

CHAPTER 3
A CONCEPTUAL HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF HUMAN RIGHTS
EDUCATION¹³

3.1 Introduction

The proclamation of the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004) by the UN General Assembly (Res. 49/184) and the subsequent resolution 2004/71 of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights on a World Programme for Human Rights Education probably represent the most distinct events to signify the growing international consensus on the importance of human rights education (HRE). It followed an era, the latter part of the twentieth century, of rights developments never witnessed before. Just in terms of sheer numbers and range, the business of rights enunciations has and continues to dominate the international agenda and relations amongst nations and peoples. Knowles (2004: 133) remarked that “nowadays the rhetoric of human rights seems to be just about universal” ... and has been “elevated to political correctness where a denial of them taints the innocent philosophical sceptic”. In similar vein Ignatieff (2000: 1) describes the phenomenal development of human rights standards as the “rights revolution” whilst Fagan (2003:1) is of the opinion that “the doctrine of human rights has become the dominant moral doctrine for evaluating the moral status of the geo-political order”. This doctrine is thought to “precede considerations of strict national sovereignty” (Fagan: *ibid*) and ‘regulates’ the relationships among nation states. In reflecting on these developments, Baxi (1997: 1) states:

No preceding century of human history has been privileged to witness such a range of rights enunciations as ours. Moreover, never before have we come to a situation in which the language of rights nearly replaces all

¹³ Some of the ideas in this chapter have been reflected in a paper commissioned by the Centre for Policy Development (CEPD). A. Keet. (2005): *Towards a Critical Human Rights Education in South African Schools*.

other moral languages...Further, even as the alleged end of ideology is being proclaimed worldwide, a human rights socio-dialect emerges as the only ideology-in-the-making, enabling both legitimation and delegitimation of power and anticipatory critiques of human rights futures.

Baxi's observations are supported by the fact that between 1948 and 2003, 189 United Nations member states and 4 non-member states have either signed, acceded to or ratified no less than 104 international human rights instruments (UNHCHR: 2003 website). Freeman (2002: 36) estimated that "there are now approximately 200 legal human rights instruments". The major instruments such as the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights ([CCPR] UN: 1966), the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights ([CESCR] UN: 1966), the Convention on the Rights of the Child ([CRC] UN: 1989) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination ([CERD] UN: 1965) recorded 149, 147, 192 and 173 ratifications or accessions from UN member states and non-member states respectively as at 7 July 2003. Another 10 instruments are presently being developed and the entering into force of the Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families as recently as July 2003, clearly indicate that we are in an 'age of rights' (Baxi, 1997). These instruments include foci on women, race, religion, children, minorities, development, education, socio-economic rights and civil and political rights (Melander and Alfredsson: 1997). In addition, regional human rights regimes have been established in Europe, Africa, the Americas and Asia-Pacific which are governed by regionally-based human rights instruments, structures and processes. In this regard and echoing Baxi (1997) and Fagan (2003), Falk (2002: 2) remarks:

The prominence given to human rights in all parts of the world is one of the most remarkable developments to have occurred during the last half-century. And the end of this development is not yet in sight. Support for human rights has been gathering momentum in recent decades.

Despite these developments the 'age of rights' also witnessed 169 202 000 government inspired murders in the 20th century (Freeman, 2002: 2); the malnourishment of more than 840 million people across the world; the death of 12 million people annually due to a lack of water (Seabrook, 2003: 24); a worldwide incapacity for peace; an escalation in

wars¹⁴; the deepening of inequalities within the context of globalization; and the exposure of a widespread human rights hypocrisy in ‘western’ democracies as far as international relations, global trade and world peace are concerned . However, the extent of human rights violations and the non-enjoyment of socio-economic rights have not arrested the elaboration of human rights into the only “universal ideology” and the dominant moral language of the new geo-political order. These developments provided the basis for the development and proliferation of HRE across the globe as the legitimating arm of human rights universals.

3.2 Human Rights Standards Generation and Human Rights Education

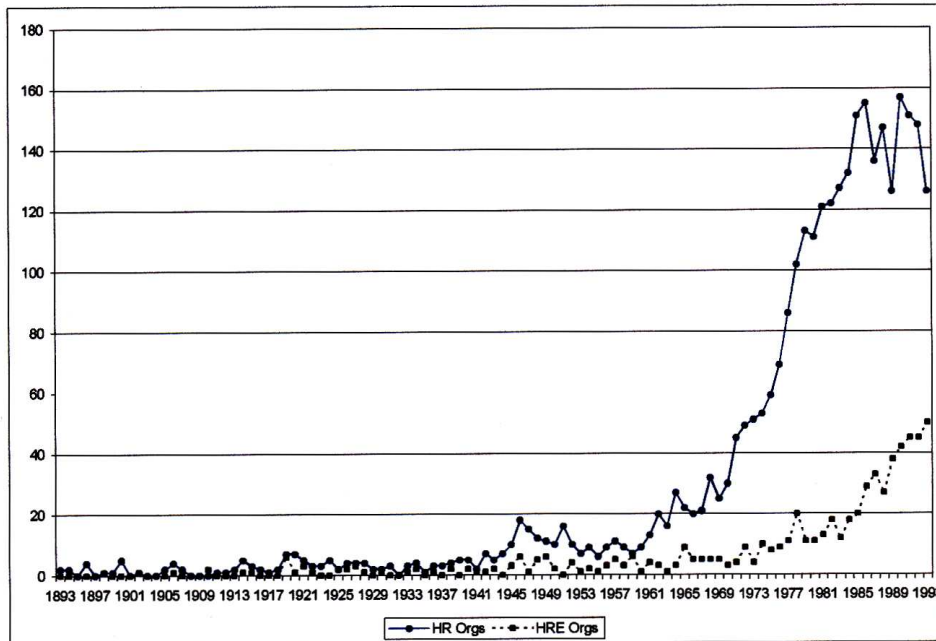
Sourcing its currency from the rights endorsements articulated in international instruments, HRE has become a central preoccupation within the education field, more so now than ever before. For instance, the South African ‘human rights aligned’ educational policy and legislative framework resulted in a Revised National Curriculum Statement (2002) for General Education and Training and Further Education and Training (2004) that is underpinned by the principles of social justice, a healthy environment, human rights and inclusivity. This trend has been duplicated in many parts of the world and is captured in Tibbitts’s (2002: 160) observation that:

Over the past twelve years, HRE has slipped into the languages of Ministries of Education, educational non-profit organizations, human rights groups, and teachers ... not to mention inter-governmental agencies such as the United Nations ...

The trend in the growth of HRE is buttressed by the phenomenal growth in the normative human rights framework which in turn spawned the growth in the number of human rights organisations over the past two to three decades. The growth in the establishment of HRE organisations and the publication of HRE materials shows a similar trend (see graphs 1 and 2) that demonstrates the worldwide growth in HRE activities as a discursive practice.

¹⁴ Stott (1999) registered that between 1945 and 1995 eighty wars were fought across the world.

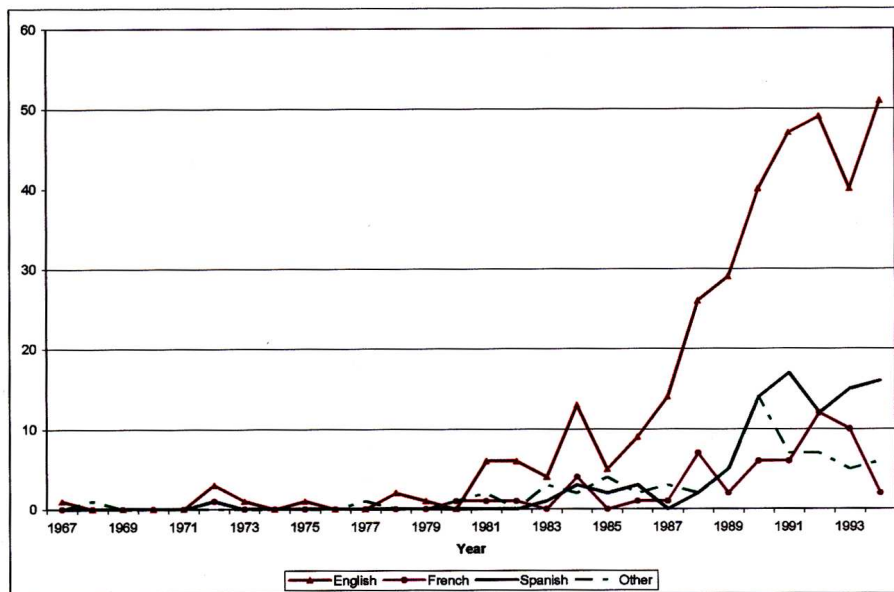
Graph 1 (Source: Suarez and Ramirez, 2004)



Comparison of Human Rights Organization Foundings and Human Rights Education Organization Foundings, by Year

Source: Human Rights Internet (2000); Union of International Associations (various years); UNESCO (2003a); Elbers (2000); UNHCHR (2003b).

Graph 2 (Source: Suarez and Ramirez, 2004)



Human Rights Education Publications, by Year and Language (N=560)

Source: Amnesty International (1992, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1997); Elbers (2002); UNHCHR (2003b).

Since 1948 HRE, as a human right, has been articulated in at least ninety-two provisions in international and regional covenants, protocols, conventions, declarations, principles, guidelines, resolutions and recommendations (United Nations, 1999) either as part of the right to education and other rights or as independent provisions. The legal status of these instruments varies and though only a limited portion is legally binding on member countries that ratify or accede to them, all of them have an “undeniable moral force” (United Nations, 1999: 2). These instruments task HRE to be responsive to racism, intolerance, conflict, political illiteracy, discrimination, socio-economic rights and a general knowledge of human rights and responsibilities. For example, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) lists educational measures (article 19) relating to physical and mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, and education directed (article 29) at developing peace, tolerance and the development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Calling on human rights to be included in the curriculum at all levels of public and private education, the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights adopted a resolution on Human and Peoples’ Rights Education (AHG/198) in 1993 and emphasized education for democracy, tolerance and justice. The multitude of topics to be covered by HRE as reflected in international and regional instruments is probably the primary reason why HRE has taken on so many different but related forms, each informed by particular theoretical assumptions about the conceptual structure of HRE.

Figure 3 below demonstrates the increased currency of HRE and other related formations as newer subjects and subject areas. Note the increased recognition of HRE as a right in itself.

Figure 3: (Source: EFA report, 2005, Box 4.4.)

The currency of a selection of newer subjects and subject areas# at global level

▪ **Health education or hygiene**

In one-fourth to one-third of countries globally, some form of health education is required during primary and (lower) secondary education. Its prevalence in primary school curricula has declined slightly since the 1980s, but this trend is less apparent in secondary school curricula. The content of health education varies greatly. It can include family planning, HIV/AIDS prevention education, sex education, drug prevention and personal hygiene. The prevalence of health education in national curricula may reflect, in part, the broad-based content possible under this catch-all subject label.

▪ **Human rights education***

Considered an integral part of the right to education, this area has gained some recognition as a human right in itself. It is designed to increase knowledge of and respect for the rights and freedoms of each and every person, including the individual learner.

▪ **Multicultural education***

Multicultural education promotes knowledge and understanding of the cultures of fellow learners and citizens. It had considerable prominence in the past two decades.

▪ **Environmental subjects and education for sustainable development**

Pollution, concerns over population and food supplies, depletion of natural resources and the ozone layer, the greenhouse effect and possible solutions for such environmental concerns are being covered in the primary school curricula of many industrialized and, to a lesser extent, developing countries. Overall the prevalence of this subject in national curricula has increased notably in the past fifteen years. While it is given greater prominence during the first five grades of primary school, the proportion of countries requiring instruction in environment-related topics has increased in all grades.

▪ **Citizenship and global citizenship education: educating for democracy and peace**

Civics and citizenship has increased in almost all grade levels since the 1980s. Attention given to citizenship education is particularly apparent in the lower grades of primary education. On average, one-fifth to one-third of all countries require the teaching of this subject in primary school and close to half of all countries require it to be taught in the (lower) secondary grades.

▪ **Technology**

On average, technology-related topics - excluding computer instruction - accounted for 5%-6% of primary grade timetables [...]

▪ **Development or global education**

Development or global education is largely specific to industrialized countries. Comprising elements from education for sustainable development, human rights education, citizenship education, world studies, civics education, anti-racist education and peace education, it encourages learners to critically explore the relationship between North and South, understand global interdependences and work towards change in attitudes, values and behaviour (DEA, 1996). There is some evidence that development education is contributing to changing attitudes, thereby enhancing public support for development (McDonnell, Lecomle and Wegimont, 2003).

▪ # These subjects may also be categorised as life skills and receive attention in the area of non-formal and adult education (UNESCO, 2003).

▪ * No trend data are available for these subjects.

Source Benavot (2004a)

Except for the subject of technology, this study later shows that HRE substantively straddles most of these ‘subjects’ and conscious conceptual efforts have been made to provide for such integration, especially between democracy education, citizenship education and HRE.

Table 7 below shows interesting patterns but exhibits a few analytical weaknesses. For instance, it equates the recognition of education as a right with developing respect for human rights. Also, the severance of the values of democracy, citizenship and equality from the construction of HRE itself is problematic. However, what the table does highlight are the emerging patterns of curriculum statements around HRE as an expression of consensus and hegemony.

Table 7: Trends in Curriculum statements, 1980s to 2000s (Source: EFA report, 2005, Table 4.2)

Aims of education as set out in Article 29 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child	Trends in objectives of education drawn from curriculum documents of 108 countries, over two periods, mid-1980s and early 2000s
<i>The development of respect for human rights</i>	The number of countries emphasizing education as the fulfillment of a human right has increased. It is prominent in developing countries but the emphasis has declined in developed countries.
<i>The development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential</i>	More countries now include development of the individual's capabilities, including skills and attitudes for critical thinking and problem-solving. In general, the development of personal capabilities, including emotional, creative and cognitive development, is given more attention at the primary level than in formal education as a whole. All world regions continue to put high priority on these non-cognitive skills. Attention to cognitive development and intellectual capacity also increased, with basic skills such as literacy and numeracy emphasized across all regions and over time.
<i>The development of respect for the child's parent, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living</i>	The number of countries including religions and national identity as education aims declined slightly overall, but trends in the regions reflect different social and political situations. Religion is strongly emphasized in the Arab States and in South and West Asia, while more countries in Central and Eastern Europe place importance on national identity.
<i>The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes</i>	Greater attention is now being given to values, including democracy, citizenship and equality.
<i>The development of respect for the natural environment</i>	The number of countries including sustainable development as an aim of education tripled between the 1980s and the 2000s, albeit from a low base. The trend is particularly prominent in developing countries.

It is evident from these developments, demonstrations and analysis that HRE is an emerging field of inquiry (Tibbitts, 2002: 160) and its prevalence is closely tied to the proliferation of international and regional human rights instruments and standards and accompanied state legitimation (Suarez, 2006). It is perceived as the “promise of the third millennium” and “has gathered global momentum” (Baxi: 1997:142-154). It has also self-importantly been described as “operational plans ... (of an) emerging global educational philosophy” (Lenhart and Savolainen, 2002: 145) with which educational thinkers and practitioners should initiate substantive engagement. The basis of such engagement should be provided by a concept and conceptual historical analysis and conceptual cartography of HRE.

3.3 The Development of HRE

3.3.1 The Three-Phase Model

The list of educational formations associated with HRE is very long and therefore this exploration of the development of HRE is confined to Education for Democracy, Democracy Education, Civic Education, Citizenship Education, Political Education, Peace Education, International Education, Global Education, World Education, Moral Education, Environmental Education, Development Education, Multicultural Education and Anti-Racism Education. Though there are many more educational formations associated with HRE, the literature points to those listed above as either being the channels through which HRE is conducted, or themselves being channelled through the practice of HRE (see Lynch, Modgil and Modgil, 1992a and 1992b; Lynch, 1992; Tarrow, 1987; Tibbitts and Torney-Purta, 1999; and Andreopoulos and Claude, 1997; Tarrow, 1992: 30-31; Shafer, 1987: 192-193; and the Plan of Action for the World Programme on HRE, March 2005).

This study opts to periodize the development of HRE into 3 broad phases. The first, *pre – 1947 phase*, considers the roots of HRE from Greco-Roman times. The exploration of

this phase is not exclusively with reference to contemporary human rights denotations or nomenclature but also with reference to educational efforts and teachings that centre around civics, civic-mindedness and citizenship; democracy, justice and governance; and law, human rights, duties and responsibilities. Exploring the concept of HRE within the context of other ‘educations’ is done to trace the roots of HRE and its interrelations with these ‘educations’. This in turn will form the basis for probing the typology of these forms as they play themselves out in contemporary educational societies. The groundwork for a concept and conceptual analysis of HRE will not be complete without exploring these interrelations between HRE and other associated educations.

This period includes the ‘birth’ of civilization; the medieval period; the European Renaissance; the enlightenment; the advent of modernity; Huntington’s first wave of “democratic development” (Patrick, 1997: 23) from 1828-1926; slavery; colonialism and imperialism; the entrenchment of the positivist world-view; the first and second world wars; the birth and death of the League of Nations; and the formation of the United Nations. Though Huntington’s 3-wave notion of democratic development is referred to here, Said’s (2001: 569-592) critique and rejection of Huntington’s thesis has been considered.

The second phase, 1948 to 1994, reflects on the *formalization of HRE* as an educational effort aimed at legitimising the human rights universals which themselves are products of the frenzied standard-setting processes linked to the establishment of normative international provisions. It witnessed profound upheavals and developments across the globe, massive human rights violations; an array of unjust wars; the elusiveness of regional and world peace; Huntington’s second (1943-1962) and third (1980s and 1990s) waves of democratic development (Patrick, 1997: 23); an increasingly globalized economy; the gradation of unequal trade relations in favour of the ‘North’; the legitimization of environmental degradation and exploitation; the systemization of global inequality and poverty; and the emergence of ‘new’ democracies worldwide. HRE was calibrated in alignment with these developments and its conceptual framework was entirely tied to juridical rights articulations which in themselves were expressions, at least

in theory, of opposition to human rights violations. The UDHR was adopted in 1948 as the first HRE ‘curriculum’ based on an epistemology of diplomatic consensus which was ontologically supported by the perceived existence of a ‘universal moral order’. This was followed by a series of ‘syllabi’ captured as conventions, declarations, principles and covenants between 1948 and 2005. No wonder that even today HRE practitioners quixotically keep on demanding the ‘inclusion’ of HRE as a pre-packaged curriculum which is so distant from the realities of how education systems are structured, how they operate and whose interests are pre-configured within them.

The third phase (1995 to the present), *the proliferation of HRE*, starts with the proclamation of the UN Decade for HRE (1995-2004). The decade saw a concerted effort from the international community to canonise HRE into a legitimate and justifiable pedagogical formation and for the first time endeavour to provide a structured conceptual framework for HRE. The advent of a number of emerging democracies threw the spotlight on HRE, citizenship education, democracy education and multicultural education. The cyclical resurgence of racism and associated intolerance worldwide also brought anti-racism to the fore and together with a number of other educational endeavours blurred the topography of HRE. The dimensions of inequity and inequality within globalization became more expressive and created the conditions for the revival of social movements which generally operated outside the declarationist framework of human rights. As these developments took shape, the concept of HRE mutated in various directions but its essence remained honest to its declarationist entrenchments since 1948.

Following the 9/11 events the invasion and subsequent occupation of Iraq by American and British troops reshuffled the human rights encyclopaedia once more and placed the legitimacy of the UN under severe pressure. The role of education in relation to state security, disarmament, peace, narrow nationalism and patriotism came under review as the period of the UN Decade for HRE captured some of the worst human rights violations in the history of world. Deepening inequality among states and people, the escalation of poverty, the continued violence in the Middle East, the war on Iraq and its subsequent occupation by American and British troop are a few examples of these human rights

violations. There are many more. The conceptualisation of HRE surprisingly remained constant in its hegemonic and official trajectory but concerns started surfacing about its efficacy and the interests it serves. For instance, the link between human rights, market economies and neo-liberal policies leads some analysts to believe that human rights is serving global capital at the expense of the human rights of actual communities (see Baxi, 2002: 132-133). HRE, on this score, could be seen to be in the employment of global capital.

This period also witnessed the resurgence of citizenship education in Europe (Print and Smith, 2002) and Latin America (Tibbutts, 1999). The UN Decade for HRE and the subsequent adoption of the World Programme for HRE created a sustained impetus for the development of HRE. In addition to this, the historical conditions generated a ‘political and economic’ climate that allowed for an increase of formal ‘democracies’ from 79 to 117 during the 1990s (Print and Smith, 2002). Within these developments, citizenship, democracy and human rights education seem to constitute the most dominant educational forms within this vast family and complex typology of associated educational forms. Attempts to conceptualise these within a shared theoretical framework are commonplace but fraught with challenges.

3.3.2 Phase 1: The Roots of Human Rights Education (←1947)

The roots of HRE are in consonance with the origins of the concept of human rights in general. Most scholars trace the derivation of human rights to ancient Greece and Rome (Weston, 1984: 258) as embodied in the natural law doctrines of Greek Stoicism which then and during medieval times focused on duties as opposed to rights. Preceding Greek Stoicism, Aristotle raised issues related to justice but fell short in terms of thinking “of universal law governing all men alike in virtue of their common humanity” by justifying slavery (Lloyd, 1991: 77) and serfdom (Weston, 1984: 258). Further developments in the construction of the concept of human rights through medieval times, the European renaissance and enlightenment and the advent of ‘modernity’ witnessed the shift from

‘duties’ to ‘rights’ (Weston, 1984: 258) and also the concomitant configuration of the concept of HRE.

This incipient exploration of the roots or origins of the concept of HRE is premised on an understanding of HRE as an educational effort aimed at responding to the societal challenges explicated in the preceding section. As opposed to what Donnelly (2003: 71) wants us to believe, the roots of the conceptual meanings of human rights straddle geopolitical arrangements and developments across the globe. In his treatment of Islamic, Traditional African and Confucian-Chinese conceptions of ‘human rights’, Donnelly (2003: 71-88) erroneously equates conceptual meaning with linguistic expression and therefore fails to see the roots of ‘human rights’ as intercultural. If his notion of ‘human rights’ as a set of social practices excludes the possibility of traditional non-Western conceptions of human rights, it will ironically result in the negation of the Western conception of ‘human rights’ itself.

From the view of most HRE practitioners, HRE has principally developed since the founding of the United Nations (1945) and the adoption of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR, 1948) and is generally regarded as a creature of the UDHR. However, the genesis of the notion of ‘human rights education’ can be traced back as far as 1789 when the French National Assembly proclaimed in the preamble to the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens* that this “declaration being constantly present to the minds of the members of the body social, they may be for ever kept attentive to their rights and their duties”. Then again, if tracing the roots of HRE is an important element in historical conceptual analysis, it will probably be more accurate to also consider the developments of various strands associated with HRE such as multicultural, global, democracy, citizenship, moral and civic education.

The literature on HRE points to a growing acceptance of HRE as the “unifying factor which cuts across current efforts to produce informed and active citizens” (Tarrow, 1992: 32). This conviction is underwritten by the tendency to conflate or combine these various strands with HRE. For instance Enslin’s (2003) considerations of citizenship education in

post-apartheid South Africa deal in fact more with values education and HRE than citizenship education. Print and Coleman's (2003) analysis of citizenship education highlights the centrality of human rights whilst Kang (2002) and Sharma (1996) used HRE and democracy education in an amalgamated sense. The amalgamation of HRE, citizenship education and civic education is also evident in Tibbitts's (1997) analyses of case studies in HRE whilst Lynch (1992: 29) argued that the rooting of contemporary citizenship education resides in international human rights instruments. For Shafer (1987: 194) the historical basis of HRE exists in "global education, moral education, or civic and social education". Though all these strands exhibit their own distinctive features, the centrality of a component of HRE is beyond dispute and as such a historical conceptual analysis of HRE needs to consider the roots of at least some of these strands since the meaning of HRE is in some measure drawn from its use historically and its relation to associated strands.

Though the roots of citizenship education can be traced back to the Greco-Roman republics (Lynch, 1992: 25), its broader acceptance was established through the work of Dewey in the early parts of the previous century (*ibid*: 9). According to Kelly (1995: 169-190) education for citizenship is one strand through which education for democracy can be pursued in association with personal, social and moral education. Moral education is intrinsic to all the major educational theories which stretch from Plato to Dewey (*ibid*: 170). From this wider scope moral education is linked to various frameworks of morality. Compassion-based morality is reflected in the African, Greek and Oriental wisdom (Weil as discussed in Bell, 2002: 67). The concepts of justice, love, caring and sharing all form part of a compassion-based moral framework so central to social relationships (*ibid*: 66) that it is safe to deduce that some form of moral education has always been fundamental to traditional African, Greek and other societies and communities.

Interestingly, the idea of human rights rests heavily on the assumption that "there exists a rationally identifiable moral order" (Fagan, 2003: 3) that traverses cultural, historical and other boundaries. This moral universalism has its origins in the work of Aristotle and the Stoics and was the precursor to Kant's moral philosophy which is still residual in modern

justifications of human rights (*ibid*: 1-5). In this sense moral education inevitably reflected elements of contemporary HRE and citizenship education despite the fact that these notions might not have existed at that time. In fact Heater (1992: 189) wants us to believe that Zeno, the founder of Stoicism “inaugurated education for world citizenship” in 306 BC.

Stoic philosophy, based on the universality of human nature and the power of reason, argued that there exists a universal law of nature which can be discerned by reason. The spread of the Roman Empire (27 BC-476 AD) provided the vehicle for the dissemination of the “universalising doctrine of Stoic natural law ... and the new universal faith of Christianity” (Lloyd, 1991: 78). Roman law, Greek philosophy and Christian theology thus conjoin to spawn the “medieval scholastic doctrine of natural law” (*ibid*: 78) that formed the bedrock of the theory of natural rights of Grotius, Hobbes and Locke in the 16th and 17th century. Christianity also spread to Africa during medieval times, especially to the Axum civilization of Ethiopia who regarded biblical texts as true philosophy (Mokhtar, 2003: 235). The period between the 7th and 11th centuries also witnessed the expansion of the Islamic empire in Africa; the strengthening of egalitarian and democratic traditions (Hrbek, 2003: 4) based on Islamic principles; the incorporation of the Sahara and Sudan into the Islamic economic sphere; and the development of an Indian Ocean commercial network.

The European renaissance brought currency to the conviction that human beings have fundamental rights based on an adherence to natural law. This can simplistically be paraphrased as ‘law according to the will of God’. Grotius, Hobbes and Locke (Freeman, 2002: 18-22) represent the principal precursory exponents of the notion of human rights which were later articulated in the English Bill of Rights (1689), the American Declaration of Independence and Bill of Rights (1776 and 1791) and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens (1789). Subsequently the notion of the “rights of man” converged across the English channel but by the end of the 18th century the concept of natural rights was discredited as its theological basis was fading. The legal positivism of Austin (Bix, 2001) and the utilitarianism of Jeremy Bentham and John

Stuart Mill (Knowles, 2004: 38) eclipsed natural rights theory. Towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century the science of society as expressed through the work of Marx, Weber and Durkheim replaced the concerns associated with the “rights of man” (Freeman, 2002: 30) at the same time that peace education was first formulated (Heater, 1992: 191). The ‘rights of man’ only resurfaced in response to the massive human rights violations of the Second World War.

During the aforementioned period Locke (1632-1704), whilst subscribing to a theory of natural rights, formulated educational theories and pedagogies through which the notion of justice is learned via the idea of property (Spring, 1999: 113). His social contract theory of government led him to propose that the family must prepare children until they are “able to know and to reason about the laws of the state” (*ibid*: 111). In essence he has been predicating some form of civic or citizenship education. Justice-via-property is also evident in Rousseau’s (1712-1778) work on education (*ibid*: 114-124) and his notion that children will become citizens by knowing the laws of the state is in close alignment with civic and citizenship education. This is not dissimilar to Plato’s (*ibid*: 8) understanding of education’s role “on creating a willingness on the part of the population to fight for the preservation of the state”. But Locke and Rousseau also forwarded an understanding that the social contract is not only preservationist in favour of the state, but that education is also aimed at resisting abuse of political power (*ibid*: 108-124). Thus moral education and citizenship education in this context integrate into a pedagogical formation that is about knowing laws and by extension rights and the development of reason in pursuit of a specific framework of morality. Herein we find the roots for the political literacy and legalistic approach that came to dominate the conceptual framework of HRE in later years.

Four strands related to HRE seem to have deviated from the political literacy approach at this historical juncture. They are social education, moral education, democracy education (also referred to as education for democracy) and multicultural education. For Kelly (1995: 170) moral and social education is subsumed under education for democracy which includes an exploration of “how pupils can most appropriately be initiated into a

democratic form of morality”. Moving beyond the political literacy approach, these forms of education purport to focus on principles, values, morality and knowledge that broadly constitute and frame democratic practices. However, recent trends have shown that democracy education with its overt focus on governance, political structures and political processes is firmly gripped by a political literacy agenda.

Multicultural education, on the other hand, developed distinctly from those pedagogical formations aimed at political literacy. It initially focused on “equal cultural representation and celebration of cultural differences” (Webster, 1997: 15) but later adopted a social reconstruction agenda. The origin of multicultural education is generally believed to reside in the assimilationist-pluralist debates “over the place of cultures in schools” in the 1920s (*ibid*: 15) and since then fierce debates have been generated over its merits and analytical foundations.

During the post First World War period (1920s-1930s) education for peace was translated into education about the League of Nation in European schools and civic and moral education was required by law in the Weimar German Republic of the 1920s (Heater, 1992: 197). Citizenship education gained its currency and conceptual grounding from the American constitution and the French declaration of the 18th century. The American version focused on rights and duties (*ibid*: 196) as an educational endeavour closely resembling central features of contemporary HRE. At the cusp of the 19th and 20th century (Rowe, 1992: 71), political education reared its head, claiming that knowledge about the processes of lawmaking and the “machinery of government” is important for an active citizenry. Alternatively this educational formation can be described as civic or citizenship education (*ibid*: 71). In response to the failures of citizenship education, law related education (LRE) focused on a ‘rights-and-duties-approach’ to the study of law (*ibid*: 72) that is in close alignment with the political literacy approach of contemporary HRE.

In direct opposition to Donnelly (2003) who disputes the claim that pre-colonial Africa had a concept of human rights, Mutua (2002: 74-81) provides a substantive alternative argument¹⁵ on “*Human Rights and the African Fingerprint*” proving that

... a brief examination of the norms governing legal, political and social structures in pre-colonial societies demonstrates that the concept of rights..., informed the notion of justice and supported a measure of individualism (ibid: 75).

Throughout the historical period represented within this phase, the peoples of the African continent were locked into an intercontinental network of economic and cultural exchanges. This included the Mediterranean, Asia, the Atlantic and Indian regions (see Ki-Zerbo and Niane, 2003: 254-261). Since the European renaissance, Islamic and Christian-inspired activities on the continent increased. Despite these developments, traditional African societies continue to foster rights “not as a fence to protect the individual from the community, but rather as rules for living together” (Martin, Gitta and Ige, 1997: 442). This was done through indigenous education, Islamic education and Afro-Christian education in pre-colonial Africa (Habte and Wagaw, 2003: 678). The intergenerational teaching of traditional values and rights in African societies can be regarded as a forerunner to contemporary HRE. The impetus for this is found in African moral philosophy with its emphasis on a compassion-based notion of justice and community (see Bell, 2002: 59-84). The processes by which this take place as African oral traditions are vividly described by Callinicos (1996: 92-93).

The development of a Western-educated elite in Africa as a result of missionary schooling and religious education, gave rise to Ethiopianism and an intellectual revolution in the 19th century. Resistance against humiliation because of discrimination and challenging injustices were two of the main driving forces for Ethiopianism (see Ajayi, 2003: 22). Horton, Blyden and Johnson spearheaded the intellectual revolution in West Africa “which in turn propagated ideas about the dignity of the African race” (*ibid*:

¹⁵ See also Bennett (1995: 1-10) whose analysis in *Human Rights and African Customary Law* concluded that traditional African societal arrangements provided for a system of ethics that serves the goal of human dignity in the same way in which human rights tries to serve the goal of human dignity.

22). Within Ethiopianism and the intellectual revolution rights were thus framed in resistance politics and the awareness and educative activities that of necessity accompanied these processes, represented HRE in one form or another. Martin, Gitta and Ige (1997: 440) are of the opinion that the “modern international human rights movement” has its roots in the anti-slavery movement of the early 19th century which ran parallel to Ethiopianism and the West African intellectual revolution.

Following the abolishment of slavery in 1824, the scramble for Africa in the 1880s and beyond resulted in the entrenchment of colonialism from 1880-1935. The fight against injustices thus continued and resistance to colonialism was built on an ideological basis with the ideals of sovereignty and a “new moral order” as its central pillars (see Boahen, 2003: 32). Notions of human rights were framed within this resistance framework and the fight against colonialism can thus also be perceived as a fight for sovereignty and human rights. In the aftermath of colonialism nation building was high on the agenda of African states. This nation building:

... involves the acceptance of other members of the civic body as equal fellow-members of a ‘corporate’ nation – a recognition of the rights of other members to a share of common history, resources, values and other aspects of the state – (Elaigwu and Mazrui, 2003: 439).

The formal notions of rights have thus taken shape in response to colonialism and were fundamentally framed by the experiences of liberation, state formation and nation building. More importantly for the casing of human rights, Shivji (2000: 38) with reference to Mazrui, points out that “post-colonial Africa has a triple heritage of law ... indigenous/ customary law, Islamic law, and the legal and judicial systems which came with Western acculturation”. This observation is important since the tensions between these configurations of law and human rights standards will become a central point of controversy in the latter half of the 20th century. Education for liberation and resistance and prophetic teachings (see Boahen, 2003: 25-32) focused on sovereignty and the restoration of dignity which is markedly different from the political literacy approach to HRE in Western countries at that time.

The Second World War and the emergent decolonisation of Africa gave rise to the establishment of the United Nations in 1945 which in relation to Africa can either be perceived as “a collective imperial power, ... an ally of liberation, ... or a partner in development” (Kouassi, 2003: 872). The adoption of the UDHR three years later formalised HRE into a distinct category that later on eclipsed many associated variants simply because of its political legitimacy that is tied to an array of international human rights instruments. The preceding genesis of HRE embodies three fundamental shifts relating to the conceptualisation of human rights and HRE.

First, the Aristotelian conception of rights which has been underwritten by St Thomas of Aquinas, excluded the ideas of ‘freedom and equality’ since it justified slavery and serfdom (Weston, 1984). Stoicism which, on the hand was founded in the late 4th century BCE, propagated the idea of a universal law governing “all men alike in virtue of their common humanity” (Lloyd, 1991: 77). This shift represents the basis of the development of ‘natural law based on duties’ which came under question during the European renaissance as rulers failed to exercise their responsibilities according to natural law. Yet still the teachings of Socrates through Plato’s dialogues, Plato’s work in the Academy and Aristotle’s educational endeavours at the Lyceum focused on the duties of citizens towards the state. The ‘civicness’ of such teaching is apparent and preceded the teaching of Zeno, the founder of Stoicism who, according to Heater (1992: 189) started the drive for education for world citizenship.

Second, within the theory of natural law the shift in emphasis from duties to rights was underpinned by the decline of feudalism; the beginning of the European renaissance; the rejection of religious intolerance; and the rejection of political-economic bondages (see Weston, 1984). The rebellion and revolution of the 17th century in England followed by almost similar events in North America and France in the 18th century augmented the notion of human rights through declarations and Bills of Rights. These were essentially influenced by developments such as the discoveries of Galileo and Newton that were constitutive of the ‘Age of Enlightenment’ at the same historical epoch when the

foundationalist epistemologies of Descartes and Bacon, the natural law theory of Locke and Hobbes and the philosophies of Voltaire and Rousseau developed into discursive practices that were centred around positivist world-views. Distinct associated formations of HRE emerged during this period which might be labelled as moral education, civic education, citizenship education and education for democracy. Subsequently a number of other formations saw the light in the lead-up to the 1948 adoption of the UDHR, especially peace education. The makings of the political literacy approach are already evident in these developments.

Third, the precedents of HRE on the continent of Africa reside in the intergenerational, indigenous and religious education of traditional societies. During the periods of slavery and colonialism, human rights were framed within resistance politics and the notions of sovereignty and human dignity. The trajectory followed on the continent of Africa in relation to HRE is therefore markedly different from that of Western Europe and North America with the restoration of dignity and nation building as its guiding principles.

Traces of pedagogical formations associated with HRE during this phase can also be found in parts of the world other than Europe, North America and Africa. Kang (2002: 316) registered the development of HRE through grass roots education in South Korea prior to Japanese colonization in 1910. Dev (1999: 115) reflected on HRE in Indian schools as having its genesis in the Fundamental Rights and Economic Programme adopted by the Indian National Congress in 1931 whilst others like Talesra, Pancholy and Nagda (2000) would trace the roots of HRE within Indian culture as far back as 5 000 years. In China ‘character cultivation’ was introduced in schools after the 1911 revolution that ended the “feudal monarchical system which had lasted for over 2 000 years” (Chen and Reid, 2002: 58).

It is clear that from its early days HRE was framed by the political and economic milieu of societies at their various historical stages. This trend continues up to the present and is most notable in the development of HRE since 1948. During this period the development of HRE in the Asia Pacific region, Latin America and Africa gained momentum though it

will be erroneous to assume that HRE is exclusively a pedagogical formulation of post-colonial Africa, 'modern' Asia and a liberated Latin America. These regions have rich histories of pedagogical formations associated with HRE that offer innovative alternatives for present day frameworks of HRE (see Martin, Gitta and Ige on Africa, 1997: 436-454).

3.3.3 Phase 2: The Formalization of Human Rights Education (1948-1994)

This section and section 3.3.4 will draw heavily on international provisions and recommendations to analyse the definitional structure of HRE. Direct references to declarations, covenants and conventions will be made to illustrate the salient features of the concept of HRE. In addition renditions on HRE within reputable texts will be employed to develop further analytical points.

The period between 1948 and 1994 witnessed a number of defining events in relation to the development of HRE. First, the concept of HRE became formalised as a linguistic expression with particular reference points in a number of important international human rights instruments as opposed to the 'loose' educational configurations preceding it. Second, some of its articulations were captured as legally binding imperatives on nation states. Third, the United Nations, especially through the work of UNESCO, began structuring HRE as a pedagogical formation in its own right. Fourth, the development of the concept of HRE took place in the context of the aftermath of the Second World War and the beginning of the Cold War. Fifth, HRE spectated on the paradigm debates in the methodology of the sciences and the subsequent paradigm and policy shifts in the social sciences and education. Sixth, apart from massive and systemic human rights violations, HRE also observed the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain; the phenomenon of emerging democracies; the beginning and end of formal Apartheid in South Africa; the inequitable tendencies of globalisation; a number of unjustifiable wars; and the entrenchment of global inequality and poverty, and so on.

More than ninety percent of the more than ninety-two international and regional formulations of HRE as a human right (UN: 1999) were constructed during this period. These formulations were to a large extent also inhabited by an emerging definitional structure for HRE, which, for many HRE practitioners, represents a distinct category of pedagogical activities that warrants serious consideration and deserves elevated standing within education circles. Establishing the legitimacy and currency of HRE has been a central preoccupation for those who either genuinely believe in the pedagogical value of HRE and those who view the field as a wealth-generating space; an economic and entrepreneurial endeavour; and a mechanism for ideological, cultural, political and economic expediency.

Whatever may be said, since 1948 HRE has developed its own pedagogical spin which became firmly entrenched across the world. Beginning with the 1974 UNESCO ‘Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace, and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms’ (1974 UNESCO Recommendation) and including the ‘Vienna Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights’, the Malta International Congress of 1987 and the Tunis Forum of 1992, the development and entrenchment of HRE seems to exhibit a structured trajectory that motivated Andreopoulos and Claude (1997: 3) to observe that:

Human rights education is not a passing teaching fad. It is not a whimsical intervention from designer seminars mulling over dreams for the twenty-first century. Human rights education is an international obligation with a half-century history.

The above passage comes from the most comprehensive text yet on human rights education, *Human Rights Education for the Twenty-First Century* and reflects the dominant belief that HRE was ‘created’ by the Charter of the United Nations in 1945 and the UDHR in 1948. It also underscores the legalistic notion that obligations in relation to HRE are more important than pedagogical considerations and motivations.

The 1948 UDHR is regarded as the surrogate of all subsequent human rights provisions and “treated as quasi-sacred text by its supporters and as a clumsy piece of bad philosophy by its critics” (Freeman, 2002: 34). Not only is it the authority on which many other declarations, principles, guidelines, resolutions, recommendations, covenants, conventions and protocols are based, it also represents for many HRE practitioners a central curricular and pedagogical text. It was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 10 December 1948 with 48 country votes in favour and 8 abstentions. The countries were mainly “from Europe and North and Latin America, with a few states from Africa and Asia” (*ibid*:35).

As a curricular and pedagogical text, most NGOs, independent state agencies and governments themselves, regard the UDHR as the starting point of HRE.

Whether one is a kindergartener or a professional in the field, human rights education quite often starts at the same place: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Composed with the leadership of Eleanor Roosevelt and ratified by the full General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948, this document defines, as much as any document can, what human rights are. It seems to be an unspoken standard to begin any article or other text regarding human rights education with a reference to the UDHR; and with good reason. The UDHR is perhaps the single most important document in the creation of a foundation for human rights, and indeed, human rights education (Campbell, 2001:17).

The above relationship between HRE and international human rights instruments is commonplace and the most dominant. This relationship is however hubristic and interdependent. It is hubristic since human rights universals, through diplomatic consensus, call for their own legitimacy to be entrenched through HRE. Further, it is interdependent since HRE is framed as a human rights universal itself and as such it is ‘created’ by the same human rights provisions it ought to promote through advocacy, public awareness and education and training. The existence and legitimacy of human rights universals and HRE thus stand in a deterministic relationship with one another. This relationship has been forged ever since the instructional formulation of the preamble to the UDHR below.

"...The General Assembly proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights... to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms..."

The exact aims of education are outlined in article 26:

Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding among all the nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace."

In line with the UDHR and the UN Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (1963) the International Convention of the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965) states in article 8:

All effective steps shall be taken immediately in the fields of teaching, education and information, with a view to eliminating racial discrimination and prejudice and promoting understanding, tolerance and friendship among nations and racial groups, as well as to propagating the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples...

Likewise the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966 states that education should be:

...directed to the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity, and shall strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms...(it)...shall enable all persons to participate in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, and all racial, ethnic or religious groups, and further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace... (Article 13).

This configuration of HRE remained dominant throughout the 1970s and the 1980s and was strategically underwritten by the 1974 UNESCO recommendation concerning

Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. This recommendation is wide-ranging and provides definitional frameworks for ‘education’, ‘human rights’ and ‘international understanding’ coupled with a range of methodological and pedagogical guidelines for HRE. Apart from the pedagogical considerations, this recommendation set the trend for the declarization of HRE where the notion of HRE is constantly cross-referenced with educational constructions in declarations, conventions and covenants as evidenced in the following paragraph:

(This recommendation) ... is directed to the implementation of Article 26, para. 2, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Article 13 ... of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The Recommendation reaffirms, in particular, the responsibility of Member States to encourage and support any activity designed to ensure the education for all for the advancement of justice, freedom, human rights and peace. It applies to all stages and forms of education and determines general guidelines and specific actions in order to ensure better understanding of human rights. Among the principles set out in the Recommendation are that education should be so conceived as to promote "understanding and respect for all peoples, their cultures, civilizations, values and ways of life including domestic ethnic cultures and cultures of other nations"; "awareness of the increasing global interdependence between peoples and nations"; and understanding of "the inadmissibility of recourse to war for the purposes of expansion, aggression and domination, or to the use of force and violence for purposes of repression" (Principle III). In compliance with the Recommendation, Member States of UNESCO are urged to "take steps to ensure that the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the international Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination become an integral part of the developing personality of each child, adolescent, young person and adult by applying these principles in the daily conduct of education at each level and in all its forms" (Principle V) (UNESCO, undated [a]: 2).

The one-dimensional character of the conceptual framework and definitional structure of HRE is this recommendation’s major weakness since it is unable to shed the declarationist tendency so pervasive in HRE. It thus represents the first formalised attempts to screen out alternative and eclectic conceptions of HRE. Its ultimate aim in articles 1 (a-c) and 3 is to return us to the construction of human rights and HRE as

captured within declarations and other human rights instruments. Between the landmark 1974 recommendation (Torney-Purta, 1987: 231) and the Montreal Declaration of 1993, a number of international conferences and congresses on HRE took place. Regional developments on HRE within formations such as the European Union, the Organisation of American States, the Council of Europe and the Organisation of African Unity gradually took off but it was the Council of Europe that became a pacesetter as far as HRE is concerned. Since 1978 with the adoption of resolution (78) 41 on the *Teaching of Human Rights*, the Council of Europe became an important standards generating body on HRE. In this regard Tarrow (1987: 23) noted that:

According to the Deputy Director of Education, Culture and Sport of the Council of Europe, the common core of knowledge of human rights education should include:

The main categories of human rights, duties, obligations and responsibilities (the ideas of rights should be matched with responsibilities to others, to the community and to humanity as a whole);

The main international declarations and conventions on human rights, e.g. the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedom, the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, the Universal Islamic Declaration of Human Rights and the Banjul (Africa) Charter of Human and People's Rights;

People, movements and key events in the historical and continuing struggle for human rights (e.g. Gandhi, King, Mandela; civil rights movements, women's movements);

The various forms of injustice, inequality and discrimination' (e.g. racism, sexism, terrorism and genocide)

Shafer (1987: 191) also further documented practical pedagogical activities on human rights during this period in Europe and the United States.

UNESCO (undated [b]: 1) understands “human rights education [as] an integral part of the content and purpose of quality education for all and is seen within the framework of

the fulfilment of the right to education”. The Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy “updated the 1974 Recommendation and presented a contemporary view of the problems of education for peace, human rights and democracy” (*ibid*: 1). This framework was preceded by the Montreal Declaration which was a result of an international congress held in Montreal, Canada.

The Congress was organized by UNESCO in conjunction with the Canadian Commission for UNESCO and in close cooperation with the United Nations Centre for Human Rights (now the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights). The main aim of the Congress was to contribute to the elaboration of future actions to be taken by UNESCO "... for the promotion of human rights in the political, economic and cultural circumstances that have recently emerged and that call for fresh consideration and debate". Its objective was to highlight the achievements and identify the obstacles to overcome in the field of human rights education; to introduce education for democracy as a complementary aspect; and to encourage the elaboration of tools and ideas, in particular educational methods, pedagogic approaches and didactic materials, so as to give a new impetus to education for human rights and democracy. The Congress adopted the World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy, which proposes seven major strategies for concerted actions to promote education for human rights and democracy, including certain activities to be carried out by UNESCO. The Congress concluded that education for human rights is an integral part of education and that the right to human rights education is itself a human right. The Plan was noted in the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action (Part II, para. 81) adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights (Vienna, Austria, June 1993). (UNESCO, undated [c]: 1)

The Montreal Declaration formalised the conceptual links between HRE, Citizenship Education and Education for Democracy. In later years, the Council of Europe initiated a programme on *Education for Democratic Citizenship based on the Rights and Responsibilities of Citizens* (2000). Thus the discursive route carved out by UNESCO in 1993 later on resulted in an amalgamation of HRE, Citizenship Education and Education for Democracy. Others like Lynch (1989) and Tarrow (1992) would like to include multicultural education in this stable as well. These developments dovetailed with the emergence of new democracies, the end of the cold war, the increased mobility and migration of people, the refugee question; the challenged of displaced people; and the

economic and cultural logic of globalisation. HRE, Citizenship Education and Education for Democracy are perceived as appropriate pedagogical responses to these developments.

Three months after the development of the Montreal Declaration, the World Conference on Human Rights adopted the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action in June 1993. This conference

...underlined the importance of human rights education, training and public information for the promotion and achievement of stable and harmonious relations among communities and for fostering mutual understanding and peace. The Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action emphasized that education for human rights is itself a human right and a prerequisite for the realization of the universal ideals of democracy, social justice and development. The Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action underlined that "Governments, with the assistance of intergovernmental organizations, national institutions and non-governmental organizations, should promote an increased awareness of human rights and mutual tolerance" (Part II, Paragraph 82). In order to encourage educational and training activities in the field of human rights, the Conference recommended the proclamation of the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004) (UNESCO, undated [d]: 1).

The most important development at the Vienna Conference has been the acceptance and registration of HRE as a human right in itself. The moral and legal imperative around the importance of HRE has thus been affirmed as reflected in paragraph 33 of the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action (VDPA, 1993).

The World Conference on Human Rights reaffirms that States are duty-bound, as stipulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and in other international human rights instruments, to ensure that education is aimed at strengthening the respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The World Conference on Human Rights emphasizes the importance of incorporating the subject of human rights education programmes and calls upon States to do so. Education should promote understanding, tolerance, peace and friendly relations between the nations and all racial or religious groups and encourage the development of United Nations activities in pursuance of these objectives. Therefore,

education on human rights and the dissemination of proper information, both theoretical and practical, play an important role in the promotion and respect of human rights with regard to all individuals without distinction of any kind such as race, sex, language or religion, and this should be integrated in the education policies at the national as well as international levels. The World Conference on Human Rights notes that resource constraints and institutional inadequacies may impede the immediate realization of these objectives.

The VDPA thus translated the Montreal Declaration into an international concern and provided it with the status of being morally binding on member states. Up to this point sufficient momentum has been created for the VDPA to recommend the proclamation of the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004). Subsequently, the UN General Assembly carried this recommendation in resolution 49/184 in 1994.

A noticeable shift took place in 1993 with the adoption of the Montreal Declaration and the VDPA. The Montreal Declaration introduced recommendations for educational strategies whilst the VDPA expanded the content of education in article 79 and 80 to include:

Human rights, humanitarian law, democracy and rule of law as subjects in the curricula of all learning institutions in formal and non-formal settings...(it should also) include peace, democracy, development and social justice, as set forth in international and regional human rights instruments, in order to achieve common understanding and awareness with a view to strengthening universal commitment to human rights.

Most noteworthy of these formulations is the inclusion of ‘development’ and ‘social justice’ as content areas for HRE. This represents a major shift from previous formulations since it captured and reaffirmed ‘development’ and ‘social justice’ as outcomes of a HRE endeavour, though it lost its critical frame within a declarationist construction of HRE. The Montreal Declaration took as its starting point the 1974 Recommendation and other recommendations generated at congresses on human rights and democracy education in Vienna (1978), Malta (1987) and Tunis (1992). The VDPA in article 81 is in turn built on the Montreal Declaration and accumulatively these recommendations and plans of action formed the basis for the UN Decade for HRE (1995-2004). Despite these quasi-conceptual shifts, assiduousness has been applied to

ensure that the construction of HRE is in alignment with the normative principles of human rights instruments as stressed in article 80 of the VDPA.

These declarationist constructions of HRE view the UDHR as a pre-packaged curriculum framework with the ICCPR and ICESCR and subsequent instruments as pre-defined syllabi as if these diplomatic outcomes have been designed for pedagogical purposes. They also ensued within the context of the decolonization of Africa and the end of Apartheid in South Africa; the wave of ‘democracy’ that accompanied the end of the cold war; the “end of Marxist-Leninist governments in Europe” (Martin, Gitta and Ige, 1997: 438) in 1989; Huntington’s second (1943-1962) and third (1980s and 1990s) wave of “democratic development” (Patrick, 1997: 23); the re-emerging democracies of Latin America (Misgeld and Magendzo, 1997: 469); and the emerging democracies in Africa and Central and Eastern Europe. These developments constituted the necessary political, economic and cultural conditions for the proliferation of HRE across the world in the next phase.

The most striking feature of the development of HRE in this phase is not its formalised construction through United Nations Agencies but the speed at which this construction achieved hegemonic status by de-legitimizing ‘other’ forms of HRE praxis¹⁶. For example, though Martin, Gitta and Ige (1997: 440-441) tried to formulate a definition of human rights in Africa, they end up showing, as a positive development, that HRE on the African continent aspired to become declarationist¹⁷. This happened primarily through the work of the rapidly increasing number of donor-driven NGOs and civil society organisations. They (Martin, Gitta and Ige 1997: 436-454) also chronicled the post-colonial development of HRE in Africa as responses to massive human rights violations with professionals, churches and unions at the epicentre of the struggles against despotic regimes and in response to the economic failures of post-colonial Africa. The adoption of the African Charter of Human and People’s Rights in 1982 provided broader impetus for

¹⁶ Suarez and Ramirez (2004) document the explosion of HRE over the past few decades.

¹⁷ Indabawa, (2001) presents a declarationist curriculum on Lifelong Human Rights Education for Africa.

the development of HRE which was firmly rooted in anti-colonial principles but still remained mostly confined to the activities of civil society organisations.

In Latin America, reports (Brazil, 1986; Chile, 1991; El Salvador, 1993) about government-inspired atrocities in the era of political repression and dictatorship contributed to the impetus for advancing moral education and HRE (Misgeld and Magendzo, 1997: 2-3; Candau, 2004: 62-77). This immense input into the development of HRE worldwide has resonance with the South African experiences as reflected in the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Moral Education and HRE in Latin America and Democracy Education and HRE in South Africa are thus responses to a history of state terror rooted in a “moral perception of politics” (*ibid*, 5). The genesis of these pedagogical formations resides in the responses to political oppression against the Apartheid regime in South Africa and against dictatorships in Latin America. In both instances HRE intersected with popular education and a rich non-declarationist history thus underlies the present day formulations of HRE in these regions.

In a survey of HRE in the Southern African Development Community (SADC), Keet (2005) also reflected on the non-declarationist genesis of HRE in many of these countries. However, in the subsequent phase it will become clear that these forms have been assimilated into the mainstream conceptual framework for HRE. For instance, Misgeld and Magendzo (1997) and Candau (2004) provide refreshing non-declarationist takes on HRE in Latin America which is largely undermined by the *Inter-American Report on HRE (2003)* since it neglects an exploration of possible non-declarationist conceptions of HRE. What is thus on offer is a hegemonic, ahistorical, de-contextualised and sanitized version of HRE rooted in declarations, conventions, covenants and treaties.

As is the case with Latin America, the Asia Pacific Region has constructed many innovations in relation to HRE. The acknowledgement of the existence of configurations of HRE within the cultural histories of many peoples around the world is the basis on which the non-declarationist nature of some forms of HRE is constructed (see Sharma, 1996;). Swee-Hin (1996:174) also reflects on developments in the Asia-Pacific region in

relation to HRE and documents a “values education” approach to HRE employed in the Philippines. However, his cyclical arguments return to the mantra of “universally accepted human rights” (*ibid*: 174) as reflected in declarations and conventions. Similar to experiences on the African continent, this tune is most notable performed by Asia-Pacific NGOs. A conceptual schism thus seems to be played out between UN agencies, international, regional and local NGOs and education authorities as far as the construction of HRE is concerned.

Four main patterns can be distilled during this phase. *First*, the mainstream construction of HRE was hermetically sealed within the parameters and conceptual framework of the United Nations and its agencies. Major developments in this regard have taken place and by the turn of the 1990s the definitional structure of HRE was firmly entrenched. *Second*, the political climate generated by historical events opened up vast territories for the expansion of HRE. These territories, it was assumed, presented virgin spaces for HRE to flourish and the historical, cultural and other contexts barely had an influence on the hermetically-sealed construction of HRE. Alternative constructions of HRE operated outside the mainstream trajectory. *Third*, the levels of vulnerability experienced by societies within the context of decolonization, the end of the cold war and the overthrow of repressive regimes provided fertile ground for the uncritical assimilation of HRE into pedagogical structures and processes. *Fourth*, the polemics between various constructions of HRE favour the mainstream version which has been propagated as the benchmark framework for HRE.

3.3.4 The Proliferation of HRE (1995→)

Since 1995 the framework for HRE has been embodied in the proclamation of the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (UNDHRE), 1995-2004 (UN General Assembly: Res. 49/184). This framework and guidelines (1997: GA/A/52/469/Add1) include recommendations on definitional issues relating to HRE; principles of HRE; and refer to (article 16 [I]) pedagogies that include “critical analysis” and the “participatory method”. However, the guidelines (article 10 and 16 [f]) reaffirm the tendency to

constrain HRE to human rights provisions and direct HRE to analyse human rights problems in congruence with “human rights standards” as is evident in the following passages from the international plan of action for UNDHRE.

1. *The normative framework for the Decade shall be based upon the provisions of the international human rights instruments, with particular reference to those provisions addressing human rights education, including article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 13 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, article 29 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, article 10 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, article 7 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, paragraphs 33 and 34 of the Vienna Declaration and paragraphs 78-82 of its Programme of Action.*
2. *In accordance with those provisions, and for the purposes of the Decade, human rights education shall be defined as training, dissemination and information efforts aimed at the building of a universal culture of human rights through the imparting of knowledge and skills and the moulding of attitudes and directed to:*
 - (a) *The strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;*
 - (b) *The full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity;*
 - (c) *The promotion of understanding, tolerance, gender equality and friendship among all nations, indigenous peoples and racial, national, ethnic, religious and linguistic groups;*
 - (d) *The enabling of all persons to participate effectively in a free society;*
 - (e) *The furtherance of the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace (United Nations, 1998: 3).*

These passages embody the dominant belief that HRE is about the teaching of the constructions of human rights within international human rights instruments. This line of argument is further augmented by paragraph 3 (*ibid*: 4) that states that the plan of action:

... shall further be directed towards creating the broadest possible awareness and understanding of all the norms, concepts and values enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and other relevant international human rights instruments.

And further (paragraph 5, *ibid*: 4):

A comprehensive approach to education for human rights, including civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights and recognizing the indivisibility and interdependence of all rights, as defined by the United Nations, shall be adopted for all activities under the Decade.

The concept of HRE in the UNDHRE is thus tied to the imaging of human rights within international instruments. The beginning of the UNDHRE was overlaid by the adoption of the UNESCO Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy (Paris, 1995). Together with the Montreal Declaration of 1993, the 1995 UNESCO Declaration and the Plan of Action for the UN Decade for HRE 1995-2004, constitute for some commentators a “kind of world-wide educational policy” (Lenhart and Savolainen, 2002: 145). HRE has thus become a discursive formation in the real Foucauldian sense and represents a “historically specific system of meaning which form the identities of subjects and objects” (Howarth, 2002: 9)”. On the one hand, the genealogy of HRE has tended to exclude its own alternative configurations. On the other, its archaeology, those rules of formation that “structure discourses” (*ibid*: 49), are almost exclusively determined within the institutions and practices of the United Nations and its agencies aided by the processes of NGO co-option.

Globalization, neo-liberalism and the dramatic increase in formal democracies across the world provided the historical, political and economic milieu for the launch of the UNDHRE which translated into a massive increase in pedagogical activity around human rights across the world. This pattern drew its design from the proliferation of human rights instruments between 1948 and 2004. The Human Rights Education Association (2003) lists more than 675 HRE initiatives in Africa, the Middle East, the Asia Pacific Region, Central and Eastern Europe, Western Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean and North America. Lohrenscheit (2002: 179) confirmed this tendency in her observation

that a search on the Internet will “yield over 5,000 sites” with HRE as the keyword. Two years later the same search yielded 1.8 million sites. Furthermore, as of December 2002, the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (www.unhchr.ch) received 88 reports on HRE from member-states which include Africa (18), Arab countries (7), Asia-Pacific (12), Europe and North America (34) and Latin America and the Caribbean (17).

These recent developments with regard to HRE followed patterns and trends that have been set as far back as 1968 with the call for HRE to be implemented in formal education at an international conference on human rights arranged by the United Nations in Teheran. The period following this conference can be described as the era of the “universalization” of the importance of HRE as it became a fundamental discussion point within the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and other United Nations agencies. These advancements were coupled with a series of international conferences from 1974 to 1994 (United Nations, 1999: 50-122) on HRE and the implementation of formalised HRE programmes in Europe in the 1980s. The Council of Europe Committee of Ministers adopted a resolution (78) on the Teaching of Human Rights in 1978 as part of a trend that found expression in recent developments such as the conferences on HRE in Europe (Finland, 1997), Africa (Senegal, 1998), the Arab States (Morocco, 1999), Asia and the Pacific (India, 1999) and Latin America and the Caribbean (Mexico, 2001). These developments took place within the ambit of the UNDHRE and in the midterm evaluation (A/55/150, 7 September 2000) of the UNDHRE, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCR) reported on 218 responses to questionnaires on the decade. The UNDHRE, as reflected within these evaluative processes, is mainly described as a “useful anchor/umbrella and catalyst mechanism for HRE” (E/C.4/2003/101, 2003: 5).

Shortly after the United Nations World Conference Against Racism (WCAR) in Durban, South Africa, the attacks on the Twin Towers in New York and the Pentagon in Washington on 11 September 2001 resulted in a shift as far as HRE is concerned. The ensuing war on terror has been described as the *War on the Bill of Rights* (Hentoff, 2003)

and the *War on Our Freedoms* (Leone and Anrig, 2003). HRE came under increasing pressure to align itself with matters of security, terrorism, patriotism and narrow nationalism. In a publication by the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (2002: 8) concerns are expressed that the “terrorist syndrome” may well “degenerate into more oppression”. As this anticipation came to be realised in the years following the attack on the Twin Towers, human rights and HRE education have adopted a brand new “anti-terrorist” and also, paradoxically, an anti-human rights encyclopaedia in some parts of the world. For instance, in an interesting article Avery (2002) explores the implications of 9/11 on *Teaching Tolerance* in the United States of America (USA). Further, Spies *et.al* (2004) reflects on the struggle against conservative and preservationist forces over the *Social Studies Standards in Minnesota*.

The 9/11-tragedy has not halted the proliferation of HRE across the world but merely customized its conceptual framework and approach to respond to these events from an ideological and political perspective that is framed within the parameters of the terrorist syndrome¹⁸. Tibbitts (2002: 7) also refers to this proliferation of “human rights education programming” whilst Lenhart and Savolainen (2002: 145) speaks of HRE as “world-wide educational discourse”. This discursive regime of HRE is tied to what Donnelly (2005: 158-168) describes as the “penetration of human rights” into international politics in the 1990s and what Menand 111 (2005: 169) refers to as the “explosion of interest in and a declaration of faith in international standards of human rights” over the last years of the twentieth century. Mainstream HRE clearly sources its legitimization from these processes as an attachment to a discursive trajectory that is designed and constituted outside the sphere of pedagogy. The superimposition of HRE from this location and space onto institutional and societal pedagogical practices resulted in the alienation and marginalization of alternative forms of HRE and this probably represents one of the major weaknesses of HRE.

¹⁸ See Saxon (2005) for an apologist account on *Philosophy in a Time of Terror: Searching for an Appropriate Jurisprudence*.

Though the overall assessment in the report on the midterm review of the UNDHRE points to major shortcomings as far as implementing the UNDHRE is concerned, it also reflects a steady increase of activities on HRE as defined within the UNDHRE. The shortcomings of the UNDHRE are articulated against a declarationist conception of HRE with a discursive structure that excludes alternative configurations of HRE. Within the processes and activities of the UNDHRE, the declarationist conceptions of HRE replaced most other forms of HRE in a massive calibration exercise that directed nation-states and organisations to align their conceptual framework of HRE with the normative basis of the United Nations. Thus, though the UNDHRE has certainly fuelled the practice of particular forms of HRE it has jettisoned others and its primary ‘achievement’ has been the assimilation and reconfiguration of various pedagogical modes into the mainstream conception of HRE. For example, it has become common in recent literature to cluster HRE, citizenship and democracy education (British Council, 2001). Also, many associated formations of HRE such as peace education, consciously and deliberately highlight their HRE alignment in the modern conceptions of themselves (Harris, 2004: 10).

As the UNDHRE drew to a close on 10 December 2004, steps were already afoot to put follow-up processes in place. A second decade was proposed (E/CN.4/2003/101: 7) because of the perceived shortcomings of the first decade and because the “international community has increasingly expressed consensus on the fundamental contribution of human rights education to the realization of human rights” (UN/GA/A/59/525/Rev.1, March 2005). Thus on 10 December 2004, the General Assembly in resolution 59/113 proclaimed the World Programme for Human Rights Education (WPHRE) of which the first phase (2005-2007) is focussing on primary and secondary school systems.

The conceptualization of HRE in the Plan of Action for the WPHRE (UN/GA/A/59/525/Rev.1, March 2005) represents an almost uneventful continuity with the construction of HRE in the UNDHRE as articulated in paragraphs 2 and 3.

Paragraph 2: Provisions on human rights education have been incorporated in many international instruments, including the Universal

Declaration of Human Rights (article 26), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (article 13), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (article 29), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (article 10), the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (article 7), the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action (Part I, paras. 33-34 and Part II, paras. 78-82) and the Declaration and Programme of Action of the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, held in Durban, South Africa, in 2001 (Declaration, paras. 95-97 and Programme of Action, paras. 129-139).

Paragraph 3: In accordance with these instruments, which provide elements of a definition of human rights education as agreed upon by the international community, human rights education can be defined as education, training and information aiming at building a universal culture of human rights through the sharing of knowledge, imparting of skills and moulding of attitudes directed to:

- a) The strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;*
- b) The full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity;*
- c) The promotion of understanding, tolerance, gender equality and friendship among all nations, indigenous peoples and racial, national, ethnic, religious and linguistic groups;*
- d) The enabling of all persons to participate effectively in a free and democratic society governed by the rule of law;*
- e) The building and maintenance of peace;*
- f) The promotion of people-centred sustainable development and social justice.*

Despite the almost identical formulations of HRE in both the UNDHRE and the WPHRE, two interesting shifts are noticeable. First, the notions of education for sustainable development and social justice certainly provide a much sharper critical construction of HRE. These notions seem to invite a critical analysis of human rights instruments but are curtailed by a contradictory and constraining provision in paragraph 10 that directs the plan of action to draw on “the principles and frameworks set by international human rights instruments”. “Social justice” thus means that which can be inferred from these instruments. This tendency inhibits the capacity of HRE to critically reflect on these

human rights articulations as political constructions and thereby contributes to the inherent conservatism of HRE. Second, pedagogical considerations are more clearly articulated in the WPHRE than in the UNDHRE in paragraphs 17, 18 and 19 though it is debatable whether the pedagogical claims such as “improved quality of learning achievement” can be sustained within a HRE programme. Paragraph 17 articulates the processes of HRE that include:

- (a) “Human rights through education”: ensuring that all the components and processes of learning, including curricula, materials, methods and training are conducive to the learning of human rights;*
- (b) “Human rights in education”: ensuring the respect of the human rights of all actors, and the practice of rights, within the education system.*

Whilst paragraph 17 reflects on HRE processes, paragraph 18 translates HRE into a central educational policy discourse.

Therefore, human rights education in the primary and secondary school systems includes:

- (a) Policies — developing in a participatory way and adopting coherent educational policies, legislation and strategies that are human rights-based, including curriculum improvement and training policies for teachers and other educational personnel;*
- (b) Policy implementation — planning the implementation of the abovementioned educational policies by taking appropriate organizational measures and by facilitating the involvement of all stakeholders;*
- (c) Learning environment — the school environment itself respects and promotes human rights and fundamental freedoms. It provides the opportunity for all school actors (students, teachers, staff and administrators and parents) to practise human rights through real-life activities. It enables children to express their views freely and to participate in school life;*
- (d) Teaching and learning — all teaching and learning processes and tools are rights-based (for instance, the content and objectives of the curriculum, participatory and democratic practices and methodologies, appropriate materials including the review and revision of existing textbooks, etc.);*
- (e) Education and professional development of teachers and other personnel — providing the teaching profession and school leadership, through pre- and in-service training, with the necessary knowledge, understanding, skills and competencies to facilitate the learning and*

practice of human rights in schools, as well as with appropriate working conditions and status.

Paragraph 18 moves HRE from being the subject or content of educational policy to being an educational policy framework itself. Moreover, paragraph 19 shifts the conceptual framework of HRE towards the ambit of educational outcomes and thus completes the process of developing HRE as an educational policy construction.

By promoting a rights-based approach to education, human rights education enables the education system to fulfil its fundamental mission to secure quality education for all. Accordingly, it contributes to improving the effectiveness of the national education system as a whole, which in turn has a fundamental role in each country's economic, social and political development. It provides, among others, the following benefits:

(a) Improved quality of learning achievements by promoting child-centred and participatory teaching and learning practices and processes, as well as a new role for the teaching profession;

(b) Increased access to and participation in schooling by creating a rights-based learning environment that is inclusive and welcoming and fosters universal values, equal opportunities, diversity and non-discrimination;

(c) A contribution to social cohesion and conflict prevention by supporting the social and emotional development of the child and by introducing democratic citizenship and values.

Apart from these shifts, the WPHRE also presents an integrated strategy for advancing HRE in paragraphs 10-14 that focuses on previous plans, the Education for All targets, sustainable development, the Millennium Development Goals and literacy:

10. *The plan of action draws on the principles and frameworks set by international human rights instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and related guidelines adopted by the Committee on the Rights of the Child (in particular, general comment No. 1 (2001) on the aims of education), the 1993 Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action and the Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy. It also draws on international declarations and programmes on education.*

11. *The Dakar Framework for Action on Education For All: Meeting Our Collective Commitments, adopted at the World Education Forum in 2000, the major international platform and collective commitment to the achievement of the goals and targets of Education For All (EFA), reaffirmed a vision of education supported by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on the Rights of the Child and geared towards learning to live together. In the Dakar Framework, education is considered key “to sustainable development and peace and stability” (para. 6), by fostering social cohesion and empowering people to become active participants in social transformation. Goal 6 of the Dakar Framework is to improve all aspects of the quality of education, ensuring their excellence so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills. It provides the basis for a concept of quality education that goes beyond reading, writing and arithmetic, and which, while necessarily dynamic, is strongly rights-based and entails democratic citizenship, values and solidarity as important outcomes.*
12. *A rights-based quality education encompasses the concept of education for sustainable development as contained in the Plan of Implementation of the World Summit on Sustainable Development. Education is seen as a process for addressing important questions such as rural development, health care, community involvement, HIV/AIDS, the environment, traditional and indigenous knowledge, and wider ethical issues such as human values and human rights. It is further stated that the success in the struggle for sustainable development requires an approach to education that strengthens “our engagement in support of other values — especially justice and fairness — and the awareness that we share a common destiny with others”. The World Programme for Human Rights Education would create synergies with the United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (2005-2014), coupling efforts to address issues of common concern.*
13. *One of the Millennium Development Goals adopted by the international community on the occasion of the United Nations Millennium Summit in 2000 is the promotion of universal access to primary education, which is still a major challenge. Although enrolment rates have been increasing in several regions, the quality of education remains low for many. For example, gender biases, threats to the physical and emotional security of girls and gender-insensitive curricula can all conspire against the realization of the right to education (A/56/326, para. 94). This*

plan of action aims at contributing to the achievement of this Millennium Development Goal by promoting rights-based quality education.

14. *The plan of action is also placed within the context of action of Member States and others to promote the universal right to literacy, in particular within the framework of the United Nations Literacy Decade (2003-2012), literacy being a key learning tool towards the fulfilment of the right to education.*

This necessary integrative strategy has not been as clearly articulated in previous constructions of HRE. It brings together the most important normative standards for HRE that have been generated over the past 12 years by the United Nations machinery. No other normative frameworks are considered.

Albeit limited, the conceptual structure of HRE has, beyond doubt, progressed towards a critical pedagogical construction. However, the conceptual incongruity of HRE has, at least in part, always resided in the entrenchment of a particular declarationist construction of HRE against the backdrop of efforts to provide it with a sharper and more critical pedagogical edge. This is clearly reflected in paragraph 2 of the WPHRE as referenced on page 79. Apart from the uncritical and therefore anti-educational risks of a declarationist construction, HRE should, according to paragraph 20 also perform an assimilative function by influencing the shape and identity of other pedagogical formations according to its own image.

All efforts taking place in the school system towards peace education, citizenship and values education, multicultural education, global education or education for sustainable development do include human rights principles in their content and methodologies. It is important that all of them, using this plan of action as a reference, promote a rights-based approach to education, which goes beyond teaching and learning and aims at providing a platform for systemic improvement of the school sector in the context of national education reforms.

A significant development during the period of the UNDHRE is recommendation 2002/12 of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe to member states on

education for democratic citizenship (Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 16 October 2002 at the 812th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies). The recommendation:

1. *Affirms:*

- *that education for democratic citizenship is fundamental to the Council of Europe's primary task of promoting a free, tolerant and just society,*

- *and that it contributes, alongside the Organisation's other activities, to defending the values and principles of freedom, pluralism, human rights and the rule of law, which are the foundations of democracy;*

2. *Declares:*

- *that education for democratic citizenship should be seen as embracing any formal, non-formal or informal educational activity, including that of the family, enabling an individual to act throughout his or her life as an active and responsible citizen respectful of the rights of others;*

- *that education for democratic citizenship is a factor for social cohesion, mutual understanding, intercultural and inter-religious dialogue, and solidarity, that it contributes to promoting the principle of equality between men and women, and that it encourages the establishment of harmonious and peaceful relations within and among peoples, as well as the defence and development of democratic society and culture;*

- *that education for democratic citizenship, in its broadest possible sense, should be at the heart of the reform and implementation of educational policies;*

- *that education for democratic citizenship is a factor for innovation in terms of organising and managing overall education systems, as well as curricula and teaching methods;*

In a confluence of trajectories, the shift in HRE in relation to citizenship education and democracy education resulted in the construction of *education for democratic citizenship and human rights*. Amongst human rights education practitioners there is now general consensus about the conceptual and practical interlocking of HRE, democracy education

and citizenship education¹⁹. Drawing on the normative frameworks presented in an array of international and regional instruments, this amalgamated formation became an assimilative framework for all other associated educational forms. Thus, to borrow from Said's (2001: 429) observation on the dominance of the Western construction of human rights, HRE has given itself "an internationalized and normative identity with authority and hegemony to adjudicate the relative value" of all other related forms of education. Conceptual formulations and practices of other associated educations reside outside this discursive formation of HRE, of which the parameters have been drawn by an array of UN normative standards.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter dealt with the historical conceptual development and analysis of HRE with reference to a number of related educational formulations. These formulations and the relationships among them have not been explored to the fullest. The purpose of this chapter was solely aimed at tracing the roots of HRE and to consider and reflect upon its changing definitional and conceptual frameworks. The precursors to HRE and its foundations vary from region to region and though it started off as a multitude of forms, one particular formulation certainly gained hegemonic status through the structures and processes of the United Nations. There is within the current WPHRE a clear definitional structure that is undoubtedly declarationist and uncritical and also acts as the benchmark for other related educational activities.

This chapter also relates to section 2.4 of the research process presented in Chapter 2 which relate to the *literature review and conceptual historical analysis*. The literature that has been consulted provided the necessary data for this phase of the study and the object of the descriptive, comparative and interpretive analysis referred to in section 2.5. Though these strategies, within the ambit of conceptual historical analysis, have been useful to explore the historical trajectory of the concept of HRE, much more needs to be done to complete the cycle of concept analysis. Educational formulations were presented

¹⁹ The continuing discussion on the HREA listserv (<http://www.hrea.org/lists/hr-education>) underwrites this assertion.

in this chapter which require further analysis as intrinsic to a concept analysis of HRE. This will be done in later chapters.

The next chapter sets off the process of conceptual mapping for HRE which is taken further in all of the ensuing chapters. Conceptual mapping is a method of presenting various conceptual frameworks and narratives on a social space as a way of elucidating the meaning-making influences of meta- and mini-narratives on the concept of HRE. A concept analysis of HRE must be informed by the denotations of HRE that are carried by and employed within the definitional structures of the narratives and paradigms.