projects are at different stages of design and deployment.

Highlighted here is an incredible education project, KAWI, which draws on the gifts and commitment of eleven Parami students. Principal leaders are young women who traveled to the epicenter of the Sagaing Earthquake to deliver food, medicine, and tarps on behalf of the Parami University community. There the idea of KAWI came into focus for them. The Burmese word “kawi” derives from Sanskrit and means “wise person” or “poet.” This project introduces writing-to-think liberal arts practices through a nonformal curriculum for “wise persons” who have a storehouse of knowledge from their *lived experiences as youth in Myanmar*. These participants in KAWI cannot attend higher secondary or tertiary education, so KAWI meets them where they are. To sustain this pilot effort, KAWI devised and holds its Parami team of students accountable to a work plan that covers administrative, academic, and communications departments, a six-part curriculum on education, labor, environment, ethnicity, media literacy, and artificial intelligence; committees on finance, business development, and social media; and specific tasks related to graphic design; project evaluation; and overall strategy. The team shared their mid-term report with me this week. They are gearing up for the second half of their pilot. Quoting from the preamble of their report:

A crisis can become an opportunity, but only through our collective will to transform it. As KAWI members wade through the quintuple crisis yet with

refusal to submit to it. KAWI opportunely forges a decentralized, collaborative, and experimental educational movement as our own sovereign acts of self-determination, as a gift for upcoming generations to rise together into a renewed world of our own making, and a heartfelt payback – to the professors, donors, and Parami University who have raised us to come this far – carrying their legacy to ensure work of learning truly belongs to everyone at any stage of life.

To those who are currently bearing the weight of uncertainty in Myanmar – those young people forced out of classrooms, those worried about conscription, and those who float adrift in uncharted waters – we see you. We know the exhaustion of living through systemic crisis.

Let's dismantle the internalized limits. Let's actively replace the status quo. Let's create a new diverse horizon for the future.

Let's live and learn KAWITIVELY.”⁵

At this point, I clearly must step back and explain to my students *what I have learned from them*. In class, we have read, written about, and discussed Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, so the concepts of conscientization, humanization, teacher-student co-investigation and co-creation of problem-posing education are familiar to us.⁶ Still, KAWI and these other projects are already shaping the future of Myanmar's education system. If Parami is attentive, it too may witness something of its own future.

A LONG LOOP

LOOP WRITING 5

“Reflect again on the wheel in Lao Tzu's opening stanza – its center, spokes, rim, movement, and whatever else comes to mind. Without contorting this parabolic Taoist thought into an allegory, contemplate how different entities (youth, students, academic institutional partners, global educational affiliates, and Myanmar) “fit” together in challenging times.”

5 minutes; pens to paper; write and think; then bracket and share written thoughts.

As a professor, I can only hope to stay abreast of Myanmar and my students' context, their bold and brainy insights, and their jaw-dropping soulful initiatives. If I am

silent and still, I can listen to, observe, and learn from them. I am a participant-observer among them whose classroom is Zoom, whose campus is Southeast Asia, and whose alliance is global. I juxtapose my teaching-to-students alongside my student-teachers and their critical thinking, written work, class surveys, and service to a state (and even the Tatmadaw) that would do well to learn from this rising generation. More precisely, in their context, there is a “fit” for liberal arts curricula – formal and nonformal – that are writing-intensive, student-centered, critically-focused, and online, given present political restrictions.

Beyond standard expectations of objectivity that inform my participant-observer status, I am also intentional about social justice since my teacher-student status is empathetically engaging. A military junta assaulted our university by shuttering its Yangon campus. Tatmadaw military helicopters rain fire on my students’ villages. It has allegedly committed genocide on the Rohingya population, of which we enroll a number of students. The Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court seeks an arrest warrant on account of alleged war crimes and genocide for President (former Senior General) Min Aung Hlaing. The junta’s violence is compounded by recent U.S. Department of State actions – the closure of USAID, absence of earthquake relief, denial of visas, shuttered study centers, and unfunded scholarships and internships. Social justice and critical thinking are interwoven in Parami courses, which cultivate grounded reflections, civic engagement, citizen science, and the pursuit of truth. If either action or reflection is underused, the other suffers, and the authenticity of both is compromised.⁷

For me, as a scholar, teacher, student, and fellow in CLASP, I engage these crises and the hope of my students.⁸ A participatory, critically thinking, and transforming moral agency among scholars and development personnel is necessary.⁹ Longer-term, and especially *when* the junta’s grip is loosened, I aim to situate on Parami’s campus in Yangon to work alongside students, staff, faculty, administration, donors, and Myanmar society in building the most appropriate curriculum for that context.

The Parami mission and vision (in concert with Bard and GHEA21) are *positive freedom* alternatives to *negative freedoms*, but there could be another leg supporting this educational goal: first, the university aims to cultivate the minds and souls of youth who suffer under the oppression of the Tatmadaw junta; second, Parami aims to build a cadre of post-junta leaders for Myanmar; yet a third *positivity* is laying the groundwork for an *education movement*. In growing a fledgling university – physically in Yangon and virtually on Zoom – Parami’s numbers are very modest. By next year’s Commencement celebrating our first baccalaureate cohort, there will likely be 34 graduates with 244 undergraduates following behind. If Parami achieves its matriculation goals of 120/class and maintains its 94% retention rate,

the university would realize a total enrollment of 404 students in a country of 55 million. Perhaps the dozen or so Parami “learning hubs” will multiply to a number greater than Lao Tzu’s spokes on the wheel. Students, not teachers, have a capacity to deliver geometric growth. Although the government claims eight million tertiary students, the vast majority merely sit for a rote exam at the end of each academic year at one of the Tatmadaw institutions. By contrast, fewer than 1% of university-aged students are enrolled in rigorous studies through private institutions, such as Parami.

I close with sober reflections on the implications of progressive education (or the absence thereof) for these students, their country, the future of Parami, and its representative voice in the “wheel” of GHEA21 institutions and learners. I have an obligation to hope. And I give no truck to post-colonial, large state insouciance. Bring on this emergent education movement.

NOTES

- 1 Waley, A., trans. 1958. *The Way and Its Power: A Study of the Tao Te Ching and Its Place in Chinese Thought*, chapter XI. NY: Grove Press, Inc.; republished, Waley, A., trans. 2010. *Tao Te Ching*. London: The Folio Society Ltd., p. 122.
- 2 Snyder, T. 2024. *On Freedom*. NY: Crown, p. xii.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. xv.
- 4 Dahl, R. 2006. *A Preface to Democratic Theory*, Expanded Edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 63–89.
- 5 KAWI, 2025. *Kawitve Journey So Far (Mid-Term)*, Report, preamble page.
- 6 Freire, P. 2018. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Revised 50th Anniversary Edition, trans. Myra Bergman Ramos. NY: Bloomsbury Academic, pp. 74–77, 80–81.
- 7 *Ibid.*, pp. 68–69.
- 8 Nicole Polier and William Roseberry, “Tristes tropes: post-modern anthropologists encounter the other and discover themselves,” *Economy and Society* 18:2 (1989), pp. 250–251, 254–255, and 260.
- 9 James Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 7–8; John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997), pp. 107–128.