CHAPTER 6

HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION: CONCEPTUAL ECLECTISM, DEFINITIONAL ISSUES AND TYPOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

6.1 Introduction

Chapters 3,4 and 5 explored the genealogical and conceptual frameworks of HRE and demonstrated that the meaning of HRE is preconfigured within two discursive trajectories. First, the meanings of HRE are influenced by broader historical shifts and their concomitant political, economic and cultural edifices. Second, the meaning of HRE takes on fluid and complex forms when conceptual cartography and conceptual mapping are applied, i.e. its meaning frameworks are more intricate than presented by human rights practitioners.

This chapter weaves together the different ways in which this study has approached the conceptual intricacies of HRE, i.e. the ways in which the conceptual meanings of HRE have been constructed and uncovered.

- The definitional trends and conceptual historical shifts that have been explored in Chapter 3 are analysed in section 6.2.
- The conceptual cartography that was constructed in Chapters 4 and 5 are tabularized, narrated and analysed in section 6.3 in relation to its implications for the conceptual and definitional framework of HRE.
- A typology of HRE, with qualifications, is developed and critically analysed in section 6.4 as manageable strategies for concept elucidation and present the concept of HRE in relation to associated educational formations. This typology is informed by the historical development of HRE in Chapter 3.
- The models and approaches to HRE are constructed, presented and assessed in section 6.5 since a diversity of meanings of HRE inhabit the conceptual

assumptions of these models and approaches. The classification of these models and approaches is influenced by the conceptual cartography of Chapters 4 and 5.

6.2 Definitional Trends and Conceptual Historical Shifts

6.2.1 The Nomenclature of HRE

The conceptual historical analysis demonstrates that educational practices and objectives that today are categorized as HRE have been in existence before Greco-Roman times and in traditional and pre-colonial African and other societies. Many educational forms have been associated with HRE. These include Democracy Education, Education for Democracy, Peace Education, Conflict Resolution Education, Civic Education, Citizenship Education, Political Education, International Education, Global Education, World Education, Moral Education, Environmental Education, Development Education, Multicultural Education and Anti-racism Education.

Apart from the fact that HRE has developed into a powerful discourse in its own right, almost all the constructions of associated educational forms position HRE either as a central, core or important pedagogical configuration. The meaning of the concept of HRE is thus tied to the conceptual frameworks of many of these forms, each with their own particular understanding of HRE. HRE thus sources meaning from concepts like human rights, democracy, peace, development, multiculturalism, citizenship, and so on. But these issues have been on the agenda of educational debate independent of the formalised human rights discourse. The question then arises whether HRE injects any new pedagogical concerns and approaches into the realm of educational debate.

6.2.2 A pedagogy of "civic-mindedness"

The "civic-mindedness" of philosophical and other teachings before and during Greco-Roman times is probably one of the earliest constructions of a pedagogical formation that largely has had similar objectives to contemporary HRE. With a focus on citizens'

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responsibility towards the state and the adherence to law-like regulatory frameworks, these educational configurations followed an approach that juxtaposed citizens as subjects in relation to the state. This can probably be ascribed to the centrality of 'duties' within these earlier discourses.

Section 3.3.2 shows that between the advent of modernity and the adoption of the UDHR in 1948, the shift from duties to rights provided fertile grounds for the further development of multicultural education, moral education, civic education, citizenship education and education for democracy. The *English Bill of Rights* of 1689, the French *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens* of 1789 and the *United States Bill of Rights* of 1791 came into being as the precursors to the human rights instruments of the 20th century. These constructions of human rights enable the continuation of discriminatory practices in the same geographical space that has spawned its existence (Ishay, 2004: 155-172). Despite these contradictions, educational formations associated with HRE were based on these instruments and styled in a duties-rights or political literacy framework. Political education and law-related education were additional educational formations that joined the clique.

Outside of the 'western' world, the precursors to HRE reside in intergenerational, indigenous and religious education. Mutua's (2002: 71-93) powerful argument on human rights in pre-colonial Africa shows how the notion and ideals of human rights existed and developed on the continent of Africa and how it took on a pedagogical character within the daily activities of traditional communities. These activities took place within organizational structures (*ibid*: 83) that assigned obligations to community members. They thus had a civic quality as a meaning-characteristic.

6.2.3 Political Literacy, Legalism and Resistance Education

The overriding notion that citizens should know the law and rights as a form of regulation and organisation has always been dominant in earlier forms associated with HRE. They can generally be interpreted from two perspectives.

First, knowledge of the law and of rights and duties was seen as an important element of social cohesion and societal capability. The emphasis here is on knowing about the broad societal regulatory framework. The absence of a critical dimension to these teachings is evident in earlier educational activities and this stance has been transported through time to influence modern-day formulations of HRE. The rights regime, from it earliest inception, has been overtly compliance-driven and knowledge about the regulatory frameworks is indispensable for compliance. Teachings about rights were merely teaching about the legitimacy of rights constructions and its concomitant duties and obligations. In addition political systems and arrangements require some level of participation from citizens that in turn necessitated the need for political literacy amongst populations[48]. However, this political literacy was interpreted from a narrow legal basis and as such knowing about the law transcended all other pedagogical considerations. On this score, political literacy as an educational objective in Western societies was directed by legalism. As demonstrated earlier, in African and other communities the political literacy approach, though important for societal cohesion, was not driven by legalism but by a commitment to protect existing community arrangements. The table below is a variant of ideas relating to the comparative interplay between the Western European[49] and African experiences developed in Chapter 3. It demonstrates that HRE has followed different historical trajectories in Western Europe and Africa that seem to have converged in contemporary times.

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[48] See the discussion on Lockean and Rousseauan educational theories, section 3.3.2.

[49] I refer to Western Europe as encompassing the countries on the European continent that played host to the European Renaissance.

Table 8: A Comparison between HRE Developments in Western Europe and Africa

Period	Continent	Characteristics/ Influences	Dominant Approach	Pedagogical Formations
Pre 1947	Western Europe	• Knowledge about laws of the state • Spread through natural law and Christianity	Political literacy approach/ morality-based approach	Civic education/ Citizenship Education/ moral education
	Africa	• Islamic and Christian influences • Collectivism • Resistance politics/ slavery, colonialism	Intergenerational teachings/ political education/ liberation education/ focused on principles, values and morals that constitute democratic practices	Moral/ Social Education
1948-1994	Western Europe	• UDHR-based HRE • Formalizing HRE	Declarationist/ political literacy	Human rights education/ citizenship education
	Africa	• Postcolonial • Nation building • National identity • Reconstruction and development	Focused on principles, values, morals and cultural constructions of human dignity and peace	Human rights education/ civic education/ moral education/ peace education
1995-present	Western Europe	• UN Decade for HRE-based • Emerging democracies • Regional developments • World Programme of Action •	Declarationist/ political literacy	Peace education HRE/ DHRE/ civic education/ citizenship education/ Education for democracy
	Africa	• UN Decade for HRE-based • Emerging democracies • Regional developments • Shifts in political landscapes • Regional integration • Movements of people	Political literacy/ focused on democratic citizenship	Moral education/ social education/ human rights education

Second, Lockean and Rousseauan theories of citizenship education can also be interpreted from a resistance perspective, i.e. education aimed at resisting abuse of political power or human rights violations[50]. Though this trend is nascent in earlier constructions of citizenship education and HRE it has not developed sufficient currency in contemporary formulations of HRE. It has fallen to dialects of HRE on the fringes of educational discourse to place and keep the resistance potential of HRE on the agenda. On the definitional front, civic, citizenship and political education are used interchangeably to refer to the teaching of specific knowledge, skills and values deemed necessary for life in society. This type of education tries to respond to the general political apathy and ignorance amongst citizens. The focus is on the need for active and informed citizens who understand political processes and the machinery of government. This definitional framework has marginalised the notions of resistance and empowerment within citizenship education and instead provided scope for the domination of the notions of 'political literacy' and 'legalism'.

6.2.4 The Declarization and Standardization of HRE

In educational terms, the processes of human rights standards generation that produced a labyrinth of international and regional human rights instruments and provisions can best be described as the standardization of HRE. Whereas HRE has previously been embedded within many forms of pedagogical practice, the 'human rights instrument' provided standardized curricula and syllabi for HRE. This study demonstrates that for most human rights practitioners the definitional framework of HRE is captured in declarations and conventions which at the same provide an engraved standard for HRE. This has limited the nature of HRE to the definitional structure in agreed-upon programmes of actions that have been chartered by international and regional intergovernmental agencies. The hegemonic legalistic and political literacy trends that became discursive throughout Greco-Roman and enlightenment times have, through this standardization, firmly grasped the designation and character of contemporary HRE. In

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[50] See earlier discussion in section 3.3.2.

this sense HRE suffers from a declarationist obsession (see section 1.3) which in turn deconstructs and reconstructs HRE into pre-determined curricula based on instruments (declarations, conventions, etc) and guided by the notion of instrumentality. HRE literally became the marsupial child of international human rights constructions rendering the critical pedagogical approach a logical impossibility within this framework.

6.2.5 HRE as a Grand Narrative

A number of trajectories in the Asia-Pacific, Latin America and Africa relating to HRE have developed within a non-declarationist framework. The link between HRE, popular education, worker education, values education and indigenous education in these regions demonstrates the possibility of a critical educational potential within HRE. However, the modes and modulations of HRE, especially since 1948, presented HRE as a grand narrative that subsumes all other forms of community and culturally-based educational endeavours that are remotely related to HRE. This grand pedagogical narrative as the benchmark and the standard first de-legitimized and then assimilated these pedagogical activities (Keet, 2005)[51]. To paraphrase Said (2001: 429) again, HRE has given itself the normative identity with authority to adjudicate the relative value of all forms of education related to HRE.

In relation to the arguments in 6.2.3 and 6.2.4 it is useful to reiterate the analysis in 3.3.3 that relates to the *Formalization of HRE. First,* the mainstream construction of HRE was hermetically sealed within the parameters and conceptual framework of the United Nations and its agencies. *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. *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

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[51] Keet (2005): Review of Democracy and Human Rights in the Curriculum in the South African Development Community (SADC), Electoral Institute of Southern Africa.

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.

6.2.6 Imaging and Assimilation

Linked to point 6.2.3 and 6.2.4 HRE has since 1948 been imaged against the impressions captured within international instruments which facilitated its maturation into a discursive formation in the real Foucauldian[52] sense. It constitutes for some commentators a "kind of worldwide educational policy" (Lenhart and Savolainen, 2002: 145) and for others a new educational philosophy in its own right (Spring, 1999). Four points of analysis can be developed in this regard – all have been raised earlier in section 3.3.4.

First, there has been a phenomenal growth in HRE activities worldwide since the proclamation of the United Nations Decade for HRE (1995-2004). *Second,* The 9/11-incident 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 syndrome. *Third,* the superimposition of the declarationist image of HRE onto existing institutional and societal pedagogical practices resulted either in the assimilation, alienation and marginalization of alternative forms of HRE and this probably represents one of the major weaknesses of 'formalised' HRE. *Fourth,* there have been positive developments around the definitional structure of HRE since 1995 such as the integration of notions of social justice and development. However, the most contemporary constructions of HRE also assigned an assimilative function to HRE to influence the shape and identity of other pedagogical formations according to its own image (para 20, WPHRE).

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[52] See section 3.3.4.

6.2.7 Conceptual and Definitional Shifts

A number of conceptual historical shifts in the meaning of HRE can be discerned from the literature.

First, during earlier times HRE was not known with reference to its contemporary label and its understanding and meaning is closely tied to the development of the concept of human rights itself. However, the conceptual historical analysis has shown that educational formations and traditional intergenerational teachings closely related to what has become known as HRE, did exist during these times.

For instance, moral education – a contemporary associate of HRE - has been assumed within educational objectives in most of the classical theories of education including those of Socrates, Plato, Rousseau, Hobbes, Locke, Durkheim and Dewey. In addition Confucius also emphasized the teaching of moral values relating "to governing and regulating social relationships" (Shen, 2001: 4) whilst for Locke (Smith, 2001: 46) education is essentially what we would now call 'moral education' - "its aim is virtue". Locke also viewed education from a political literacy and citizenship perspective (Spring, 1999: 111). This conflation of moral, political and citizenship education was quite commonplace in earlier forms of education associated with HRE because of the amorphous relationship between state, government, religion and morality in earlier times.

> *Citizenship education refers to the use of education for training people to become citizens. In Canada, as elsewhere, citizenship in this context usually contains four elements. The first is national consciousness or identity. Citizenship education aims to produce national citizens. This can range from nationalist chauvinists, through moderate patriots, to those with a knowledge of national history, geography and other basic facts. Usually citizenship education aims to achieve not just knowledge, but an emotional commitment to or identification with one's nation, a sense of loyalty and duty… The second element of citizenship consists of political literacy, a knowledge of and commitment to the political, legal and social institutions of one's country. … The third element of citizenship consists of the observance of rights and duties. Citizens are supposed to understand and enjoy the rights to which citizenship entitles them and*

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> *others, and to perform willingly the duties that citizenship requires of them. … The fourth element of citizenship education consists of values. There are societal values, which are more or less common to a given society, and are often described in a constitution or a bill of rights. Also there are universal values, especially of an ethical nature, which might override the claims of citizenship, as in the case of conscientious resistance to a particular law (Lynch, 1999: 1).*

Lynch's contemporary rendition of citizenship education above is not that dissimilar to the notions of citizenship education, political education, democracy education and human rights education in earlier times. The meaning of HRE in the pre-1948 phase was tied to the objectives of moral and citizenship education. The same is true for HRE's link with political and democracy education where the aim of education is the development of virtues, knowledge and skills necessary for political participation. Thus, the meaning of HRE in its pre-formalised construction in the west was in essence then an expression of societal needs in relation to matters of morality, democracy, citizenship and political literacy. In other parts of the world an added need around "resistance", "emancipation", "justice" and "anti-discrimination" found expression within the activities of the pedagogical forerunners of HRE.

Second, in the first pre-1948 phase in the development of HRE, its meaning was constructed in relation to broader educational theories and political developments. Its own definitional structure was weakly defined, both in 'western' and other traditional societies across the world. However, between 1948 and 1994 HRE developed into a formalised educational formation and its meaning was determined within the intergovernmental activities of the United Nations and its agencies (see section 3.3.3).

According to UNESCO (undated [e]: 1), "HRE 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:"

- *The strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;*
- *The full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity;*

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- *The promotion of understanding, tolerance, gender equality and friendship among all nations, indigenous peoples and racial, national, ethnic, religious and linguistic groups;*
- *The enabling of all persons to participate effectively in a free and democratic society governed by the rule of law;*
- *The building and maintenance of peace;*
- *The promotion of people-centred sustainable development and social justice"*

The UNECSO (undated [e]: 1) statement goes further by declaring that HRE encompasses:

- *Knowledge and skills – learning about human rights and mechanisms for their protection, as well as acquiring skills to apply them in daily life;*
- *Values, attitudes and behaviour – developing values and reinforcing attitudes and behaviour which uphold human rights;*
- *Action – taking action to defend and promote human rights.*

This UNESCO definition of HRE draws from the more than 90 provisions in international and regional human rights instruments with varying levels of legal and moral force that provided HRE with some form of definitional expression between 1948 and 1994. These include provisions in 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, paragraphs 33-34 and Part II, paragraphs 78-82), adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, Austria, on 25 June 1993.

Three popular and eminent examples will be sufficient to demonstrate the development of the definitional structure of HRE through international instruments between 1948 and 1994). First, article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and second, article 13 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, both of which are cited in section 3.3.3. Third, the international instrument that has generated the

highest level of consensus and agreement, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, in Article 29 states that:

> *States Parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to:*
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> a. *The development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential;*
> b. *The development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations;*
> c. *The development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own;*
> d. *The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin;*
> e. *The development of respect for the natural environment.*

Given the global construction of HRE within the intergovernmental processes of the United Nations, the political literacy, democracy and citizenship approaches became more pronounced across the world as the compliance requirement of these international instruments provided the impetus for an unfettered expansion and development of HRE. The logic of these developments is obvious. Human rights standards have either legal or moral force or both and are accompanied by monitoring processes and mechanisms. State parties are under pressure to report on human rights and HRE developments in their countries. They thus have opted for the political literacy, democracy and citizenship approaches as the most expedient way to work towards symbolic and nominal compliance with international human rights standards. The growth of HRE is thus closely related to the expansion of human rights standards and the entrenchment of the political literacy, democracy and citizenship approaches and notions towards HRE has been determined by the political, economic and cultural dynamics and pressures at play within the framework of the United Nations.

Further, if compliance with human rights standards is a determining factor in the construction of HRE as political literacy and the development of democracy and citizenship, the logical conclusion would be that the notion of "compliance" in turn is governed by the politics and economics of human rights. The upshot of this argument is that HRE acts as the legitimating arm of human rights universals whose configurations are for the most part authored by political and economic interests. The relationship between human rights, politics, power and economics is well captured in Baxi (2002), Savic (1999), Eagleton (1999), Evans (1998, 2001), Chomsky (1998) and Foucault (1994). The entrenchment of the political literacy, democracy and citizenship constructions of HRE between 1948 and 1994 is thus buttressed by the economic and political developments associated with the end of the 'cold war', the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the emergence of 'new' democracies, globalisation, neo-liberal economic discourses and international trade agreements. Outside the formalised framework of HRE, pedagogical formations around 'resistance', 'emancipation' and 'justice' were substantive in parts of Latin America, Africa and the Asia Pacific. These legacies have been instrumental in the symbolic inclusion of 'development' and 'social justice' in the definitional structure of mainstream HRE.

The shift in the meaning of HRE between phase 1 and 2 can be argued as follows. In phase 1 the definitional structure of HRE must be deduced from its associated forms which show that the notions of *political literacy, morality and values* dominated its mainstream construction. The concepts of *resistance and emancipation* were marginal and perfunctory to the definitional structure of HRE. In phase 2, the notions of *citizenship and democracy* eclipsed the notion of the *moral* within the comprehension of HRE. The notions of *resistance and emancipation* were at first more pronounced in alternative conceptions of HRE but later paraphrased into the concept of *development and social justice* and then assimilated into mainstream configurations. This shift however, did not represent a departure from the declarationist trajectory of HRE. Instead, the declarationism of HRE became hegemonic and assimilatory and thus rapidly expanded into the territories of the new democracies and the 'decolonized' spaces on the back of

human rights universals and globalization with 'political literacy', 'citizenship' and 'democracy' as its mantra and 'compliance' as its libretto.

Third, given the fact that HRE is the marsupial child of human rights universals and that its mainstream meaning was hermetically sealed within the parameters of the United Nations, the proclamation of the UN Decade for HRE (1995-2004) was a logical outcome of political and economic processes. The proclamation of the decade provided the legitimate pedagogical vehicle for the expansion of HRE as a political activity. Towards the end of the decade United Nations agencies were already hard at work to put in motion a follow-up process to the UN Decade for HRE based on resolution 2004/71 of the Commission on Human Rights. This resolution was driven by the Commission's conviction:

> *that human rights education is a long-term and lifelong process by which all people at all levels of development and in all strata of society learn respect for the dignity of others and the means and methods of ensuring respect in all societies, and that human rights education significantly contributes to promoting equality and sustainable development, preventing conflict and human rights violations and enhancing participation and democratic processes, with a view to developing societies in which all human rights of all are valued and respected,*

Since these formulations are state sponsored, it is almost inevitable for the ensuing plans to reflect the interests and concerns of states. Thus, phase 3 (1995→) includes two grand plans (the UNDHRE and the WPHRE) that both provide a definitional framework and an expansion policy for the development of HRE across the world. The comparison between the two in section 3.3.4 points to an almost uneventful continuity as far as the definitional framework of HRE is concerned.

Apart from the normative developments within these programmes, the Committee on the Rights of the Child, a treaty monitoring mechanism, developed a general comment on the aims of education (CRC/GC/2001/1) which in relation to HRE states the following in paragraphs 15 and 16:

15. Article 29 (1) can also be seen as a foundation stone for the various programmes of human rights education called for by the World Conference on Human Rights, held in Vienna in 1993, and promoted by international agencies. Nevertheless, the rights of the child have not always been given the prominence they require in the context of such activities. Human rights education should provide information on the content of human rights treaties. But children should also learn about human rights by seeing human rights standards implemented in practice, whether at home, in school, or within the community. Human rights education should be a comprehensive, lifelong process and start with the reflection of human rights values in the daily life and experiences of children.(6)

16. The values embodied in article 29 (1) are relevant to children living in zones of peace but they are even more important for those living in situations of conflict or emergency. As the Dakar Framework for Action notes, it is important in the context of education systems affected by conflict, natural calamities and instability that educational programmes be conducted in ways that promote mutual understanding, peace and tolerance, and that help to prevent violence and conflict.(7) Education about international humanitarian law also constitutes an important, but all too often neglected, dimension of efforts to give effect to article 29 (1).

It is regrettable that paragraph 15 probably represents the most directive contemporary expression on the declarationism of HRE. It restricted HRE to teaching about the 'content of treaties' and education about 'international humanitarian law'. Released in 2001, this general comment in fact represents a regression as far as the definitional framework of HRE is concerned. Chapter 3 demonstrates that HRE has seldom been considered in relation to pedagogical understandings in place elsewhere. Its declarationist nature might be a direct outcome of an inability to engage the field of education and its perfunctory reference to 'empowerment', 'social justice', 'development' and other Freirean pedagogical notions reflects a questionable assessment of itself and a sterile understanding of educational theory and practice.

6.3 Conceptual mapping and the meanings of HRE

The historical (linear) conceptual shifts in the meaning of HRE have also been accompanied by lateral conceptual shifts. The meaning of HRE has thus shifted over time

but a range of meanings may inhabit the conceptual map of HRE at any given historical juncture. The meanings of HRE are thus subjected to linear-lateral shifts. The two tables below represent the conceptual cartography of HRE of Chapters 4 and 5.

Table 9: A Conceptual Cartography of HRE (a)

Theoretical Orientation	Conception of Human Rights	Nature of Human Rights Education
Positivism	Human Rights are essentialized as legal constructions. There are no rights that exist outside its legal codification.	HRE follows a highly legalistic approach within the framework of political literacy and compliance.
Interpretivism	Human Rights are those rights that are constructed through people's interpretation of the rights that they have.	The experiential approach is employed to solicit a narration of people's experiences of human rights. These experiences are co-interpreted to enhance an experiential understanding of human rights. The political literacy and social cohesion approaches are most dominant.
Critical Theory	Human Rights are viewed as those conditions that are necessary for human emancipation. These conditions operate on a personal, cultural and systemic level.	HRE is invariably political focusing on inequalities, discrimination, poverty and social justice. Approaches to HRE include empowerment and resistance.
Postmodernism	The notion of universal human rights is rejected and human rights foundationalism is outmoded (Rorty, 1999: 73). Constructions of human rights such as those in international instruments are highly undesirable.	HRE is contextualised and only applicable within the knowledge frameworks of people's situatedness. HRE can be ultra-conservative as well as radical. With its emphasis on diversity and difference, social cohesion is the approach favoured by postmodernism within the contexts of localism and pluralism.

Table 10: A Conceptual Cartography of HRE (b)

Discourse	Conception of Human Rights	Nature of Human Rights Education
The Natural Law and Natural Rights Discourse	Human Rights are those natural rights that are constructed in alignment with the will of a superior authority/ based on the existence of a natural moral code.	Moral education/ tied to religious principles/ education focused on the 'social contract'
Legal Positivism and the Utilitarian Discourse	Human Rights are those rights so codified in legal terms/ objectivist notion of human rights.	Legalistic approach to HRE/ interpretation is screened out/ law and morality are distinct entities
Dworkin's Liberal Narrative	There may be rights that are not necessarily legally codified/ these rights can be identified by constructive interpretation.	Interpretive approach to HRE
Critical Legal Studies Discourse	Human rights are myths and an expression and exercise of power/ human rights are constructions that fit the liberal conception of law.	Critical approach to HRE to illuminate the false promises and premises of human rights
Postmodern and Postcolonial Legal Narrative	Human rights are imaginary/ human rights must be rearticulated within the framework of humanity's humanism/ human rights are situational and not universal.	HRE should deconstruct human rights/ it must regain the radicalism within human rights/ focus on context and difference/ particularistic – perspectival approach to HRE
The International Law Narrative	Human rights are legally codified through international law and normatively defined by international standards.	HRE is a conduit of the legal and normative framework for human rights
The Political Discourse	The constructions of human rights are expressions of power, hegemony and unequal economic, political and cultural relations/ human rights is an insufficient political philosophy.	HRE should focus on the political economy of human rights, not on its constructions per se/ the globalization and marketization of human rights/ alternative constructions such as compassion, suffering and needs should be explored through HRE

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Given the argument that HRE is pervasively declarationist and unable to generate a critical stance towards human rights universals, the positivist tendencies are hegemonic in the modern-day practise of HRE. The dominance of both the political literacy and legalistic approaches underscores this line of reasoning. The reasons for this hegemony are in concert with the political, cultural and economic interests embedded in the broader human rights discourse. However, there are constructions of HRE within the subaltern and marginal spaces that straddle the conceptual cosmology of HRE in pursuit of a truly empowering conception of HRE. There are also other constructions of HRE that are quasi-critical of human rights violations but fail to construct a pedagogical practice that may engage with human suffering. The consequence of a conceptual cartography of HRE is an understanding that the historical construction of HRE in relation to the development of human rights universals has rendered HRE uncritical and possibly anti-educational. The reconfiguration of the notion of HRE into an empowering pedagogical practice is dependent on a critical construction of human rights itself. The conceptual map has illuminated the spaces for such reconfiguration.

In Chapter 5 the conceptual cartography is developed further with a construction of the possible meanings of human rights and human rights education within the natural law and natural rights discourse, the legal positivism and the utilitarian discourse, Dworkin's liberal narrative, the critical legal studies discourse, the postmodern and postcolonial legal narrative, the international law narrative and political narrative. More conceptual constructions of HRE are developed within this conceptual map that are not evident in the literature review. Apart from the fact that these discourses and narratives frame HRE in distinct and sometimes overlapping ways, they further demonstrate the fallacy and logical impossibility of an "objective" HRE. Part of the conceptual clarity of HRE resides in the acknowledgement of its conceptual shifts on a conceptual map.

The section on the justification of human rights in Chapter 5 provides further conceptual options to HRE. The various ways in which human rights are justified has profound influences on the conceptual understanding of human rights. These influences represent additional spaces and relations between these spaces on the conceptual cartography of

HRE. The justification for HRE is closely tied to the justification of human rights itself. The logical upshot of this reasoning renders the rationale for HRE dependent on the power of justification for human rights. Stated differently, a weak justification for human rights will inevitably result in a feeble motivation for HRE, and otherwise. The major conceptual weakness of HRE is exactly the inability to justify the importance accorded to human rights. The table below is based on section 5.2.6 and adds the necessary complexities to the conceptual map of HRE

Table 11: Justification for Human Rights

Justification	Authors
Natural law	Locke, Hobbes and Grotius
Advancement of autonomy	Knowles
Utility value	Bentham/ Mill
Autopoietic/ no need for justification	Luhman
Moral action	Gewirth
Human dignity	Donnelly
Human sympathy	Rorty
Human flourishing/ human capabilities	Nussbaum/ Sen
Human agreement	Arendt
Social recognition/ Common good	Green
Justice	Gewirth/ Rawls/ Nagel/ Nozick/ MacIntyre/ Young, I.M
Discourse ethics/ democratic legislative procedure	Habermas

The deductions from this table include the interpretation that HRE has long been aligned to an autopoietic conception of human rights where the redundancy to justify human rights and human rights education are based on a 'western' construction of such

redundancy. The 'western' logic of no justification then results in the uncritical formulation of HRE that has been transported into the conceptual 'black holes' and 'virgin' territories in other parts of the world. On the other hand, Habermas's 'democratic legislative procedure" might inadvertently have resulted in the justification for human rights deputizing for its pedagogical approach of political literacy. If Habermas (1999: 64) is to be taken seriously because the "system of rights" does precisely state "the conditions under which the forms of communication necessary for the genesis of legitimate law can be legally institutionalised" then HRE is entitled to even wider currency than at present to enable it to contribute to both universal pragmatics as a theory of communication and to a reconstructive theory of law as a theory of human rights.

Moral action, human dignity, human capabilities and justice have all been employed with varying currency as justificatory frameworks for human rights since the implosion of the natural rights doctrine and the rejection of metaphysics. Be that as it may, the table above demonstrates that the justifications for human rights have conceptual consequences for HRE. However, it is the inability within the HRE field to reflect on the conceptual assumptions that underpin its pedagogical practices that renders HRE theoretically and pedagogically uncritical.

6.4 A Typology of HRE and associated forms

As with conceptual mapping, typologies are ways of representing conceptual frames and the interrelationships between them. Typologies are usually presented as boundary generating mechanisms that try to fix meanings in certain spatial blocks. This study uses a typology simply to present the interrelations between a number of educations in a manageable and relational format, i.e. it follows the same principle of conceptual flexibility that has guided the conceptual cartography of HRE. The boundaries are fluid, blurred and flexible and could have been drawn in many different ways. Also, the boundaries are not meant to screen out the nuances of conceptual understanding. Rather, these nuances need to be inferred from the broader narrative and the conceptual cartography.

HRE is more multifarious than is sometimes indicated by the tendency to equate it with a narrow 'political literacy' approach. It represents, as a chain of educational recommendations, ways of challenging an infinite number of societal ills such as discrimination, abuse, intolerance and social and economic injustice. Because of the depth and breath of its objectives, HRE is employed within a multitude of formations, underpinned by a number of specified and unspecified analytical qualifications and tendencies. The conceptual framework of HRE has undergone various shifts since 1948. One of these shifts has been the development of a web-like interrelationship with a multitude of pedagogical formations, all subjected to expansions, conversions, variations and mutations. Most of these formations source their contemporary currency from international human rights provisions and the societal challenges these provisions are designed and meant to address. This is one of the primary reasons for this particular interrelationship. It is however the UN construction of HRE that obtained the highest level of legitimacy from human rights universals placing it at the centre of most of the associated educations. This is aptly illustrated by Tarrow (1992) in the figure below:

Figure 4 (Source: Tarrow, 1992)

**Evolution of Educational Responses to the Needs of Pluralist Societies**
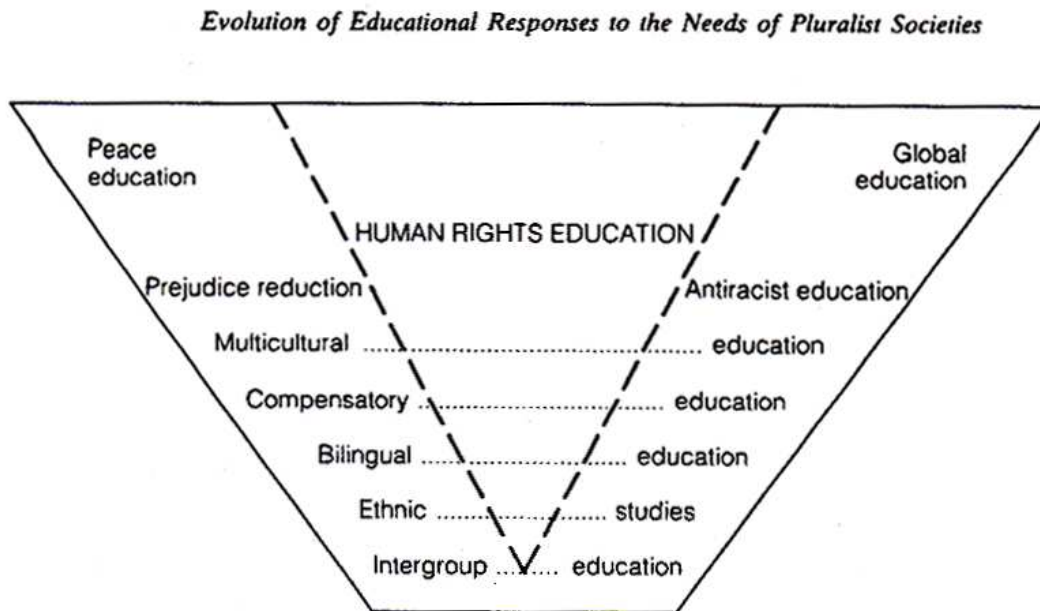
The literature confirms that HRE is regarded as an educational formation with considerable pedagogical value that warrants a central discursive space within formal and non-formal systems of education. This has led many commentators to argue for HRE to act as umbrella for other associated educations. Both the UNDHRE and the WPHRE move from the premise that HRE is fundamental to pedagogical activities. Spring (1999: preface) presents HRE as a solution to the "authoritarian tendencies of government-operated schools" and as a broad pedagogical alternative. Moreover, Lenhart and Savolainen (2002:146) view HRE as an "emerging global educational philosophy" where human rights instruments can be seen "as operational action plans". HRE is regarded as both the surrogate and umbrella for many associated 'educations' (see Tarrow, 1992: 30-31). Eventually this process of assimilation of these educational forms into the conceptual framework of HRE, will lead to HRE becoming "the context that unites and subsumes these other disciplines" (Flowers, 2004: 118). However, Flowers (2004: 117-118) also points to instances where HRE is subordinate to Citizenship Education such as in Britain and the United States. A particular interrelationship seems to have developed between Democracy Education, Citizenship Education and HRE (see British Council, 2001; Print and Smith, 2002, McQuoid-Mason *et.al*, 1994; Flowers, 2004) and in many instances HRE and Citizenship are used as synonyms (Flowers, 2004: 117).

The perceived legitimacy associated with HRE has ensured its uncritical incorporation into most of the 'educations' referred to in this section (see Lynch, Modgil and Modgil, 1992a and 1992b; Lynch, 1992; Tarrow, 1987; Tibbutts and Torney-Purta, 1999; Andreopoulus and Claude, 1997; Shafer, 1987: 192-193; and the Plan of Action for the World Programme on HRE, March 2005). Harris (2004: 11) argued that HRE can be "construed in ways that honor the basic dignity of all people" and this aspect of "peace education has for a goal multicultural understanding aimed at reducing stereotypes and hostilities between groups". Thus HRE is central to peace education. Further Lynch (1989: 67) argued that HRE is the core of a multicultural education curriculum as well as central to citizenship education (Lynch, 1992: 42-43). Moreover, the conceptual understanding driving the European Year (2005) for Citizenship Education affirms an

almost organic relationship between citizenship education and HRE. At the Launching Conference of the 2005 European Year for Citizenship through Education "the fundamental role of education for democratic citizenship (EDC) and human rights education (HRE) in developing a democratic culture, based on human rights, democracy and the rule of law" has been reiterated. Similar patterns pointing to the centrality of HRE in Democracy Education and Political Education are evident. This centrality is captured in the figure below.

Figure 5: (Source: Tarrow, 1992)

Human Rights Education in Relation to Current Educational Responses to the Need for Informed and Active Citizens
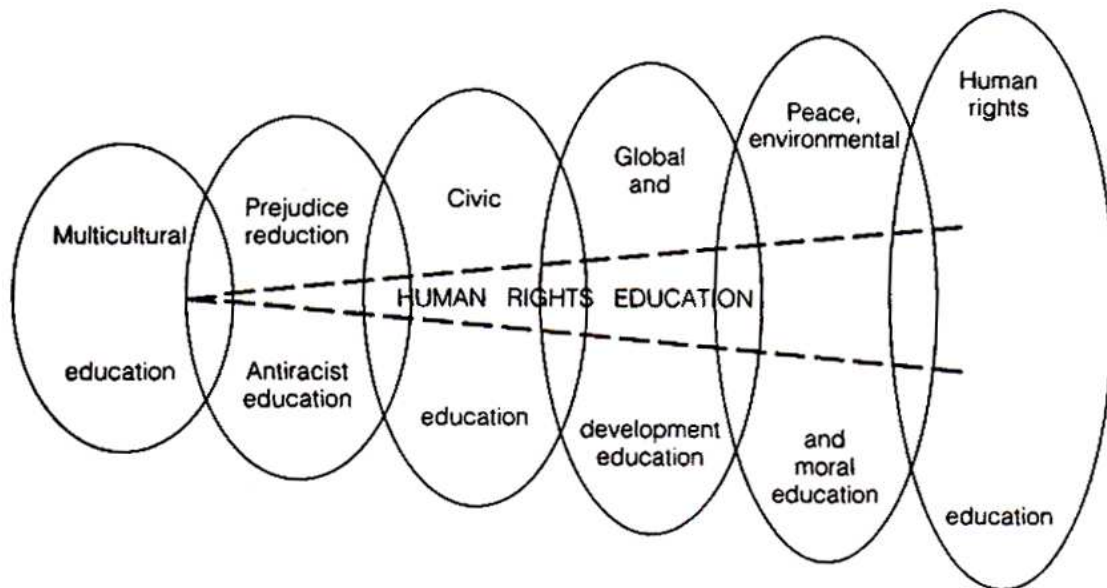
That HRE occupies a predominant space within many of the educational configurations referred to in this passage is confirmed by the references in the literature. These references treat HRE and its associated forms as fixed referents in relation to one another. However, this study has shown that all these referents are conceptually fluid and that these relationships are of necessity conceptually complex. Thus, at the same time that the typology schedules conceptual meaning in neatly defined patterns, the conceptual cartography has already unbundled and dislocated them. It is this interplay between the fixity and perpetual dislocation of meaning that might form the basis of an appropriate

conceptual framework for HRE. This notion should form the interpretive basis of the table below.

Table 12: Typology of HRE and associated Education formations[53]

Societal Need/ Human Rights Challenges	Human Rights Provisions	Educational Response
• Slavery • War and Conflicts	• Geneva Convention (1864) • Hague Convention (1899) • Humanitarian Law	• Training on treatment of prisoners and foreigners
• Experiences of WWII • Gross Human Rights Violations • Need for free, just and peaceful world, labour practices	• UDHR (1948) • CCPR (1966) • CESCR ((1966)	• Human Rights Education • Peace Education and Conflict Management
• Increased pluralization of societies • Need to live humanely and justly with one another • Challenges in pluralist societies	• Instruments against discrimination	• Human Rights Education • Conflict Resolution • Anti-discrimination Education • Multicultural Education • Education for Diversity • Cultural Fluency Education • Education for Co-existence
• Human Rights and Democritization • Need for active and informed citizens	• UDHR and instruments on judiciary and minorities	• Human Rights Education • Civic Education • Citizenship Education • Democracy Education
• Increased inequities and wealth redistribution • High levels of poverty • Lack of socio-economic justice	• Instruments on socio-economic rights and development	• Human Rights Education • Education for Development • Social Justice Education
• Increased mobility of populations • Globalization • Information explosion • Environmental challenges • World peace and anti-war	• Unesco standards • World Conference Declarations	• Human Rights Education • Moral Education • Global Education • World Citizenship Education • Education for Sustainable Development

The relationships between educational responses and societal needs are certainly not as straightforward as depicted in the table above. However, it provides a picture of how HRE is positioned in relation to associated educational forms. Many of these formations

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[53] Keet (2005): Towards a Critical Human Rights Education in South African Schools, Unpublished paper commissioned by the Centre for Education Policy Development.

are well-developed or nascent fields of theory and practice in their own right with each giving meaning to HRE in different ways and constructing a diverse set of relationships with HRE as a dominant formation. The fields of peace education, citizenship education and multicultural education (including anti-racism education) for instance, are disciplines with their own histories and conceptual configurations. Notwithstanding these divergences, the relationships between HRE and these associated forms, in one or the other way, also constitute a set of meaning-making expressions. These relational expressions can be deduced from the sketchy definitions and social, economic and cultural contexts in the table below.

Table 13: Definitions of Educational Forms[54]

Designation	Definition	Social, economic and cultural contexts
• Education for Democracy • Democracy Education	These educations refer to the education offered to individuals to teach and promote the development of knowledge, skills and values necessary to live in a democratic society.	This education responds to the requirements to understand and promote democratic principles and values.
• Peace Education • Conflict Resolution Education	This education explains the roots of violence; teaches alternatives to violence and covers different forms of violence.	Education in this field speaks to the post-war and post-conflict contexts as well as structural and other forms of chronic violence within societies.
• Civic Education • Citizenship Education • Political Education	Used interchangeably to refer to the teaching of specific knowledge, skills and/or values deemed necessary for life in society.	This type of education tries to respond to the general political apathy and ignorance amongst citizens The focus is on the need for active and informed citizens who understand political processes and the machinery of government.
• International Education • Global Education • World Education	Education with the aim of developing within students a global identity and to see themselves as compassionate global citizens who identify with people throughout the world struggling for peace.	War and the threat of war as well as the need for world citizenship is the nexus of this type of education.

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[54] These definitions are generated from the literature. See Lynch, Modgil and Modgil, (1992a and 1992b); Lynch, (1992); Tarrow, (1987); Tibbutts and Torney-Purta, (1999); Andreopoulus and Claude, (1997); and Shafer, (1987: 192-193).

Designation	Definition	Social, economic and cultural contexts
Moral Education	Refers to the teaching of values and attitudes in the classroom and the schools. These values can be democratic, social, individual and ethical and, in some cases, religious. Moral Education then may be interpreted either as initiating children into the complexities of a new and distinct area of experience (morality), or prescribing a particular pattern of moral goodness for children to follow.	Moral Education responds to a number of issues such as political repression, moral degeneration and challenges around social cohesion.
Human Rights Education	Emphasizes the importance of respecting and valuing the rights that every person has as a human being and teaches about the rights and responsibilities of citizens. HRE 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.	HRE is primarily focused on the requirements for people to know and understand their rights and responsibilities in order for them to take action to have them realised.
Environmental Education	Designates an education that will develop environmentally literate and active citizens	This is an educational response to environmental challenges and the interaction between humans and the environment
Development Education	Refers to education that focuses on the wellbeing of the human person by integrating social development, economic development, and environmental conservation and protection.	Developed in response to the need to integrate environmental issues with human development and wellbeing
Anti-racist Education	This education challenges racism in all its facets: historical roots, class contexts, power relations and political, economic and social discrimination.	Developed as a response to the conceptual and practical failures of multicultural education

Designation	Definition	Social, economic and cultural contexts
Multicultural Education	Cultural understanding promotes the idea of pride in one's heritage and knowledge about various cultures and groups.	This pedagogical response focuses on increased pluralization of societies and the accompanied challenges such as racism and other forms of discrimination.
	Cultural competence is committed to cross-cultural interactions supportive of anti-racism.	
	Cultural emancipation aims at empowering marginalized young people to participate in decisions about important social issues.	
	Critical emancipatory multiculturalism advances a transformative political agenda to avert multicultural education serving as a form of accommodation to the larger social order.	

6.5 Models and Approaches to HRE

The models and approaches to HRE represent further constructions that are inhabited by various forms of conceptual meanings in relation to HRE. When Morwenna Griffiths (2003) asked, "Whose education is it anyway?" she referred to the necessity for educators to reflect on the way education can be ordered and structured to benefit only a few. Such reflection is a fundamental prerequisite for HRE practitioners to understand what they do; to explain their strategies and approaches; and be accountable for their consequences. Felisa Tibbitts (2002), one of the foremost HRE experts in the world, tried to invoke a similar sentiment when she called on HRE practitioners to conscientize themselves about the approaches and models they are employing within their practice. By doing this they "should benefit by re-examining their practice so that the field can be further professionalized and linked with effective change strategies" (*ibid*, 161). As a starting point she (*ibid*) put forward the models in table 14 below.

Table 14: Models of Human Rights Education (Source: Tibbitts, 2002)

	Values and awareness model	**Accountability model**	**Transformation model**
Approach	Philosophical-historical approach	Legal/political approach	Psychological-sociological approach
Means	Formal schooling and public awareness campaigns	Training and networking	Informal, non-formal and popular education and self-help
Topics	Information about the content and history of human rights documents, international court system, global human rights issues	Procedures for monitoring, court cases, codes of ethics, dealing with the media, public awareness	Human rights as part of women's development, community development, economic development, and minority rights
Target audience	General public, schools	Human rights advocates and monitors, professional groups working with vulnerable populations, civil servants, medical professionals, journalists	Vulnerable populations, victims of abuse and trauma, post-conflict societies
Strategy	Socialisation, cultural consensus, setting expectations for social change, legitimizing human rights framework.	Human rights law and codes as tools for structural/law-based social justice and social change, fostering and enhancing leadership, alliance development with certain professions and target groups. Related to problematic relationship between the individual and the State/authorities	Personal empowerment leading towards activism for change (personal, community, societal), creation of activists, leadership development. Focuses on healing and transformation, the role of the individual and community-building

Building on Tibbitts's models, this study suggests five approaches (see table 15) that are employed within HRE and its associated educational forms. The Tibbitts's models fall short of explaining the pedagogical space that is occupied by a HRE that is inclusive of and integrates the approaches around social cohesion, resistance and empowerment. In many developing countries these are topical considerations that are closely tied to but not elaborated on in Tibbitts's transformation model.

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Table 15: Approaches to HRE[55]

Approach	Explanatory questions/ notes	Pedagogical Configurations
Compliance	• What are the national and international obligations in relation to human rights? • Understanding human rights to comply with human rights norms and standards	• Human Rights Education • Environmental Education • Democracy Education • International Education • Global Education • World Education
Political Literacy	• What are rights, laws and governance structures? • How does democracy work and how can we participate in it? • Knowing rights and responsibilities as a way to enhance citizen participation	• Education for Democracy • Democracy Education • Civic Education • Citizenship Education • Political Education • Human Rights Education
Social Cohesion	• What values and attitudes are necessary to heal our society? • How do we build a national identity and respect and promote diversity? • Developing respect for human rights, human dignity and diversity as a way to bind societies together and promote equality and non-discrimination	• Peace Education • Conflict Resolution Education • Multicultural Education • Moral Education • Anti-discrimination education • Human Rights Education
Resistance	• How can HRE speak truth to power? • How does HRE mobilize for human rights? • Internalizing human rights as a form of resistance against human rights violations	• Moral Education • Peace Education • Human Rights Education
Empowerment	• How can HRE contribute to developing human agency? • How can HRE assist vulnerable people to change their material conditions and life experiences? • Understanding human rights to change unequal cultural, political, social and economic relations	• Environmental Education • Development Education • Human Rights Education

These approaches are employed at any given time within HRE practices and any number of approaches come into play depending on the conceptual spaces that are occupied by HRE practitioners; their target audiences; and the objectives of their education. The

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[55] Keet (2005): Towards a Critical Human Rights Education in South African Schools, Unpublished paper commissioned by the Centre for Education Policy Development.

influences on these spaces are widespread but they are more often than not economic, political and cultural.

The literature on HRE suggests that the *political literacy and compliance approaches* are the most dominant. The compliance approach is mostly referred to as the legalistic approach to HRE. It is premised on the understanding that duty bearers (state departments, state agencies, providers, etc) need to understand and internalize the obligations of the state and the responsibilities of state representatives in relation to human rights service delivery. At the same time 'rights claimants' must know how the state operates and what they are rightfully entitled to as an accountability strategy to enhance compliance. The *social cohesion* approach will have a weakly expressed link with compliance and duty bearers and will focus rather on developing attitudes, behaviours and practices that may enhance social cohesion within any given society. This approach is particularly dominant in emerging democracies with histories of division, discrimination, intolerance and ethnic violence. It is now also dominant in established democracies that are experiencing new waves of sophisticated and primal bigotry and intolerance.

The *resistance approach* is primarily historical but has shown a resurgence that is related to the development of social movements; despotic political regimes; an increase in massive human rights violations; the campaign for compensation for colonialism; and the entrenchment of unequal global trade. These broader developments are linked to the revival of community-based struggles across the world for a better life and a change in their material conditions. Though claims have been made about the *empowerment approach*, these are questionable since empowerment is a logical impossibility within the mainstream construction of HRE. These five approaches constitute a spectrum of models for HRE from which HRE practitioners draw in a multitude of ways.

Tibbitts's models are useful conceptual starting points but assume that target audiences determine conceptual structures and definitional frameworks as far as HRE is concerned. This study has shown that such assumptions might be pedagogically inappropriate and

inadequate. Flowers (2004: 105-125), another authority on HRE, grapples with the definitional framework of HRE and concludes that HRE "defies definitions because its creative potential is far greater than we can imagine". She assigns vast potential to HRE independent of a sound conception of human agency and as such, probably unintentionally, escalates HRE into a framework of pedagogical idolatry. This study has shown that such a stance might be educationally questionable.

The engagement with and reflection on these models and approaches coupled with a critical take on the typologies of HRE that is informed by the historical conceptual construction of HRE and a conceptual cartography of HRE, seem to facilitate the emergence and surfacing of the conceptual meanings of HRE. It is the interplay between these influences, constructions and pedagogical configurations that designate a particular conceptual framework to HRE at any given time. For now and since 1948 the hegemonic conceptual framework of HRE is without doubt ***declarationist, conservative, positivistic, uncritical, compliance-driven and informed mostly by a political literacy approach.*** However, as has been demonstrated in Chapters 3, 4 and 5, there are peripheral counter-hegemonic constructions of HRE that are exciting, innovative and truly aligned to a non-declarationist Freirean *Pedagogy of Hope.*

CHAPTER 7

ALTERNATIVE CONCEPTUAL POSSIBLITIES,

FURTHER IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

In Chapter 3 the historical choreography of HRE in relation to its meanings was analysed whilst Chapters 4 and 5 probed the various paradigmatic grammars of HRE as conceptual ground rules for the meaning-making processes of HRE. Chapter 6 is a conceptual alchemy, that is a definitional and typological framework of the conceptual meanings of HRE and its implications for educational practice in general and HRE in particular. This was done using concept analysis, conceptual historical analysis and conceptual cartography as tools to respond to the research questions. This study has substantiated the assertion that HRE is a dominant pedagogical formation of the modern world which is subjected to an unexplored conceptual eclecticism that hampers its pedagogical potential as a counter-measure to human rights violations.

The historical choreography of Chapter 3 formulated the conceptual historical shifts within HRE whilst the conceptual cartography (paradigmatic grammars) of Chapters 4 and 5 and the conceptual alchemy of Chapter 6 were developed to represent a number of possible meaning-making frameworks for HRE. As stated towards the end of Chapter 6, amongst all the conceptual possibilities that could have been constructed as an interplay between the conceptual cartography, models, approaches and typologies of HRE, the dominant conceptual structure of HRE has developed as a *declarationist, conservative, positivistic, uncritical, compliance-driven framework that is mostly informed by a political literacy approach*. This construction of HRE is theoretically and practically uncritical and pedagogically questionable and myopic. The logical trajectory of this argument has rendered the dominant construction of HRE ineffectual. Based on Chapters 3,4,5 and 6 this study proposes a number of alternative conceptual principles for HRE

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that should theoretically steer its re-articulation and reconfiguration and guide its practical design and implementation.

7.2 Alternative Conceptual Principles for HRE

As an extension of the definitional and typological issues captured in the previous chapters the following strands capture the pedagogical essence of HRE most appropriately:

1) Human Rights and Responsibilities
2) Principles, Values and Attitudes
3) Participatory Citizenship, Civics, Governance and Democracy

If the Wilsonian method of concept analysis was the only one applied, the essential or defining attributes of HRE together with a United Nations paradigm case would have been adequate. However, the conceptual historical analysis and the conceptual cartography of HRE demonstrated that conceptual meaning could not sufficiently be deduced from such linearity. However, one might use such limited meaning as a starting point for an alternative conceptual construction of HRE.

HRE is a political activity
The exploration of HRE in relation to its conceptual cartography is a necessary step for identifying its anti-educational potential. At present a good case can be made that the dominant construction and practical implementation of HRE has, despite the claims to the contrary, contributed to the cultural arrogance that accompanies a western[56] construction of human rights instead of developing a culture of human rights and respect for diversity. In addition, HRE as an instrument of human rights colonialism has been pre-packaged for delivery across vast and diverse cultural, political and economic spaces. HRE has been furthering an *epistemology of diplomatic consensus* which, using a postmodernist lens, is shown in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 to be logically indefensible and practically undesirable.

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[56] See Sardar (2002: 190): "human rights [is] a highly evolved form of Western imperialism".

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Acknowledging itself as a political activity within which various power-knowledge relations are embedded, HRE might, as a first step towards an alternative construction, see how certain alignments and calibrations further an agenda of critical social justice and real empowerment, and how other alignments militate against such possibilities.

Anti-declarationism and mutual vulnerability

The alternative framework for HRE is based on a substantive and dramatic inversion in relation to the dominant grammar of HRE. Chapter 3 demonstrated how historically, HRE was choreographed as a declarationist, positivistic and uncritical conduit of human rights universals. Chapters 4 and 5 highlighted the dangers and shortcomings of instrumental rationality and other conceptual constructions in relation to human rights and HRE whilst the comparative conceptual mapping of Chapter 6 shows the weaknesses of the dominant definitional framework and typology of HRE.

In essence this principle argues that human rights universals[57] and instruments should not provide the conceptual directives for HRE but rather be viewed as part of all the discourses that are subjected to critical analyses within HRE. Such an approach will open up the conceptual spaces so that the human rights experiences of the marginalised and the subalterns and the micro-politics of peoples' struggle for survival become human rights instruments in themselves. This reconfiguration of HRE will arrest the cultural assassination and deformation, social genocide and economic subversion that accompany the present day dominant practice of HRE. Mutua (2002) speaks of the "human rights saviour metaphor" that is authored within the dominant human rights language and then by extension pedagogically constructed within HRE. The "human rights saviour metaphor" presupposes the superiority of particular human rights constructions over existing cultural meanings. To invert this discourse is not a matter of contextualising universal human rights to be context-sensitive as many forms of HRE will claim. It is rather a matter of decentering human rights universals so that the discursive spaces are opened up to include the multitude of human rights constructions. Experiential learning, which has long been a sterile claim and a logical impossibility within the dominant

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[57] See the Donnelly-Gibb exchange in Egendorf (ed), (2003): *Human Rights: Opposing Viewpoints.*

configuration of HRE, will then be possible. This inversion signifies the importance of human experiences in relation to human rights universals. It is essentially an anti-declarationist construction that operates within the framework of cultural justice.

In relation to the above, Odora-Hoppers (2006: 8-13) uses Kwenda's notion of *cultural justice* as an example to argue for a shared burden of constant "self-consciousness" that makes "mutual vulnerability" and the "transcendence of cultural difference" possible, and at the same time negates the consequences of "cultural arrogance"[58]. The dominant form of HRE failed to provide for such constant self-consciousness and as such human rights constructions have not been subjected to mutual vulnerability in the same way as the coded experiences of the vulnerable communities of the world. Thus, the notion of "cultural arrogance" as used by Odora-Hoppers can easily deputise for Baxi's (1997) notion of "human rights colonialism"[59] in relation to HRE. Moreover, her application of the notion of "mutual vulnerability" is instructive for inverting the position of human rights universals in relation to the pedagogy of HRE. It is the task of a new HRE to guide human rights universals towards sharing a conceptual vulnerability within and alongside the context of the micro-politics of peoples' struggle for survival.

Further, a HRE that is grounded in declarationism must forfeit its claims to being 'experiential', 'participatory' or 'emancipatory' and relinquish the post-fix of 'education'. The reasons are obvious. HRE cannot be experiential because declarationism determines that all experiences are pre-packaged to suit the "configuration" of HRE in international instruments. There is very little in this 'dominant' HRE discourse and practice that remotely represents the hope of a 'critical pedagogical engagement'. It is so because human rights declarations and international standards represent a pre-determined curriculum framework that is anti-educational in design and conservative in its programming. Normative international human rights standards are important constitutive elements of a social and economic justice agenda and they are important elements within

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[58] See also Mamdani (2000), *Beyond Rights Talk and Culture Talk* and An-Na'im (2002), *Cultural Transformation and Human Rights in Africa.*
[59] See also Galtung, (1998: 213).

HRE. However, they should not be romanticised and thus HRE should steer clear of the tendency that treats human rights standards as the sole or most important author of HRE.

Alternative pedagogical language

HRE requires its own innovative pedagogical language that is more than a regurgitation of international, regional and national human rights provisions. This language must be rooted in the notions of human suffering, compassion, needs, empathy and altruism. The negation of these notions in the dominant HRE discourse is a consequence of the screening-out of human experience[60] in the frenetic *overproduction of human rights*. Once a 'human wrong' is claimed it is configured into a human rights violation which is dependent on the existence of an *a-priori* 'right' in the first place. Certainly, there is a conceptual difference between a 'human wrong' and a 'human rights violation'. A 'human wrong' constitutes an instinctive registration of a negative and degrading 'human experience'. A human rights violation is a deviation from a regulatory principle. 'Human wrongs' are constructed within the context of human needs and in the absence of 'care', 'compassion', 'empathy' and 'love'; whilst 'human rights violations' are composed on the basis of non-compliance with stated regulations or laws, a technical or administrative deviation, inaction, or professional incompetence. In similar vein Robinson (1998: 73) argues against the Western culture of "individualism and self-sufficiency" and for a "moral orientation … [or ethic] based on care". Such an approach towards human rights, she argues (*ibid*) is a more appropriate framework as opposed to the liberal notion of rights because it is attentive to the "needs of others as a primary moral virtue". The pedagogical implications are self-evident. The HRE practitioner, in Freire's (1972: 66) words in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, should be a humanist educator. And again, in *Pedagogy of Hope* Freire states that (1992: 9) HRE practitioners should be progressive educators who "through a serious, correct political analysis, … unveil opportunities for hope". These tasks require a new pedagogical language for HRE that not only includes but also transcends the language of rights, duties and responsibilities.

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[60] Mosher (1997) for example, demonstrates how the authenticity of human experiences is negated by legal codifications within lawyering practice. She (ibid: 635) argues for a review and reconstruction of legal education in relation social movements.

Human rights decolonisation

Fifth, the hegemonic nature of the human rights language that displaces other moral languages needs to be problematised. Some critics (Baxi: 1997, 151) refer to this tendency as *"human rights colonialism"* which often results in the Quixotic and un-pragmatic character of human rights formulations[61]. Curriculum interpretations of human rights as the dominant moral language will invariably view human rights as uncontested, absolute and unchallengeable and undermine critical engagements with for instance the notion of how human rights contribute to spreading an ideology of possessive market individualism[62]. What is thus required is a praxis of HRE that can counter its assimilation into frameworks of understanding that oppose the notions of critical social and economic justice. Bakan (1997: 11) for instance argues, in relation to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, that the Charter, and by extension the normative human rights framework, cannot "protect and advance a progressive conception of social justice…it cannot compensate for the systematic undermining of ideals of social justice". Rather, it is an "activist state" that can initiate "progressive social change" on the basis of "class analysis and politics" (*ibid*: 11).

Perspectivism, particularism and universalism

The language of human rights developed into a *totalising modern grand narrative* that provides the dominant *explanatory framework* for international political relations and economic and cultural arrangements. Stated differently, "human rights are the offspring of modernity" and one of the "central truth claims or grand narratives of the Enlightenment" (Arslan, 1999: 203). However, postmodern insights have forwarded a valid caution and constructed a sound scepticism towards such grand narratives. Postmodernists are totally opposed to the notion of universal human rights and instead focus on the situational and particular. But if "human rights are the necessary and impossible claim of law to justice … and draw their force from the suffering of the past and the injustices of the present" (Douzinas, 2000: 380), then certainly HRE education is in need of a conceptual framework that can transcend the dichotomy between the global

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[61] See Kennedy (2002) on *Thinking Pragmatically about Human Rights.*
[62] See Keet (2002).

and the local or universalism and particularism. In fact, the debate should not be about one or the other, but about conceptual and practical ways to overcome this dichotomy. For instance, Michael Apple (2000: 40) in his critique of postmodernism, argues in favour of the notion of *simultaneity* that allows us to think "about both the specificity of different practices and the forms of articulated unity they constitute". Along similar lines, Eagleton (1999: 293), one of the foremost critics of postmodernism asked the following question: "How can one have an individuality if one does not also have a universal to contrast it with"? Thus Eagleton is not against the particularism and perspectivism of postmodernism but against the general *Illusions of Postmodernism (1996).* He views the part of the postmodernist project that retrieved "the local, the vernacular, the somatic, the communitarian, the unincorporable particular history, in the teeth of an apparent homogenized globe" (1999: 264) as positive and the recovering of the history and self-hood of "reviled and humiliated groups" (1996: 121) as postmodernism's most precious achievement. The normative authority of human rights over diverse cultural spaces that is channelled by a declarationist HRE is thus rightfully challenged by these postmodernist positions. It is thus a matter of engaging with postmodernism in the Freirean way (Freire, 2002: 10), i.e. explaining and defending "progressive postmodernity" and rejecting "conservative, neoliberal postmodernity". Asserting an emancipatory interest that should be at the heart of challenging all forms of human suffering, whilst at the same time providing for the possibility of contextual or situational justice, should be a key task of an alternative conception of HRE.

Human needs, human suffering and solidarity

Building further on the previous point, the anti-foundationalism of postmodernism, according to Giroux (1997: 195), does not necessarily lead to "banal relativism or the onset of a dangerous nihilism". Employing the notions of Laclau, Giroux (1997: 195) argues that "the lack of meaning within postmodernism radicalizes the possibility for human agency and a democratic politics". This conviction provides Giroux (*ibid*) with the necessary logic to retain the emancipatory interest of critical pedagogy as a formative narrative "that provide the basis for historically and relationally placing different groups

or narratives within some common project". On this score, difference and situationality should be "analyse [d] within rather than against unity" (*ibid*: 196).

The different narratives within a common project can be held together by McLaren's (1995: 197-200) notion of "solidarity" to retain critical pedagogy's interest in challenging human suffering against the nihilistic tendencies of postmodernism. Using Welch, McLaren (*ibid*: 197) argues that "in order to develop forms of consensus which take seriously a common recognition of social ills and the necessity of their transformation, solidarity must be established first". This radicalised notion of solidarity (as opposed to Rorty's notion of solidarity) is one that first respects and then takes pleasure in the difference of the other, and at the same time weaves the different experiences of human rights violations, human suffering and deprivation together. This represents a return to Eagleton's logic that the specificity of needs is of necessity thrown into a broader social dimension where, through an analysis of "what general conditions would be necessary for our particular needs and desires to be fulfilled", it "gets transformed by a discourse of the other" (Eagleton quoted in McLaren, 1995: 200). Thus, what parades as a postmodernist insight is a logic that might have already been established in modernist social theory. If the notions of "difference within rather than against unity" and "solidarity" provide a way of reconceptualising the interplay between the universal and the particular and the specific and the general, it requires a rethinking of pedagogy in general and HRE in particular. A non-declarationist and critical HRE will first open up an infinite number of spaces for enhanced human agency and at the same time play an important role in furthering a pedagogical alternative where the obsession with human rights universalism is replaced by a commitment to solidarity within human suffering. On this score there is probably no other specific pedagogical formulation with such transformative potential than HRE because the constructions of rights and suffering, if radically reconceptualized, lie at the heart of an emancipatory interest. This study demonstrates that at present the pedagogical conservatism of HRE works against such radicalization.

Human Agency

HRE should essentially focus on the facilitation of human agency that may, within communities of rights bearers, illuminate the possibilities of political action in relation to human rights. Foucault refers to a new form of right that is "anti-disciplinarian" so that "political action can be given rational form" (Faubion, 1994: xxxi). He further argues that rights can be "created and affirmed through intervention and struggle" because rights "can exist and be created without requiring foundational juridical premises" (*ibid*). In relation to human agency, Foucault reconfigured the "modes of resistance" in his later work in which

> *…power functions by structuring a field of possible action in which a subject must act. The structuration of the field, however, does not imply external coercion by power itself – power functions by guiding the actions of a fundamentally free subject, but always with the possibility that the subject can traverse the field in new and creative ways (Hartman, 2003: 9-10).*

Foucault's construction of an alternative form of right, allows his thesis of the capillary diffusion of power (Faubion, 1994: xxiv-xxv) in service of 'governmentality', to provide for *human agency within power-relations.* This interpretation of Hartman (2003) and Faubion (1994) causes Foucault to share Gidden's notion of "stucturation" where the structuration of social structures are mediated by the relationship between the "subjective powers of human agents and the objective powers of the structures they produce" (Parker, 2002: iv). Bourdieu's reconstruction of the "dialectic between structure and agency" through the notion of 'habitus' (Mahar and Wilkes, 2004: 222) is another way in which human agency may be reconceptualised within HRE. Drawing on but also criticising Habermas's consensus-seeking notion of 'communicative action' in service of deliberative democracy, Young, I.M. (1996) argues for 'communicative democracy' as a backdrop for 'human agency'. Be that at it may, a HRE that is oblivious to these analytical frameworks runs the risk of undermining, instead of illuminating, the conceptual possibilities for human agency and political action within the language of human rights.

Problematising 'Social Justice'

HRE should reconceptualise the notion of 'social justice'[63]. Gewirtz and Cribb's *Plural Conceptions of Social Justice* (2002) demonstrates that the notions of 'social justice' are plural and dependent on the relations with the discourses and narratives that have been discussed. In other words, the notion of social justice at any given time is dependent on the meaning framework of the discourse within which it is used. Freire (1993: xii) had earlier on acknowledged that "subjectivity has become unmoored from its former narratives of social justice" which makes social justice per se a questionable theoretical hook for any conceptual pedagogical framework that wants to be directed towards challenging human suffering. The notion of 'social justice' is therefore only useful in relation to an already defined and preferred discourse.

The concept of social justice has a long history that includes the social contract theories of Locke, Rosseau and Kant, which according to Rawls, (1971: 75) must be taken to a higher level of abstraction of 'justice as fairness'. The Rawlsian notions of "distributive justice" are generally described as 'liberal' (Engstrom, 2005: 1). Rawls (*ibid*: 73) argues that the "conception of social justice, then, is to be regarded as providing in the first instance a standard whereby the distributive aspects of the basic structure of society are to be assessed" – this should form the basis for "assigning rights and duties and defining the appropriate division of social advantages". Nozick (1996: 187) also adheres to a notion of "distributive justice" but argues for a minimalist state where the "free operation of the market system" provides for the optimization of opportunities for everyone! MacIntyre (1992), on the other hand, chides both the liberal notions of justice of Rawls and Nozick since it is premised on an impossible consensus on a range of principles of moral derivation.

> *…the outcome of that history […] has not only been an inability to agree upon a catalogue of the virtues and an even more fundamental inability to agree upon the relative importance of the virtue concepts within a moral scheme in which notions of rights and of utility also have a key place. It*

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[63] See Anyon (2005), Connell (1993), Fraser (1997) and Ali (undated) on social justice. Brighouse (2004) also provides a comprehensive account on the different conceptions of justice including that of Rawls, Sen, Nussbaum, and others.

has also been an inability to agree upon the content and character of particular virtues (MacIntyre, 1992: 199).

MacIntyre (*ibid*: 199) maintains that "our society cannot hope to achieve moral consensus" and that the Aristotlean and Lockean notion of "justice as a virtue", which buttresses the notions of Rawls and Nozick, must be abandoned. This kind of impossible consensus required for "justice as a virtue' is reminiscent of the Flyvberg (2000) argument in relation to Harbermas's consensus and Foucault's conflict frameworks. MacIntyre would probably agree with Foucault but through a Marxist articulation that "conflict and not consensus [are] at the heart of modern social structure" (*ibid*: 200) and that laws only show the "extent and degree to which conflict has to be suppressed" (*ibid*: 201). Young, I.M. (1997: 7) also finds Habermas's consensus-seeking communicative ethics too "rationalist and unifying". MacIntyre (*ibid*: 200-2002) further reproves the centrality of the values of the market-place which have displaced the tradition of virtues and insist on the impossibility of genuine moral consensus. This in turn makes the social justice notions of Rawls and Nozick logically indefensible.

Gewirtz and Cribb (2002) argue for the plurality of the notion of 'social justice' which extends beyond 'distributive justice'. Such a plural notion includes 'distributive justice', 'cultural justice' and 'associational justice' and these notions exhibit varied meanings on a conceptual cartography. Griffiths (2003) talks about "difference" within a "single humanity" (*ibid*: 7) and refers to the plural "theories of social justice" in education. She further views 'social justice' as "dynamic, as a verb" with the emphasis on "uncertainty, fallibility and risky judgements" (*ibid*: 142) in order for us to be all "humanly different" (*ibid*: 142). Add to this the complexities of MacIntyre's argument then, for the purposes of HRE, it is more sustainable and desirable to interpret and anchor social justice within the conceptual frame of Critical Postmodern Pedagogy, or face the constraining prospects of engaging with a notion of social justice that is authored within and by human rights universals. The notion of 'social justice' that is captured within human rights universals needs to be dislocated from its present liberal basis.

Young, I.M. (1990) and MacIntyre (1992) have already provided comprehensive critiques of the liberal, distributive paradigm of social justice and its associated concepts of 'equality' and 'equal treatment'. Young, I.M. (1990; 1997), like Giroux (1997) and McLaren (1995), also provide ways is which to selectively merge notions of critical theory and postmodernism into new analytical constructions and conceptual frameworks. Such mergers and reconceptualization seem to provide for the most politically appropriate, theoretically sound and pedagogically acceptable conceptual framework for HRE within the contexts of human suffering, domination, oppression, solidarity, love, care and compassion.

7.3. HRE: A Critical Postmodern Pedagogy

A HRE that is fathomed within the framework of Critical Postmodern Pedagogy[64] is one that is premised on the principles outlined above. It retains the genuine emancipatory interest of critical pedagogy whilst working towards new ways of conceptualizing universalism, perspectivism, class analysis, human agency, difference, justice and human rights itself.

Through a convergence of "various tendencies within modernism, postmodernism, and postmodern feminism", Giroux (1997: 218-225), one of the primary exponents of critical pedagogy, developed nine principles for a Critical Postmodern Pedagogy. This is done to "retain modernism's commitment to critical reason, agency and the power of human beings to overcome human suffering" as well as engage with postmodernism's "powerful challenge to all totalizing discourses" (*ibid*: 218). These principles are:

- *Education must be understood as producing not only knowledge but also political subjects.*
- *Ethics must be seen as a central concern of critical pedagogy.*
- *Critical pedagogy needs to focus on the issue of difference in an ethically challenging and politically transformative way.*

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[64] See the Gabel-Dillabough (2002) debate on conceptual problems/ hidden injuries of Critical Pedagogy.

- *Critical pedagogy needs a language that allows for competing solidarities and political vocabularies that do not reduce the issues of power, justice, struggle, and inequality to a single script.*
- *Critical pedagogy needs to create new forms of knowledge through its emphasis on breaking down disciplinary boundaries and creating new spaces where knowledge can be produced.*
- *The enlightenment notion of reason needs to be reformulated within a critical pedagogy.*
- *Critical pedagogy needs to regain a sense of alternatives by combining the languages of critique and possibility.*
- *Critical pedagogy needs to develop a theory of teachers as transformative intellectuals who occupy specifiable political and social locations.*
- *Central to the notion of critical pedagogy is a politics of voice that combines a postmodern notion of difference with a feminist emphasis on the primacy of the political.*

Appropriating certain valuable aspects of the postmodern discourse was also on McLaren's (1995: 188)[65] agenda in his analysis of postmodernism, postcolonialism and pedagogy. For him (*ibid*: 184-186) there are signs of a possible convergence between the postmodern discourse, feminist studies, cultural studies, theories of identity, postcolonialism and critical pragmatism. This convergence is necessitated by the contemporary need to develop new ways of educational theorization.

> *… the current revolution in social theory demands a new set of critical paradigms within educational theory that can account for the heterogeneity of pedagogical and curricular discourses and complexity of meaning production in postmodern cultures (ibid: 188).*

This convergence is more accurately viewed as constant dialogues between different discourses that allow for the critical requisitioning of aspects of these discourses "into a postcolonialist or critical postmodernist pedagogy" (*ibid*: 188). The modernist critical theoretical notion of emancipation can thus be retained, de-constrained and extended

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[65] In an informal discussion with Peter McLaren on 05 June 2006 in Johannesburg, South Africa, he discussed his shift from Critical Postmodern Pedagogy to a Critical Revolutionary Pedagogy based on the principles of Marxist Humanism. His work with Farahmandpur (2005) and Jaramillo (2005) sketch his contemporary concerns with postmodernism and call for educational theory to be more securely located within a Marxist problematic.

In close association with McLaren, others, like Apple (Meyers, 2004), favour a neo-Marxist class-analysis of power as the grounding for educational theory.

within this convergence of discourses. Emancipation, as a teleological conception within critical pedagogy, should be processed and transformed within a critical postmodern pedagogy in ways that respond to the postmodern insights that are of particular importance in the field of education. Thus, two of the leading exponents of critical pedagogy, Giroux and McLaren, argue for and include Freire in their conception of a critical postmodern pedagogy. Morrow and Torres (2002: 168) do not agree with such inclusion of Freire and opt rather to refer to the Freirean and Habermasian approaches in relation to the border between modernism and postmodernism as "emancipatory postfoundationalism".

A combination of the conceptual principles for an alternative construction of HRE in section 7.2 with the pedagogical principles of Giroux and McLaren above provides HRE with a powerful conceptual framework that is non-declarationist, radical, progressive and pedagogically innovative and challenging. This conceptual framework favours the language of human suffering and human needs over human rights and human responsibilities in order to facilitate a human agency that can rekindle the radicalism of human rights. This conceptual framework also acknowledges the localism of human suffering that is captured in the mini-narrated accounts of peoples' struggle for survival. This acknowledgement does not concede to or underwrite the banal relativism and nihilism of some postmodernist positions but rather emphasizes the importance for building solidarity within human suffering and human rights violations that is removed from the theoretically unsound, uncritical, conservative and liberal framework of 'human rights universalism'. Thus, the implications of notions such as Habermas's 'discourse ethics' (Deflem, 1996; Habermas, 1996), Gewirth's 'ethical rationalism' (Walters, 2003) and I.M. Young's 'communicative ethics' and 'communicative democracy' (1997) need to be explored further to develop sound theoretical groundings for HRE to simultaneously meander within the localism and wider solidarity of human suffering. As against nihilism, this focus on human suffering should be buttressed by the pedagogical 'utopianism' of Freire (McLaren and Leonard, 1993: 3) and the human rights 'utopianism' of Douzinas (2000: 379-380).

7.4 Further Implications and Conclusion

This study has constructed the narrative of HRE in relation to its conceptual meaning, its conceptual history and its conceptual cartography. It has shown how and why the dominant trajectory has configured HRE into a declarationist, positivist and conservative educational formation worldwide. It further explicated the implications of a conceptual cartography for the various conceptual meanings of HRE and highlighted their key notions and the criticism against them. Also, the study developed a typology of the models and approaches to HRE as meaning-making influences and provided a comprehensive critique of the mainstream construction of HRE. Finally, the study proposed a number of conceptual principles for an alternative configuration of HRE within the broader framework of Critical Postmodern Pedagogy which calibrate the postmodern insights with a commitment to human agency, emancipation and solidarity within human suffering[66]. The various conceptual pitfalls and shortcomings of postmodernism can thus be moderated.

This alternative configuration of HRE is not complete. In fact, it is not possible or desirable to have a 'completed' conceptual framework for HRE. Thus, the implications of the study are tentative and point to the need for further theorization in the field of HRE. The declarationist version of HRE needs to be consistently challenged whilst at the same time a conscious reconfiguration of HRE needs to be developed. In addition, HRE should open up its paradigmatic spaces to allow for the diversified articulations of human rights and subject itself to "mutual vulnerability". Also, the definitional and conceptual structure of HRE needs to be developed independently of human rights universals and normative standards. In fact, for most "developing" countries (and developed democracies) the central objective of HRE should be to provide an economic,

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[66] Felice's (1996) analysis of collective rights as ways of developing solidarity to challenge human suffering, might be a starting point for considering a neo-Marxist class-analysis of power as one of the possible theoretical groundings for HRE. The obligation to constantly pursue new and renewed theoretical groundings for HRE is even more pressing given McLaren's (2005) educational analysis around Marxist Humanism and Eagleton's (2004) tentative prediction on the "end of postmodernism". The rise of the new global narrative of capitalism is a concern for all three authors and is a phenomenon which cannot be ignored within HRE theory and practice.

ideological, political and cultural critique (critical assessment) of the normative human rights frameworks we came to accept as "commonsense" over the last 50 years.

The dwindling legitimacy of the international human rights framework that manifests in the continued massification of human rights violations; the unequal global trade and foreign relations; the worldwide incapacity for peace; and the human rights hypocrisy of the "North", will eventually result in the de-legitimization of HRE itself if it remains conceptually dependent on the current human rights framework. HRE, as a pedagogical formation, should neither solely source its currency from human rights standards nor act as an uncritical conduit of human rights universals.

Thus HRE should not be about a compliance-driven approach that assesses and interprets people's experiences against a normative or regulatory human rights framework. It should rather be an assessment of how human rights understandings articulate with the real sufferings of people's struggle for a better life. In this sense HRE is a critical postmodern pedagogy since it uncovers the hidden interests embedded in the mainstream human rights discourse (meta-narrative); it enunciates the mini-narratives of people's struggle; it agitates for a material difference in people's lives; and it show up the shortcomings and limitations of human rights universals. Stated differently, the main task of HRE should be to de-romanticize human rights so that multiple strategies to alleviate human suffering can be considered and deployed. The first step in this endeavour will be to reconfigure a HRE that stands in an anti-deterministic and critical relationship with human rights universals.