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Conversations in place-space-time: human rights education in South Africa and the Netherlands

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Conversations in Place-Space-Time

Human Rights Education in South Africa and the Netherlands

Anne Becker, Ina Ter Avest, Cornelia Roux (eds.)

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Universiteit Leiden
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Human Rights Education in South Africa and the Netherlands

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Foreword

Audrey Osler

It is a rare thing for scholars to find opportunities to step back from our everyday fields of work and personal-professional contexts to see them in a new light. Such opportunities seemed to recede in 2020, when the Covid-19 pandemic impacted on our lives, forcing most of us, even the global travellers, to remain in or return to our countries of residence. Infection control measures and extended lockdowns restricted many to their immediate neighbourhoods, and their own homes. Yet, at this point, editors Anne Becker, Ina Ter Avest and Cornelia Roux set out on an intercontinental intellectual journey from the Netherlands to South Africa and back again, a journey that allowed them and their contributing authors to immerse themselves in each other's realities. *Conversations in Place-Space-Time* is the outcome of a collaborative project in which educators from both countries explore how human rights are understood and interpreted in everyday settings.

The pandemic has caused many of us to think differently about both *time* and *place*. Conditions encouraged us to live in the moment and understand our immediate surroundings in a different way. Scholars and teachers across the globe created new online *spaces* for conversations with students and colleagues. The authors of this volume, unable to meet in person, set up one such space to pursue their conversations.

The authors are interested in how Human Rights Education (HRE) plays a part shaping common understandings of rights. Does it deepen understandings or is it remote from people's experiences? A useful HRE maxim is: reflect on the past, act in the present and (re)imagine the future (Osler & Starkey, 2019 [1996]). The writers of this volume engaged in a process of deep reflection on their different yet intersecting histories, and questioned, for example, why national archives of the colonial past are neglected. They consider how their thinking, and ours, is shaped not just by what historians choose to address but also by what they ignore. This required them to explore the intersection of place, space and time. We need to be mindful of the ways in which historians' choices influence and shape collective memories through schooling. In the processes through which historical research is translated into school curricula and textbooks, there is a tendency to promote orthodox patterns of thinking

and asymmetrical power relations. For HRE to challenge such patterns within schooling and be effective in enabling social justice, it needs to be recognised as a site of struggle (Osler, 2015b).

This volume examines processes of decoloniality and decolonisation in South African society and their implications for HRE. South African students' protests and demands to decolonise the curriculum, and effectively highlight asymmetrical power relations, have impacted on students and teachers across the globe. This volume reflects on the history of Dutch colonisation and considers how it is reimagined in present day collective memories. It notes how popular remembrance of World War II in the Netherlands has shaped national self-identity and placed a veil over the colonial past. This Dutch experience is far from unique in Europe. One well-established approach among former colonial powers is to retell the national story of colonial exploitation as one of generous support to those they exploited. Another is to claim innocence of any role in the pan-European colonial project; with claims of Nordic exceptionalism falling into this second category (Loftsdóttir & Jensen, 2012).

Such narratives frequently present human rights, and by extension HRE, as Europe's gift to the world. When retold in school, such stories overlook the diverse family histories of today's European populations and ignore the realities of those people and communities with family histories outside the region, who are likely to carry different collective memories. I recall in my own early schooling how teachers would refer to World War II. They often made reference to the bombing of British cities and the hardships faced by civilians in these same cities. My mother had experienced this same war in South-East Asia and had rather different stories to tell from her childhood. It was only much later that I realised that her experiences were equally shaped by centuries of European colonial enterprises in the region.

In the early stages of the pandemic, I set out to trace my family history in India and South-East Asia, exploring the themes of empire, migration and identity. I uncovered the story of my three-times great-grandfather, a Tamil boy who in the 18th century was forced by war and famine to flee his home and was abducted and sold into slavery on a British East India Company ship. He found himself in France at the time of the Revolution; was inspired by the radical ideas of working women and men in London; and eventually returned to India, to Madras (modern day Chennai) to put them into action through building schools. Of course, exploring family history may well uncover uncomfortable facts (Sleeter, 2015) and villains as well as heroes (Sleeter, 2015). When the lockdown was lifted, I explored this dark side, reading archival material from

the British Library in London and from Waterford, Ireland. There I uncovered stories of fortune hunters, cruelty and carelessness, all part of the British colonial project (Osler, 2023).

Drawing on narratives such as these may enable a more effective HRE, addressing place-space-time. Students can be invited to tell their family stories which may well contrast with the narrative of textbooks (Osler & Zhu, 2011). By combining individual narratives, students may build a new collective narrative (Osler, 2015a). Teachers from minoritised backgrounds have a special contribution in highlighting how inclusive citizenship is generally only achieved through struggle (Osler, 2018; Burner & Osler, 2021).

The need for effective and transformative HRE has never been more urgent. In recent decades we have seen the growth of authoritarian and populist governments, with minoritized groups across the globe finding themselves increasingly vulnerable (Osler & Starkey, 2019). At the same time, we witness a growing recognition of grassroots struggles for justice, with increasing numbers finding inspiration in movements such as *#BlackLivesMatter*, *#MeToo*, and climate justice. The young, who are also facing the challenges of intergenerational injustice, exacerbated by the pandemic, have been particularly engaged in such movements. Drawing on narratives may enable a more effective HRE, addressing place-space-time. As this volume makes explicit, HRE needs to enable action for human rights, and it also needs to recognise the full humanity of children and young people.

This volume draws on insights from teaching and learning about human rights in diverse contexts and settings in two countries. Yet there remain insufficient empirical studies into human rights teaching and learning, a fast-growing research field that largely grew in the 1990s, building initially on the earlier and pioneering work of community educators and non-governmental organisations (Starkey, 1991). In the development of HRE models there is a tendency to draw a distinction between school-based learning characterised by inadequate top-down approaches and progressive community-based learning, with a grassroots pedigree. Such a distinction may risk obscuring both progressive practices in formal settings and the challenges inherent in some community-based initiatives. Further empirical research is needed into HRE practices to test and revaluate existing models and build a grounded theory of human rights teaching and learning. *Conversations in Place-Space-Time* makes an important and timely contribution to the wider project of teaching and research to enable human rights and social justice, one which

I trust will support the development of a stronger and more deeply theorised understanding of both human rights and HRE.

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Preface

Conversations in place-space-time

Why and how: process and methodological considerations

Anne Becker, Ina Ter Avest, Cornelia Roux

Conversations on HRE seldom include the material realities, histories and cultures of remembrance of diverse countries or contexts. The core concepts of HRE are included in many universal programmes and models, but not always linked to material realities in place-space-time and how that influence understandings of human rights and the implementation of HRE (Roux & Becker, 2019; Tibbits, 2017; Baja, 2011).

The aim of the conversations on HRE between Dutch and South African scholars included in this book, was to learn from and with each other, about, for and through human rights and HRE. The conversations and joint reflections are not comparative and not the purpose of this book. We use the term conversation, rather than dialogue, as conversation in the context of this book refers to talk-in-interaction (Hutchby, 2019).

In analysing what we learned from and with each other during our conversations we used conversational analysis. In exploring material realities in both contexts and how that influence human rights understandings and the conceptualisations and implementation in HRE we employed a bottom-up approach. A conversational analysis was appropriate as in conversational analysis the focus is on how "participants in any interaction display their own understanding of what they are doing and the context in which they are doing it." (Hutchby, 2019, p. 3). A distinguishing feature of conversational analysis is that it examines how participants construct meanings and how those meanings are embedded in context (Cohen et al., 2018).

Conversational analysis examines the sequencing and evolution of a conversation, interactions in a conversation (such as taking turns), cohesion, purpose of the conversation and the role of language and power in conversations (Cohan et al., 2018). As all the meetings were on Zoom (because of the Covid-19 pandemic), turn taking, delays in response times and fluctuating internet connections were problematic. This was addressed by

recording conversations and by mailing each participant notes and summaries of the conversations. Language was also a barrier. The conversations were conducted in English which is a second or even third language for some of the participating authors. The difficulty of translating Dutch-specific academic concepts to English text became a continual part of the conversations.

At the start of the conversations, the book was intended as a guide for HRE practitioners, teachers and lecturers, specifically in the Netherlands where there is no formal HRE (this has changed since 2021). The purpose of the book and the conversations however shifted and evolved during the process. The conversations evolved when we realised that the importance of decoloniality in South Africa, the uncontested influence of the Dutch colonial past, and the impact thereof on HRE, needs further investigation. The importance of place-space-time was a natural evolution from there. In coming to an understanding of the consequential difference in aims and focus for HRE in the two contexts (democracy and constitutional values in South Africa and social cohesion in the Netherlands), the crucial role of place-space-time in HRE was further validated.

In this book we account for histories and cultures of remembrance, and the consequential influence thereof on HRE in both contexts. This includes the impact of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa and memories of World War II, the pillarised system and the yet, uncontested cultural archive of Dutch colonisation in the Netherlands.

The ongoing difficulties of balancing the global with the local in HRE, in our view, remains influenced by an inability to account for place-space-time. There has recently been a shift towards focussing on international and global HRE in research, models and approaches, specifically as it pertains to the inclusion of HRE in (global) citizenship education. This shift has socialisation, (global) solidarity, and consensus as aims which hardly leaves any place for difference, dissensus and transformative action (Becker & Roux, 2019; Veugelers, 2015). Furthermore, within the globalisation discourse the questions regarding how human rights are understood, conceptualised and analysed in local and diverse contexts are not adequately addressed (Roux & Becker, 2019; Zajda & Ozdowski, 2017). The questions as to how human rights are interpreted and translated into local understandings and action in the vastly different contexts of South Africa and the Netherlands, and what the role of HRE is in these processes, are addressed in this book. In answering these questions, we stepped away from the globalisation discourse.

In chapter one, we discuss the core concepts of human rights and HRE aiming to anchor our conversations and reflections. Chapters two and three deals specifically with place-space-time, referencing histories, cultures of remembrance, national archives and prevailing discourses regarding human rights and HRE in both contexts. This situates the next four chapters which explain different frameworks and approaches for teaching and learning human rights in the two contexts. In the last chapter we reflect on the commonalities and differences between the two contexts in understanding, contextualising and implementing human rights and HRE.

Situating the authors in place-space-time

The authors, Anne Becker, Rene Ferguson, Janet Jarvis and Cornelia Roux are from South Africa and Ina Ter Avest, Jan Durk Tuinier and Ida Sabelis from the Netherlands. The South African authors have collaborated over many years, seven national and international research projects on HRE in diverse contexts. Ina Ter Avest participated in two of these projects. This collaboration and relationship resulted in Ter Avest's request to the South African authors to enter into conversation and learn from and with each other towards transformative approaches in HRE. Her 2019 correspondence resulted in initiating this project. Ter Avest invited Sabelis and Tuinier to participate. For the South African authors, it was also an opportunity to reflect on their research and the ongoing challenges of HRE in South Africa.

Our roots are in different continents, diverse contexts and different languages. We, as researchers and authors, are embedded in our histories, memories, cultures of remembrance and education systems. We are bound to our contexts in terms of both material realities and theoretical perspectives. We argue that Sporre's (2019) view of epistemological communities is also applicable to the process of this book. Our conversations and approaches depended on "how the theorising within research takes place within communities where we depend on one another to understand and explain, not least basically to communicate" (Sporre, 2019, p. vii).

The challenges and possibilities of HRE in both countries are shared in our ongoing scholarly interactions to bring about change, but also to re-think our approaches and identify new possibilities and opportunities in our respective countries.

We implore you to join us 'en route' towards advocacy, action, the continual evolutionary regeneration of HRE and the possibilities for supporting a socially

just world for future generations. We also argue that the methodological implications for similar conversations in place-space-time, between different or multiple countries and contexts, can have beneficial implications for HRE research globally.

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About the authors

Anne Becker is a research fellow at the University of Stellenbosch in South Africa. Her research interests focus on human rights education and literacies (specifically freedom, dignity and equality), marginalisation, othering and decoloniality. She has published various peer-reviewed chapters in books and academic articles on these topics. Her most recent book contribution as co-editor is *Human Rights Literacies: Future Directions* (2019). She has been a member of the research group HREiD: Human rights education in diversity and Edu-HRight research unit at the North-West University in South Africa and has also been actively involved in the research project *Human Rights Literacy: Quest for meaning* (Roux, 2012-2017).

René Ferguson is a lecturer in the School of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa. She teaches democratic citizenship and human rights education in the subject Life Orientation to teacher education students. Her research interests include diversity and inclusion pertaining to religion and worldviews, LGBTIQ+ rights, and women and children's rights in democratic societies. As a teacher educator, she is interested in how teacher education students respond to training in human rights education for developing their own praxis. She has published nationally and internationally, on the place of diverse religions and word views in education, the inclusion of new religions and alternative spiritualities in religion education, and pedagogies for religion and human rights education.

Janet Jarvis is a Senior Lecturer and Academic Leader of the cluster: Social Sciences Education, in the School of Education, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. She lectures in Life Orientation Education in both undergraduate and post-graduate programmes. She holds a Masters (*cum laude*) from Stellenbosch University and a Doctoral degree from North West University (Potchefstroom). Her research interests include teacher identity, Religion Education and human rights education. She has presented papers at both national and international conferences and has published several papers in this field. Her most recent publications focus on teaching praxis, employing a teaching-learning strategy that adopts an empathetic, reflective, dialogical approach. This strategy is applied, in particular, to human rights issues including gender equality and xenophobia, with a view to possible social transformation.

Cornelia Roux is an emeritus professor at the University of Stellenbosch in South Africa. She held positions as professor, research professor and research director at two faculties of Education in South Africa. Her research expertise is in curriculum studies, religion and culture diversity, human rights education and literacies. She was founder of the HREiD research group (Stellenbosch University and North-West University (NWU), Potchefstroom Campus and director of Edu-HRight (research unit) at the NWU. She has been project leader of fifteen research projects of whom the four international projects were international funded and supported by the National Research Foundation (NRF) of South Africa. She has published intensively on these topics and contributed to several academic conferences. The most recent book publication is *Human Rights Literacies: Future Directions* (2019), co-edited with Anne Becker.

Ida Sabelis is a retired associate professor of Organization Studies at Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. She is since 2021 Extraordinary Professor Edu-HRight Unit, Faculty of Education, at the North West University, Potchefstroom, South Africa. Linked to the journals *Time & Society*; *Kronoscope, Transformation in Higher Education*; and *Gender, Work & Organization.* With a PhD in Organizational Anthropology at VU Amsterdam, she currently works on a biography of artist and 'bush wife' Nola Steele and her husband Nick Steele who worked as KZN conservationists (South Africa). A keen recumbent (Velomobile) rider, she has also turned to mobility studies, including gender, social justice and sustainability relations. Research interests: time and temporality, ecofeminism, diversity in organizations, and active mobility (cycling) studies. Co-editor of *Academia in Crisis* – 2020, Brill Publishers.

Ina Ter Avest, psychologist of culture and religion, did her PhD research on the religious development of children in a multi-cultural and -religious education context. In her research as well as in her private counsellor practice, she focusses on value-oriented identity development – of persons, of teams and of schools. Ina Ter Avest participated in the SANPAD project 'Human Rights Education in diversity' (2009-2012), chaired by prof. Cornelia Roux. She published on RE and its interrelatedness with citizenship education and human rights education. She retired from a professorship on 'RE-in-context'.

Jan Durk Tuinier studied Social Work, Social Education Science and Andragogy at the University of Amsterdam and at the Radboud University in Nijmegen. He worked as a social worker, youth worker and peace educator. He develops interactive exhibitions, and publish books and articles on

diversity, citizenship education, peace education and how it relates to human rights education in the Netherlands and about 10 other countries. His work is highly valued, nationally as well as internationally. Tuinier's main interest is in coaching teachers and youth workers, in the countries where his projects/ exhibitions are put into practice. www.vredeseducatie.nl.

1

Human rights education core concepts: Premise for conversations

Anne Becker & Cornelia Roux

Introduction

In this chapter we set the scene by outlining the core concepts in human rights and human rights education (HRE). This will provide a premise for our conversations on HRE within the two contexts: South Africa and the Netherlands.

HRE is a subject or education programme interwoven and intersecting with many other educational disciplines. HRE speaks to the complexity of societies, the interpretation of rights and the implementation and understanding of these rights.

The purpose of this first chapter is to unpack some core concepts of human rights and HRE and to briefly explore the why, what, how and for who, of HRE. This chapter is therefore structured in three sections.

- Section one includes an explanation of what international human rights are, the three generation of rights and the international human rights documents.
- Section two deals with the right to education, HRE and social justice. It concludes with a very brief history of the evolution of HRE globally.
- In section three we focus solely on HRE. The section answers the global and local questions as to (i) why we teach, (ii) what we teach, (iii) how we teach and (iv) who we teach in HRE. Answers to these questions assist in choosing an approach to, or possible programme for, HRE and developing a HRE curriculum relevant to specific contexts.

The core concepts of human rights mainly concern the 'what' question of HRE. These concepts are recognised internationally. In the chapters dignity,

equality and freedom and related concepts such as responsibility, respect, recognition, social justice, empathy, co-existence, solidarity, action and activism, dissent and struggle are discussed when asking the 'what' question of HRE.

These concepts are evident throughout the chapters in this book. The manifestation of these concepts however differs between the two education and social contexts (South Africa and the Netherlands) in conversation.

Section one: Rights and documents

What are rights?

In the aftermath of World War II, in a quest to protect individual dignity, equality and freedom the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948, hereafter UDHR) was drafted. The twenty-seven articles of the UDHR (1948) are divided into three generations of rights (Becker, 2012).

1. First generation rights refer to civil or political rights. These include the right to life, dignity, equality, freedom, property, free speech, assembly and association.
2. Second generation rights refer to social, economic and cultural rights. These refer to the right to proper housing, clean water, health care, food and living wages.
3. Third generation rights refer to people's or group rights, also referred to as solidarity rights, such as Indigenous rights or the right to a clean environment.

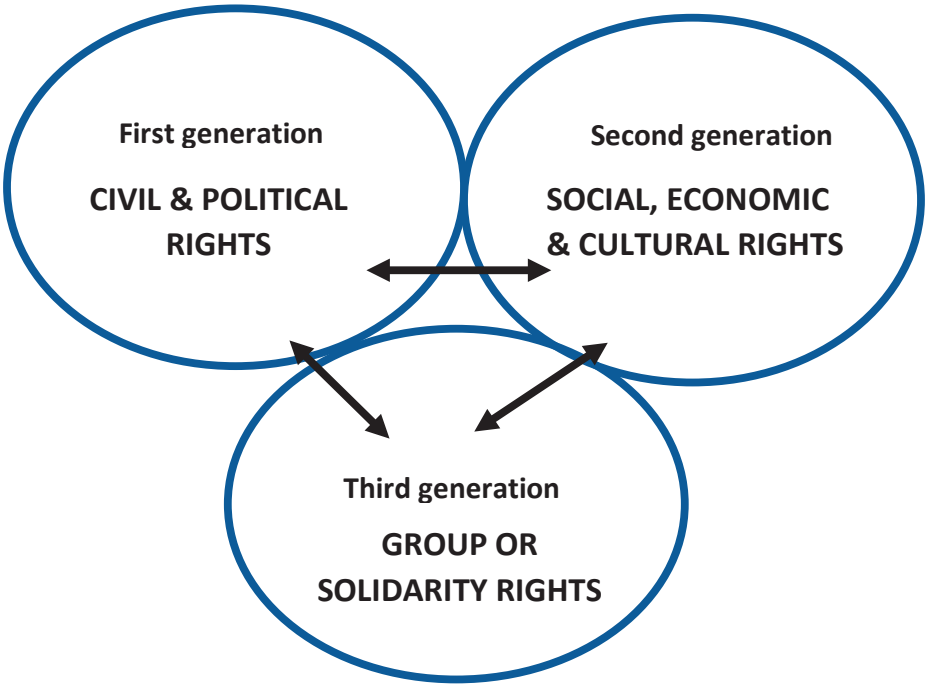

Figure 1
The three generations of rights are interconnected

The enforcement and implementation of rights are in the hands of national governments regarding vertical applications between the state and citizens and in the hands of all humans regarding horisontal applications between the self and others. Within vertical approaches (state and citizens), proponents of the responsibility approach to human rights argue that responsibility is the bridge between claims made by subjects (the humans) of rights and the identification of those who should deliver on those claims (for example the state or local government) (De Smet et al., 2014; Becker, 2017).

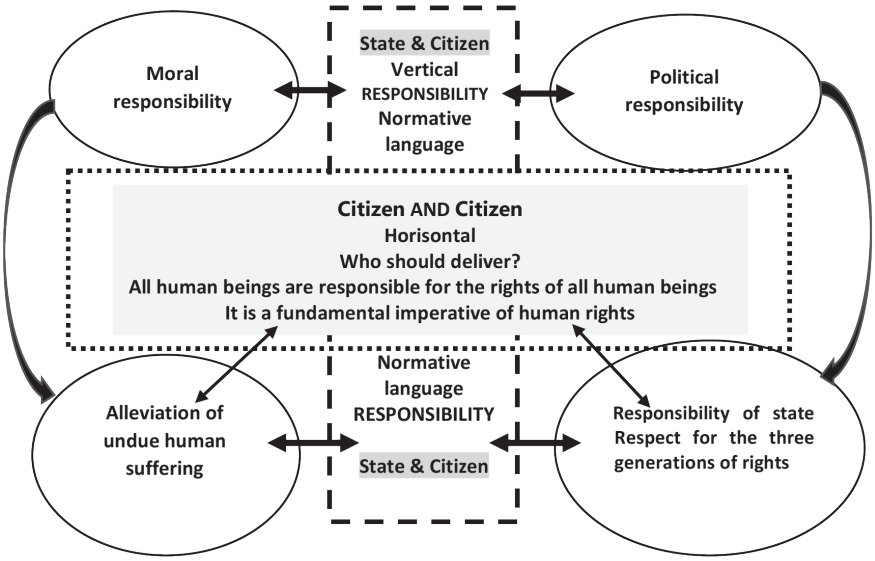

Figure 2
The implementation of rights: A responsibility approach

Responsibility is also a key concept in the normative language of global politics (Beardsworth, 2015). In global political discourse, responsibility is framed in two ways; one is moral responsibility, which is concerned with the alleviation of undue human suffering, while the other is political responsibility, which refers to the responsibility of state actors to tie conditions of national sovereignty (independence from other states) to conditions of internal sovereignty (respect for the three generation of rights). The nature of vertical relations is determined by the identification of who should deliver on human rights claims and the extent to which state actors accept their moral and political responsibility to respect these rights (Beardsworth, 2015; De Smet et al., 2014; Becker, 2017).

Perry (2013, p. 775) introduces the horisontal approach to the responsibility debate when he argues that the "fundamental imperative" of human rights is in article 1 of the UDHR (1948):

> all human beings [should] act towards one another in the spirit of brotherhood. Perry (2013) argues that this fundamental imperative is the normative grounding of human rights and implies both a vertical

and horisontal approach to responsibilities and to rights. All human beings are responsible for the rights of all human beings.

The three components of the international Human Rights structure

The international human rights structure can be divided into three components namely: (i) the authoritative definitions and human rights standards, (ii) the human rights conventions and protocols and (iii) the implementation of human rights (Becker, 2021a).

First component: Authoritative definitions and standards

The authoritative definitions and standards of international human rights are encapsulated in the UN Charter and the UDHR (1948). The UN Charter stipulates five crucial notions, namely, (i) human dignity, non-discrimination, civil and political rights (first generation rights), (ii) socio-economic rights (second generation rights) and (iii) solidarity rights (third generation rights). The UDHR (1948) was drafted and signed after World War II. One of the drafters and signatories of the UDHR was Eleanor Roosevelt, the wife of President Roosevelt of the USA (Becker, 2021a).

Second component: The human rights conventions and protocols

The second component consists of the nine major human rights conventions and other human rights protocols and documents which have been developed since 1948. The continual development of conventions, documents and protocols point to the evolutionary nature of human rights. Conventions and protocols are also binding documents based on and supported by the UDHR and the UN and its resolutions. These conventions and documents highlight and address human rights violations and/or new issues in society, for example, rights of minority groups and refugees (Becker, 2021a).

Third component: Implementation

The implementation part of international human rights is the weakest link in the international human rights structure. Weak implementation of human rights results in an inability to successfully curb human rights violations. The UN implementation system consists of the appointment of rapporteurs to examine human rights violations such as xenophobia, violence against women, poverty and failing democracies (Wronka, 2017). It also includes

reports on human rights violations and hot spots, human rights conferences, and global dialogue on human rights issues (Becker, 2021a).

The weak implementation part of human rights is due to the possession paradox of human rights (Du Preez & Becker, 2016). The possession paradox of human rights refers to, for example, the fact that all human beings have the right to proper housing, clean water and health services. However, millions of humans across the world do not have access to any of those rights because of extreme poverty. Although, the universal and abstract nature of human rights described in the UDHR (1948) and subsequent conventions is based on the ideal that all humans have rights, simply because they are human, this is not always true in material reality. Human rights are not fully implemented everywhere and therefore, although all humans have rights according to the UN Charter, the UDHR, national constitutions and Bill of rights, not all humans enjoy the benefits of their rights being implemented. Countless humans across the globe suffer under extreme poverty, racism, sexism, xenophobia, homophobia, coloniality and discrimination.

The possession paradox of human rights is mirrored in the poor implementation of human rights in many parts of the world. The possession paradox of human rights reveals, as a consequence, the gap between the ideals of human rights and the realisation or implementation of that in material reality or everyday life (cf. Roux & Becker, 2019).

Section Two: The right to education and human rights education

The right to education forms part of second generation rights which focus on equality, equity and social justice.

The right to education and social justice responsibilities

Second generation rights (see Figure 1) are claims to social justice and equity and demand vertical (state and citizens) and horisontal (all human beings responsible for all human beings) intervention for their realisation (Becker, 2017). The notion of social justice, in and through education, and in and through HRE, is key to the realisation of equality, equity and the right to education. Where equality refers to equal treatment and opportunities for everyone, equity points to the fact that not everyone starts at the same place. Equity demands an acknowledgement of historic and societal inequality and imbalances.

Social justice in and through education is both a process and a goal. It is a democratic and participatory process through human agency (action) towards full and equal participation of all members of society. The goal of social justice is to work towards societies in which members are self-determined through agency, but also interdependent with a sense of social responsibility.

Social justice is a multidimensional concept but is broadly based on two approaches (i) the distribution/redistribution approach of justice and the (ii) relational/recognition approach of justice (Cho, 2017). These two approaches should be conceptualised together (redistribution/recognition). Relational recognition is of great importance to the fundamental aims of social justice. It speaks to the rights to dignity, equality, respect and the primary right to be recognised as fully human.

Education as a human right was declared in 1948 in Article 26 stating that all citizens of the world have the right to education and a life of learning. The statement from the Declaration is as follows:

> Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all based on merit (UDHR, 1948).[1]

In terms of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN, 1989, hereafter CRC), the aims of education, in addition to personal development, involve strengthening a respect for human rights and freedoms, enabling individuals to participate effectively in a free society, and promoting understanding, friendship and tolerance. Social justice in and through education is crucial to realising this aim.

Working from within a framework for the realisation of children's rights to education and rights within education, UNICEF and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) recommend a "human rights-based approach to education" (UNICEF/UNESCO, 2007, pp. 7-9). It is rooted in principles such as equality and non-discrimination, participation and inclusion, empowerment, accountability and respect for the rule of law.

1 There are no page numbers in the copy of the UDHR that we used (see reference list).

A rights-based approach to education is informed by human rights norms and standards. Such an approach aims to contribute to positive social transformation and coexistence in and through education (UNICEF/ UNESCO, 2007).

What is human rights education?

The link between human rights and education is stipulated in the preamble of the UDHR (1948). HRE imbedded in the principles and values of the UDHR (1948) is linked to the educational approach of UNESCO to "bring coherence to a fragmented and globalized world" (Dolan et al, 2011, p. 12) and working with different sectors of society including formal and non-formal structures available in societies. Most scholars and practitioners agree that HRE must include both content and process related to human rights and components related to cognitive (content), attitudinal or emotive (values/skills), and action-oriented components (agency, activism) (Bajaj, 2011).

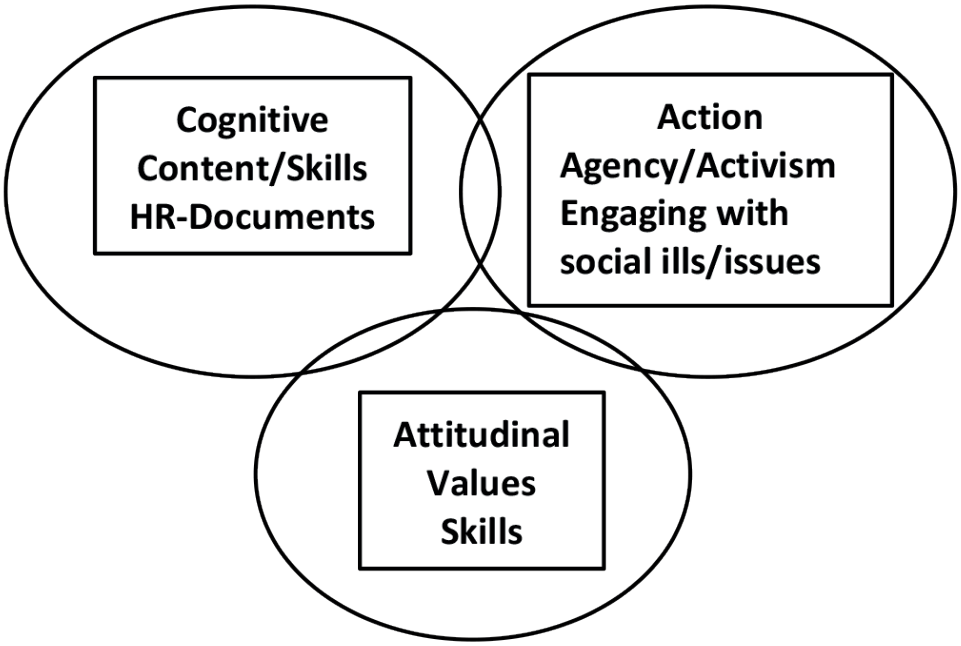

Figure 3
What human rights education must include

The objectives of HRE have a range of activities from training, information sharing, skills development and developing attitudes. The aims of HRE are to strengthen respect, develop a sense of dignity, promote tolerance (understanding and inclusion on all levels of society), enable effective participation in free democratic societies, build and maintain peace, promote social justice and the "promotion of people-centred sustainable development" (Roux, 2019, p. 16). As the goals of HRE are so comprehensive, HRE is included in a variety of different education fields and programmes. HRE intersects, for example, with many learning areas and activities in educational fields such as citizenship education, peace education, anti-racism education, Holocaust/ genocide education, education for sustainable development and education for intercultural understanding (Tibbits, 2017).

The following figure from the Council of Europe's manual Compasito (2007) offers a glimpse into these intersections and how the over-arching values of HRE (assumed to be common for all programs), types of educational programs, and the generations of human rights are interrelated (Bajaj, 2011).

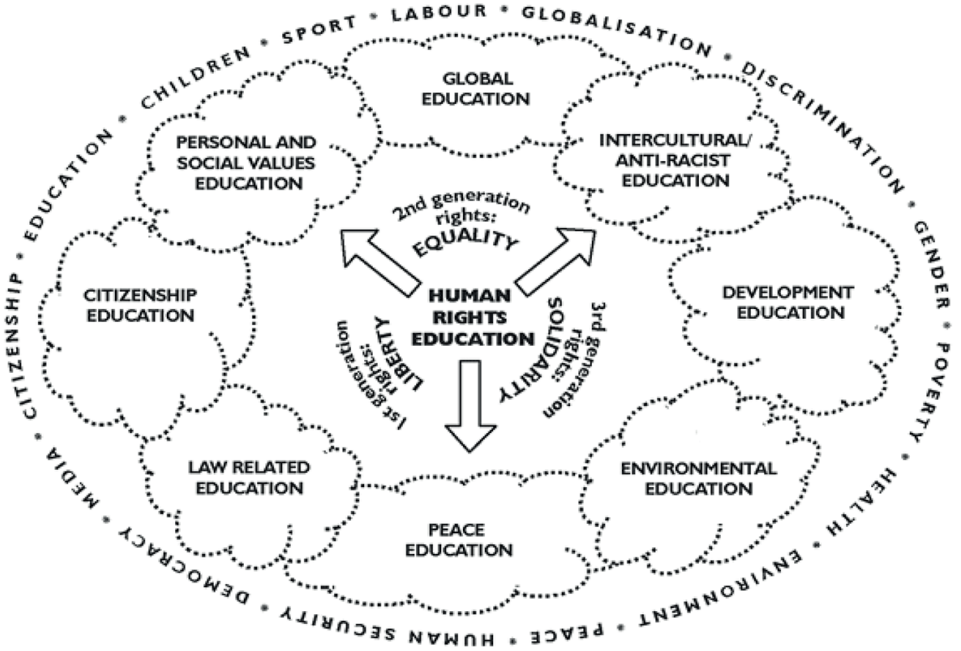

Figure 4
Intersection of human rights values, three generations of rights, educational programmes and human rights education

As the figure indicates all themes and topics are interrelated and linked to the broad goals of HRE. Human rights are also interdependent and interrelated: they cannot be taught in isolation. Even the distinctions between first, second and third generation rights (illustrated in the middle) are not clear-cut. For example, education, as a second generation right, is necessary for participation (first generation right) and is crucial for sustainable development (a third generation right) (see Figure 1).

This illustrates the way in which the various themes of, and in, HRE are relevant to nearly all current educational fields (Compasito manual, 2007; Bajaj, 2011). Figure four also provides some background to the different models and approaches which are discussed in Section three of this chapter.

Human rights and HRE are not fixed concepts. They are open and evolutionary concepts (Roux & Becker, 2019). The evolutionary nature of human rights is illustrated by the changes in the human rights framework that were brought about by the many social, political and human rights struggles over many years. Gender rights, sexual rights, indigenous rights were all added to the human rights framework since 1948.

Keet (2015) traces the history of HRE back to before 1948. He distinguishes between four phases in the development of HRE.

(i) The first phase he locates pre-1948 when HRE was implicit in moral education theories. This points to the link between human rights and moral and normative principles. Since then, there has been many evolutionary changes to HRE.

(ii) The second (1948-1994) and third (1995-2010) phases of institutionalised HRE came after the promulgation of the UDHR (1948). The second (1948-1994) phase focused on HRE as part of the global legitimising of human rights universals (Keet, 2015).

(iii) The third phase (1995-2010) was characterised by the proliferation of HRE by the international community as a pedagogical formation and conceptual framework.

The proliferation of HRE was aided by the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004). The Decade for Human Rights Education had five objectives: (i) "the assessment of needs and formulation of strategies; (ii) building and strengthening HRE programmes; (iii) developing educational material; (iv) strengthening the mass media; and (v) the global dissemination of the UDHR (1948)." (UN, 1996, p. 2).

Both the second and third phases (1948-2010) of the development of HRE were characterised by top-down approaches. Azoulay (2014, p. 335) poses that during the early stages of the development of human rights and HRE, "(U)niversal human rights were conceived as the prerogative of states; the general public was neither consulted nor invited to participate in the formulation of these rights." All knowledge of human rights, their interpretation and processes of implementation was prescribed by the UN and states from the top-down. Globally everyone was expected to accept rights as pre-given discursive objects and to naturalise applications of rights (Becker & Roux, 2019). The legitimacy crisis of global human rights since 2011, has however developed into a distrust towards human rights which spilled over to HRE (Keet, 2015).

Baxi (2007) explains the distrust towards human rights as weariness and wariness. Weariness, he argues, is "a state of moral fatigue with human rights languages and logics" and wariness he explains as related to the "politics *of* and *for* human rights" (Baxi, 2007, p.1 emphasis in original text). Kapur (2006) poses that both human rights and HRE have lost their dissident spirit and Keet (2011) describes the field of HRE as conceptually imprisoned and unproductive. The critique of human rights and HRE not only question the top-down process of formalising, teaching, and learning human rights but also dramatically changed human rights advocacy in the fourth phase (2011-onwards). There is a renewed focus on the values (such as dignity, equality and freedom) we share and understand as the pillars of open, just and democratic societies. This phase also opened the possibilities for transformative approaches to HRE to enable social change and social justice in diverse contexts.

Section three: Why, what, how and who

HRE like any other discipline or subject, needs to answer four questions before teaching/facilitating or learning can begin.

(i) Why, do we teach and learn human rights?
(ii) What, do we teach and learn of and in HRE?
(iii) How, do we teach and learn human rights?
(iv) Who, do we teach?

The answers to these four questions provide the framework for any HRE approach and HRE curricula.

Why do we teach/facilitate and learn human rights?

The 'why' question has many answers. Global HRE is needed to enable a global human rights culture. But it also includes historic, political, economic and social answers. Human rights are, since inception, the result of many contradictory and conflicted struggles of people to improve their political or socio-economic conditions through advocating for their own or the rights of others with great success. These struggles are part of both the 'why' and 'what' answers regarding HRE. We should teach and learn human rights, not only in solidarity to, and celebration of, everyone who advocated for rights historically and brought about political and social change, but also because human rights are not fixed or stagnant – they continuously evolve and need continuous renewal.

Going back in history, many social, political and human rights struggles brought about the changes to rights which humans enjoy today. In terms of indigenous rights, Chief Joseph, during a time when the native tribes of the West in the USA were subjugated by the military, resisted the central reservation system and fought for the rights of indigenous peoples. Many years later, on September 13, 2007, the UN adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which sets out the minimum standards necessary for the dignity, survival and well-being of Indigenous Peoples, (cf. Coalition for the human rights of indigenous peoples; Becker, 2021a).

During the 1960s, Malcolm X (1998) insisted on not only civil or political rights for African Americans but for 'human' rights which would imply that every human being would be granted the status of full humanity. Malcolm X was steadfast in his resolve to incorporate the UDHR (1948) in the struggle against discrimination and oppression (Yang, 2015). Through peaceful protests, Martin Luther King JN. fought for equality and human rights for African Americans. These protests and movements brought about legislation such as the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act (Becker, 2021a).

In South Africa, Nelson Mandela fought for the rights of all people in South Africa and the end of apartheid based on discrimination and exclusion. He gave a three-hour speech on 20 April 1964 from the dock of the defendant at the Rivonia Trial. Mandela stood for equality and human rights for all peoples in South Africa. The last part of his speech *I am prepared to die* summarizes the importance of equal rights for all peoples.

> During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die. (Mandela, 2011)

The struggle for human rights and the evolution of human rights will be explored in more detail in chapter two (South Africa) and in chapter three (Netherlands) in this volume.

What do we teach/facilitate and learn in human rights education?

The examples or stories of struggles for human rights do not only point to the 'why' of HRE but also to the 'what'. In HRE, teachers should continually narrate these historic and ongoing struggles and conflicts (Keet & Zembalys, 2019). There is however also a need for human rights specific content (core concepts, principles, values and skills) to be included in the 'what' answer.

The concepts that we expect to see at the core of a HRE curriculum are content knowledge and concepts (ideas / principles) specific to human rights. Knowledge of these core concepts is needed to identify and define violations of human rights and to protect rights and prevent violations (Parker, 2018). The core concepts include:

(i) knowledge of what human rights is (as discussed in section one)
(ii) the three generations of rights (as discussed in section one)
(iii) the human rights documents (as discussed in section one) and
(iv) the core concepts of human rights such as dignity, equality, freedom, dissent, struggle, recognition, coexistence, respect and activism.

The core concepts of dignity, equality and freedom with their supporting concepts of respect, co-existence, recognition, social justice, responsibility, action, dissent and activism are explained next. These core concepts are explored throughout the following chapters. Understanding the core concepts and understanding how these concepts manifest in diverse contexts will explain how literacies and not only knowledge of human rights is necessary to identify human rights violations and explore possibilities to address them.

Dignity, equality and freedom are interrelated

As values, dignity, equality and freedom represent ideals (principles) about a good life or society. Arguing that all persons are of equal moral worth, the ideal of a democratic society, implies that all persons should collectively decide what they regard as a good life.

South Africa has a unique history of colonialism and apartheid which had, as consequence, extreme forms of dehumanisation. To address this, human dignity is central to the constitution and Bill of Rights. The South African Bill of Rights (1996) furthermore, because of the South African history, has specific inclusions regarding socio-economic rights.

The South African Constitution (RSA, 1996), in the preamble, describes the South African society as "a democratic and open society" and includes the aims of both improving "the quality of life of all citizens" and freeing "the potential of each person". The South African Constitution (RSA, 1996) outlines the values that underpin the South African republic and society as "human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms" (Article 1[a]). Article 7(1) highlights dignity, equality and freedom specifically as democratic values, which are affirmed by the Bill of Rights. These values steer legislation, as well as its interpretation and implementation, and place a duty on government to respect, protect and promote the values in both vertical and horisontal applications (Articles 1, 7, 36 and 39). Dignity, equality and freedom are meant to transform the South African society from one in which only the fittest survive, to one in which we "care for and empower vulnerable people" (Becker et al., 2015, p. 4).

Netherlands, as a European country, has a very different history to South Africa. Although, for example, dignity is not specifically mentioned, it is implicit in the Dutch constitution of the Netherlands (2008, hereafter Constitution). It is also linked to equality and freedom. Article 1 of the fundamental rights in the Constitution (2008) links dignity and equality in stating "All persons in the Netherlands shall be treated equally in equal circumstances. Discrimination on the grounds of religion, belief, political opinion, race or sex or on any other grounds whatsoever shall not be permitted." (Constitution, 2008, p. 5). There is protection for individual privacy which is inherent to the dignity of persons in Article 10. There is also mention of socio-economic rights such as fair distribution of wealth, proper housing and health care in Articles 20 and 22.

Dignity, equality and freedom (as rights and values) work reciprocally and are linked to one another in the sense that the protection of each right is essential for the realisation of the other. This was also illustrated by the Compasito diagram (Figure 4).

Human rights values also have different interpretations in different contexts. An example of this is given in the next section regarding African and Western conceptions of dignity.

Dignity

The UDHR (1948) states that all humans are equal in dignity and should be treated with equal respect and concern. Dignity is therefore the foundation of many other rights.

The dignity and worth of all individual humans are inherent to most religions and worldviews. After World War II, in a Euro-western approach to human dignity and human rights, Catholics, Christian democrats and liberal scholars attempted to use inherent human dignity to revitalise theories of political ethics, arguing that both religion and democracy are founded on the principle of the inherent worth and dignity of every individual human (Moyn, 2014). In most religions every human being is believed sacred (Becker, 2021a; Roux, 2019). In Christianity the equal worth of all humans is a central message and for Islamic scholars, human dignity is regarded "as a gift from God" (Kianpour, 2016, p. 699). As human dignity is a fundamental principle of Islamic theology it is considered as the core of Islamic morality (Kianpour, 2016).

In human rights theory, there are two main viewpoints on the meaning of dignity: (i) the liberal, individualistic and (ii) the relational viewpoints (Becker, 2021a). The liberal individualistic understanding of human dignity is premised on Kant's conception of dignity.

Kant's conception is followed mostly by the Western tradition of linking human dignity to rationality and autonomy (Waldron, 2013; Giselsson, 2018). In this tradition the primary characteristic of humans and the defining characteristic of human dignity is the human capacity to think rationally (Moyn, 2014). This is an individualistic approach to dignity.

Scholars who conceptualise dignity as relational (social/interpersonal) argue that human dignity relies on history and socio-political factors to be realised

(McManus, 2019). Dignity, in this viewpoint is grounded in material reality (everyday life) and not an abstract concept inherent to humans. It is grounded in struggles for social justice and dissent / protest. Goodhart (2018) states that social realities and power shape the realisation of human dignity. His understanding of human dignity is an acknowledgement that power and power relations within different contexts have a direct impact on the social reality of human dignity. He argues that the emancipatory possibilities for and of human dignity are within social struggles and dissent against domination and oppression (Goodhart, 2018; Becker, 2021a). Dignity is realised in relations, in community and in context. It requires the recognition of the other as fully human and worthy of respect.

Fukuyama (2018) links the inner sense of human dignity to recognition. A sense of inner worth of self is not enough – it needs to be recognised as such by others in human relations. When the inner self is denigrated and not acknowledged as worthy of existence it inevitably leads to conflict (Becker, 2021a). This was illustrated by the global *#BlackLivesMatter* protests after the death of George Floyd in the USA.

The African view to human dignity *Ubuntu*[2] is linked to a relational and communal approach to dignity (Ikuenobe, 2018). Personhood and human dignity are defined within a framework which considers the lived experiences of a person's relations with others in the community. This contrast the Western individualistic view in which the individual and her rights are the most important factor. It removes the individual, her autonomy and her rights from the community. The African view of human dignity is not premised on individual rights but on the community (Becker, 2021a). A person's aim is to protect her own well-being and that is achieved through harmonious communal living (Ikuenobe, 2018).

Ikuenobe (2018) argues that the binary between individual rights and the community in liberal western conceptions of human dignity can only exist in abstract thinking. Substantive (practical) rights are balancing acts between the individual and community within specific contexts. Human dignity within this tradition only exists in relation and in context. Although the individual acts in order to protect her own well-being, the well-being of the community remains central (cf. Roux & Becker, 2019).

2 Meaning of Ubuntu: A person is a person through other persons / I am because you are.

The non-realisation of dignity for many humans point to the possession paradox of human rights and the gap between the ideals of human rights and the realisation thereof in material reality (Roux & Becker, 2019). Although all humans are included in dignity as set out by the UDHR (1948) the realisation of human dignity for countless humans across the globe are disabled by power relations, political and socio-economic conditions.

Equality

In South Africa, the interrelatedness between dignity and equality has been highlighted by the South African Constitutional Court. Where there is unfair discrimination or "treating persons differently in a way which impairs their fundamental dignity as human beings, who are inherently equal in dignity" the South African Constitution (1996) guarantees that the law will protect and benefit people equally (Becker et al., 2015). The law prohibits unfair discrimination. It is intended to protect vulnerable gender, race, ethnic, religious, cultural, linguistic, social, challenged and abled and age groups from unfair discrimination (Becker et al., 2015).

Similarly, the Dutch Constitution (2008), emphasise equality and dignity as interrelated. In Article 1 equality and non-discrimination (protection of dignity) is linked. Equality in terms of equitable work opportunities is included in Articles 3 and 19. There is also mention of equal rights to partake in the political process which includes the rights to vote in Article 4. Article 4 indicates the link between equality and freedom.

The meaning and application of equality have however been contentious in human rights literature. Although the ideals of human rights promise equality for all, equality does not always materialise in everyday life.

Equality is either symbolic (formal as expressed in the UDHR) or real (substantive – application in material reality).

(i) Symbolic equality refers to the ideal of equality: all humans are equal.
(ii) The second form of equality – real or substantive equality – points to the conditions needed for all humans to be equal (Balibar, 1991; Becker, 2019).

It is in the application of equality or the notion of real equality where equality becomes contentious.

Even if all humans are included in the symbolic ideals of equality described in the UDHR (1948) many humans across the world have no real equality. They are not recognised as fully human and not granted equal respect. Claiming full humanity requires mutual recognition of all of humanity, for all of humanity. To have only legal recognition is insufficient to this process (Osler, 2015). It demands the recognition of the full humanity of all humans, equal and dignified in their uniqueness (Becker 2021b; see Chapter two in this volume). Social struggles and dissent (protests) are used by many humans across the world to realise equality where inequality persists.

Freedom

Dignity and equality both contribute to the realisation of freedom. Freedom is a prerequisite in a democracy, without which a culture of human rights would not flourish and where dignity and equality would not be realised.

For this reason, freedom has been incorporated into the South African Bill of Rights (1996) as different rights: freedom of the person (Article 12); religion, conscience, thought and belief (Article 15); expression (Article 16); association (Article 18); movement and residence (Article 21); and trade, occupation and profession (Article 22). These rights provide enforceable implementation of (the value of) freedom pertaining to specific aspects of human life (Becker et al., 2015).

Freedom is described in the Dutch Constitution (2008) in terms of freedom to petition (Article 5) freedom to congregate and protest (Article 9), freedom to associate (Article 8), religious freedom (Article 6), freedom to choose vocation and work (Article 19), freedom of the press (Article 7), freedom of opinion and thought (Article 7), political freedom (Article 4) freedom to provide education (Article 23) and freedom to choose education according to religion and worldview (Article 23).

Humans are free only in relations and when humans demand to be recognised as equal, free and dignified partners in the world they share, it is an attempt to be heard and to be recognised as part of the human community. This is explained in chapter two in this volume regarding movements such as *#BlackLivesMatter* and *#MeToo*. Throughout human history the struggle to be heard, stood up against power-interests. HRE should include such historic struggles in teaching and learning. (Roux & Becker, 2017).

How do we teach/facilitate and learn human rights: universal models and contextual approaches?

All models of, and approaches to, teaching and learning human rights should include the following as stipulated by the UN General Assembly in 2011:

(a) Education about human rights, which includes providing knowledge and understanding of human rights norms and principles, the values that underpin them and the mechanisms for their protection.
(b) Education through human rights, which includes learning and teaching in a way that respects the rights of both educators and learners.
(c) Education for human rights, which includes empowering persons to enjoy and exercise their rights and to respect and uphold the rights of others (United Nations General Assembly, 2011; Tibbits, 2017, p. 4).

The complexity of choosing a model or approach to HRE lies in the overall aim of the HRE programme or curriculum. Teaching and learning about human rights, through human rights and for human rights are explained in several chapters (see Chapters four, five, six and seven in this volume). Over the years, various HRE programmes, models and approaches have been put forward. There are currently two lines of thought on how we should/could teach human rights. One relates to universal models and the other to contextual approaches. They can be identified as:

(i) those offering a universal vision for HRE across all contexts (models), and
(ii) those offering approaches to HRE related to context and location (approaches)

An example of the first is the three models put forward by Tibbits (2017). She proposes a values and awareness-socialisation model; an accountability model and an activism-transformation model.

Bajaj (2011) on the other hand focusses on the context and location in which HRE is situated. She proposes three approaches for HRE: HRE for global citizenship; HRE for co-existence and HRE for transformative action.

A universal vision across contexts - Felica Tibbits

Social change is one of the most important goals of HRE and it is therefore important to develop teaching and learning in such a way that it enables agency and action towards change. The first version of Tibbits' three models was published in 2002. Because human rights and HRE are evolutionary practices and processes, these models were revised by Tibbits in 2017. The revisions

were necessary because the original models did not enable agency, activism and transformation. She argues, for example, that the 2002 aim of the *Values and Awareness* model (mostly used in basic education) was socialisation but while that provided students with knowledge it did not develop agency and activism. Without creating a space for a candid critique of the human rights system, HRE promotes political correctness and a transmission approach to human rights (Tibbits, 2017).

The three models proposed by Tibbits (2017) form a pyramid with the *Values and awareness-socialisation* model at the bottom (mainly used in basic education and understood as a primer for additional HRE courses), the *Accountability* model in the middle (mostly used in higher education and professional pre-service and in-service training) and the *Activist-transformation* model at the top (mainly used by NGOs, grassroots organisations, community organisations). The three models differ in content and target groups but remain interrelated. The goal remains social change.

Values and awareness-socialisation model. This model is understood as a primer to further HRE courses and models. The *Values and awareness-socialisation* model is common in the formal education sector and specifically schools. Content usually includes theory of human rights and the establishment of the United Nations (UN). Human rights topics are briefly integrated within carrier subjects, such as History, Social Studies, or Citizenship Education. This does not focus on any analysis of human rights, human rights violations or critical perspectives of society (Tibbits, 2017).

Human rights content and values are presented to be learned. There is thus only a focus on learning about human rights. Critical thinking and activism are not the focus of this model and there is therefore no learning through or for human rights. When human rights are then also taught in traditional didactic approaches, HRE becomes about compliance and political literacy and not about the values of human rights (This is also explained in chapter two in this volume). If there are no participatory learning approaches, it becomes impossible for school children to apply human rights to their everyday lives. At best, such a HRE approach fails to fully foster the critical capacities of learners; at worst, this form of HRE promotes a hegemonic, Western-centred values system (Tibbits & Katz, 2018; see Chapter two in this volume on pluriversal knowledges).

A critical thought is that there is no room for the development of an active stance against human rights violations or actions to resist such violations.

When only socialisation and not subjectification is addressed in teaching and learning human rights, it leads to a continual re-production of the status quo and the transformative goals of HRE cannot be achieved (Becker & Roux, 2019).

Accountability – Professional development model. The target audiences for this model are law enforcement officials, lawyers and judges, civil servants, health and social workers, educators, journalists and religious and community leaders. A critical review of one's professional role in relation to the prevention of human rights violations is promoted. This implies a critical stance towards one's own society and professional environment. This model is geared towards agency, capacity and skills development related to the link between human rights and one's profession. Teaching and learning strategies range from participatory to instrumentally empowering. The stance towards the prevention of human rights violations is an active one (Tibbits, 2017).

In this model, HRE focusses on the ways in which professional responsibilities involve either (i) directly monitoring human rights violations and advocating with the necessary authorities; or (ii) taking special care to protect the rights of people (especially vulnerable populations) (Tibbits, 2017).

Activism-transformation model. This model is generally carried out in the non-formal education sector such as in training sessions, popular education, youth and community development. The target audiences for this model are marginalised populations and the youth. This model focusses on a critical stance towards society or local environment, the nature of power/authority, and the human rights system itself. The model is specifically oriented towards transformation through developing agency, capacity development and participation in human rights and social activism (Tibbits, 2017).

HRE programming falling under the *Activism-transformation* model is explicitly aimed at bringing about human rights activism and social change. It crystalises everyday life experiences of the participants in such programmes through a human rights lens for participants to reflect on their own behaviour and demonstrate new behaviour. The strategy for combatting and reducing human rights violations is thus immediate, active, contextual and personal, as well as, long-term, public and collective in order to bring about social change. It incorporates critical pedagogy, teaching and learning methodologies of participation, empowerment and transformation (Tibbits, 2017; see Chapters four and six in this volume). Different kinds of HRE programs fall under the *Activism-transformation* model. There are those that

are solely focused on activism, such as the training of human rights workers. Teachers in schools sponsoring human rights clubs and affiliated to activist groups would also fall under this model.

Another type of HRE programmes falling within the category of *Activism-transformation* is aimed specifically towards marginalised and excluded groups such as women, migrants and refugees, minority groups that have experienced systematic discrimination, persons with disabilities and the extremely poor. The aim of HRE here is healing, intrinsic empowerment and personal transformation when participants of these groups take action to reduce human rights violations towards themselves and others in their community (Tibbits, 2017). (Chapter six in this volume focusses specifically on gender and religion).

A focus on the context and location in which human rights education is situated — Monisha Bajaj

Bajaj (2011) argues that HRE content and target groups differ between and across nation-states. Ideology and power furthermore determine where and how HRE programmes locate themselves in relation to local, national, and international sites of power. It is therefore not geographical borders, or a nation-state understood in any simple or homogenous sense, that determine the specific context or content of HRE approaches (Bajaj, 2011). Bajaj (2011, p. 489) illustrates her line of thought with the following example:

> An elite private school and a school serving a marginalized indigenous community in the same neighbourhood may both offer HRE, but their approaches may vary widely based on the material realities of each group, the manner in which HRE is introduced, and the anticipated outcome.

Moving beyond nation-centred understandings of human rights helps to define the ways that HRE may differ in approach, definition, and desired outcomes in different and diverse contexts (Bajaj, 2011), (see Chapter two in this volume, for explanation of place-space-time).

Baja (2011) put forward different approaches which could be applied in different and diverse contexts:

(i) *HRE for global citizenship* fosters knowledge and skills related to universal values and standards.

(ii) *HRE for co-existence* focusses on the inter-personal and inter-group aspects of rights and is usually suitable to conflicted societies where conflict is related to ethnic or civil strife This is often linked to Peace education.
(iii) *HRE for transformative action* is used in contexts where there is marginalisation due to economic and political power and is used to help students to understand their own realities.

This approach is premised on Paulo Freire's process of developing a critical consciousness. (Bajaj, 2011; cf. Roux & Becker, 2019; see Chapter two in this volume for information on Paulo Freire).

HRE for global citizenship approach. This approach presents international human rights standards as the ideal. It positions students as members of a global community instead of simply as national citizens. Teaching and learning content may include treaties and conventions, the words and practices of national and international leaders and movements, and a history of human rights. Values and skills that are imparted in this approach are the ideals of empathy and compassion. Actions taken by students to combat human rights violations may include letter-writing, fundraising for services addressing basic needs of those less fortunate, and simulations that prepare students for potential participation in a human rights environment in the future. This brand of HRE seeks to cultivate a vibrant global citizenship; a goal seen as beneficial on its own terms (Bajaj, 2011).

It is important to note that there is a distinction between National Citizenship Education and Global Citizenship Education. National citizenship education focusses on issues only related to the nation-state. It can often be exclusionary to non-citizens and is sometimes linked to the rise of nationalism (see Chapters four and seven in this volume).

Global citizenship education commonly entails an emphasis on global interdependence, global knowledge, and an explicit commitment to counter injustices anywhere in the world. These principles are rooted in cosmopolitan ethics that is often linked to universal notions of human rights as it crystalises in local environments (Bajaj, 2011), (see Chapters four and seven in this volume).

This approach focusses on first generation rights (civil and political rights) as it is mostly used in contexts where students are privileged. This approach

promotes an understanding of human rights as a global political and moral order (Bajaj, 2011).

HRE for coexistence approach. HRE for *coexistence* focusses on knowledge and information related to marginalised groups, often in post-conflict settings. Such groups may have been silenced in previous historical narratives. There is a conscious effort, in this approach, to re-examine and come to terms with histories of violence. (See colonial violence in chapters two and three in this volume). In this approach minority rights and pluralism as part of the larger human rights framework is promoted (Bajaj, 2011). It will often be combined with multicultural or intercultural education.

Teaching and learning strategies may include re-framing historical narratives in recognising the positive role each group has played in creating a society and focussing on instances of collaboration and cooperation, rather than competition. Values and skills may be related to transformation, respect for differences, mutual understanding, and dialogue. Dialogue between and within groups is particularly important and effective, (see Chapters two, four and six in this volume). In chapters four and six, the authors explain how they, in the South African context, within transformative approaches use dialogue, conversations, reflection and praxis to teach and learn human rights concepts in democratic classroom communities. Learning with different groups when exploring difference instead of learning only about difference between groups should be emphasised.

In this approach equality and freedom from discrimination is the focus as students might come from a diversity of groups with unequal positions and standings in society. It is therefore important to explore the everyday experiences of students in order to highlight historic privilege between groups, (see Chapter two in this volume). The purpose of teaching and learning human rights in this context is healing and reconciliation (Baja, 2011).

HRE for transformative action approach. HRE for *transformative action* focusses on the gap between human rights ideals and material realities. In this approach the historic and present conditions are critically analysed to highlight this gap and address this gap. Baja (2011) refers to this approach as a politically radical approach.

Teaching and learning within this approach are explicitly concerned with the analysis of relations of power and how such relations have human rights

violations as consequences. Relations of power can be related to categories of gender (for example: men vs women; heterosexual vs homosexual or transgender), class or money (rich vs poor), political standing (members of a ruling party vs members of other parties), religion (for example Christian vs Muslim vs Jew vs Hindu), language (for example the common language of communication in a region or state vs other languages) or race (for example black vs white). It explores how human rights are often selectively respected based upon an individual's or communities' access to power, resources and influence within a society (Bajaj, 2011).

The focus is mostly on second and third generation rights. HRE for *transformative action* is rooted in the concepts of agency (action) and solidarity (unity/cohesion). Grassroots and community movements for change are emphasised and supported. For students who have suffered abuse, due to group or socio- and economic rights violations, HRE can develop their agency for them to become involved in actions towards their own inclusion. For more privileged students this approach can develop an awareness of the unequal and discriminative behaviour and human rights violations that demand solidarity with marginalised individuals or groups. There is a strong focus on social justice (Bajaj, 2011).

This approach emphasises the relational nature of human rights by focussing on social justice. In motivating privileged and marginalised students to work and learn together they can all become equipped to act in the face of injustice. The content used for teaching and learning in this approach is sourced through a bottom-up approach, (see Chapter two in this volume). Strategies might include examples of social injustice students identify from their own homes or communities. The values and skills learned are solidarity with victims, equality, and justice. This approach focusses on action such as collective protest (for example *#BlackLivesMatter* and *#MeToo*), intervening in situations of abuse, and joining NGOs or social movements to advance greater participation and inclusion (Bajaj, 2011). The approach also correlates with the Human rights literacies (HRLit) approach discussed in detail in chapter two in this volume (cf. Roux & Becker, 2019).

Who do we teach?

The 'who' we teach/facilitate in HRE concerns the human in human rights. The most basic of all rights is the right to be human, and to remain human (Baxi, 2007). It is more than that: it is the rights to be recognised and respected as fully human. The dehumanising of, for example, humans

from previous colonies, indigenous peoples, people of colour and women throughout history is explored in chapters two and three. In teaching and learning about, through and for HRE, human interactions should always be humanising practices of freedom (Freire, 1917).

It is very important to understand that every student comes into the HRE classroom with her or his unique set of experiences, values and perspectives within their material realities (contexts). HRE teaching and learning processes provide opportunities for these to be assessed and potentially influenced (Tibbits, 2017). The only way is to base teaching/facilitation and learning human rights on the everyday experiences and life-worlds of students. Students need to be respected and recognised as fully and uniquely human with their own cultures of remembrance and unique positioning in place-space-time, (see Chapter two in this volume).

Conclusion

As indicated in the beginning of this chapter, HRE is complex in nature and the subject requires knowledges of human rights, social responsibility and material realities. The way in which a curriculum will be developed (curriculum making) and how content and knowledges are chosen or construed, requires an informative mindset and skill. The why (HRE); the what (content and context); the how (models and approaches) and the who (students with the right to be human) are cornerstones in the teaching/facilitation and learning experiences of both the teacher/facilitator and the learners/recipients/partners.

How we respond to the needs for and of human rights in HRE, should appeal to everyone in order for us to become an inclusive and equal society, (see Chapter two in this volume).

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2

Praxis and evolutionary processes of human rights education in South Africa

Cornelia Roux & Anne Becker

Introduction

Human rights education (HRE) is vital to the realisation of human rights, as outlined in declarations, in social contexts (see Chapter one in this volume). HRE does not develop or exist in isolation. In any given context HRE is intertwined with the global human rights declarations and documents, global issues and changing educational circumstances and perspectives. HRE also opens up conversations and demands new ways of thinking on how to address global conflicts in times of upheaval and uncertainties.

During the global Covid-19 pandemic, starting in 2019/2020, socio-economic inequality between nations and people was highlighted. The pandemic also reaffirmed the ongoing inequality and devastation of South Africa's colonial and apartheid realities. We highlight the ongoing global and South African consequences of colonialism and coloniality and its effect on HRE in this chapter. We acknowledge the past but focus on the ongoing challenges of our present and share our optimism and ongoing scholarly efforts towards transformation and change in the South African society and HRE in South Africa.

In this chapter we want to start the conversation on HRE on the premise of re-thinking and renewing HRE. The conversations are on and about; through and for HRE towards dignity, equality and freedom for all.

This chapter explores the evolution/development of HRE in South Africa and its interconnectedness with the global world, specifically in terms of its

unique history and progress. We describe the processes of human rights as evolutionary in the sense that it is a framework that gradually and continuously develop in line with societal and legal needs and demands. On a global scale, the subject of human rights, for example, has since the first human rights declarations (see Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, 1789), been defined and re-defined. In the beginning the subject of rights was the white male citizen who was the owner of property. During the last decades, because of societal demand, the child became a subject of rights and women became subjects of rights, to name two examples (Montefiore, 2001; see Chapter one in this volume). In the South African context, the evolutionary development of human rights will be unpacked in line with the evolutionary development of the South African society. We will discuss the following:

(i) The South African society from oppression to a free society;
(ii) The role HRE played and still plays in this evolution;
(iii) Colonial assumptions and histories in the South African society and in human rights, and the possibilities for decoloniality in HRE;
(iv) The evolution of HRE in South Africa, discussing its many successes and many failures;
(v) We advocate for the future of HRE by moving towards a decolonial literacy approach;
(vi) We explore HRLit in teaching and learning about, through and for human rights.

In this post Covid 19 world, boundaries of histories and current world affairs mask many social issues and ills. HRE infused by HRLit needs to be provocative with dissonant pedagogies in its bottom-up, contextual and praxis driven approach. HRLit are the nexus (link) between human rights and HRE and focus on relationality. Relationality where we put our ideas into actions with individuals of different place-space-time and through the construction of pluriversal (multiple) knowledges towards healing the subjects (peoples / individuals) of human rights through transformative HRE practices.

On the evolutionary history of the South African society and human rights

In the same year the South Africa apartheid government came into power in 1948, the UDHR (1948), now the international standard for human rights, was adopted by the United Nations. South Africa was one of only eight countries that refused to sign the UDHR (1948), because the apartheid government was already preparing to systematically violate every one of the rights recognised in the declaration (South African History Archive, SAHA).

Although apartheid, as a political ideology with its consequential human rights violations, are mainly associated with the period of National Party regime from 1948-1994, it had deep roots in the colonial (since 1652) and post-Union (since 1910) periods in South Africa (Liebenberg, 2010). Pass laws[3], an apartheid symbol of oppression, were already introduced during the 19th century in the Cape and Natal colonies by British colonisers (Liebenberg, 2010). The difficulties with the application of the UDHR (1948) in the colonies also had to do with the fact that colonised subjects (identified by race and nationality) were implicitly and explicitly excluded from the 1948 text of human rights (Maldonado-Torres, 2017; Moyn, 2014). Even during the 1950's, colonial western powers inserted a colonial clause in policies to ensure that human rights were not applicable in colonies (Moyn, 2014). The anticolonial human rights movements only commenced during the 1960s, when the UN General Assembly Resolution 1514, condemned colonisation and pre-empted the liberation of colonies from colonial empires (Moyn, 2014).

South African history constitutes from centuries of pre-colonised peoples. Nomadic peoples and pre-colonised empires, supported by agrarian initiatives and nomadic wealth, developed in Southern Africa during the pre-colonial period. South Africa has a long sequence of human development that dates back hundreds of years. The notion that South Africa or the Cape of Good Hope[4] was an open space and barren land before colonisation in the 17th century is a western assumption, not based on facts. One can argue that with colonialism in the 16th and 17th centuries, the pre-colonial past was violently disrupted. Structural and institutionalised oppression became part of the Southern African landscape and impacted on the histories of all its peoples, the colonisers and the colonised. The violence and oppression of colonialism (during the Dutch and British 1652-1910 occupations) and the violence and oppression of the apartheid government (1948-1993)

3 Pass laws have since 1760 a long history in colonial and apartheid South Africa. It was first used to control movement of slaves and later to restrict movement of black men and women to labour intensive industries. The apartheid government used these laws to control and restrict people from moving between urban and rural areas and excluded South Africans of colour to work and live where they want to. Designated areas (group areas) and pass laws discriminated between South Africans and black South Africans suffered the most under these laws. These laws were a cornerstone of the apartheid government and after decades of protests were abolished in 1986.

4 South Africa's oldest nomadic inhabitants consisted of a number of tribes/communities generally known as the Khoisan and separately as the Cape Khoi; the Nama; the Korana; the Griqua and the San.

became an integral part of the cultures of remembrance of this multi-ethnic, multicultural and multireligious society.

Institutional racism started with colonialism, and when the flags of British imperialism were finally dropped in 1910, it did not stop. The government of the Union of South Africa (1910-1961) continued and strengthened discrimination and violence. The Nationalist apartheid government (1948-1993) further institutionalised and legalised racism and racial classification of humans which led to structural and systemic racial divides (Gordimer, 2011; Roux & Becker, 2021). The road to democracy (1994) did not change perceptions of the violent past. It was infused in the make-up of centuries of discrimination pushed into all spheres of life. The post 1994 democracy surfaced with complex socially engineered relations.

Many South Africans over decades resisted colonial and apartheid racism. Resistance to the apartheid regime gained momentum during the 1950's. In 1952 the Defiance Campaign was a multi-racial passive resistance movement voicing objection to apartheid. The Defiance Campaign was a historical forerunner to South Africa's Bill of Rights. This was followed in 1955 with the Freedom Charter, expressing the 'freedom demands' collected from people across South Africa. The Freedom Charter was adopted at the Congress of the People in Kliptown, near Johannesburg during 1955 (SAHA).

Despite various resistance movements between 1950-1990, the vast majority of South Africans, consisting of Black, Coloured and Indian, remained excluded from participating in government structures.[5] They remained subjected to a wide variety of human rights violations until the first democratic election on 27 April 1994. It was only when South Africa became a constitutional democracy in 1994 that human rights for all South Africans, as expressed in the Freedom Charter, finally received protection in the Bill of Rights (Chapter two of the Constitution of South Africa, 1996) (SAHA).

5 "By the 1980's the phycological, financial and human costs of maintaining order were increasing as the cycle of repression black violence and white counterviolence accelerated. In May 1983 in an effort to limited reforms, (…….) PW Botha introduced a constitutional amendment that created a tricameral parliament with three racially separate chambers: one for whites, one for Asian and one for Coloureds. The amendment was approved the same year by a referendum opened to white voters only. Elections to the Coloured and Asian Legislative bodies were held in August 1984. But 77 percent of the eligible Coloured voters and 80 percent of the Asian voters boycotted the elections because the new plan continued to exclude blacks" (O'Malley, 1985-2005).

The two democratic Constitutions, the first or interim Constitution in 1994, and the final Constitution in 1996, brought about a constitutional and democratic change in South Africa (Currie & De Waal, 2014). For the first time human rights, with ethical principles for a free and democratic society, became part of the epistemology of the new democracy and freedom. The South African Bill of Rights (1996) puts limitations on the power of the state and orders a duty to protect the fundamental rights of all its citizens (Currie & De Waal, 2014). The Bill of Rights (1996) applies to all the laws, it binds the legislature, the executive, the judiciary and all state organs including primary, secondary and tertiary education (Currie & De Waal, 2014). The Constitution and Bill of Rights (1996), with the core values of dignity, equality and freedom, remain the foundation of education and all political and social interactions and regulations.

Democracy (1994), however, did not change the grand narrative, the memories and perceptions of the violent colonial and apartheid past in South Africa. The violent histories and centuries of discrimination saturating all different spheres of life, surfaced stronger in our complex socially engineered relations post-1994.

Coloniality, decoloniality and human rights education in South Africa

As mentioned before, South Africa was colonised from 1652-1910. South Africa was colonised by the Dutch in 1652. In 1795 the Cape colony fell under British rule. Dutch rule however returned in 1803 until 1806 after which the Cape colony became a British colony again until 1910.

To become free from the oppression of colonialism, decolonisation needs to take place. Decolonisation refers to the geographical and political liberation of colonised countries which were accomplished during the 1960s. Decolonisation is therefore often related to a specific place or geographical area being decolonised or liberated from colonised power. It is the process through which administrative colonialism is dismantled and the colonised country gains political independence (Mignolo, 2018b).

Persistent and continuous global coloniality, however, outlives both colonisation and decolonisation. Decoloniality can assist in the process of resisting continual global coloniality. The recent decolonial turn in humanities, whilst acknowledging the many contributions of postcolonial and anticolonial scholars, shifted decolonisation work towards an expanded

and more in-depth analysis of colonialism and coloniality and its production of the other (García & Baca, 2019, p. 2). Decoloniality is thus different from postcolonialism, anticolonialism and related decolonisation movements. While postcolonialism and postmodernism alternatively reference the non-western and the western/white worlds, decoloniality returns to the violence and power of Euro-modernity underscoring coloniality (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2019).

Decoloniality is specifically formalised by the colonised in the Global South to dismantle global colonial relations of power and conceptions of being and knowledge reproducing racial, gender and geo-political hierarchies (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2019; Becker, 2020). Although decoloniality has its roots in the Global South, decolonising is a global project and stance. It differs from decolonisation which refers to the administrative and political liberation in specific geographical territories. Currently, we are all now in the situation of the global coloniality. We live and breathe coloniality every day, everywhere (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Coloniality does not only affect the colonised and the subaltern but also, increasingly, the people in the Global North and in the semi-periphery, who used to think that coloniality was not their problem (Tlostanova, 2019).

Mignolo (2018a, p. 127) argues that decolonial thinking and decolonial praxis are options for rethinking and reimagining the human, the world and human relations in and with the world. While postcolonialism is a condition or an existential situation over which individuals may have no power, decoloniality is an option. It is a "political, ethical, and epistemic positionality and an entry point into agency" (Tlostanova, 2019). The decolonial stance involves a conscious choice of how to interpret the world and how to act upon it. We use decoloniality as an option and a choice, as decoloniality is a praxis and a conscious choice of being and knowing (Mignolo, 2018a). The importance of a decolonial lens will become apparent in the second part of this chapter, on human rights literacies and praxis.

Decoloniality is the global and continual resistance to ongoing global coloniality. It is a deep-rooted understanding and analysis of (i) what the continual consequences of colonisation are on the mind/soul/psyche of human beings, and (ii) how ongoing coloniality distorts understandings of human rights. Ongoing coloniality has a direct impact on how previous colonisers, in this instance, Western Europe and Northern America (colonising of indigenous peoples), and the victims of colonisation, understand, think, teach and act upon human rights issues. Conversations relating to the

other e.g., migrants and all people not western are blurred and distorted by ongoing coloniality. These actions and prejudices are consequences of power struggles and discrimination of being, which still prevail globally.

Ongoing coloniality refers to continual coloniality of power, knowledge and being. Decoloniality resists global power structures, global validation of only knowledge of the powerful and global dehumanisation of different ways of being through categories of race, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexuality, spirituality and cultures.

In the decolonial framework, there are three key, interrelated factors to consider in resisting coloniality:

(i) continual coloniality of power;
(ii) continual coloniality of knowledge (epistemology: which refers to knowledge production, justification of knowledge, dissemination of knowledge, politics of knowledge) and
(iii) continual coloniality of being (ontology: which refers to ways of being, human identity, subjectivity, belonging) (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2019).

In HRE coloniality of power concerns who speaks, from where do they speak and who do they speak for, in HRE. If, for example, only Euro-western speakers speak through a western lens on human rights for all of humanity (coloniality of power), then all knowledge in HRE will be euro-western (coloniality of knowledge).

During the drafting of the UDHR (1948) only Nazism, anti-Semitism and the related atrocities occurring during the World War II were considered. The atrocities of colonialism and imperialism and the consequences thereof were not questioned. Human rights are furthermore mostly read through a liberal western lens (Becker, 2021; Roux, 2019). Knowledge of human rights are mainly focused on western knowledge and understandings of the origin story or the modern foundation of human rights after World War II (Becker, 2021). In HRE, Pérez-Bustillo (2016, p. 157) argues that human rights "are typically taught and conceived of as if they were of uniquely Western, and even more specifically European (or Anglo-American) origin, within the context of modernity, the Enlightenment, and their universalist pretensions."

If only euro-western speakers speak in HRE, then our concept of the human in human rights will also be euro-western (coloniality of being). In South Africa, for example, the inferior black and superior white identities, as a direct consequence of colonisation, apartheid and coloniality, are still embedded in

society and education. This has detrimental effects on identity construction, belonging, dignity and equality for many black people[6] (Bazana & Mogotsi, 2017; Roux, 2017). The importance of HRE for resistance to coloniality of being is extensively explored in chapter six in this volume.

HRE needs to enable possibilities for decolonial resistance to coloniality of power, knowledge and being. This is discussed later in this chapter when decoloniality is presented as a HRLit in transformative approaches to HRE.

Evolutionary discourses on human rights education in South Africa

When South Africa became a constitutional democracy in 1994 the human rights of all South Africans received protection in the Bill of Rights (Chapter two of the Constitution of South Africa, 1996). The Constitution and Bill of Rights (1996), with the values of freedom, dignity and equality, became the core premise of education. HRE is crucial to broadening and sustaining this premise. Discourses on HRE in South Africa did not start with the dawn of democracy in 1994. Consolidating the fragmented education system, from previous racial divided departments of education to one central education department and developing an inclusive curriculum for education was the first priority. Thereafter the discourse in HRE concentrated on two issues:

(i) to know about human rights (content based) and
(ii) to understand human rights (values and ethically based).

Curricula for HRE and programmes concentrated on the Bill of Rights (1996), reasoning that content, as guidance, will shift the violent past to an inclusive and humane society. The focus was therefore on knowing about human rights during the first years of implementation. Carrim and Keet (2005) at first presented an inclusive approach and argued that human rights content will infuse a culture of human rights throughout society. Except for indicating what to know about human rights, curriculum is also political. Carrim and Keet (2006) supported the view of Jansen (2002) that HRE is also a political symbol and a struggle for the achievement of a shift from an apartheid to a post-apartheid society. The international human rights

6 The generic reference to "black people" in South Africa has a long political history. To unite towards the struggle against apartheid, the Freedom Charter (1955) and many political movements (UDF 1983-1991) as well as post 1994 academic writings, refer to individuals excluded from white supremacy and political power as "generic" black. However, there has been / is also a movement to claim the race term "Coloured" and "Indian", defined by colonial and apartheid's political race policies as "histographical identities" (Adhikari, 2008).

language and the values of the Bill of Rights (1996) supported the notion that curricula in schools became a central terrain for political symbolism.

However, the complexity of what HRE requires, and what it is and can achieve, (i.e., to understand human rights) was overlooked and little progress was made (Du Preez et al., 2012). The infusion of a culture of human rights across the curriculum, through content knowledge, did not achieve the outcomes as envisaged by education policies and curricula (cf. Manifesto on Values Education and Democracy, 2001). Teachers' interpretations and learners' understandings of human rights became superficial about human rights with fixed and instrumental ideas of implementing a rights-based approach (Roux, 2008). A rights-based approach to education is premised on human rights norms and standards. Such an approach aims to contribute to positive social transformation and coexistence in and through education (UNICEF/ UNESCO, 2007). This approach was investigated by many research projects and new epistemologies and approaches were recommended.

Some of the critique on HRE in its early stages was that it became commodified, instrumentalist and that it does not enable ethical communities.

Critique of human rights education during the early stages of development

Du Preez et.al. (2012, p. 86) identified and critiqued three trends in human rights and HRE during its early stages of development.

Human rights and human rights education commodified as "par excellence"

Firstly, universal human rights became commodified as "par excellence in the international community" and it became behaviouristic (cf. Hasrup 2003, p. 26). It became behaviouristic in the sense that it only focused on dogmatic rules and law and not on ethical relations. Zembylas (2015) further elaborates on this notion as deeply othering to those who do not adhere to the fixed universal knowledges of what human rights are proposed to be. Human rights then become dogmatic rules where those who adhere to the rules are good and those who do not adhere to it, are bad (cf. Roux & Becker, 2019). This approach is also linked to a declarationist approach in HRE (Keet, 2015) within a Western conceptualisation of what is good for all humans across the world. The declarationist approach refers to HRE curricula which use the UDHR as an a-contextual product in all contexts. The other and all cultural

traditions not adhering to universal western notions of what human rights are, are considered obstacles to HRE (cf. Zembylas, 2015; Roux, 2019, p. 18).

Human rights education as instrumentalist

Secondly, human rights documents can become instrumentalist in an attempt to infuse a culture of human rights only though knowledge of human rights without any communicative action of meaning-making and understanding. As South Africa is a secular society it was important to protect "the rights of all its people" (Bill of Rights, 1996). The Manifesto on Values Education and Democracy (2001) was the first official document on human rights in and for education and outlined a proposed strategy to infuse the values embedded in the Bill of Rights (1996) into a structured curriculum.

Du Preez et al. (2012, p. 86) critique this and argue that an instrumental teaching-learning approach cannot infuse a culture of human rights in classrooms. They pose that such an approach is "not desirable and erodes the ethical". The 2002 South African National Curriculum Statement furthermore positioned HRE in Citizenship Education (CE). Human rights as only a part of citizenship education lacked a clear outline on the two important issues in HRE; namely relevant content linked to place-space-time and ethics of human rights linked to diversity (cf. Du Preez et al., 2012, p. 87; Roux, 2019). In chapter six of this volume, the difficulties and complexities of HRE incorporated in Democratic Citizen Education (DCE) is explained in more depth.

Human rights and human rights education are underpinned by liberal natural rights.

Thirdly, Du Preez et al. (2012, p. 86) argued that "liberal natural rights[7] underpinning human rights discourses" in South Africa did not provide a sufficient foundation for the development of a culture of human rights (cf. Du Preez, 2008). They argued that a "…culture of human rights …. represents a way of life which requires the support of an ethical community. The denunciation of an ethical community, or an over-emphasis on individual rights with no responsibility for others, could threaten the supporting network

7 Liberal natural rights refer to an understanding of human rights as universal and self-evident. It relates to the Kantian conceptualisation of human rights grounded in human rationality, individuality and autonomy. Liberal natural rights hold that because humans have the capacity for rational thought, human rights are inherent to humans. This is an individualistic view which does not always enable normative, communal considerations and relations.

of a culture of human rights" (Du Preez et al., 2012, p. 87). This means, that the development of an ethical human rights community is crucial in closing the gap between what human rights are (in the abstract) and what human rights mean (in material reality) in teaching and learning (Roux, 2019).

Knowing about human rights is only a small part of building a humane world premised on human rights values. Projects since 2005-2016 undertaken by researchers in HRE aimed to explore in pro-active ways:

(i) the boundaries set by institutionalised discrimination and violence in realising human rights (2004-2009);
(ii) how to seek a balanced and inclusive HRE epistemology (2010-2012) and
(iii) how to explore possibilities of (re)structuring difference and diversity outside of categories of subjects and failed subjects (humans who disagree or do not adhere to specific notions of western human rights) in *place-space-time* in complex multi-ethnic societies (2012-2016) (cf. Roux & Becker, 2019, p. 101).

The evolution towards transformative approaches to human rights education

In recent years, global HRE shifted towards new transformative approaches (see Chapter one in this volume). This shift is a response to the need for bottom-up, contextual approaches to teaching and learning human rights. This approach focuses on action and activism. Bajaj (2012, p. 72) describes transformative HRE as a space where "students internalize knowledge and values related to human rights and take action based on it."

The transformative shift in South Africa is also a shift back to Freirian[8] principles which informed the educational struggle during the apartheid years. Agency, specifically, is embedded in Freire's (2017) notion of the role of education in raising students' critical consciousness in order to act towards social change.

HRE in South Africa is evolving from its previous top-down teaching and learning *about* human rights in the 1990s to focussing on teaching and learning for, through and towards agency, transformation and social change

8 Paulo Freire is a Brazilian educational scholar writing in the critical tradition. His work focuses on agency, critical consciousness and action. His book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1993/2017) is regarded as the foundational text on critical pedagogies.

through grassroots approaches. Keet (2015, 2018) advocates for critical HRE and critical democratic HRE in turning back to the roots of HRE and critical theories (see Chapter four in this volume).

Human rights literacy: Quest for meaning

Previous research projects in South Africa explored the complexity of multi-ethnic and multi-religious issues in a post-colonial, post-apartheid society. A need for research on how understanding and meaning making of human rights are mediated in a South Africa context was identified (Roux, 2012; Roux & Becker, 2019, p. 107). The need to understand how students understand human rights, and if and how they would act based upon it, was identified. This need is also raised in chapter four in this volume.

In 2012 the project *Human rights Literacy: Quest for meaning* (Roux, 2012) commenced; aiming to explore ontologies and epistemologies of human rights and how students make meaning of human rights. Data from the first phase of this project points to the inability of the South African Bill of Rights (1996) and HRE to eradicate human rights violations (Roux & Becker, 2016; Becker & Du Preez, 2016; Rothmann & Simmonds, 2015; Becker et al., 2015). The inability of human rights declarations to eradicate human rights violations is a global phenomenon (Becker & Du Preez, 2016).

Human Rights literacies (HRLit)

Roux and Becker (2019), focussing on a bottom-up approach in HRE, argue for HRLit which include critique, dissonance, disruption and dissensus through which everyone, everywhere, challenges hegemonic (cultural, economic, political, economic authority of the powerful or the dominant group), oppressive and marginalising ideas of top-down approaches to human rights and HRE, aiding the evolution of human rights.

The notion of HRLit is very much in line with the aim of the transformative HRE approaches and critical theory. It focusses on critical consciousness, agency and advocacy, within grassroots and bottom-up approaches, in teaching and learning human rights. Teaching towards literacies demands that the starting point of learning human rights should be the place-space-time within which it is situated. It furthermore happens within the gap between the ideals of the UDHR (1948) and the material realities of students and teachers. Often, material realities (everyday life) do not mirror the realisation of human rights ideals (see Chapter one in this volume – possession

paradox). In contesting and resisting the non-realisation of human rights in this space, dissonance, cognitive disruption, action and advocacy happens. This can take place through advocacy programmes, movements (such as *#BlackLivesMatter* and *#MeToo)* and the protests against femicide in South Africa.

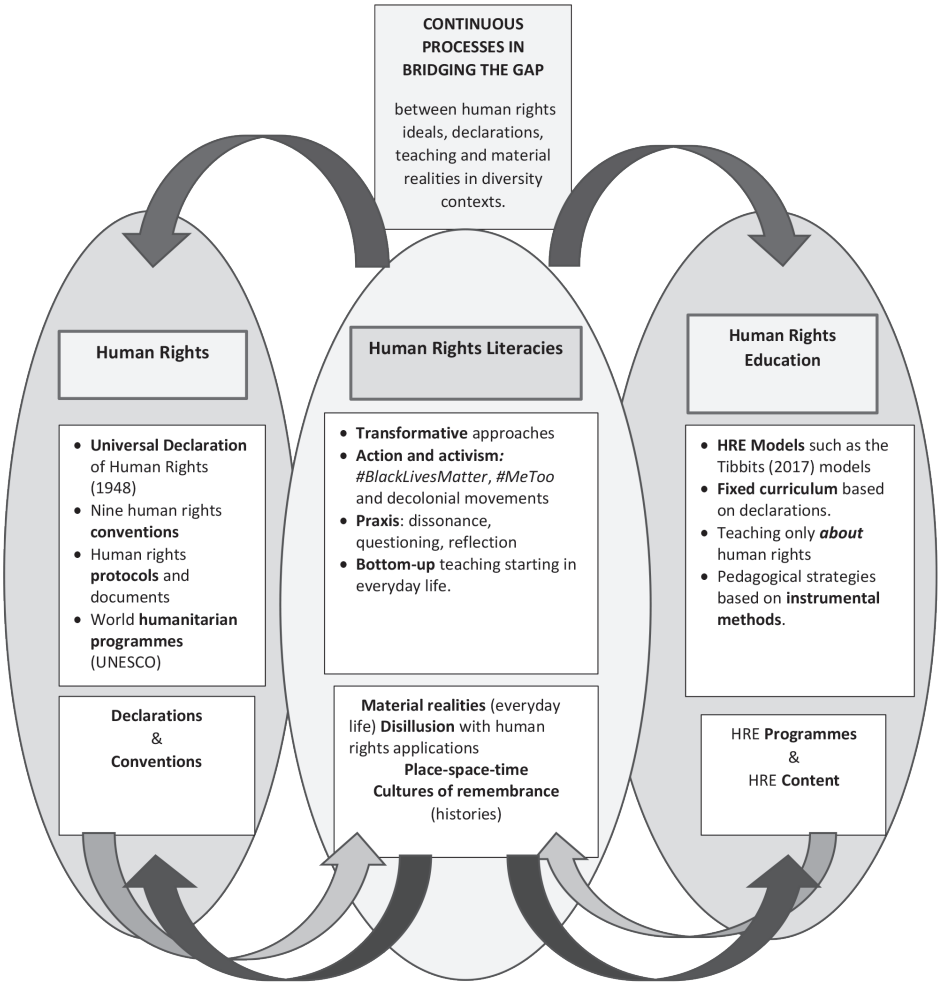

Figure 1
The position of Human Rights Literacies in the nexus between Human Rights and Human Rights Education (cf. Roux & Becker, 2019, p. 295)

(i) In the left circle are the human rights declarations, conventions, protocols and humanitarian programmes and organisations feeding into HRLit;
(ii) In the circle on the right are the HRE knowledges (content regarding the core concepts as discussed in Chapter one in this volume), the HRE models and approaches, and the pedagogical strategies needed to teach and learn human rights;
(iii) HRLit bring the two circles together (middle circle) by acknowledging the gap between human rights documents, concepts and teaching and learning models, approaches, strategies and everyday life where human rights are not always realised. HRLit work from the bottom-up (everyday life and cultures of remembrance) towards transformative teaching and learning, praxis and transformation to enable the application and implementation of the human rights declarations, conventions and protocols through HRE.

There is continuous movement between all three circles (arrows). HRLit are continuously bridging the gap between human rights legislations and HRE.

Cultures of remembrance and context in human rights literacies

Research on HRE in South Africa since 2003 (Roux, 2008, 2013; Roux & Becker, 2019) crystalised the importance of contextual factors in teaching and learning HRE. Data from the project *Human rights literacy: Quest for meaning* (Roux, 2012) made visible the importance of histories and cultures of remembrance and how they influence discourses and meaning making of human rights. Both histories and cultures of remembrance in South Africa are influenced by ongoing coloniality and the silencing of colonial oppression. This leads to specific discursive spaces within places and regions. The influence of cultures of remembrance and place, space and time (place-space-time) was explored during the HRLit project and will be briefly explained in this section.

Contextualisation in place-space-time

Place refers to geographically specific areas such as countries, provinces, cities and towns. Space refers to discursive trends, discourses, understandings and meaning making of human rights in geographical areas or places. Time refers to histories, cultures of remembrance, present conditions or issues and future expectations.

Place-space-time should be thought of together as time (past, present, future) influences understandings and discourses within specific place. Place also influences space (discourses and understandings) as it relates to time (past, present, future) of a specific region or country. Place, space and time have to be thought of as interrelated (place-space-time) to understand specific contexts. Cultures of remembrance and histories (time) in a specific country or region such as South Africa (place) influence discourses and meaning making of human rights (space) (Roux & Becker, 2019).

This can be illustrated by using South Africa as an example of a place-space-time. South Africa (place) is a developing democracy and post-colonial and post-apartheid nation (time). The colonial and apartheid history of South Africa (place) influence both time (past-present-future) and space (human rights discourses and understandings). South Africa is a country characterised by complex layers of difference and diversity regarding histories, languages, races, ethnicities, cultures, religions and class inequality (Roux & Becker, 2019).

Diverse meaning making in place-space-time in South Africa concerns rural and semi-rural (low population count, often isolated, homogenous), urban (towns, bigger population count, less isolated, more heterogenous) and metropolitan areas (cities, big population count, heterogenous). All areas are characterised by diverse and intersecting class, ethnicity, race, language and religious-social practices, movements, structures and human activities. Even if human rights rituals, processes and practices are repeated within the geographical borders of South Africa (place), such repetitions crystallise differently within South Africa because of different histories and cultures of remembrance and related discourses of ongoing coloniality, poverty and inequality (time and space) in specific areas (rural, semi-rural, cities, metros). For example, White South Africans were colonised during the colonisation period, and privileged during apartheid. Black, Coloured and Indian South Africans were colonised and dehumanised during apartheid. There are thus different and diverse cultures of remembrance across South Africa. These factors influence meaning making of human rights which was evident across the six sites where data were collected during the first phase of the project *Human rights literacies: Quest for meaning* (Roux, 2012) (cf. Roux & Becker, 2019).

Although South Africa is a geographically bounded place, people move through its different rural, semi-rural, urban and metropolitical areas and

structure unique discursive spaces, indicative of their histories, present circumstances and expectations for the future.

Cultures of remembrance

We draw on the notion of culture of remembrance of Boschki (2016) in his reflection on the 21st century's young individuals with little or no knowledge or emotional experiences linked to the contexts of human rights issues linked to the 20th century's historical past (Roux, 2019, p. 9). Cultures of remembrance and histories in a specific place-space-time such as South Africa equally influence discourses and meaning making of human rights more so due to its violent and colonial and apartheid past. Perspectives on the history of human rights from the global South, when coupled with cultures of remembrance, would necessitate the inclusion of struggles against imperialism and colonialism. The silencing of colonial histories, people's memories, lived experiences and intergenerational narratives on colonisation and coloniality, constitute cultures of remembrance which are continually marginalised and disregarded in global human rights discourses and knowledge (Roux, 2019).

Cultures of remembrance are part of being mindful of one's histories and grand narratives. The intersectionality of individuals, societies or peoples with their histories, experiences and social issues are far more complex than facts reflected in history books. The UDHR (1948) might be a beacon of new beginnings for European nations after the atrocities of the World War II, but it is far from being the global solution to what is to be remembered. There are in multicultural societies and countries, especially in post-colonial societies, multiple histories and remembrances linked either to victor/coloniser or victim/colonised. These subjective ideas/ways of remembrance surface throughout conversations either in denials and/or victimhood. In Western European thought the notion of a culture of remembrance is, according to Boschki (2016), morally linked to the atrocities and experiences in Europe during World War II. In South Africa, however, cultures of remembrance date back centuries, when colonialism and the disempowerment of first nations started (Roux, 2019).

Roux (2019, p. 9) states that one's culture of remembrance plays a vital role when recognising the religious and raced 'other'. This understanding relates to Boschki's (2016) arguments that a culture of remembrance must be linked to current experiences of human sufferings, violations and ethical dilemmas of human rights. Cultures of remembrance are not primarily linked only to

stories or legends of the past. Human suffering and the ethical catastrophes surrounding the victorious (those who had/have power) and the victim (those who were/are powerless) should become the introduction to understand a culture of remembrance. Roux argues in these terms regarding South Africa that:

> … the enslaved enclave of colonialism and South Africa's apartheid culminated in the social and economic injustices and extreme poverty of these colonies and regimes. It goes beyond violations of human rights and the core of human dignity. These histories are imbedded in a culture of remembrance that questions the moral high ground of Western thought in the UDHR (1948). (Roux, 2019, p. 9)

Decolonial and human rights literacies praxis

Dignity, equality, freedom, recognition and respect from all of humanity for all of humanity are not only the explicit aims of human rights, but also of decolonial movements. Being literate about how ongoing coloniality affects dignity, equality, freedom, recognition and respect for many humans around the world, is what HRE should strive towards. Literacies transcend only knowledge about human rights (see Figure 2 & 3 in this Chapter). Global movements such as *#BlackLivesMatter*, in demanding to be recognised as fully human, could be regarded as decolonial movements. There are many literacies in HRE such as legal literacy (Lundy & Martínez Sainz, 2018) and religious literacy (Roux, 2010, 2012). Decoloniality is an important HRLit which also focusses on praxis.

What is praxis?

In both transformative literacy approaches to human rights and decolonial approaches to HRE, praxis is crucial. Praxis in education is more than practice (didactics). Praxis involves transformative processes, social realities and responsive actions. It involves reflection, dialogue and action. It takes all aspects of theory and material reality into conversation and support transformative curricula in HRE (cf. Roux, 2009, p. 18).

For Freire (2017) the world is changed through praxis. Reflection and action lead to praxis. Reflection and action are of equal importance to praxis and should be balanced. When there is no action, it leads to verbalism. Verbalism in HRE equals teaching and talking only *about* human rights. When there is no reflection, it leads to only activism – action without reflection. In

balancing reflection and action, dialogue is a necessity. Dialogue, for Freire (2017, p. 89), is an encounter between all humans who name and create the world together. It is "an act of creation" where all humans and not only some, on behalf of others (as is the case with the ongoing logic of coloniality), name and create the world they share (see Chapter four in this volume).

In terms of HRE, it means that praxis, as reflection and action, is enacted through dialogue. During dialogue everyone can actively engage with human rights through continual reflection and action. Everyone is involved in transformative HRE practice and praxis (reflection and action). Teaching-learning for human rights and through human rights can happen.

Decolonial praxis

Decolonial human rights teaching and learning is similarly praxis based within Freirian principles. It is based in the praxis of living (Mignolo, 2018a). It is therefore in line with transformative and literacy approaches to HRE premised on grassroots needs and bottom-up approaches (cf. Roux & Becker, 2019). Decolonial approaches to HRE follow the Freirian movement between reflection-action-reflection through past-present-future. It is contextualised teaching within place-space-time of a specific people, region or country. It focusses on histories, cultures of remembrance (past), present struggles and conflicts (present) towards future expectations (Walsh, 2018).

Decolonial praxis, like HRLit approaches, focusses on relationality. Relationality between humans in dialogue but also relationality in terms of multiple diverse and different place-space-time, multiple diverse peoples, knowledges and, importantly in our current climate crisis, relations with the cosmos, earth, animals and plants. Decolonial HRE praxis acknowledges and recognises multiple global cultures of remembrance, histories, lost knowledges and lost species (animal and plant).

Human rights literacies praxis

HRLit can assist transformative approaches to HRE. A simple definition of HRLit is the competence that constitutes the understanding of the processes and implications of human rights in social contexts, reiterating both cognitive skills and social practices (Roux & Du Preez, 2013).

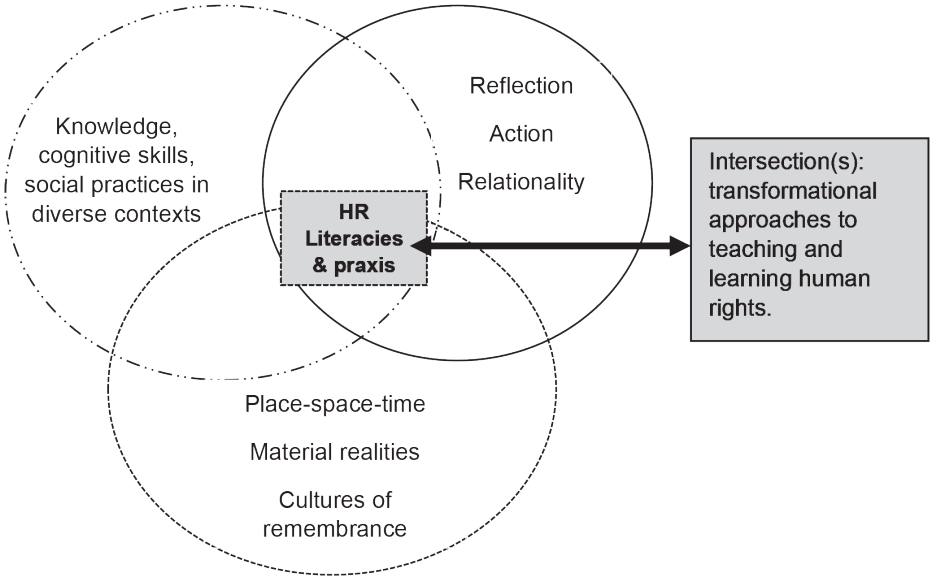

Figure 2
Human Rights Literacies as intersections. (Altered from original Simmonds, 2014, p. 144; Roux & Becker, 2015)

HRLit praxis happens in the intersection between:

(i) knowledge or cognitive skills of human rights and social practices
(ii) reflection, dialogue, relations and actions premised on the
(iii) everyday life experiences and cultures of remembrance of students and teachers.

Praxis in teaching towards HRLit, decoloniality and transformation includes a "life-long process of professional self-critique, as well as understanding social critique on the conceptualisation of education theory and practice." Roux (2007, p. 516) states that "conducting education in praxis and engaging in self-critique can constitute social change and construct experiences for future teachers that can promote sufficient but not overwhelming equality".

In order to infuse a literacy approach into HRE classroom praxis, there needs to be provocative but responsible pedagogies and HRE programmes and curricula.

How to infuse praxis in transformative human rights education

In praxis, educators need to become agents of HRLit in place-space-time. Understanding the complex issues of human rights and social contexts is vital. Cultures of remembrance give meaning to the victorious and victims. It gives meaning to and opens new conversations and new terms to conversations. When diversities of cultures of remembrance are acknowledged, it demands agency and action from everyone, as we are all part of human history. Enforcement of human rights declarations and HRE curricula and programmes within a moral high ground do not always account for the material realities of individuals or societies. Reassessing elements of Tibbits (2017) models for HRE necessitates an identification of the significance of transformative agencies and actions and how to teach and learn towards agency and action.

Walsh (2018, p. 83) proposes, for example, that in teaching towards decolonial literacies, a teacher does not transmit or impart knowledge but is a facilitator and someone who provokes, encourages, constructs and generates with students, critical questioning and reflection on multiple knowledges and understandings of human rights. These principles are illustrated in both chapters four and six in this volume. Critical questioning and reflection in HRE are important to link to the material realities of teachers and students. The material realities, as it refers to that which is visible and embodied such as poverty, racism, religious intolerance, sexism and discrimination, should be the basis of questioning in HRE. Critical and provocative questions will lead to disruptive pedagogies.

In South Africa, Jonathan Jansen in his book *Knowledge in the Blood* (2009, p. 255) writes about "teaching to disrupt". To break the cycle of oppression and related power relations, colonial and apartheid knowledge and ways of being, a disruption of both cognitive and emotional transgenerational knowledge is needed. This is difficult and needs to coincide with active listening, reframing victors and victims, and an acknowledgement of the brokenness of humans and their hope for a different future (Jansen, 2009).

Some key theories and teaching strategies that are helpful to achieving HRLit, which could in turn also assist decolonial praxis, are proposed by De Wet and Simmonds (2019). They propose an acknowledgement and affirming of difference, developing critical consciousness and a commitment to the ongoing labour that desires change. Like Jansen (2009), De Wet and Simmonds (2019) write about the necessity of disrupting knowledge. They

explain the knowledges which are detrimental to human rights teaching and learning as partial knowledge (knowledges which are silenced or invisible such as indigenous knowledges) and knowledge which is based on stereotypes and biases (knowledges which lead to discrimination and marginalisation).

Both partial knowledge and knowledge based on stereotypes are the result of coloniality of power, knowledge and being and teachers and students should be literate about that in HRE classrooms. The silencing of indigenous knowledges regarding human rights are the result of the coloniality of power and knowledge; when knowledge is constructed and validated by the powerful. Knowledge based on stereotypes and biases are the result of knowledge constructed through coloniality of power and being when the powerful demand assimilation towards prescribed ways of being. If the other cannot conform to prescribed ways of being, the other is alienated from humanity. Such knowledges need to be critically questioned, disrupted and continuously reconstructed within an ongoing desire for change.

The ongoing desire for change demands that teachers and students become collaborators in ongoing research to continuously rethink HRE. Teaching and research go hand in hand in the classroom. For Freire (2017) teachers should, in bravery, learn from their students and not regard them as ignorant. In this sense teachers (and their students) do re-search while teaching towards change. Fanon (2017) argues that teachers should not lay claim to knowing the truth. The truth is embodied in the material realities of students and the struggles they are burdened with (cf. Becker & Roux, 2019). This should be at the forefront in HRE classrooms.

The following figure illustrates the process of teaching and re-searching towards change.

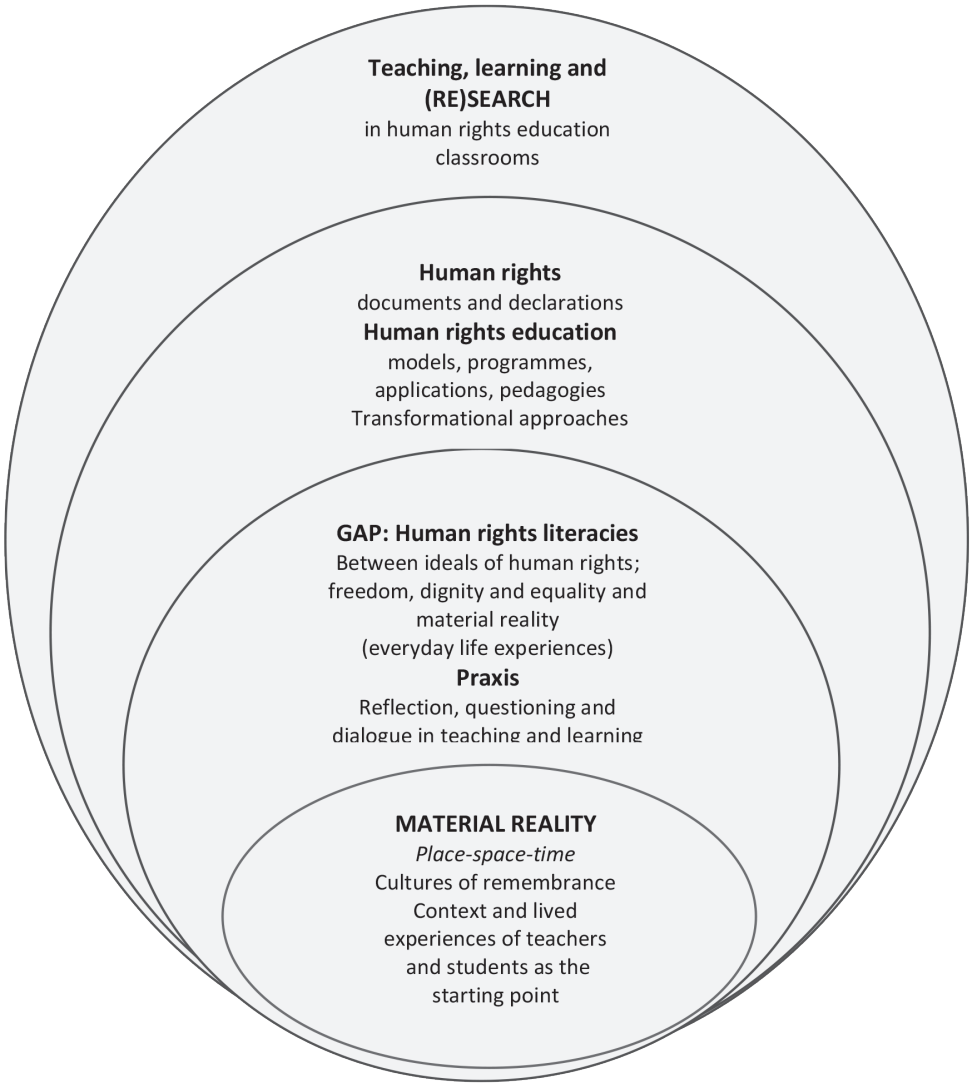

Figure 3
Process of teaching and re-searching towards change (cf. Roux & Becker, 2019)

Re-search starts in classrooms through the narrating of everyday struggles, conflicts and experiences. This is always linked to place-space-time and cultures of remembrance. Through praxis re-search identifies the gap between human rights ideals and the everyday experiences of students and teachers. Transformative HRE approaches towards human rights declarations and conventions, leading to social change, can then be developed through continuous re-search in classrooms.

Provocative or disruptive pedagogy, although necessary, remains a risky process and strategy that needs to be introduced with great care and responsibility (see Chapters four and six in this volume). Dissonance and the disruption of transgenerational knowledges can have a range of emotional consequences. All teachers and educators must be critically aware of the possibilities for, but also the limitations of, liberation and healing implicit in the pedagogies they use in HRE. A responsible choice of pedagogies remains bounded by complex emotional and historic discourses, cultures of remembrance and practices within place-space-time (Keet & Zembalys, 2018).

Conclusion

The evolution of HRE in South Africa is towards contextual (place-space-time and cultures of remembrance), transformative, relational, bottom-up, praxis-driven and dialogical approaches (see Chapters four and six in this volume). Knowing something about human rights is not enough. Although knowledge and skills are crucial, South African HRE also needs to focus on teaching and learning for human rights and through human rights.

If we look back over the years since 2004, we conducted national and international HRE projects. We retrospectively draw the following issues from three projects[9]:

(i) the complexity of social issues in place-space-time and material realities in multi-layered societies;
(ii) the deep-rooted cultures of remembrance in different social structures of subjects and otherness (cultural, racial, religious and political) and
(iii) the lack of knowledge of teachers and educators on human rights and how to continuously refine and restructure their knowledge on meaning making and understanding HRE.

9 2004-2009: *Understanding Human Rights through Different belief systems: Intercultural and interreligious dialogue.* This project was internationally funded (South African Development for alternatives developments SANPAD) but only executed in South Africa.
2010-2013: *Human Rights Education in diversity: Empowering girls in rural and metropolitan school environments* This project was internationally funded (South African Development for alternatives developments SANPAD) and executed in South Africa and the Netherlands nationally explores.
2012-2016: *Human rights literacies: Quest for meaning* (Funded by the National Research Foundation of South Africa (NRF)). 2012-2014 in South Africa and 2015-2016 international in 6 countries on 3 continents and with 7 institutions of tertiary education. (cf. Roux & Becker, 2019).

These issues are compelling to developing and developed countries as the sustainability of HRE, as portrayed by models and guidelines, might be at risk. The global movement of peoples from developing countries as well as developed countries, either as refugees or economic migrants, bring new material realities and remembrances into the praxis of HRE.

Roux and Becker (2019) state that in exploring HRLit as the nexus between human rights and HRE they "wanted to explore how the movement in place-space-time influences meaning making of human rights and enable the structuring of contextual human rights literacies" (Roux & Becker, 2019, p. 108).

We concluded that the limitations of HRE lie in the interpretations of human rights and the lack of interconnectedness with material realities in multi-layered societies. From experiences and research, it became clear that HRLit, as it develops in the nexus between human rights and HRE, "offers an epistemology for understanding the human right in human rights education" (Roux, 2019, p. 4).

Firstly, HRLit offer new languages or understandings of human rights in HRE where the emphasis is on agency, action, praxis and critical reflections (cf. Sporre, 2019, p. ix). It has a holistic approach to questioning (disrupt) power and ideologies within the human rights frameworks and meaning making (cf. Becker & Roux, 2019, p. 78).

Secondly, HRLit focus on a bottom-up approach with its disruption in place-space-time towards teaching and learning about, through and for human rights. It gives meaning to moments of change and work towards full inclusion (cf. Becker & Roux, 2019, p. 74).

> In line with the shift towards a bottom-up approach to human rights advocacy and human rights teaching and learning, human rights literacies focus on the lived experiences in everyday life of human rights for the subjects of rights in becoming. People live human rights and make meaning of human rights, not through declarations and treaties, but in everyday life within multiple and diverse place-space-time (Roux, 2019, p. 80).

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3

Evolutionary processes and praxis of human rights education in the Netherlands

Ina Ter Avest

Introduction

In the first article of the Dutch constitution,[10] it is stipulated that:

> All persons in the Netherlands shall be treated equally in equal circumstances. Discrimination on the grounds of religion, belief, political opinion, race or sex or on any other grounds whatsoever shall not be permitted.

Without explicitly referring to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948), the similarity with the Declaration's first two articles is recognisable, if only because of the centrality of the concepts of 'equality' and '(non)discrimination':

> All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.
> and
> Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. (Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations (2008). Constitution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, 2008).

Equality, together with dignity and freedom, are the core concepts of the UDHR (1948) (UN General Assembly, 1948). In this chapter on Human

10 https://www.denederlandsegrondwet.nl/id/vjjdado5jqmb/grondwet_volledige_tekst.

Rights Education in the Netherlands, we refer to the rights proclaimed in the UDHR and in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (hereafter CRC, 1989); in the latter convention, every child's right *to* education is established. In Article 29 of the CRC (1989), we read that states/countries agreed that the education of the child shall be directed to:

(i) The development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential;
(ii) The development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations;
(iii) 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 civilisations different from his or her own;
(iv) 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;
(v) The development of respect for the natural environment (UN Commission on Human Rights, 1989).

This is seen as a concretisation and articulation of "We the people bind ourselves by a system of rights and duties" (Van der Ven et al., 2004, p. 28). This right to education, as formulated in Article 28 of the CRC, should in our view also include the right to Human Rights Education (HRE), to prepare children for their participation as citizens in the public domain, and their contribution to peacefully living together as equal, broad-minded and tolerant citizens in a free and plural society; which is an objective that in the Dutch situation can apparently only be achieved gradually (Meijer, 2011; Meijer, 2016). From August 2021 onward, however, the right to HRE will be a justifiable right, mandated by law by the Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen (Ministery of Education and Sciences).[11]

Human rights "are not a purely academic issue (that is: application of human rights *to* concrete situations). They are or should be rooted in (and applied *in)* the daily lives of real people in real situations" (Van der Ven et al., 2004,

11 HRE is included in the ICESCR (International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; in particular Article 18 on the right to education). A problem, however, is that the Netherlands has not (yet) ratified the Optional Protocol to the ICESCR. From August 2021 HRE is included in the law on Citizenship Education, article 11, 4a, enacted by the *Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen* (Ministery of Education and Sciences); https://zoek.officielebekendmakingen.nl/stb-2021-320.html.

p. 94); daily lives that change over time resulting in human rights (education) as an evolutionary process (Chapter one in this volume). Application in daily life requires a thorough analysis of one's own position and arguments, particularly when conflicts arise, for example between religion and human rights (Van der Ven et al., 2004, p. 92-93). Decisions taken to solve conflicts must be open to "resume if the decisions prove to be impracticable […] especially in multicultural societies […] for there the plurality of worldviews, values and norms is so (overwhelmingly) evident that one has to check anew each time which outcomes of the communication are advantageous to one group and disadvantageous for another" (Van der Ven et al., 2004, p. 51).

Education, as defined in the right to education, is instrumental to the development of citizens living together in peace – an implicit premise in the formulation of the ideas of the generation of the UDHR (1948) authors. A democratic society requires educated people, embracing values and attitudes that go hand in hand with a democratic society (Meijer, 2016). According to Meijer, referring to Rothblatt, in liberal education "the concern is for the whole, rounded person, for the integrated personality at home in the world and with himself, with a disposition to take broad and tolerant views" (Meijer, 2016, p. 140). The UDHR (1948) and the CRC (1989) both not only aim at a liberal education, but also at the stimulation of general education. General education is about broadening one's horizons. General education is "education for all regardless of differences in gender, class, birth wealth, or whatever other differentiating aspect of birth or lineage. It is, in one word, universal, or, in another word, egalitarian" (Meijer, 2016, pp. 140, 141).

The right to education has historical roots and was already expressed by Comenius in the 17th century. In his *Didactica Magna*, published in 1638, equality and non-discrimination are put forward as the core concepts of education and its objectives. All children, irrespective of their background, developmental stage or character, are entitled to/should receive education, according to Comenius' moral and normative call (Bakker et al., 2010, p. 27). A key word in the knowledge base of Comenius's line of thought is universality (*pansofia*), a concept referring to the universal principles imbuing all living creatures (Bakker et al., 2010, p. 24), principles that can be known by generalising unique observations in the real world; which entails a pedagogical principle of teaching by illustration (Bakker et al., 2010, pp. 514, 539). With the publication of his *Didactica Magna*, Comenius accepted the complementary duty of needing to develop a matching pedagogy and concrete teaching materials – suffused with the spirit of universality – to meet the needs of each and every child, irrespective of their background. In

claiming that his moral and normative pedagogy was endowed with universal and general applicability, Comenius can be seen as an historical advocate of the human right to education, in the spirit of the core principles of human rights. Below we explore how education about and for human rights, in the spirit of the moral and normative appeal as formulated by Comenius (that is: HRE in the broadest sense of the word), has been incorporated into the right to education in the Netherlands.

In what follows the following questions are answered:

(i) What are the evolutionary processes of HRE in the Netherlands? Why has HRE only recently received attention in the Netherlands, and moreover – why only in the fringe of Citizenship Education?
(ii) What characterises the epistemologies of HRE in what is called 'the low lands at the sea'?

To raise a corner of the veil, we first dig into the history of colonisation and its consequences for the interpretation and concretisation of equality – a core concept of human rights. Then we follow the process of the implementation of HRE in the Netherlands, and describe the problems and hindrances for HRE in this country. The preparatory work in these two sections enables us, in a third and final section, to analyse the evolution of HRE in the Netherlands.

The history of human rights in the Dutch colonies

The history of human rights in the Netherlands takes a start in the concept of 'situated understanding of citizenship' in relation to the former colony of Indonesia: "(equal) citizenship means different things to differentially positioned people in different times" (Jones, 2016, p. 606). Jones states that the developments in the motherland that led to a modern citizenship referring to human rights, were not equalled in the colonies. The history of institutionalised slavery both in Indonesia and Surinam, reveals this humiliating inconsistency (see Chapter five in this volume).

This inequality was justified by referring to "the integrity and interests of an imagined Dutch nation" rooted in the ideology of innate differences and subsequently established hierarchies between the different peoples of the world (Jones, 2016, p. 607). The original inhabitants of the colonies were described as people "who carried essential biological and cultural traits and *different legal needs* (italics by author); Europeans were assigned a task to raise the level of the natives (Jones, 2016, p. 609). The struggle for equal rights in the motherland evolved around the intersection of gender, class and religion;

legal personhood was not an issue. The struggle in the colonies, though, was about being recognised as a person – or not. Leading citizens in positions of power, both in the motherland and in the colonies, were white men. Equal rights were reserved for white men in power; inequality ruled the lives of others. Inequality remained a characteristic in the relationship between the Dutch and the people from the colonies, who emigrated to the Netherlands after the independence of Indonesia in 1948 and Surinam in 1975.

Whereas in earlier days the concept of 'mixed marriages' referred to the unwanted situation of mixed couples with Protestant and Roman Catholic backgrounds, since the decolonisation of Indonesia and Surinam this concept has referred to couples of different colour (Jones, 2016, p. 610). The unsavoury situation of inequality encapsulated in this term is rooted in a persistent institutionalised inequality linked to the distinction between unconditional and conditional citizens. This inequality stretches out as far as the rights of unconditional citizens and their physical integrity and safety do in society. These rights are secure and the material living conditions guaranteed for unconditional citizens, while the lack thereof is characteristic for conditional citizens (Jones, 2016, p. 612).

This hierarchy in citizenship, its classification, and subsequent distribution of human rights continues to this day in the discourse of integration, because of its storage in what Edward Said calls a 'cultural archive' – "a storehouse of 'a particular knowledge and structures of attitude and reference …[and,] in Raymond Williams' seminal phrase, 'structures of feelings.' In those days there was virtual unanimity among the colonisers that subject races should be ruled, that there *are* subject races, that one race deserves and has consistently earned the right to be considered the race whose main mission is to expand beyond its own domain" (Said, 1993, in: Wekker, 2016, p. 2). However, this cultural archive seems to be locked for the greater part of the Dutch population, due to the fact that the colonial past hardly gets any attention in society curricula, neither in education nor in the media, except for the retelling of heroic narratives about the VOC's successes in opening a new world for trade (VOC, *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*; United East Indies Company, 1602-1800). In 2006, the then Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende proudly referred to the VOC in terms of its spirit of commerce, energy and courage, "crossing boundaries, literally and figuratively" (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mBN8xJby2b8). This kind of pride covers up the social abuses, the crimes against humanity, as such confirming Dutch innocence and white Dutch self-representation (Wekker, 2016, p. 16; Van der Valk, 2022a, 2022b.).

The Netherlands and its national archive

The concept of decoloniality – a resistance to age-old processes of dominance of over others (Euro-Western and North American, and since the first decade of this century, China) and the power structures associated with them – sheds a new light on the blind spot(s) of the Netherlands and its cultural archive in terms of human rights distribution and the non-structural inclusion of HRE in primary and secondary school curricula, as well as teacher training. As Gloria Wekker states: "With the coat of 'color-blindness' these are not issues we are frequently concerned with in the Netherlands" (Wekker, 2016, p. 136). Since a few years, through the publications of, amongst others, the historian Reggie Baaij (2015), the cultural historian David van Reybroeck (2020) and the highly respected freelance journalist Leendert van der Valk (2022a, 2022b), the Dutch people are roused from their dreams of having been mere benefactors in their colonies in the East (now Indonesia) and the West (Surinam), are coming down to earth, and have to critically reconsider their assumed role as do-gooders.

The start of a growing awareness of the perspectives of the other – the colonised in the Dutch colonies – can be situated in the persistent quests to make the KetiKoti festival (Emancipation Day in Surinam) a national holiday (to keep the memory of slavery and the end thereof alive), resulting in the suggestion in the coalition agreement in 2022 to make July, 1, 2023 a national holiday in commemoration of the abolition of slavery in 1873. Also, the protest movement 'kick out *Zwarte Piet*' (Black Peter, the black(!) face wearing and broken-Dutch speaking servant of *Sinterklaas*) has contributed to the growing awareness and the meaning of colonialism and coloniality. The public debate on these issues resulted in the 2021 movie *De Oost* (The East), depicting the Dutch colonisation of the East Indies (from 1948 onward the republic of Indonesia), and in the exhibition *Slavernij* (Slavery) in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, which shows the other side of the picture of the Dutch *Gouden Eeuw* (Golden Age, 17th century). In the summer of 2021, a series of interviews with descendants of enslaved people in Surinam were published in a leading Dutch newspaper. These days, some argue for the establishment of a Dutch Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

White innocence

Gloria Wekker's concept of white innocence being stored in the cultural archive, is helpful to inspect the phenomena of colonisation and decoloniality in greater detail (Wekker, 2016). The cultural archive, briefly resumed and in line with Edward Said's writing, is understood as "a storehouse of a particular knowledge and structures of attitude and reference, structures of feelings" (Wekker, 2019, p. 2). Whereas in the process of decolonisation the colonised is the subject of research, Wekker's focus is on the awakening from the dream of white innocence, and the disentanglement of the intersectionality of gender, race and power. "Whiteness", Wekker (2019, p. 59) states, "is not seen as an ethnic positioning at all." The deconstruction and reconstruction of the cultural archive applies to both processes – decoloniality as well as the identification of white innocence.

In her documentary *'Wit is ook een kleur'* [White is also a colour], Sunny Bergman (2016) touches upon the casualness of white supremacy in Dutch people's minds, in their thinking and speaking about equality, immigration and discrimination. In Wekker's view (2016, p. 58), a severe obstacle to be overcome is precisely the deeper structure – the cultural archive – "in which long-standing ideas about and practices with regard to race are always already assigning differential meanings to different people." This obstacle is exemplified by Wekker (2016, p. 61) in her citation of the then minister of emancipation affairs, the Christian Democrat De Geus, who declared in November 2003 that "the emancipation of women was finished and that it was now only allochthonous women (i.e., women coming from elsewhere, black, migrant and refugee women) who needed to work on their emancipation." Wekker concludes that, for De Geus, white women are the norm. The position of women with a migrant background (the other) is situated in relation to white women's positions; an example of 'othering'.

Jensen (2011) defines othering as "discursive processes by which powerful groups, who may or may not make up a numerical majority, call subordinate groups into existence in a reductionist way which ascribe problematic and/or inferior characteristics to these subordinate groups." Such discursive processes affirm the legitimacy and superiority of the powerful, and condition identity formation among the subordinate (Jensen, 2011, p. 65).

Othering, I conclude, is in stark contrast with tolerance as advocated by Martha Nussbaum (2012). Her position on tolerance is well founded in the parable of the three rings (Nussbaum, 2012, pp. 163-164). According to

Nussbaum, different religions, although "different in clothing, food, and drink", do not differ in "their core and ultimate basis […] all we can do is live with generosity and brotherhood toward one another" (Nussbaum, 2012, p. 164). The same holds for different secular life orientations, and different ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds. We do not necessarily learn to agree with the goals of others, Nussbaum (2012) states, but through participatory imagination we do learn to see the reality of those goals for them, and approach them with respect for the other as a person, not necessarily for everything a person thinks and does. All persons – in whatever way they are different and in whatever way they express themselves – are of equal standing and should be met with generosity and tolerance. This could then result in equality, equity and the just treatment of every participating citizen in an inclusive society. This is the core business of HRE.

At the turn of the century, *Wereldburgerschap* (Global Citizenship Education; hereafter GCE) was high on the Dutch agenda. Projects were initiated to disseminate knowledge about (global)citizenship and to create awareness about practices thereof, both in the Netherlands and in what, in those days, was still called 'the third world'. Implicitly at stake, in the rationale and the objectives of these projects, were human rights, although not explicitly mentioned. The ending of these projects, however, also meant the end of the attention paid to the kind of topics raised in the subject of *Wereldburgerschap*. In the next section, we describe how the human rights discussion enters into the discussion on what is called the learning area of *Burgerschapvorming* (Citizenship Education) in Dutch education.

Historical consciousness

The Dutch self-image and 'innocence' are rooted in a lack of historical consciousness (Boschki et al., 2010, 2015). A silenced ideology of inequality rhizomatically saturates Dutch society to his day, surfacing in rising movements of populism, racism, sexism, homophobia, anti-Semitism and anti-Muslimness in Dutch society, and a generally negative attitude towards foreigners (cf. Boschki et al., 2015, p. 475). In the way Boschki's (2010, 2015) research on Holocaust remembrance revealed about Germany that mere knowledge construction about the Holocaust did not have the desired effect, or even proved counterproductive in Germany, in a similar way knowledge about the atrocities committed in the Dutch colonial past has not found its way into Dutch teaching materials and, by consequence, did not enter the minds of Dutch people.

Despite recent publications about these striking historical events, neither the police actions in the Dutch Indies directed against freedom fighters who strived for an independent republic of Indonesia (Van Reybroeck, 2020), nor the history of resistance by enslaved people in the West/Surinam (De Kom, 1934/2020), nor the poor welcoming of former KNIL-soldiers from the Moluccan Islands upon arrival in the Netherlands (Van Amersfoort, 2004) – despite the hijacking of trains by the latter in protest (near the villages of Wijster, 1975 and De Punt, 1977) – have so far received the attention they deserve in the Dutch national archive. This can only be partly related to the Dutch perception that newcomers from former colonised countries ought to assimilate in the Dutch context. In addition, as Boschki and colleagues notice, most of the migrant parents and grandparents have passed on little or none of their knowledge and experiences to their (grand)children – which has the potential of having a much stronger impact than information presented in history or religious education classes. Information presented at school often has no connection whatsoever with students' everyday lives, and by consequence is ineffective for their historic consciousness as part of their identity construction (Boschki et al., 2015, pp. 480, 476).

In this respect, education is in need of a pedagogy that focuses on students' competencies "to combine historical events with present challenges, in this case [the competence] to be attentive to any form of upsurge of anti-Semitism" (p. 481) and related signals of inequality, intolerance and discrimination. A culture of remembrance, according to Boschki, must begin with HRE and a pedagogy that includes "the dimension of historic and religious learning and, consequently, the dimension of care and mindfulness" (p. 482). For this kind of HRE, Boschki et al. (2015) favour an interdisciplinary approach. They call for the creation of "internal school curricula where teachers of history, ethics, religion, social science, language, art, and even music sit together" (p. 483) to develop (psychologically adjusted) teaching materials for all students, of all ages. In 2018, in a sweeping presentation, Boschki warned against taking the distanced position of an observer of human rights who is an outsider in the context s/he observes, having no relationships with the others who inhabit it. Referring to Elie Wiesel, Boschki (nd) argues for a pedagogy of hope that combats indifference and scatters seeds of care for the other who is my neighbour – seeds of equality, tolerance and justice (https://www.papierblatt.de/unterricht/aus-der-vergangenheit-lernen.html).

This plea for a pedagogy of hope[12], a combative and caring pedagogy courageous enough to make a stand, is slowly but surely finding its way into the teaching materials developed by NGOs in the Netherlands, as we will see in chapter 5 in this volume. The Netherlands finds itself in the transition stage between a colonial power and its culture of ethnocentric inequality, to a post-colonial power with a (future) culture of individualisation, diversity and equality; prioritising decoloniality.

Rooted in the Dutch history of colonisation and its neglect of human rights, 'national archive' and 'culture of remembrance' reveal themselves as core concepts in the epistemological evolution of human rights. This must be kept in mind when we take a look, in the following section, at the history of the (non-)implementation of HRE in Dutch curricula.

The (non)implementation of human rights education in the Netherlands

In 1993, the World Conference on Human Rights urged for the inclusion of human rights in all educational curricula. Each country was expected to formulate a national plan for the implementation of human rights in domestic education. By 2009, only a small proportion of countries, including the Netherlands, had formulated such a plan, let alone implemented human rights in their national education (Oomen, 2013, p. 1-2). It was stated that students should know what human rights are, in order to develop a corresponding human rights attitude, poetically expressed in the following way: "Let us teach, let us train, let us educate and let us learn ... let us never fail to remember our obligation to promote and protect human rights" (UN General Assembly, 2004 in Oomen, 2013, p. 3).

However, HRE was not included in the Dutch subject of Citizenship Education (CE) launched in 2006, nor is it part and parcel of Dutch history education, although there are ample possibilities to refer to the UDHR (1948) or the CRC (1989) (Oomen, 2013, p. 2). Interesting to know is that the Dutch government, as one of the founders of Human Rights Education Associates, plays a beneficial role in facilitating discussions on HRE (Bajaj, 2011, in Oomen, 2013).

12 For two publications on the pedagogy of hope, see Lea Dasberg, *'Pedagogiek in de schaduw van 2000'* (1980), and Bert Roebben, *'Godsdienstpedagogiek van de hoop' (*2011).

Below, the hindrances related to the (non)implementation of HRE in Dutch curricula are discussed.

Selective memory

Two aspects should be regarded as possible hindering factors for the implementation of HRE in the Netherlands. First and foremost, as Wekker (2016) eloquently describes, there is the fact that the Dutch people think of themselves as "a small, but just, ethical nation; colour-blind and thus free of racism (and its inherent inequality – black as inferior, addition by author); as being inherently on the moral and ethical high ground, and thus a guiding light to other peoples and nations" (Wekker, 2016, p. 2).

Human rights, consequently, need to be observed by 'them', while 'we' are in the clear (Ter Avest & Stedenburg, 2019). In addition, the memory of the Holocaust, with its unmitigated violation of human rights, has driven all memories of crimes committed in the colonies from the minds of the Dutch. This has resulted in a Dutch culture of remembrance omitting the suffering of freedom fighters in Indonesia and the West Indies (Surinam and the Caribean islands). For individuals who chose – or were forced – to 'return' to the Netherlands after national independence was achieved, the position of 'conditional citizen' remained a reality, even to the extent of being subjected to "the same post-war disciplining regime that was meant for 'weakly adjusted', white lower-class people", a regime aimed at elevating the newcomers. It was a regime that consisted of "regular unexpected visits from social workers" inspecting the assimilation process, including "cooking potatoes instead of rice, that the laundry was done on Monday, that we ate minced meatballs on Wednesday, and that the house was cleaned properly" (Wekker, 2016, p. 8-9). Implicitly, the message was: "If you want to be equal to us, then don't talk about differences; but if you are different from us, then you are not equal" (Prins in Wekker, 2016, p. 15-16).

Looking back at a colonial period that lasted almost four centuries, it can be said that the contemporary Dutch suffer from postcolonial melancholia, which means – in the words of Gilroy (2005) – that "the loss of the colonial empires and the accompanying prestige and stature have not been faced, much less mourned" (Wekker, 2016, p. 159). Apparently, it is difficult for the Dutch to let go of their former imperialist position and enter into the transformative human rights practices of freedom, equality, and justice.

Foreign affairs

Regarding the Dutch HRE situation, it is also important to keep in mind that human rights, due to the national situation described above, are an issue for Foreign Affairs. Human rights are seen as a matter of pivotal importance relating to countries abroad. This view might be attributed to formulations in the CRC (1989) itself, for example in paragraph 3 of Article 28 on the right to education:

> States Parties shall promote and encourage international co-operation in matters relating to education, in particular with a view to contributing to the elimination of ignorance and illiteracy throughout the world and facilitating access to scientific and technical knowledge and modern teaching methods. In this regard, *particular account shall be taken of the needs of developing countries* (italics by author) (UN Commission on Human Rights, 1989).

Human rights are seen as a cornerstone of the Dutch policy for Foreign Affairs, not as a benchmark for national and local situations; not as an issue for the Minister of the Interior (Oomen, 2014, pp. 1-2). Human rights, for the Dutch, seem to be an "export product, a moral cornerstone of foreign policy" (Oomen, 2014, p. 5). The Dutch view on human rights bears the marks of a participant perspective, referring to one's own "civilisation, culture and religion, in terms of which [the Dutch] perceive, interpret and evaluate their environment and the people, things and situations in it" (Van der Ven et al., 2004, p. 511). That is: one's own civilisation, culture and religion "from which we view other versions of the world from an insider perspective, with its related concepts of inclusivism and exclusivism" (Van der Ven et al., 2004, p. 514).

In the opposite case, one's view on human rights may be governed by an observer perspective, an outsider's view, directed by the wish to "engage in an authentic, personal dialogue […] presupposing that for the time being we genuinely participate, cognitively and affectively, in the other's world […] trying to understand the reality confronting us" (Van der Ven et al., 2004, p. 512); this is related to the concept of pluralism. An observer perspective allows us to "detect similarities and differences – structural, cultural and functional – between our own and other people's versions (Van der Ven et al., 2004, p. 514).

Juridification of human rights issues

Human rights have been referred to in court cases on the wearing of Islamic headscarves at work, explicitly in 1989 in the French foulard affairs (Edmunds, 2013, p. 4), and more implicitly in 1999 in the Netherlands. In 1999, a Dutch student-teacher was not allowed to wear her headscarf in a public school, while in 2001 a Dutch court-clerk was similarly denied wearing a headscarf in the workplace. The argument put forward in favour of wearing a headscarf was that "a ban constituted a form of discrimination on grounds of religion" – here the headscarf is interpreted as an indispensable part of a female Islamic religious identity. Another argument presented in favour of allowing Muslim women to wear headscarves, was that the headscarf "was not seen as hindering a state school teacher's required neutral and open attitude towards pupils' creeds, hence teachers should be allowed to wear headscarves" (Lettinga & Saharso, 2012, pp. 322-323). Implicitly, this is in line with human rights, specifically the right to "freedom of thought, conscience and religion" stipulated in Article 18 of the UDHR (1948).

Lack of a central curriculum

Another aspect to consider is the lack of a central curriculum in the Netherlands; schools are largely free to formulate their own education policies. Promotors of human rights and HRE in the Netherlands are NGOs. For NGOs – as non-formal organisations in civil society – the focus lies often on activating the human rights spiral, whereby the emphasis is put on the development of a human rights attitude, as an affectively driven evaluation of statements on human rights (cf. Van der Ven et al., 2004, p. 97). However, not all Dutch NGOs are effective in their pursuits, partly due to "the diversity of interests promoted by NGOs, their lack of representativeness and the way in which resources are available" (Oomen, 2013, p. 3). Organisational cohesiveness and leadership are only two of the factors that can play a facilitating or obstructing role in the success rates of NGOs (Bob, 2002, in Oomen, 2013, p. 4). At the macro level, multiple roles tend to be performed by a single organisation or person, with the role of HRE promotor not always being the priority.

Lobbying

Although HRE treaties are signed by states representatives, a range of NGOs and individuals in civil society are expected to do most of the necessary implementation work. According to Oomen (2013), five different types of

organisations come into play here, including large NGOs such as the Red Cross and Amnesty International – which are independent of government funding and equipped with their own education department – as well as smaller organisations, run by individuals in their free time. While the larger NGOs struggle with tensions and ambivalence in their relationship with the government, the smaller organisations, which involve many volunteers, struggle with the limits placed on their staff due to the day-time jobs of the latter. These organisations each have their own focus, e.g., the Red Cross focuses on humanitarian aspects, while Defence for Children is mainly concerned with children and their rights. In this civil spectrum, cultural rights, racial equality, and gender equality run the risk of being overlooked due to this fragmentation of NGO organisations.

The extent to which NGOs can be influential in pressing for the application of human rights seems to be related to lobbying opportunities available to them, a process reflected in official letter headings, logos and business cards.

Important for the implementation of HRE, besides lobbying opportunities, is the position taken by treaty monitoring bodies. These monitoring bodies each have their own monitoring mechanism, resulting in their own annual reports. These yearly reports are then discussed in public hearings, which can be attended by representatives of any organisation, with comments on the reports being submitted prior to the hearings. As a rule, these public hearings are attended by high-ranking officials, who are sometimes not too well informed about contextual issues, and who are not independent, with the result that they are guided by their own interests.

The influence of preliminary comments on these annual reports, as noted above, depends to some extent on official letter headings and logos. Experts in Geneva or New York critically read these reports, and – based on their observations – write general conclusions and recommendations that eventually arrive in the Dutch Parliament. In the reactions issued by the various Dutch government departments to these conclusions and recommendations – departments who each bring their own perspective – the Department of Foreign Affairs plays a central, coordinating role.

In a similar way, reactions will be issued by civil society, submitted by means of 'shadow reports'. In general, the influence of NGOs on the implementation of HRE in the Netherlands is negligible, an inefficacy that can be explained by their lack of knowledge of national contexts (e.g., the freedom of education in the Netherlands makes it impossible for HRE to be implemented and

enforced by the state) and the biased nature of the final draft of reports (due to biased comments of politicians-as-experts).

The passion of civil servants

However, the influence of individual civil servants cannot be underestimated! Civil servants involved in the processes outlined above are given a great deal of freedom in composing the content of their reports and negotiating the corresponding conclusions and recommendations. Being faced with conflicts of personal and organisational interests, the essentials of the respective reports are not always reported back to the minister in charge, let alone to other government departments; this creates a fertile ground for tensions, even at the level of priorities, priorities which will be influenced by the impassioned (religiously/politically inspired) life orientation of the ministers involved.

While one minister will focus on the issue of children's rights, another will prioritise children's acquisition of language and math skills. To make matters worse, the International Affairs desk of the Department of Education – entrusted with HRE – has little contact with the governmental desks who work with civil society organisations, and on primary education. Last but not least, Dutch 'drama-democracy' tends to direct politician's attention to the daily newspaper headlines, a mindset that hinders a persistent focus on such complicated issues as the implementation of HRE in formal educational curricula. However, the media can also play a positive role – one example being a newspaper article in 2008[13] that pointed out a lack of HRE in Dutch education, offering a way out of the gap existing between the UDHR text and articles of the Dutch constitution, as well as policy statements issued by the Dutch Church.

Governmental advisory bodies

Dutch advisory bodies, like the Educational Council (*Onderwijsraad*) and the Council for Government Policy (*Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid, WRR*), have not been successful in promoting HRE. Commissions got stuck on civic education as 'the preparedness and ability to actively contribute to the community' and a general focus on 'basic values of Dutch society' – tolerance and non-discrimination. Van der Ven et al. (2004,

13 Schavemaker, C. (2008). Mensenrechten/Vergeten cadeau. *Trouw* (Daily Newspaper), April 12, 2008. Schavemaker offers an adaptation of texts from the Dutch Constitution, and policy documents issued by the Church – adapted according to the UDHR. The proposed adjustments will match the passion of civil servants.

p. 96) refer to promoting "the good life – promoting freedom, equality and solidarity." No progress is made towards the rights involved in this, let alone human rights.

Experts involved in writing core curricula for subjects like history, social sciences and geography, have been submitting suggestions on how to include human rights in these curricula. So far, their efforts have been unsuccessful, as reported in the governmental document 'Further Report on the Proposed Law to Amend a Number of Education Laws in Connection with Clarification of the Citizenship Assignment of Primary Schools', released by the Legislation and Legal Affairs Department, Ministry of Education *[Wijziging van een aantal onderwijswetten in verband met verduidelijking van de burgerschapsopdracht aan scholen in het funderend onderwijs]* (published November 26, 2019).[14]

At the same time, organisations like the Institute for Curriculum Development (fully funded by the government) develop teaching materials for the integration of Civic Education and HRE. However, the most successful way to implement HRE seems to be to buy pages in textbooks edited by commercial publishers (paying for inclusion of desired educational material) – a strategy brought into action to promote environmental awareness, for example.

Another strategy is output steering, a method rooted in Dutch freedom of education and its accompanying lack of a national curriculum. The Inspection Framework on Active Citizenship and Social Integration (*Toezichtkader Actief Burgerschap en Sociale Integratie)* monitors the attention given in schools to freedom of expression, equal dignity, respect for others and tolerance, although not explicitly as part of human rights. It seems as if human rights are not worth mentioning in education. The focus is on social citizenship in Dutch culture, and less or not at all on the civil rights that offer protection against the infringement of personal freedoms and the disrespecting of human dignity by states – human rights with which every human being is born.

We started this chapter by asking about the evolutionary process of HRE in the Netherlands. In the preceding sections, we painted a nuanced picture of HRE in Dutch society; a sketch with more or less bright colours – none of them dominating the whole image. None of the people and organisations

14 https://www.tweedekamer.nl/kamerstukken/wetsvoorstellen/detail?id=2019Z23710&dossier=35352.

mentioned above are to be blamed for the non-implementation of HRE in Dutch curricula at this point in time.

Power play

We return to the second question raised in the introduction: What characterises the epistemologies of HRE in what is called 'the low lands at the sea'? To answer this question, we will reconstruct the implementation processes described above in terms of *power play*, interpreted as the process of influencing the ideas/ideology, perspectives, positioning, and behaviour of others (Hetebrij & Oosthoek, 2018). Power play is a complex process of interactionality, involving (at least) four different aspects:

(i) Content-related; the content that is at stake, in our case HRE;
(ii) Relation-related; the creation of reciprocal images;
(iii) Control-related; who is in charge of the continuation of the process;
(iv) Space-related; the limitation of space – who decides which issues can be discussed?

(i) In the Netherlands, the content of a compulsory human rights subject has not been a matter of discussion for a long time, given that all schools are free to develop their own curriculum – that is, within the limitations of the primary objectives of education as formulated by the Ministry of Education. Dutch freedom of education and its accompanying lack of a national curriculum remains the subject of a content-related power play. Nowadays, this power play is rekindled in regard to the subject of Citizenship Education. On August 2021, this resulted in a law change on the content of Citizenship Education, which must now include HRE.

(ii) The national archive, as described by Wekker (2016), is a concept pointing to the creation of reciprocal images of inequality: the Dutch perceive themselves as a small, but just, ethical nation and see black people as inferior, with the inhabitants of the colonies internalising this inequality. The Dutch cling to their former imperialist position, claiming the riches of the colonial period for themselves while simultaneously ignoring the suffering of others who underwent this colonisation. Clinging to this colonial period, the matter of human rights was assigned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs – signalling a perception that human rights must be observed by 'them', while 'we' are in the clear. This is further illustrated in the findings of research conducted among Dutch student-teachers (Ter Avest & Stedenburg, 2019, pp. 153).

(iii) The fragmentation of NGOs in civil society, the variation of contents and different interests they are concerned with, can be seen as a hindrance for the implementation of HRE as a single, unified subject in Dutch education. NGO representatives feel responsible for the specific part of HRE that relates to their organisation's mission, thereby losing sight of the continuation of the whole process of HRE implementation as a compulsory subject. In addition, Dutch schools are allergic to government interference; freedom of education is guaranteed in Article 23 of the Constitution, and is concretised in confessional and public schools, all of which are funded by the government.

(iv) The (limitation of) space is severely influenced by the relationship NGOs have with the government. Being funded or not, being (in)dependent from governmental grants, defines the manoeuvring room they are given in discussions. However, the space of freedom individual civil servants take up while writing their reports and the accompanying conclusions, cannot be underestimated.

In conclusion, it can be said that the implementation of HRE in Dutch education is characterised by the interactionality of barriers of different kinds – the national archive being one of the core factors, silenced so far. The result is that, to date, HRE is hardly visible in curricula. Colonial hierarchical citizenship, resulting in a silenced ideology of inequality, rhizomatically saturates Dutch society to this day. However, despite the obstacles mentioned above, creativity reigns and a variety of successful strategies can be listed that have successfully led to the implementation of HRE principles in Dutch schools (meso level). One of the most promising ways to implement HRE in curricula, seems to be the inclusion of human rights in Citizenship Education.

Although HRE implementation in Dutch curricula still leaves a lot to be desired, a whole range of teaching materials has been developed; let a thousand flowers bloom! Not to be underestimated is an unofficial, non-institutionalised way of implementing HRE – making use of teachers' personal involvement. Teachers do ask for teaching materials, they do invite guest speakers in class, and indeed organise human rights weeks at the school level – to mention but a few fruits of teachers' personal involvement in schools. At a personal level, teachers do make a difference in HRE – whether or not included in Citizenship Education. To organise these activities, teachers can draw on teaching materials developed by commercial publishers and/or supplementary (online) materials. Research on teacher involvement in HRE implementation might shed a light on individual teachers' approaches

(interactionally), and open doors for the empowerment of their individual activities.

So far neglected in our description of the epistemological evolution of HRE in the Netherlands – and also in the teaching materials developed by publishers and NGOs – is the role of religion and the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of religion as a hindrance for governmental directives regarding HRE. In our view, the freedom of education, instead of hindering the implementation of HRE in Dutch curricula, can be seized as an opportunity to clarify to students the relationship between core HRE concepts and core narratives in religious traditions. In chapter seven of this volume, we explore a possible direction in which the pillarised Dutch education system could move to include HRE in its curricula.

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4

Teacher education and education for democratic citizenship and human rights education praxis in South Africa

René Ferguson

Introduction and background

This chapter aims to contribute to the conversations on human rights education (HRE) praxis between South Africa and the Netherlands from a South African teacher education perspective. The chapter sketches an example of reflexive praxis on HRE in a university school of education as a response to curriculum reforms which started soon after democracy in South Africa in 1994. At that time, it was necessary for teacher educators to join the reform movement in South Africa to seek ways to redress the legacies of apartheid by transforming curricula, course content and related pedagogies with the purpose of being inclusive and anti-discriminatory (Tibbitts & Keet, 2016; Veriava, 2017; Flowers, 2015).[15]

Situating reflective praxis in place-space-time

South African HRE interest groups have contributed significantly to the literature on HRE research and practice locally and globally since South Africa's transition to democracy in 1994 (see Chapter two in this volume) (Carrim & Keet, 2005; Keet, 2012, 2017, 2018; Tibbitts & Keet, 2016; Roux & Becker, 2019). In writing this chapter, I recognise the many contributions and critiques of human rights and HRE in this ever-expanding body of knowledge. Given the vastness of the work conducted in teacher education

15 This chapter should be read along with chapter two in this volume, which provides a comprehensive historical background on the evolution of HRE in South Africa.

in different universities in South Africa, I confess that the work reflected on in this chapter is only one voice, my own. It was however, and continues to be, conceptualised in response to two key criticisms of HRE that arise from the literature. One of the criticisms by researchers is that HRE tends to be 'under-theorised', 'declarationist, conservative and uncritical' (Keet, 2012, p. 7). The other is that human rights and HRE approaches, and pedagogies tend to be applied from top-down rather than from bottom-up (Becker & Roux, 2019, p. 73; Bajaj, 2011; Tibbitts, 2017). These criticisms are premised on the observation that HRE remains focused on human rights declarations, treaties and conventions in ways that do not consider the lived experiences of people in different socio-economic contexts. Becker & Roux refer to this elsewhere as failure to situate HRE in place-space-time (see Chapter 2 in this volume).

In developing practice and praxis for what will be referred to as Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC) and HRE throughout this chapter, I have taken these and other points of criticism into consideration. It must be noted that the term practice is used to refer to the practice or application of theoretical ideas to pedagogy generally. The term praxis is used to refer more specifically to the action a teacher takes as a result of reflection on theory. We speak of praxis when theory connects with and informs both reflection by the teacher (and her students) and the action she takes to transform the content knowledge, skills and values for HRE to address issues of power and privilege and social justice in the classroom (Nieto & Bode, 2012).

HRE praxis therefore entails continuously searching for ways to address the criticisms that arise in the literature in the field and the gaps in HRE as these emerge from experiences shared by students, in dialogue with other researchers and praxis-conscious educationalists (see Chapter six in this volume; Becker & Roux, 2019; Zembylas & Keet, 2018). I present the ideas that permeate my work in EDC/HRE for pre-service teacher education, to enable transforming interpretations of the national school curriculum by teachers for local and global contexts. The overarching approach which I implement, for both primary and secondary school teaching, is situated in a fusion of critical EDC and HRE (Keet, 2018; Council of Europe (hereafter CoE), 2020; Ferguson, 2011). What this means and entails for practice will be explained as the chapter unfolds.

As I wrote the chapter, I was reminded of the relevance of EDC/HRE for the South African context. The right to quality education for children living in different parts of South Africa is always in the spotlight. At the height of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, all schools were shut down in an attempt

to curb the spread of the corona virus. Economically privileged children and youth, who have access to computerised devices and stable internet connections, were able to continue with their studies using online platforms such as Google Classroom, or other online learning platforms tailor-made for their schools or universities. Those learners however who live in remote rural areas, or in economically disadvantaged urban locations were left without access to learning and interaction with their teachers when schools closed down. In the 21st century, with the advent of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, it is assumed that everyone has access to the internet and online resources, but, many children and youth are being excluded from the human right to (an) education because they do not have access to what is assumed to be an essential resource. This is only one example of the non-realisation of a fundamental human right, not only in South Africa, but in other countries in the world with similar socio-economic circumstances. This contextual reality should alert us all to the gap between the ideals of human rights declarations and conventions and the lived realities of people in the approaches we take to HRE, the material reality of the place-space-time concept as argued by Becker and Roux (2019) and in Chapter two in this volume.

Human rights education in the South African context: The national school curriculum

Teacher educators work closely with the national school curriculum as this is the starting point for learning and teaching in South African schools. Teachers need to be interpreters of the national curriculum and their professional knowledge base must include subject content knowledge as stipulated in the national curriculum as well as the pedagogical skills to implement it in public schools from Grade 1 to Grade 12 (Tibbitts & Keet, 2016).

As has been mentioned above, the curriculum reforms initiated post-1994, required that all references to discrimination, racial stereotyping and inequality evident in the national curriculum at that time had to be eradicated. The national curriculum also had to be re-oriented towards inclusion, equality and tolerance (Carrim & Keet, 2005; Tibbitts & Keet, 2016). When an entirely new national curriculum was introduced in the late 1990s (the curriculum was revised in 2003 and again in 2011), it was infused with fundamental human rights principles like non-racism, non-sexism, equality, social justice and democracy (Keet & Carrim, 2006; Tibbitts & Keet, 2016), supported by a document titled: The Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy (DoE, 2001).

The Manifesto outlines ten fundamental values that should be infused into all subjects, these being: democracy, social justice and equity, equality, non-racism and non-sexism, human dignity, an open society, accountability and responsibility, the rule of law, respect and reconciliation. The education sector is seen to play a key role in socialising children into the values of democracy and the democratic processes that characterise young democracies in transition. Human rights content therefore was incorporated into the national school curriculum to assist in the reform processes in South African society post-apartheid (Keet & Carrim, 2006; Tibbitts & Keet, 2016; Ahmed, 2018).

In addition to the general infusion of human rights principles across the national curriculum, a new subject called Life Orientation was introduced. This subject, as well as History, became the sites for dedicated components on human rights, democracy, diversity and civic education topics, as the carrier subjects in the national curriculum (Tibbitts & Keet, 2016; DoBE, 2011a, b, c). While human rights need to be covered minimally in other school subjects, the two subjects, Life Orientation and History, provide maximal coverage of human rights (Carrim & Keet, 2005). This means overt or explicit coverage about, through and for human rights in these subjects with the purpose of building a culture of human rights in the classroom, and the school community as a whole (Bajaj, 2011). A culture of human rights means that teachers and learners work at building school communities that respect human rights and seek to respond to human rights violations in peaceful, supportive and meaningful ways (Council of Europe (CoE), 2021). A culture of human rights is evident when "human rights offer a set of values to inform our daily lives, and they establish minimum standards for full equality and a life in dignity" (see CoE, 2021, www.coe.int/en/web/gender-matters).

The Life Orientation national curriculum includes specific topics on democracy, the Constitution of South Africa (with its Bill of Rights) and human rights and responsibilities in every school year from Grade 4 (learners aged 9 or 10) through to Grade 12 (learners aged 17-19 years of age) (DoBE, 2011a, 11b, 11c). Whilst this was a shift in the direction of affirming the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom espoused in The Constitution of the republic of South Africa, (1996, hereafter The Constitution), there are two challenges (in my opinion) embedded in the national curriculum which are problematic for classroom application.

The first challenge is the fragmented way in which human rights topics are set out in the national curriculum. Each time a human rights topic is named it is accompanied by a timeframe in which the topic must be completed. The

intention of infusing human rights across the curriculum is shelved as the teacher covers the section and then moves on to the next topic, which could be perceived as being unrelated to human rights: Career Guidance and Physical Education topics for example. The second challenge is the blanket coverage, or one-size-fits-all approach to human rights topics. This is challenging because South Africa is one of the most unequal countries in the world. Consequently, not all children experience life in the same way, as in the case mentioned earlier about student struggles with online or remote learning. Social class is complex in South Africa, and poverty is pervasive. Some children live in privileged socio-economic contexts where quality education, access to basic necessities such as food, water, sanitation, safety and shelter are seldom issues for concern. Whereas many other children's daily experience is non-realisation of basic rights (cf. The Constitution, 1996, Section 27), as they live in squalid and overcrowded conditions, with poor sanitation (no decent toilets), with no access to clean, drinkable water, and no food security (Veriava, 2017; Draga, 2017). That is why the top-down approach implied in the national curriculum is problematic in terms of relevance for different communities. In some privileged and affluent communities, teachers have reported that learners resist HRE on ground that it is irrelevant for them. In disadvantaged socio-economic communities, the tendency is to teach human rights by listing them and matching responsibilities, with no further discussion or engagement from the side of the learners.

Hence there are two questions that arise that I seek to address in the next sections of this chapter:

(i) How should teachers interpret the human and constitutional rights topics in the national curriculum in developing relevant and meaningful practice and praxis[16] for learning human rights in such vastly different socio-economic contexts?

(ii) What do teachers need to know about human and constitutional rights to mediate learning effectively and (what is most important) meaningfully in this domain?

The reason for mentioning human and constitutional rights together is related to the way in which these terms are used in the national school curriculum. The Constitution, with a liberal and inclusive Bill of Rights, is the cornerstone of democracy in South Africa: "It enshrines the rights of all people in our

16 Praxis in education is more than practice (didactics). Praxis involves transformative processes, social realities and responsive actions. It involves reflection, dialogue and action (see Chapter two in this volume).

country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom" (The Constitution, 1996, Section 7[1]).

The rights contained in the Bill of Rights were inspired by the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948, hereafter UDHR) and the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (1981) (Tibbitts & Keet, 2016). Some of the rights contained in the Bill of Rights are civil rights and some are human rights. The two kinds of rights have been conflated in the national curriculum as if there is no difference between the two. Knowing the difference between the two has implications for how citizenship and political rights are understood by young people, as well as for whom these rights are applicable. How citizenship and rights are understood is important in a country like South Africa which has large numbers of refugees, asylum seekers and job- seeking migrants.

For the purposes of this conversation, I regard human rights as natural rights – those basic rights and freedoms that belong inherently to everyone in the world from birth until death. They apply regardless of from where a person originated, their ethnicity, culture or religion. These basic rights include the right to equality, to dignity, to life, to safety and security and they are based on the values dignity, fairness, equality, respect and freedom (cf. Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2019).

Civil rights may include human or natural rights, such as the right to equality, but mainly refer to the rights that are essential components of a democracy and in some cases only apply to legal citizens, or people who are citizens by birth or naturalisation only. Included in civil rights are political rights, such as the right to vote and the right to stand for public office, the right to government services, the right to a public education and the right to use public facilities (Hamlin, 2021; see Chapter one in this volume).

Life Orientation, education for democratic citizenship/human rights education and the teacher

The subject Life Orientation, mentioned earlier as one of the 'carrier' subjects of HRE, is compulsory for all learners from Grade 1 (children are about 7 years old) to Grade 12 (adolescents of about 17-19 years). This means that every school-going learner will be exposed to HRE in some way, even if minimally.

The national curriculum describes Life Orientation as:

> central to the holistic development of learners. It addresses skills, knowledge and values for the personal, social, intellectual, emotional and physical growth of learners – its purpose is also to address personal development aspects of life, responsible citizenship and the development of confident learners who can contribute to a just and democratic society (DoBE, 2011a, p. 8).

In my experience as a teacher educator, I have observed that one cannot assume that all in-service or pre-service teachers are naturally oriented towards teaching for responsible citizenship and 'a just and democratic society' (DoBE, 2011a, p.8). The curriculum goals outlined above refer to the knowledge, skills and values that learners (school-going) will acquire as a result of exposure to Life Orientation. For learners to be 'confident' and competent in the knowledge, skills and values of responsible citizenship in a just and democratic society, it follows that teacher education in democratic citizenship and HRE is essential for achieving these noble ideals. *Teachers* (my emphasis) need to internalize the citizenship, democracy and human rights knowledge, pedagogical skills and values to confidently mediate learning in democratic citizenship and HRE in the classroom (Ferguson, 2013). In the ensuing section I will argue that having the professional knowledge base which should include human rights knowledge, pedagogical theories and value orientations is not enough. The teacher's attitude is also integral to respectful and transforming EDC/HRE.

Education for Democratic Citizenship/Human Rights Education: educating pre-service teachers

Preparing pre-service teachers to become influential and informed human rights educators has been helped along by synthesising core ideas from the literature on EDC/HRE, for the development of HRE-praxis. EDC/HRE is necessary if we want to contribute to a more just and open society that embodies treating all people with fairness, mutual respect, dignity and generosity (Nieto & Bode, 2012; Spreen et al., 2018; Waghid, 2007). It is useful to note that citizenship is implied in the carrier subject Life Orientation, but it is not foregrounded, while democracy and human rights are.

I agree with Osler and Starkey (2010, 2018) that when one talks about HRE, one cannot divorce human rights knowledge from what it means to be a good citizen (Osler & Starkey, 2010). For this reason, I foreground concepts

of citizenship alongside democracy and human rights in my work in teacher education in an attempt to confront potentially exclusionary and nationalist interpretations of citizenship in South Africa and in other countries with a pluralist population. With regards to citizen and citizenship education, I propose that three questions are considered: who is a citizen, what kinds of attitudes and behaviours are required of a good citizen, and what should constitute citizenship education? (Kerr, 2002; Osler & Starkey, 2010; CoE, 2020).

The reason for considering these questions is due to the diverse nature of South African society and the large numbers of people migrating across South Africa's borders. Xenophobia has been a scourge on South African society since at least 2008, with sporadic outbreaks of xenophobic violence in different provinces ever since. Hence the question, who is a citizen? This question must surely be accompanied by the question, what does it mean to be human? In South Africa, violence towards foreign nationals was spurred on by the belief that anyone who is not a South African citizen, is inferior and therefore not worthy of being treated with dignity and respect. This despite that the right to dignity is second after the right to equality in the Bill of Rights in The Constitution (1996, Section 10).

Hence, the fusion of citizenship and democratic education is aimed at steering students away from nationalist forms of civic education, and towards the kind of citizenship education that respects the cosmopolitan society we live in and human rights for all as a signpost of democracy (Osler & Starkey, 2018; Ferguson, 2011). The good citizen is therefore one who upholds the rule of law, who treats others humanely, including all who live in the borders of the country, including refugees and asylum seekers. The first three rights in the Bill of Rights are human rights which entitle everyone to equality, dignity and life (The Constitution, 1996, Section 9, 10, 11). These align with the UDHR (1948, Articles 1, 2 and 3). The good citizen is one who upholds and respects these fundamental human rights, regardless of if the person is citizen by birth, by naturalisation or a refugee or migrant, in the spirit of cosmopolitan citizenship discussed in more detail in the section that follows below.

The fusion of democratic citizenship and HRE (Keet, 2018; Waghid, 2007; Osler & Starkey, 2018) provides the framing for how HRE is discussed in this chapter. HRE cannot be separated from democratic citizenship education, since the responsible, good or democratic citizen is one who not only understands the importance of being active or a participant in the workings of a democratic society, but also respects and upholds human rights for all.

Citizenship education and cosmopolitan democracy

As I have already noted in the section above, citizenship education is problematic when it focuses on narrow, exclusivist, nationalist ideals leading to racial and religious discrimination and unjust or inhumane acts against minority groups or individuals who are excluded or marginalized, either because of economic inequalities (Waghid, 2007; Osler & Starkey, 2010, 2018) – or because they are perceived as not having the characteristics or qualities required of the good citizen (in this case a citizen by birth or a naturalized citizen). As Osler and Starkey (2010, 2018) point out, an important aspect of citizenship education is how students are taught to respond to the high levels of diversity in modern democracies. Various educationalists (Osler & Starkey, 2018; Waghid, 2007; Gutmann, 1996) propose that theories of cosmopolitan democracy are necessary to expand on the concepts, citizen and citizenship, and should therefore inform citizenship education.

The word cosmopolitan comes from a Greek word *kosmopolitēs* (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy), which means citizen of the world. Cosmopolitan democracy recognises diversity in communities, and the connections between individuals and communities locally with people in other parts of the world, brought about by globalisation. Osler and Starkey (2010) characterise cosmopolitan citizenship education as incorporating the local, national, regional and global dimensions of citizenship education. Education for cosmopolitan citizenship must be "founded in human rights" (Osler & Starkey, 2018, p. 32), it respects different ways of life, in a spirit of oneness and opposes injustices towards others only because they are different (Gutmann, 1996; Waghid, 2007).

Cosmopolitan democratic citizenship stands in direct contrast to national citizenship education which is potentially exclusive in the way of building social cohesion (Osler & Starkey, 2018). To summarise, cosmopolitan democratic citizenship education creates an awareness amongst teachers and students to recognise and behave in ways that respect the dignity and rights of people from all kinds of backgrounds, including economic migrants, refugees, diverse religious groups, people who identify differently in terms of sexual orientation and gender, ethnicities, language and culture and any other identity markers that may be reasons for stereotyping, prejudice, bigotry and discrimination (Osler & Starkey, 2018; Waghid, 2007).

Hence, education for democratic citizenship would include civics or learning the institutions of democracy (how the state works), activism and citizenship participation in the workings of a democracy, civil society responsibilities such as voting during elections, upholding the rule of law, as well as the importance of maintaining peaceful social relations emanating from a cosmopolitan consciousness. It is within this framing that HRE becomes meaningful as one learns to recognise that all human beings are subjects of human rights and must be the benefactors of the virtues or values of a democracy.

Acknowledgement of human rights is one of the signposts of democracy. A functioning democracy recognises and upholds the civic and human rights of all human beings and herein lies the overlap between democratic citizenship and HRE. Education for democratic citizenship aims to nurture the type of citizen characteristics which support a healthy, functioning democracy. It provides the framework for learning about, through and for human rights (Bajaj, 2011; Tibbitts, 2017; CoE, 2020). Democratic cosmopolitan citizenship education is rooted in human rights values of respect, acceptance and appreciation, equality, empathy, social justice, responsibility, accountability, and hospitality (Nieto, 2000; Waghid, 2007; Hammett & Staeheli, 2011; DoE, 2001). An enabling learning environment must be created in classrooms however to nurture the learning of these values or principles.

Creating the democratic space - a preferred model of democracy for education for democratic citizenship/human rights education for teacher education

Learning about, through and for democracy and human rights begins in the classroom (micro-society) and should reflect the workings of a democracy in broader society (macro-society) (Hermans & Bartels, 2021). As Gollob et al. (2010, p. 7) explain, participation in democracy must begin at school level, there must be a link between "school experience and later life."

The model of democracy for creating the democratic space, and the locus for learning about, through and for human rights, needs to be participatory, inclusive, open and communicative (Young, 2000; Hermans & Bartels, 2021). Anchoring human rights learning in EDC enables students to see the bigger picture of what living in a democracy means, what an active and critical citizenry requires.

The preferred model of democracy forms the ethos of the classroom. This participatory model is presented not only as a form of government and governance, but also as a way of thinking and living, a type of society that promotes peaceful coexistence, is inclusive of all kinds of diversity, is founded on the values of equality, the rule of law and justice, and therefore recognises and protects the rights of all people (cf. Dürr, 2005; McQuoid-Mason, 2019; Gollob et al., 2010).

This framing has implications for the pedagogical choices that teachers make. Teachers in training should learn relevant pedagogies through participation with their peers with the purpose of emulating these in their own practices in primary and secondary school contexts. Participatory strategies are preferred over strategies that rely solely on large-scale information transmission approaches by a lecturer with students sitting passively in a lecture theatre or classroom (Cochran-Smith, 2004; bell hooks, 2010).

A key indicator therefore that participatory democracy is at work in classrooms, is in how the students are organised for learning. The democratic space is created when learning is decentralised and students form learning communities, which I will refer to as communities of inquiry (Cochran-Smith, 2004; Westheimer, 2008).

A community of inquiry comprises students working in small groups of five or six. This approach to learning is also called co-operative small group learning by educational scholars such as D.W. Johnson and R.T. Johnson (Johnson et al., 1994). Students are required to collaborate on group tasks, problem-solving and conflict resolution activities.

The term community of inquiry is preferred over co-operative small group learning in this praxis since, as the word inquiry suggests, students are required to collaborate, investigate, and interrogate complex and challenging issues in their search for answers to difficult questions and solutions to complex societal problems. Students learn through participation to develop the knowledge base that teachers need to mediate the human rights domain meaningfully for their own classrooms. In addition to working on content together, learning through participation in communities allows students the opportunity to expand on cognitive skills germane to functioning democracies, such as critical thinking, reflection, dialogue and reasoning, as they develop arguments for decision-making and conflict resolution (Ferguson, 2011).

Learning in communities of inquiry as democratic space exposes students to alternative perspectives and worldviews held by their peers and opens up opportunities for self-reflection on biases, prejudices and all forms of discrimination: reasons for human rights violations (Ferguson, 2011; Tibbitts, 2017). Furthermore, community implies that students work together in a spirit of collegiality and friendship, in a rights respecting environment. The classroom as democratic space must be a safe space, a peace-respecting community, where disagreements should be amicably deliberated and negotiated (Ferguson, 2013; cf. Hermans & Bartels, 2021).

An example of communities of inquiry at work entails groups of students collaborating and co-operating on a range of human rights-related topics rooted in ethical decision-making. In one of my courses designed for post-graduate teacher education students, they can select from a range of suggested ethical topics or identify topics of their own, such as female reproduction rights, termination of pregnancy; the right to die with dignity (assisted dying or euthanasia); if the death penalty should be re-instated in South Africa.

In my most recent work with students, they identified a range of topical rights-related issues associated with student protest (*#FeesMustFall*, *#BlackLivesMatter*, and the removal of statues of colonialists in public spaces), limitations imposed by the State during the COVID-19 lockdown period and anti-vaccination conspiracy theories, as projects to work on in their communities of inquiry.

The activities of the students in learning/inquiry communities are mediated by the teacher/lecturer, who adopts a critical perspective on learning and teaching; critical as in critical pedagogy (Johnson & Morris, 2010; Keet, 2018; Nieto & Bode, 2012) and critical thinking (Cottrell, 2017).

Critical pedagogy is rooted in various schools of critical theory, but for the purposes of this conversation, I refer only to critical pedagogy as advocated by Paulo Freire (Freire 1970/1993; Johnson & Morris, 2010; Nieto, 2000; bell hooks, 1995, 2010). Freire (1970/1993, pp. 81, 93) argued that education should be "the practice of freedom" (cf. bell hooks, 1995, p. 4). Critical pedagogy allows for learning to be non-hierarchical, for students to take an active role in formulating their ethical questions, and to decide on how they will pursue arguments for and/or against topical issues, such as: Should the state have legalised termination of pregnancy in South Africa? Were students' actions to vandalise statues of apartheid-era or colonial figures in South Africa justified?

bell hooks[17] (2010, p.19) uses the term "engaged pedagogy" to refer to the interaction between teacher and students. Freire (in bell hooks, 1995, p. 14) drew attention to issues of power and privilege and insisted that education should encourage what he referred to as conscientisation in the classroom. bell hooks explains conscientisation to mean "critical awareness of the struggles of people" (bell hooks, 1995, p. 4). In the democratic space, teachers should take time to discover the identities of their students whose voices should be heard, as members of the inquiry communities engage with human rights related issues relevant to their lives and circumstances (for example, religious, ethnic, sexual orientation and gender identity). Engaged pedagogy in bell hooks' work was influenced by the Buddhist monk, Thich Nhat Hanh. His approach to pedagogy emphasises "wholeness, a union of mind, body, and spirit" (bell hooks, 1995, p. 14). Engaged pedagogy emphasises well-being. It also emphasises "striving for knowledge about how to live in the world", not just for knowledge we find in books (bell hooks, 1995, p. 14-15).

When teamed up with critical pedagogies, students are encouraged to be conscious of what bell hooks referred to as "dominator culture" (bell hooks, 2010, p. 31) meaning, the views held by the most powerful in society and imposed downwards in hegemonic ways. Dominator culture could be racist, sexist, patriarchal, nationalist, homophobic, classist for example. The problem, however, is if teachers are unwilling to admit to their own biases and perpetuate dominator culture in the classroom (bell hooks, 2010; cf. Freire 1970/1993, p. 126). Dominator culture is related to coloniality as discussed in chapters two, three and six in this volume.

The conservative religious and cultural backgrounds of many teachers (both in- and pre-service) may influence the way in which they interpret human rights and therewith propagate dominator culture and colonial perspectives. Hence the necessity for learning critical thinking, the skills necessary for enacting critical pedagogy – including critical analysis, critical self-analysis (as argued by Hermans & Bartels, 2021), evaluating views on power and privilege, reasoning, and perspective taking. These are the skills that underpin engaged pedagogy. Dialogue and critical reflection are two key thinking skills which Freire argued were required to open up the 'critical consciousness' of students (Johnson & Morris, 2010, p. 80; bell hooks, 1995). Since critical pedagogy is associated with critical awareness or consciousness, an intended

17 bell hooks is the pen name for the African American language professor, Gloria Watson. She uses lower casing, b and h, in the name to shift attention from her identity to her ideas.

outcome of learning is transformed (or more open) ways of thinking and social change (bell hooks, 1995; Johnson & Morris, 2010).

Transformative thinking and social change: Education for democratic citizenship/human rights education and the need for transformative learning

I have referred to praxis a few times in this chapter, but to recap, praxis is "a reflective approach to taking action. It is the ongoing process of moving between practice and theory" (Nieto & Bode, 2012, p. 51; cf. Freire, 1970/1993, bell hooks, 1994).

In this EDC/HRE context, reflective praxis is integral to developing pedagogies for EDC/HRE. Years of teaching experience and interacting with pre-service teachers has led me to realise that not every teacher, pre-service or in-service, is naturally inclined to teaching for diversity and human rights. As Nieto and Bode (2012, p.7) have reminded us, "teachers are products of their environments and education systems with histories of racism, religious bias and exclusion, that could be unconsciously perpetuated in harmful ways in the classroom" (known as blind spots or unconscious bias). If this is the reality, we should ask how the goals of HRE are to be accomplished and how the democratic values that underpin human rights are to be enacted in the classroom, if the teacher is unconsciously or even consciously biased.

For this reason, learning in inquiry communities needed a theory of transformative learning to understand why some students/teachers are more inclined towards cosmopolitan democracy and human rights than others. I drew on transformative learning theory (Mezirow, 1991; Mezirow & Associates, 2000; Taylor 2009; cf. Ferguson, 2011, 2013) in an attempt to understand the origins of people's perceptions, knowledge, beliefs and points of view towards human difference, either positively or negatively.

Transformation and transformative learning

Transformation simply means change. What needs to change in the views of teachers and their students and why are such changes necessary for EDC/HRE? What needs to change therefore for training pre-service teachers to become competent teachers of EDC/HRE?

Transformative learning theory is a learning theory that attempts to explain how adults have come to know what they know and the sources of the

assumptions that underlie their beliefs, values and perspectives (Mezirow, 1991; Taylor, 2009; Ferguson, 2011). Applied in teacher education, it draws teachers'/students' attention to their own and others frames of reference and meaning schemes, or put more simply, their worldview and points of view (Mezirow, 1991; Mezirow & Associates 2000; Ferguson, 2013).

A frame of reference could be, *inter alia,* religious, a-religious, secular, humanist, atheist, nationalist, patriarchal and provides the perspective on how we view the world. The experiences and knowledge that one accumulates in a lifetime contributes to one's frame of reference. It is from our frames of reference that displays of intolerance, violence, homophobia, xenophobia, for example, emanate, or equally, explain displays of compassion, respect for difference and inclination towards social justice and democratic thinking (Ferguson, 2011). It all depends on how we have been socialised, and the cumulative influences and experiences in our lives that shape who we become.

Mezirow (1991) argued that change or transformation occurs at the level of meaning schemes or points of view. However, he also argued that to motivate change, some form of intervention is necessary, namely, learning in inquiry communities, facilitated by an impartial lecturer or teacher who evokes or even provokes students to open up to alternative points of view.

In my own context, learning in community has allowed for the mutual engagement of students as they construct and deconstruct taken-for-granted norms and beliefs such as those bestowed on society by patriarchy, political beliefs and conceptions of citizenship and human rights that have led to gender-based violence, homophobia and xenophobia in South Africa.

Dialogue and engagement

Dialogue is integral to the engagement in communities of inquiry as there needs to be an opening up of frames of reference for scrutiny as students learn to construct and evaluate argument in order to confront differences in opinion that may arise. Students are alerted to critical reflection and dialogue as reasoning tools, to identify the origins of bias and prejudice, or inclusivity and openness. A goal of transformative learning is to expand students' ability to think critically and with an open mind about human rights issues that stem from the gender, race, class, ethnic, political and religious differences in society.

Critical reflection in Mezirow's view entails examining one's long-held political or religious beliefs, opinions, values and ideologies. This kind of reflection, which Mezirow called "premise reflection", entails thinking back on why one believes, feels, thinks the way one does, especially when it comes to bias, prejudice and discrimination (Mezirow, 2003, p. 59). Critical reflection is integral to dialogical communication, a communicative tool necessary in the democratic space. The view adopted on dialogical communication is explained in more detail below.

Many different scholars have written on dialogue. Mezirow, and other transformative learning scholars (Mezirow & Associates, 2000; Mezirow, 2003; Cranton & King, 2003) emphasised that the kind of dialogue needed for transformative learning is more than the kind that allows merely for the sharing of beliefs and opinions. Rather, dialogue in Mezirow's understanding is the kind that encourages students to open up their frames of reference to scrutiny by self and others (this he called critical reflection). Since the goal is to transform meaning schemes on difficult issues, dialogue must allow students to critically assess the assumptions that underly their own beliefs and values, advance reasons from the perspective of their frames of reference and articulate what a more just alternative could be (Ferguson, 2011). Hermans and Bartels (2021) have called this inner democracy, because we learn not only from others, but from ourselves too, as we interrogate the origins of our own biases and prejudices. Learning in the democratic space "allows alternative voices to be expressed and to be taken seriously, even when they conflict with each other" (Hermans & Bartels, 2021, p. xvii).

Another kind of dialogical exchange useful for fostering transformative learning in an inquiry community is negotiation of meaning (Wenger, 1998). Negotiation in this sense means to give and take, or to share beliefs or ideas, and to listen to those of the others in the inquiry community, with the possibility of changing or adjusting a point of view or argument, or to reach consensus. In HRE, when teachers/students struggle to give up on long-held religious, political, cultural or ideological beliefs, or struggle with other contentious issues, negotiation of meaning through dialogue and critical reflection may be productive in resolving conflict amicably, rather than giving up, or resorting to violence, because the participants cannot reach consensus or adjust a point of view.

Transformative thinking as outcome of transformative learning

Transformative thinking is said to occur when students are willing to demonstrate autonomous thinking, open up on prejudiced views, are able to weigh evidence and assess arguments objectively, and look beyond superficial answers to difficult questions. Transformative, or changed thinking, is necessary to ensure that critical EDC/HRE for teacher education has positive and productive outcomes. As stated earlier in the chapter, we cannot assume that all teachers will naturally be inclined to mediate learning about, through and for human rights for democratic citizenship.

A problem that we face in South Africa, is that the liberal and secular underpinnings of the Constitution of South Africa and the national curriculum are at odds with the conservative religious or cultural worldviews of many South Africans (Ferguson, 2013). This is problematic for the way in which human and constitutional rights are interpreted by teachers of Life Orientation, which we noted is a carrier subject for HRE. It is for this reason that some form of intervention is necessary for teacher education students in preparation for their entry into the profession as Life Orientation specialists, if they are to be the torchbearers for HRE in schools (Flowers & Shiman, 1997). Hence, it is necessary to start the process of creating the democratic space in classes in teacher education courses to facilitate transformative learning for EDC/HRE in school classrooms.

Education for democratic citizenship and learning about, through and for human rights

The framework, learning about, through and for democracy and human rights provides a useful starting point for developing the professional knowledge base in teacher education. This proposed framework is in keeping with the programme proposed in the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training (Article 2) (2011) (cf. Tibbitts, 2017; Bajaj, 2011). This is also in keeping with the United Nations General Assembly (November 2012) Resolution on Education for Democracy. The General Assembly recognises that "human rights, the rule of law and democracy are interlinked and mutually reinforcing" (UN General Assembly, 2012, pp. 1 and 2).

Learning about democracy and human rights

Learning about democracy and human rights should aim to strengthen understanding of concepts such as participatory democracy, human rights, cosmopolitan citizenship and other relevant concepts as these form the basic building blocks for the EDC/HRE programme. A thorough analysis of rights instruments contributes to the professional knowledge base of teachers. Basic citizenship and human rights knowledge are necessary as a "prerequisite for political awareness and transformative action" (Ahmed, 2018, p. 177). Learning about declarations does not need to be declarationist or top down, in the sense of being able to reproduce lists from the Bill of Rights or the Convention on the Rights of the Child. EDC/HRE must not stop at learning lists of rights contained in human rights declarations but must be taken further so that learners can engage with the contents in meaningful ways (McQuoid-Mason, 2019; Keet, 2012; Ahmed, 2018). Cases of actual human rights infringements emanating from the lived experiences of teachers, students/children or the broader community could be used for analysis using the UDHR, Conventions and the Bill of Rights as points of reference, seeking the disjuncture between such instruments and the material reality of individuals and communities in place-space-time (Becker & Roux, 2019).

Learning through democracy and human rights

Learning through takes content about human rights to the level of experience and action. Learning through human rights requires participation in inquiry communities as microcosms for living societal values (Ahmed, 2018) and the skills for active citizenship (Bajaj, 2011). Values such as equality, empathy, dignity and respect potentially conscientise students (see bell hooks above) to the struggles of others and provide opportunities to enact these in their relationships with teachers and fellow students. We should remember the discussion on cosmopolitan democracy earlier in the chapter at this point and what this means for HRE.

Learning through paves the way for learning for human rights as "powerful ethical statements that require moral action" (Spreen et al., 2018, p. 217). Often, human rights violations occur because power and privilege render vulnerable people invisible or unimportant. Learning through must utilise critical reflection and dialogue as tools to reveal unconscious biases as reasons for discrimination when dominator culture is allowed to prevail. This brings us back to why we need to create the democratic space in the classroom,

manifested in learning through participation in inquiry communities, as the environment required for values laden and purposeful HRE (CoE, 2020).

Learning for democracy and human rights

Learning for human rights entails applying the knowledge, skills and values acquired to demonstrate "living democracy and human rights" (Dürr, 2005, p. 21; McQuoid-Mason, 2019). Learning for human rights means to apply human rights thinking and values in the lives of students, taking action for promoting and defending human rights (CoE, 2020, p. 19).

Learning for human rights is concerned with agency, and the confidence to stand up for human rights, starting with what Eleanor Roosevelt referred to as "small places close to home" (Eleanor Roosevelt, cited in Flowers, 2000, p. v). Learning for human rights requires transformative thinking and action on the part of the teacher and students, especially where people who have been othered are concerned (Bajaj, 2011), or silenced because they do not fit with images people have of the good citizen.

Learning about and through democracy and human rights

While learning about and through democracy and human rights could be task-based in the classroom and wider school community, learning for should not stay in the classroom, but as far as possible, extend into the broader community. The extent to which this is possible in schools depends on the age and grade of learners, but in teacher education programmes students could take on volunteering in places 'close to home', as many of my students have done over the last decade.

Some students volunteered in homes for abandoned babies, others in homes for abandoned and orphaned children, yet others in kitchens run by churches and other organisations to feed homeless and needy people in the city of Johannesburg. Some students are members of the youth activism programmes of non-government organisations (NGOs) and work collaboratively on issues that they feel strongly about.

One such organisation, The Ahmed Kathrada Foundation's youth programme, has a campaign named *#FreetoFlow*. According to the Foundation's website, *#FreetoFlow* is:

> … a campaign to support 500 young women with the provision of sanitary pads. This campaign is about ensuring we protect the dignity of women, ensuring they have equal access to freedom of movement and access to educational opportunities. This campaign runs parallel to an education and training program for our youth club members that addresses sexual, reproductive and menstrual health. (https://www.kathradafoundation.org/clubs/)

The *#FreetoFlow* campaign creates awareness of what has been an invisible plight for many girls in South Africa, many of whom lose about 12 to 14 weeks of school a year because they cannot afford sanitary wear. Who would have thought that something so basic could compromise the right to a quality education?

Concluding Reflections

This chapter is a contribution to the conversation with South African and Dutch researchers on human rights praxis in South Africa and The Netherlands. The chapter is a reflection on praxis developed over a number of years in response to the growing literature on human rights and HRE and my own experiences in teacher education. In this chapter, I provided some background to human rights and HRE in South Africa, some of the key criticisms of human rights and HRE and the developments in the national curriculum where HRE is concerned. Since HRE is embedded in carrier subjects, Life Orientation and History, not all teachers are exposed to education for democracy and human rights. The challenge here is that the intentions to infuse human rights in the national curriculum may not always be taken up by all teachers meaning that infringements of human rights, in the classroom and school community, could be unconsciously perpetuated by teachers, parents and learners.

There is no subject dedicated to human rights alone in the national curriculum, meaning that human rights are only dealt with explicitly in the carrier subjects, and only in limited ways. The Life Orientation curriculum includes topics on democracy and human rights, but the tendency in schools is to deliver this content in ways that are confined to declarations, such as the UDHR (1948) or the Bill of Rights (1996) in the Constitution of South Africa (1996). Very little time is given to learners to engage with complex human rights issues, especially those dealing with racism, religious and cultural diversity, gender identity and sexual orientation.

For this reason, when students sign up for Life Orientation and for the courses I run, it is necessary to start from scratch by introducing them to the meaning of cosmopolitan democratic citizenship and human rights. Since many South Africans have fragmented understandings of citizenship, democracy and human rights, the approach I have taken is to fuse democratic citizenship and HRE, creating bigger picture understanding. Working in inquiry communities in teacher education classes with transformative learning intentions provides the opportunities for critical reflection, critical self-reflection, dialogue, openness and other critical thinking skills necessary for HRE to thrive.

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5

Teacher education and human rights education: Practice and praxis in the Netherlands

Ina Ter Avest & Jan Durk Tuinier

Introduction

In this chapter, we start with a brief overview of the practice and praxis of human rights education (HRE) in Dutch teacher education, offered both at academic universities (preparing for a master's degree in Education) and at universities of applied sciences (preparing for a bachelor's degree in Pedagogy).

In this overview, the focus is on HRE as it is included in formal curricula – either as a compulsory subject or as an elective course in the so-called free space in which students can opt for an optional minor on issues of special interest to them (Section one). The second section of this chapter examines how HRE is included and practiced in teacher training. The larger part of this chapter following these sections considers the possible relation of HRE with Citizenship Education (CE) (Section three), and four examples of teaching materials developed by publishers for the learning areas of human rights and education. In the final section (Section four), HRE and its relation with CE is revisited and we place the bottom-up developed lines of thought side by side.

Section one: Human rights education in formal curricula of teacher education in the Netherlands

In the Netherlands, teachers train at universities of applied sciences for a bachelor's degree in Pedagogy, and at academic universities for a master's degree in Education. Based on analyses of websites of teacher training institutes (both at academic universities and universities of applied sciences), an online exploration of the teaching programmes they offer, and informal

interviews held with teachers and lecturers attached to teacher training programmes, we conclude that from a *Curriculum.nu* point of view, HRE is not included as a distinct compulsory subject in teacher training programmes. If students want to learn more about human rights, they can opt for an optional minor. These minors focus mostly on the legal aspects of human rights. Although human rights are a topic of constant concern at the governmental level, human rights are not explicitly included in the curricula and lesson plans of teacher training institutes and classrooms: a default in need of remedy. Outside the official curricula of individual schools (based on the Ministry of Education's directions regarding final/core objectives for CE and human rights), there is a hive of activity – publishers in the field of education, educational (pillarised) organisations, as well as individual teachers are committed to including HRE in their teaching materials (mostly implicitly). However, aside from these highly motivated personal initiatives outside the arena, there is a lack of structured implementation of HRE (in the broadest sense) in the curricula of professional and academic teacher training.

Human rights education in teacher training - Troubles ahead

Already in 2001, the *Stichting Leerplan Ontwikkeling* (SLO: Organisation for Curricula Development) made up for this lack of structural HRE implementation in school policy. In close cooperation with the *Platform Mensenrechten Educatie* (MRE: Platform for HRE), the SLO published *Mensenrechten door het curriculum* (Human Rights Throughout the Curriculum) (Schavemaker, 2006).[18] Referring to the Swedish situation, the recommendations of the authors of this document focus on basics of HRE in education – the inherent dignity and the equal, inalienable rights of all individuals belonging to the human community – and recommend that HRE should be leading in innovative educational initiatives. The teaching and learning of general and founding values of democracy should explicitly take up position in curricula, seen as resulting in a generally accepted value system that would strengthen the social cohesion of Dutch society. Again, the authors of the document are of the opinion that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, 1989) should be constitutive for the HRE teaching and learning of student-teachers. The document contains the explicit statement that HRE is concerned with the "content, structure, process and organisation of education in general and that HRE by consequence is directed to all levels of society and

18 https://www.ligarechtenvandemens.nl/mensenrechtenenonderwijs.html

school management as well as the levels of classroom and teaching material" (Schavemaker, 2006).

More than a decade later, in 2012, the publication *Burgerschap en mensenrechteneducatie* (Citizenship and HRE), intended for primary and secondary education, was released by the SLO (Bron & Van Vliet, 2012). One of the immediate causes for this publication were the findings of international research showing that Dutch students, compared to their peers in other countries, know little about human rights and that their endorsement of some fundamental rights falls short (Maslowski et al., 2010; Oomen & Vrolijk, 2010; Hurenkamp & Tonkens, 2011). The general opinion is that human rights are implicitly and sufficiently transmitted through, for example, the creation of a safe learning context, and in the policy that students have a say in school regulations (Bron & Van Vliet, 2021, p. 9). The government has stated that it is undesirable to "prescribe explicitly and in a detailed way how HRE in Dutch education should be implemented. Nevertheless, HRE should be included in primary and secondary education" (p. 9). Consequently, the internationally recognised governmental duty to include human rights in education and, accordingly, to develop HRE curricula and teaching materials, is left to the domain of individual developers and private publishers.

In contrast with the statement that HRE is directed to all levels of society and school management as well as the levels of classroom and teaching material (Bron & Van Vliet, 2012, p. 21). HRE is currently not structurally included in the curricula of Dutch teacher training. Implicitly, however, HRE is part of CE. Since 2006, CE has been a compulsory subject in all Dutch schools. Due to a general (vague?) description of the content of this new subject, and relating to the freedom of education in the Netherlands, all schools need to consider and decide for themselves how to include the how and what of CE – as vaguely set out in the law. In the next paragraph, we elaborate on lines of thought concerning the content of this new subject.

Section two: Citizenship education with(out) human rights

In this section, we present different articulations of the CE subject, and describe (in Section three) four examples of CE teaching material, which more or less include and/or address human rights and HRE.

In the publication *Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education* (EDC; and HRE), issued by the European Council, the statement is made that "Education for democratic citizenship and HRE are closely

inter-related and mutually supportive. They differ in focus and scope rather than in goals and practices. EDC focuses primarily on democratic rights and responsibilities and active participation […] while HRE is concerned with the broader spectrum of human rights and fundamental freedoms in every aspect of people's lives" (Council of Europe, 2010, p. 8). Research on teaching materials developed in the Netherlands shows that CE focuses on social cohesion, social commitment, and responsibility for society as a whole; this is indeed in line with the focus of EDC as stipulated above, leaving HRE out of the picture. Or, taking a different perspective, one might say that EDC suffers from a European colonial archive, a white western gaze and its subsequent distinction between 'us' and 'them' (Omarjee, 2020), (on the archive and culture of remembrance). As explained in Chapter three in this volume, the Dutch perception is that 'we' do not need HRE, it is 'them' who need be educated in the fundamental rights of living peacefully together – a perception that came to the fore in Dutch research on HRE in teacher training (Ter Avest & Stedenburg, 2019).

Below, we first present CE as conceptualised by the law, and subsequently describe categories of CE, as presented by the teacher-trainer Helene Leenders and the social-psychologist Wil Veugelers (2004) and the cultural historian Jan de Bas (2008).

Citizenship education according to law

In 2020, the Ministry of Education made the governmental decree for CE more explicit. The Ministry has stated:[19]

(i) Education stimulates active citizenship and social cohesion in a purposeful and coherent way, whereby education, according to Articles 8 and 17 of the amended legislative bill must in any case be recognisably focused on;

(ii) the acquisition of respect for and knowledge about basic values of a democratic constitutional state, as laid down in the Dutch Constitution, as well as the universal rights and freedoms of human beings; and

(iii) the development of social and societal competencies enabling the student to be(come) a member of, and contribute to, the plural democratic Dutch society.

19 Ministry of primary and secondary education, Wijziging van een aantal onderwijswetten in verband met verduidelijking van de burgerschapsopdracht aan scholen in het funderend onderwijs. https://www.eerstekamer.nl/behandeling/20201117/gewijzigd_voorstel_van_wet_9.

HRE is sometimes included in CE, either implicitly as a general frame of reference, as a starting point, or explicitly in teaching materials used for religious education or CE.

Complementary to – but not in consultation with – developments in the educational field, near the end of 2020 (November 29), a bill was put forward in parliament to accentuate the governmental decree on the compulsory subject of CE.[20] This new bill states that:

(i) Education promotes active citizenship and social cohesion in a targeted and coherent manner, whereby education must in any case focus recognisably on:
    a) teaching respect for and knowledge about the basic values of the democratic constitutional state, as enshrined in the Constitution, as well as the universally applicable fundamental rights and freedoms of human beings; and
    b) developing the social and societal competences that enable the pupil to be a member of, and contribute to, the pluriform, democratic Dutch society.

(ii) The competent authority ensures a school culture that is consistent with the values referred to in the first paragraph, part a, and creates an environment in which students are encouraged to actively practice dealing with these values (VO Raad, 2021).[21]

Objections raised against this articulation of CE are rooted in the freedom of education that governs the pillarised educational landscape of the Netherlands. These objections are in line with the obstacles encountered in implementing HRE under the cover of governmental interference in freedom of education. The Dutch pillarised education system allows for school cultures to be based on their own values, which may differ from the values of the democratic constitutional state. However, all schools are obliged to inform their learners about other value orientations (cf. Langeveld, 1969, see Chapter three), including those that differ from those practiced in Dutch society – in order to prevent othering (Jensen, 2011). In Dutch society, the freedom to be different is highly valued. On the other hand, differences sometimes give rise to fear (Nussbaum, 2012) of losing one's own typically Dutch identity – which is always under discussion. Princess Máxima, Argentinean by birth and now Queen of the Netherlands, concluded in 2007 from her citizenship

20 Wetsvoorstel aanscherping burgerschapsopdracht onderwijs. https://www.tweedekamer.nl/kamerstukken/wetsvoorstellen/detail?id=2019Z23710&dossier=35352.

21 https://www.vo-raad.nl/themas/burgerschap/onderwerpen/515.

course – her introduction to Dutch culture and its ethos – stated that the Netherlands is too versatile to sum up in one cliché, i.e., *the* Dutch identity does not exist. According to the opponents of the above-mentioned 2020 bill on CE, difference is part of a dynamic balance between (sub-)communities in society that come with their own life orientations. This organic balance must not be destroyed by the monoculture of the basic values of the democratic constitutional state (Van Schoonhoven, 2020).

Citizenship education in categories

CE in everyday school practice takes a start in one of three categories, as revealed in the research results of Veugelers (2003, 2005; see also Blaauwendraad, 2018).

- Adaptive citizenship – with its focus on being part of the Dutch community and its age-old characteristic culture;
- Individualistic citizenship – with its focus on autonomy and awareness of one's own rights in society;
- Critical-democratic citizenship – individual rights are combined with social duties. Adaptation and discipline come together in social responsibility.

CE and HRE align with each other, argues the cultural historian De Bas (2008), following the ideas of the Council of Europe: "They differ in focus and scope rather than in goals and practices. EDC as well as CE focuses primarily on democratic rights and responsibilities and active participation (…) while HRE is concerned with the broader spectrum of human rights and fundamental freedoms in every aspect of people's lives" (Council of Europe, 2010a, p. 8).

To Veugeler's triad (2003), De Bas (2008) adds *bezield burgerschap* (impassioned citizenship) – by this he means that citizens are inspired by a religious or secular life orientation/worldview (De Bas, 2008, p. 13). This aspect is further developed by Miedema (2009), Miedema and Ter Avest (2011) and Miedema and Bertram-Troost (2014). Miedema (2009) pleads for the inclusion of religion in CE for all pupils in all schools (state schools as well as denominational affiliated schools in the pillarized Dutch education system) as it is a substantial part of pupils' identity development. In his publication with Ter Avest (Miedema & Ter Avest, 2011) the vision on CE is further elaborated making use of McLaughlin's distinction in minimal and maximal CE. Miedema & Bertram-Troost (2014) articulate the interrelatedness of CE, (inter)worldview education and human rights. Building on Dewey (1916)

Miedema and Bertram-Troost (2014, p. 73) state that it is highly desirable that pupils in the 'embryonic society' of the school "experience or get confronted by and become acquainted with the other students' religion or worldview". According to Miedema and Bertram-Troost (2014, p. 73) pupils who were confronted with diverse life orientations in the 'embryonic society' will profit from these experiences as participative citizens in society at large – living together in freedom, dignity and equality.

In addition to citizenship categories, De Bas (2008, p. 10) points to three different levels of citizenship:

(i) the micro level, referring to the school as a whole (school culture) and one's peers (classmates);
(ii) the meso level, referring to the school's social environment (its localisation), the neighbourhood with its societal organisations;
(iii) the macro level, referring to the Dutch democratic society, and the larger civic society of Europe (De Bas, 2008, pp. 10-11).

De Bas (2008) proceeds by giving examples of CE lessons designed for primary education (according to De Bas, all examples of good practice). The following themes and activities come to the fore: being different, the interviewing of civil servants, composing a song on animal rights, playing a dilemma game (about ethics and rules), and playing a *kwartetspel* (Happy Families card game) dedicated to children's rights (developed by Amnesty International). Children's rights are the focus of the teaching materials developed by the Janus Korczak Foundation. Providing information about children's rights (*Kinderrechten.nl*) is combined with playful familiarisation with responsibilities for the world we live in (in the musical *Code Rood,* developed for 12-year-old children).

In conclusion, based on Veugelers' distinction between three types of CE (2003, 2005), we can say that the focus of CE lies on social commitment, active participation, responsibility for societal issues, as well as being on terms with diversity as expressed in the Dutch society – along with a warning about the danger of radicalisation (De Bas, 2008, p. 11). In CE, the school is seen as a context for students to practice human rights.

From De Bas (2008) we learn that identity development and awareness of the political situation go together in CE. Europe, as the larger civic society to which the Netherlands belongs, is explicitly included in the scope of CE.

However, as shown above, the focus in Dutch CE practices lies on being a citizen in the Netherlands – with minor attention given to Europe. In terms of legal decrees, the Dutch CE subject has only been sketchily/vaguely filled in. So-called primary educational objectives about the content – the 'what' of CE – that have been legally stipulated, have the effect of creating a blurred and limited space for schools to implement CE in curricula in their own way. Moreover, in decrees about the 'what' of CE, HRE has not been explicitly included. The freedom of education – as understood in the Netherlands – and the subsequent lack of national education programmes, results in the fragmented responsibility of each school to include CE into their curricula in their own desired way – the 'how' of CE – with or without paying attention to HRE.

Citizenship education — On the edge between selfishness and public interest

A critical approach of CE, particularly of the concept of equality in the subject, is offered by Gertie Blaauwendraad (2018) in her PhD research on CE through the perspective of normative professionalisation. She distinguishes between living together with known others (e.g., in the family) and living together with unknown others (i.e., in the public domain). In CE the concern is about unknown others – citizens in the public domain. In the public domain, the *Gesellschaft,* says Blaauwendraad (2018), social justice is the core concept that governs living together with unknown others, since "in the public domain laws [apply] to safeguard the general interest of people – unknown to each other" (Blaauwendraad, 2018, p. 51). Some degree of injustice may be tolerable, according to the philosopher Margalit (in: Blaauwendraad, 2018, p. 52) (see below). However, people should not be humiliated. A minimal view of social justice is that people are not humiliated, but respected, and – following Blaauwendraad – that people practice every day anew the virtues of wisdom, courage and moderation.

Blaauwendraad (2018, pp. 59-60) refers to Ricoeur, claiming that the centrality of the good life with unknown others is justice, based on equality. This equality does not refer to an equal distribution of advantages and disadvantages (distributive justice), but points to a division in line with people's strengths and capabilities; equity – in some cases, an *un*equal distribution. This interpretation of social justice is limited by a legal interpretation of justice, as laid down in the UDHR (1948). Based on, and related to, these different interpretations, equity and fairness emerge, constituting practical wisdom. Schools, according to Blaauwendraad (2018), are not embryonal societies

where citizenship can be practiced. What schools can do, is facilitate the imagination that is required to walk in the shoes of the other and to judge the situations of others from the perspective of fairness and equity. Most needed in schools are the practices of argumentation, discussion and negotiation on the edge between selfishness and the public interest, focusing on the common good of a just society. A just society, based on the virtues of wisdom, courage and moderation. Citizens must be free to evaluate and judge, need to be courageous enough to speak out, and must exercise moderateness in order to transform selfishness into public interest (Blaauwendraad, 2018, p. 54).

Section three: Citizenship education and human rights education: Examples of good practice[22]

To concretise the governmental directives for the CE subject, and to fill the current gap in school curricula, a diverse group of organisations has begun to develop directives and teaching materials for CE, which implicitly or explicitly include HRE.

In November 2020, as a directive for headmasters/mistresses of primary schools and principals of secondary schools, VOS/ABB (the Dutch Foundation for Public Education) – in close collaboration with other organisations in the domain of education – issued a letter to the members of parliament, a plea to "structurally facilitate [education] in the professionalisation, training and support of teachers within the domain of citizenship education."[23] According to the representatives of parties who signed the letter,[24] there is need for professionalisation of teachers in teaching the subject of CE. Experts in pedagogy and life orientation should be included in a 'teach-the-teachers' professionalisation programme. Such a 'teach-the-teachers' programme need not re-invent the wheel; as described in chapter three in this volume – and in more detail below – the fact is that experts working in NGOs, and teaching materials developed by such experts, can be a source of inspiration for the incorporation of pedagogical strategies, including principles based on life orientation(s). After all, human rights offer a life orientation(s) related view on living together in a diverse world.

22 In 2022 SLO published Kinder- en Mensenrechten [Children and Human Right], with some examples of teaching material.

23 https://www.vosabb.nl/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/open-brief-tweede-kamer-burgerschap.pdf.

24 https://www.vo-raad.nl/nieuws/open-brief-tweede-kamer-structurele-ondersteuning-nodig-bij-burgerschapsonderwijs.

Below, we present examples of concrete methods developed by NGOs to include HRE in schools – not merely as a right to receive education in human rights, but even more to stimulate a human rights climate in schools. In an abbreviated format, we describe the content and pedagogical strategies of four approaches: a human rights approach (Amnesty International), a peace education approach (V-Lab Express), a religion-informed/-based approach (Aflatoun; *Krachtbronnen*), and a holistic approach (Curriculum.nu). In our overview we pay attention to Amnesty International's *Toolbox Mensenrechten op school* (Toolbox Human Rights at School),[25] the (bilingual Dutch/German) *V-LAB Express* (Peace-LAB Express)[26] of the Foundation for Peace Education, Aflatoun's teaching materials for the subject of Global Citizenship,[27] the *Krachtbronnen/samen leren leven*[28] teaching method (Sources of Empowerment/Learning to Live Together) and last but not least *Curriculum.nu* .[29] We present these initiatives as examples of good practice, implemented in some schools on teachers' initiatives, and (according to the authors of this chapter) ready to be implemented in a structural way in education – whether or not adjusted to the specific pillarised educational context of the Netherlands.

Amnesty international

The *Toolbox Mensenrechten op school* (Toolbox Human Rights at School) consists of three parts, describing subsequently human rights (knowledge transmission), human rights at school (school policy; the meso level), and human rights in the classroom (didactics and methods; the micro level).

In the first part (part A), human rights are described as foundational for quality education. A general introduction to human rights is followed by six starting points for the rights of the child.

(i) Decisions are made in the best interest of the child's development;
(ii) Children learn about and practice human rights in the school context;
(iii) Inclusive education – no child is excluded;
(iv) Every child gets to participate in conversations and activities;

25 https://www.amnesty.nl/actueel/toolbox-mensenrechetne-op-school.
26 https://www.vredeseducatie.nl/v-lab-express/
27 https://www.aflatoun.org/gender-sensitive-global-citizenship-and-life-skills-education-for-youth/
28 https://krachtbronnen.nl.
29 https://www.curriculum.nu.

(v) Equal opportunities to ensure full scope development of children's talents;
(vi) Responsibility and accountability.

Pedagogical strategy

The Toolbox's pedagogical strategy circles around three basic concepts: knowledge – understanding, competencies, and attitudes. Its approach is identified as education *about, through* and *for* human rights.

(i) about: knowledge-based; pupils learn about the creation of the UDHR (1948);
(ii) through: school culture-based; an inclusive school climate, imbued with respect, stimulation of pupil participation in dialogue, and 'practicing what you preach';
(iii) for: rooted in an active attitude; stimulation of justice-oriented actions, equality and respect in regard to human rights and children's rights.

The pedagogical strategy is elaborated in a learning pathway for three different age groups in primary school: 4-6-year-olds, 7-9-year-olds and 10-12-year-olds. In a similar way, the pedagogical strategy in the Toolbox is concretised in didactics for 4- to 18-year-old pupils in *voorbereidend middelbaar beroeps onderwijs (vmbo*; pre-vocational education), and 12- to 15-year-old pupils in *havo* (higher general continued education).

School policy

The commitment of each and every professional working at the school is required to create an inclusive educational climate. For the pupils, the professionals are 'examples of good practices' in human rights in terms of their day-to-day behaviour. In addition, the architecture of the school and the equipment available in the classroom also have their impact. School policy and its practicalities are elaborated upon in the second part of the Toolbox (part B).

Teaching methods

In the third part of the Toolbox, concrete teaching methods are presented (part C). In line with the learning pathways, these methods are categorised according to the identified age groups and education levels. Below, examples are presented for the different age groups: 4-6-year-olds, 7-12-year-olds, 13-18-year-olds.

4-6-year-olds: the core concepts are equality, equity, being different, and responsibility.

The teacher reads from the children's book *Kikker en de vreemdeling* ('The Frog and the Foreigner', Velthuijs, 2006). After reading from the book, the teacher invites the pupils to engage in a class conversation, starting with questions like: 'What to do if you don't speak the language?', 'Is being different strange or funny?', 'How come they don't like Rat, the foreigner?'

7-12-year-olds: the core concepts are participation, freedom of speech, rights and duties

The children are asked to think about rules for the classroom. In case the rules are formulated negatively (we don't run around), the teacher reformulates them positively (in the school we walk quietly). In addition to rules, the children think about responsibilities that come with such rules. For example, the rule 'everyone is allowed to express their opinion' is accompanied by the rule 'I must give room to the opinions of others'. The pupils also think about sanctions that are imposed in case of rule violations. An important question discussed is whether these rules also apply to teachers and parents. The final draft of the rules is decided upon in consultation, and pinned up on the wall, visible to everyone who enters the classroom – a safe space defined by classroom rules.

13-18-year-olds: the core concepts are the right to education, the rights of handicapped persons, and inclusive education

The pupils read a form with five statements (accompanied by illustrations), such as: 'Our school is accessible for children in wheelchairs (there is an elevator)' and 'Our school enables communication with deaf children by teaching sign language'. These statements are discussed in smaller groups of 4-5 pupils. Based on these discussions, the pupils formulate recommendations on how their school can become a (more) inclusive school.

Stichting vredeseducatie (Foundation for peace education)

The concept of peace

In the Netherlands, the *Stichting Vredeseducatie* (Foundation for Peace Education, FPE) has developed a variety of educational materials for teachers and parents alike, aimed at putting the core concepts of peace, freedom

and democracy into practice. The shortest definition of peace is 'the period between two wars'. However, the FPE understands peace as a verb, as an action mode for all people: in all situations where people take care of themselves, of each other and of the earth, this is called peace. Where people stand up for human rights and fight injustice, expose prejudice, investigate and banish bullying in the classroom, this is peace. We can all be peacemakers, every day, in nearly all circumstances: it is the normal mode of functioning for human beings. There is much peace around us, despite all the bad news that reaches us on a daily basis.

Human rights are part of our DNA

Throughout evolution the ability to cooperate has been one of mankind's most important success factors. The same holds for empathy and compassion. The capacity to make peace and advocate human rights is in our DNA. Preconditional for the flourishing of this capacity is an educational climate in which this specific ability can be awakened and practiced; a climate that can be created in families, schools, broader society, and even museums where students are given the opportunity to discover themselves as just and peaceful human beings. At some point in our childhood or youth, we must all be given the opportunity to realise that having human rights by birth, means that we must learn, practice and advocate them in order to create a human rights culture. This awareness is the root of HRE.

Interactive exhibitions

The FPE has developed dozens of interactive exhibitions for museums and educational organisations, running in 12 European countries. These exhibitions explore peace, freedom, civics, democracy and human rights. At first glance, they address all kinds of social problems, but visiting students quickly discover that everything revolves around their own positionality. Walking through the exhibitions, they dive into dialogues about their own positions regarding worldviews, doubts, opinions, prejudices and ambitions. FPE exhibitions facilitate a process of investigating one's own democratic values.

A distinctive principle governing the exhibitions is 'Don't cook and serve a meal, but give students the ingredients and let them cook their own meal'. By way of attractive metaphors, like Freedom Express, Peace Labyrinth and V-Lab Express (Peace-LAB Express), students are invited to explore the strengths and weaknesses of living together in the midst of differences

throughout history and in contemporary daily life, and the pivotal role of group dynamics in this.

A further characteristic of FPE exhibitions are challenging pedagogies and interactive methods guided by teachers who act as partners in the learning process – teachers who listen, ask questions, and summarise the students' answers and observations to facilitate their autonomous process of drawing conclusions.

The interactive methodology has been researched by the *Fort van de Democratie* (Fortress of Democracy) in 2011 (Tuinier & Visser, 2011; Tuinier et al., n.d.) and 2018 (Van Leeuwen, 2018). The findings of these research projects show that FPE interactive exhibitions broaden the horizons of students (16-18-year-olds, in vocational education), enabling them to articulate their positionality regarding the core concepts of democracy (cf. Hermens, Van Kapel, Van Wonderen & Booijink, 2016).

'V-LAB Express' – An example of good practice

In 2009, the Council of Europe's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) published material on good practices in human rights implemented in school systems. One of these 'good practices' was a Dutch tool called 'The Peace Factory: A Mobile Interactive Exhibition on Peace, Conflict, Freedom, Prejudices and the Scapegoat Phenomenon.' This tool was developed by FPE. The target group of Peace Factory are 11-18-year-old students. The tool stimulates students to reflect on their own beliefs, prejudices, group behaviour and multiculturality. Peace Factory is an exhibition-like experience, consisting of interactive stations where young people are invited to carry out activities, make choices and – most importantly – to share their opinions in the format of constructive dialogues. Such dialogues circle around themes like fact and opinion, prejudices, refugees, and peace. Visiting The Peace Factory takes about one hour.

Peace Factory was further developed into a German-Dutch project called V-LAB. V-LAB is a travelling exhibition that can be set up both indoors and outdoors. The interactive stations cover legal knowledge-related tasks (such as: what is the meaning of Article 1 of the Dutch Constitution?), as well as tasks pointing to the difference between what you see in a picture and what you think/experience/interpret when you look at a picture. A substantial part of the tasks connects to the meaning and interpretation(s) of freedom.

Aflatoun

Recently, at a secondary school in Rotterdam, in the school year 2020-2021, the subject *Wereldburgerschap* (Global Citizenship) was designed according to the vision and mission of Aflatoun, an international organisation.

Aflatoun's vision expresses concern about children's development of autonomy and economic independence. According to Aflatoun, "socially and economically empowered children and young people can act as agents of change in their own lives for a more equitable world."[30] With its vision and mission, the organisation responds to Article 29 of the CRC (1989), which stipulates children must be enabled to contribute to a just and free democratic society. On the Aflatoun website[31] we read that the developed material is child-centred and contains social and financial themes-in-context. The material's aim is for children and young people to learn about themselves, their rights and responsibilities, and their possibilities to save money and start business activities, or activities as volunteers.

As mentioned above, Aflatoun's two-year programme was put into practice by the Global Citizenship department of a secondary school in Rotterdam. The department consisted of five teachers, whose subject areas were Economy, English, Biology, History and Physical education. For implementation of the two-year programme, the teachers had to attend a three-day workshop familiarising them with experiential learning. The workshop introduced the teachers to the principles of the Aflatoun approach: proximity to the life world of students (contextualisation), interactive and activating pedagogy, and a focus on personal identity development in relation to financial aspects and initiatives in the field of societal issues.

Identity development, including the development of a personal religious or secular life orientation, marks the start of the Aflatoun teaching material. Students are invited to reflect on themselves, their sexual identity, their families, friends, and their dreams for their future in Dutch society – a society characterised by unity in diversity. Special attention is given to their rights and responsibilities in this plural society. To become acquainted and familiar with the other who lives in different parts of the country, the students from Rotterdam (one of the metropolitan areas in the west of the Netherlands)

30 https://www.aflatoun.org/about/

31 https://www.aflatoun.org/what-we-do/

spent a night with a family living in the rural area of Wijchen (a small village in the east of the Netherlands).

The contextualisation of the Aflatoun material becomes visible in the attention given by this school – which has a diverse student population – to different religious and secular worldviews. In pairs, or in small groups, the students researched religious and secular traditions different from their own, and presented their findings to their classmates. Sustainability was concretised by an assignment to measure one's own ecological footprint. For the subject of Human Rights, the students created a short video. Unique about these videos was that every aspect, from beginning to end, was developed and created by the students themselves. They came up with the stories, wrote the scripts, played the lead characters, and edited the videos. Starting point for the videos was the invitation extended to the students to carefully read each of the 54 human rights, and to choose one to visualise in their video. One video was about being/becoming resilient to discrimination. Poverty was made visible through visiting a food bank. The concretisation of the latter two subjects triggered the wish of students to become active in these fields. They were courageous and felt free (!) to express themselves in a video. Finally, lessons in planning and budgeting helped the students to transform their ideals and hunger to be(come) meaningful to others, into concrete, manageable projects, teaching them to contribute to society as participative citizens.

Krachtbronnen (Sources of empowerment)

Following governmental directives, the *Krachtbronnen* teaching method (Sources of Empowerment), was designed to stimulate the social-emotional development of children (Brokerhof et al., 2014). The starting point is the right of every child to develop its own authentic identity and worldview. By way of integrating social-emotional development, world view education and religious education, *Krachtbronnen* has been adapted to the educational objectives formulated for CE, not only for primary education but also for special needs education.[32] This method was redesigned and implemented in a single primary school; a joint project between the teacher team and the board of public schools in the city of Rotterdam (*Stichting BOOR*, Foundation *BOOR*). In the future, this teaching material will also be further adapted for special needs education.

32 To respond to the needs of schools and teachers with special-need-pupils close cooperation was established with BOOR (BOOR, Foundation of Public Schools in the City of Rotterdam).

In the *Krachtbronnen* teaching materials, the educational objectives of social-emotional development, citizenship education, human rights, and religious education are merged. The research, development and final publication was done with continuous participation of multiple teacher teams. The result of this development process and the pilot studies is online teaching material, a treasury of information, assignments, video's, audio stories, talk drawings and pictures. A *Bronnenboekje* (booklet with inspiration sources) and a *Werkervaringsboekje* (exercise and experience booklet/journal), together referred to as the *Krachtbronnen* lend support to the online teaching material, which is dealt with in class.

The *Bronnenboekje* is a collection of poems and short stories, illustrated with pictures and photos, with headings like 'Smile', 'The best year ever', 'Sider at Samu', and 'How can the air be a possession?'.

The *Werkervaringsboekje* invites pupils to become actively involved in the stories, stimulating the acquisition of experiential knowledge and the integration of new knowledge through various exercises: answering story-related questions, writing a new story about the same or a similar theme, or interviewing a classmate/friend/parent about the topic of the lesson.

The publication of the *Krachtbronnen* material for primary education is the fruit of a project that seeks to trigger children's reflection on what is important and valuable in their lives. According to the author team, such a reflection process is a way for children to develop a personal, authentic life orientation. Through *Krachtbronnen*, pupils learn to live together with others, and to consider what is needed to live together in a country in the midst of diversity. Inspiration sources are drawn from a variety of religious traditions: narratives, poems, words of wisdom and quotes. In addition, videos and songs are selected to watch and listen to in the classroom. Children are given a variety of tasks to facilitate their exploration of the search for meaning in life.

Human rights are at the heart of the *Krachtbronnen* teaching materials, which manifests in the (re)presentation of all the major festivals of the various (religious and secular) worldviews throughout the method. In their lessons, teachers integrate human rights values in a way that is line with the children's social-emotional development and support the development of a personal (religious or secular) worldview and unique identity – objectives that are included in the UDHR (1948) and the CRC (1989). Human rights values are concretely practiced in the classroom, implicitly and sometimes

explicitly, depending on the teacher's interests and preferences. In all cases, teachers are expected to be(come) an example of good human rights practice, to model these rights – 'be the change'. The parents, in turn, participate in the school's policy and are stimulated to contribute to a culture of human rights in the school community as a whole. Teacher teams who use *Krachtbronnen* are invited to see beyond the boundaries of the school, beyond national boundaries and even beyond Europe (which is exceptional!). Furthermore, the teams are implicitly familiarised with *Ubuntu* (an African worldview which states that individual human beings are part of a larger relational, societal, and environmental world).

Citizenship Education in *Curriculum.nu*

The starting point of CE are human rights; the implementation thereof remains implicit. The goal of CE is to develop students' competencies to contribute to a democratic and diverse culture, based on their own ideals, values and norms, within the framework of a democratic constitutional state (*Onderwijsraad*/Educational Council, 2012). In the Netherlands, the interpretation and concretisation of these democratic values is left to the individual (boards of) schools, in line with the schools' (religious or secular) value orientations. In the context of CE, students practice the core values of democracy and diversity in societal issues. In a safe climate, in different school subjects and in boundary-crossing projects, students acquire knowledge and competencies for their constructive participation in the Dutch society.

As a subject, CE contributes to qualification, socialisation and subjectification (Biesta, 2012). The tensions between autonomy, inclusion and social cohesion, rooted in shared values are part of CE. In the context of CE, the school is seen as a place and space to encounter 'the other', and to practice coping with differences. CE challenges students to see the connections between their own life world and societal issues, individual and institutional power, and responsibilities. They are informed about law-making and law-implementation, and how to influence such processes in a democratic way. As a subject, it broadens students' horizons beyond the school context and the local context of the neighbourhood/village/city, to the European and global level.

Under the heading of *Curriculum.nu* – since spring 2018 – some 150 teachers and school leaders have been working together in development teams on nine subject areas, to create proposals for the revision of the curriculum for primary and secondary education. As a part of this process, the vision and

educational objectives of CE have been elaborated in 11 *grote opdrachten* (great assignments, themes). These are: freedom and equality, power and participation, democratic culture, identity, diversity, solidarity, digital society, sustainability, globalisation, technical citizenship, and reflection and action. Each of these themes is subdivided into so-called *bouwstenen* (building blocks) for the levels of primary education, lower secondary education, and higher secondary education. The relationships that each building block has with other great assignments, and with other building blocks, is carefully elaborated in the revision proposals.

In the next section, we hold the above-described initiatives up to the light of the ongoing discussion about CE with(out) HRE, the three CE categories discerned by Veugelers (2005; 2015), supplemented with a fourth category by De Bas (2008), and the three HRE models distinguished by Tibbitts (2017).

Section four: Citizenship education with(out) human rights - revisited

In Article 2 of the UN Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training (2011), the pedagogical strategies and didactics of HRE are described as follows:

- Participative/interactive methodology – aims at motivating students and engaging them in the learning process. At the end of the day, the goal is for students to understand what human rights are about, and to be able to apply human rights values;
- Empowerment methodology – focuses on students' agency. Through empowerment strategies, the development of students' capacities to influence their environment is stimulated;
- Transformative methodology – aims at personal transformation and social transformation through human rights activism. This activism involves not only collective activism directed towards governments, but also the individual activism of ordinary people in their daily lives.

In summary, it can be said that the goal of HRE in its broadest sense is (1) to provide knowledge about, and understanding of, the ethics and principles of human rights and the values that underpin them, and (2) to put in place mechanisms for their protection and the prevention of human rights violations, by providing adequate pedagogical strategies and didactics. How is this recognisable in the teaching material developed in the organisations/projects described above?

Amnesty International – Human rights education with a clear flavour of citizenship education

In the *Toolbox Mensenrechten op school*, HRE is explicitly included in the teaching materials. The school is seen as the world in miniature.

The Toolbox starts with clear information about human rights and children's rights. Amnesty International's pedagogical strategy is identified as education *about, through* and *for* human rights. *About* refers to knowledge transfer; *through* points to an inclusive school culture, stimulating dialogicality; *for* refers to an active attitude, the stimulation of justice-oriented actions, equality and respect. Justice, equality and respect in regard to human rights and children's rights are the key concepts in Amnesty's material.

Amnesty's approach shows aspects of Veugelers' (2004) concept of critical-democratic citizenship. Modelling human rights is important in Amnesty's pedagogical strategy, which shows clear similarities with the participative/interactive methodology and slight similarities with the empowerment methodology. Imagination – walking in the shoes of the other – is stimulated in the teaching materials, as are dialogicality and participative citizenship in respect to the school community as a world in miniature.

Stichting Vredeseducatie and Its V-LAB – Peace education with a flavour of citizenship education and human rights education

The founding principles and core concepts of the *Stichting Vredeseducatie* include the core values of the UDHR (1948). V-LAB is based on the human rights concepts of freedom and equality. The focus of V-LAB lies on individual students' knowledge and awareness of the requirements for peaceful living together in the Netherlands. By providing a variety of imagination-stimulating tasks, students are invited to explore and enrich their knowledge of the civil rights enshrined in the Dutch Constitution, grasp the difference between facts and mere opinions, and learn about different interpretations and limitations of the concept 'freedom'.

V-LAB's approach leans on the concepts of individualistic and critical-democratic citizenship as described by Veugelers. Its pedagogical strategy is informed by a participative/interactive methodology and is concretised in tasks that stimulate reflection and dialogue. In the tasks, empowerment is only touched upon, namely on an individual level.

Aflatoun – Global citizenship with room for human rights education

Aflatoun's scope is global, which becomes visible in the way they pay attention to sustainability and poverty. Special in their approach is the attention given to identity development and autonomy, particularly regarding finances. Acquiring knowledge and greater awareness, and an activist attitude are brought together in projects students need to plan and budget for after studying the concept of the ecological footprint and visiting a food bank. Human rights are given explicit attention by challenging the students to create a video about observations they made in their own context about just implementation or violation of human rights.

Krachtbronnen – Citizenship education and religious education with(out) human rights education

Human rights are implicitly at the heart of the *Krachtbronnen* teaching materials, and are – implicitly – also a component of religious education classes. The focus lies on living together in peace, in the classroom and in society. The model behaviour of teachers is important; they are expected to be(come) examples of good HRE practice, to 'be the change'. The school's culture is expected to be(come) a living example of a human rights culture. These characteristics can be seen as representations/concretisations of the core values of freedom, dignity and equality as mentioned in Felisa Tibbitts' *Values and awareness-socialisation* model. In this model the mentioned values are at the bottom of the pyramid, heading for the *Activist-transformation* model at the top (Tibbits, 2017; see Chapter one in this volume). As values, they are also central to the concept of impassioned citizenship.

Pupils are invited to be(come) actively involved with the other – be it the other in poems or stories (fairy tales, biblical narratives, heroic legends) or the 'real other' nearby or farther away. The aim is for pupils to develop an authentic (religious or secular) life orientation, whereby awareness of human rights values (and implicitly *Ubuntu*, as a worldview centred on communal living), is stimulated. The pedagogical strategy is characterised by a participative/interactive methodology, concretised in tasks that invite students to integrate existing and new knowledge.

Curriculum.nu – Citizenship education with a flavour of human rights education

The project *Curriculum.nu* has been elaborated in detail for both primary and (lower and higher) secondary education. Socialisation, as well as critical and constructive participation in a democratic culture, with its core values of freedom, equality and solidarity, are central to the curriculum revision proposals. This looks like the *Values and awareness-socialisation* model (Tibbits, 2017), leaning on Veugelers' (2004) concept of critical-democratic citizenship.

The pedagogical strategy mirrors a participative/interactive methodology. The pedagogical strategy of CE, according to *Curriculum.nu*, consists of knowledge transmission (initiation into a democratic culture), exploration of democratic institution(s), and dialogue on societal issues. For each building block, the educational objectives are clearly described. How the described pedagogical strategies should be filled in and concretised in terms of didactics and subsequent teaching materials, is left to individual school boards, which gives room to individual school climates/specific (secular, religious or pedagogical) identities.

Above we investigated the way HRE, in its broadest sense, is recognisable in teaching materials developed by Amnesty International, the Foundation for Peace Education (especially its *V-LAB*), for the *Krachtbronnen* teaching method, by Aflatoun, and by *Curriculum.nu*. The aim of HRE, in its broadest sense, we know, is to provide knowledge about, and understanding of (1) the ethics and principles of human rights and the values that underpin them, and of (2) the mechanisms put in place for their protection and the prevention of human rights violations. Creating awareness of (3) the possible implications for activism relating to present-day issues of human rights violations, may be added to this. HRE seeks to accomplish this broad aim by providing adequate pedagogical strategies and didactics.

In general, as we have shown above, the activism aspect has received little attention in the Netherlands so far. Aflatoun is seemingly an exception to this. In her lecture 'From Nobody to Somebody', Femke Halsema, now mayor of Amsterdam, already called for activism at the grassroots level in 2012 when she stated in an interview "[H]uman rights can develop a strong 'upstream force' if, at the grassroots level, people become aware that they are 'somebody' and if human rights come to life for them." (Halsema, 2012, p. 514). In the conclusion of her lecture, she called for "human rights activism

based on solidarity, based on new foundations. Not through the slow UN bureaucracy and large, similarly slow NGOs, but at the grassroots level, together with the people concerned."

In 2015, however, it was still noticed that "there is a lack of sufficient understanding of the right of the child to have its best interests taken into account as a primary consideration, in particular by judges and other professionals (like teachers, addition by author) working for and with children" (Arts 2015, p. 376). In her reflection on human rights in the Netherlands, Arts (2015, p. 380) continues that "while HRE is regarded as an important instrument in its external human rights policy, in its domestic policy the Dutch Government has taken the stance that this is not a state affair but a freedom of schools, families and civil society organisations". In Arts' (2015, p. 381) view, the focus should be on "the promotion of critical thinking and on equipping people with the necessary skills to become aware of and respond to stereotypes and discriminatory and intolerant behaviour and human rights issues at large".

Based on the descriptions of the developed teaching materials referring to/built on human rights, we conclude that only scattered and diluted HRE is taught in Dutch classrooms – not in a structured way, but based on the personal interests of individual teachers dedicated to the subject. It goes without saying that in the Netherlands the school is seen as a place and space for practicing the required competencies to live in a democratic and diverse society – this means the ability to live together with unknown others. So far, no attention is paid to the consequences of living together with familiar others, or to the values of wisdom, courage and moderation required for a just society. Nor is there any explicit mention of the development of competencies in argumentation, discussion and negotiation; competences that come into play on the edge between selfishness and public interest.

For the good of students, the interrelatedness of the micro, meso and macro levels of CE/HRE needs further research. Combining top-down directives of policy makers with bottom-up, dedicated initiatives at the grassroots level, might be successful for the implementation of HRE in Dutch curricula. Either substantially more explicit material, or as building block for CE, or a separate HRE subject.

In the rationale of teachers, so far, human rights have been a topic of lesser importance, while at the grassroots level the attention for explicit HRE highly depends on individual teachers' interests and expertise (Den Ouden, 2020).

To arrive at practices and praxis of human rights at the grassroots level – in the classroom – more research is needed on teachers, who are children's guides to a human rights culture. Important factors here are the positionality of teachers regarding HRE, their (religious or secular) life orientation-related perception(s) of HRE, and their personal relationship with HRE pedagogical strategies. Last but not least, an important (facilitating or hindering) aspect is the school's formal and informal culture regarding HRE. This will be explored in greater detail in chapter 7, as this chapter focuses on normative professionalisation and normative (world citizenship) education – place-space-time based!

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6

Re-storying human rights education: A dialogical exploration of teacher identity

Janet Jarvis

Introduction

Human Rights Education (HRE) cannot simply be a theoretical exercise. Human rights, or the implementation thereof, affect lived human experience. Currently held narratives of lived experience are questioned and dialogically explored. Integrally linked to any such exploration is the identity of the explorer. Identity needs to be considered in terms of a balance between structural factors and individual agency. It can be said that individuals are influenced to varying degrees by systems and networks of power in society, including dominant discourses. However, they also have the capacity to 'make' themselves, to varying degrees, according to the way in which they respond to the intersections that shape identity, including ethnicity, culture, class, religion, gender, sexual orientation and so forth.

This chapter seeks to explore teacher identity in relation to an HRE framework. In the first instance teacher religious identity is unpacked with a view to transformed Religion Education. The chapter then goes on to look at teacher gender identity, and how this shapes an understanding of the human right to gender equality. The focus on religion and gender specifically, and the findings that support the arguments made in the first half of this chapter, are drawn largely from two localised research projects (Jarvis, 2008; Jarvis, 2013b) within two large-scale international SANPAD projects undertaken by HREiD (2004-2008 and 2009-2012) on HRE in multicultural societies.[33]

33 HREiD is a South African research group in Human Rights Education and Diversity. HREiD was established in 2000 and working together with post-graduate students focuses on human rights and HRE and literacies. The researchers were linked to different faculties of education in South Africa (Roux et al., 2006; Roux, 2009).

My Masters dissertation (Jarvis, 2008), entitled: *The voice of the teacher in a context of religious freedom: a KwaZulu-Natal case study,* focused specifically on the identity and voice of the in-service teacher of Religion Education and how this influences teachers' approaches to Religion Education within a human rights framework. The next level of research (Jarvis, 2013a) defined a deeper link to gender inequality/patriarchy, exploring as it does how a teacher's religious identity shapes his/her gender identity. In both cases in-service teachers are the participants in the studies.

This chapter concludes with a suggested teaching-learning strategy which is transdisciplinary and decolonial in nature. It has been employed in recent small-scale research projects at a South African university and more specifically in the School of Education, working with pre-service teachers in Social Sciences Education. The introduction of Empathetic-reflective-dialogical re-storying as a teaching-learning strategy plays a role in creating space for these pre-service teachers to explore their identity through the process of on-going dialogue in their dialogical self, in relation to their understandings and lived experiences of human rights issues pertaining to gender (in)equality.

Teacher's religious identity and voice in South Africa's diverse religious context

The right to freedom of religion is embedded in the Declaration on the Elimination of all forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination based on religion or belief (1981). This was first outlined in article 18 of the 1948 United Nations' Universal declaration of human rights. In South Africa, this finds expression in the South African Constitution and more specifically, the Bill of Rights (Republic of South Africa, 1996). The latter gives every individual the right to adhere to a religion (freedom to) or to resist influences to either adopt or change to a specific religion (freedom from). The South African Religion and Education Policy (2003) gives expression to this in the schooling arena. This Policy (2003) assumes that teachers will simply and seamlessly adopt a multi-religious approach to Religion Education. Prior to 1994 Christian National Education and the specific brand of Christianity that was endorsed by the same, was entrenched in the South African school curriculum. A mono-religious approach to teaching Religion Education was prescribed. Post 1994 teachers were expected to depart from this mould of prescriptive religious instruction representing one particular religion. For many teachers, moving to a multi-religious approach required a paradigm shift with which they struggled. Adopting a multi-religious approach to teaching Religion

Education, to varying degrees, resulted in most Religion Education teachers experiencing religious identity conflict. Teachers identifying with a particular religion that is more exclusive in nature, struggled the most (Jarvis, 2008; Jarvis, 2009a). They were fearful of possibly compromising their own beliefs by teaching about religions other than their own. Teachers were called on to negotiate their religious identity and to move from a position of 'identity paralysis' or 'identity paradox' or even 'identity flexibility' to one of 'identity transformation'.

Religious identity paralysis and paradox

Teachers experiencing religious identity paralysis or a bounded identity (Featherstone, 2003), are so tied to their membership of certain social categories that they choose not to acknowledge or accept any religion other than their own. They prefer to teach adopting a mono-religious approach that promotes their particular religion.

Religious identity paradox refers to those teachers experiencing discomfort at the fact that religions other than that promoted by the previously dominant Christian dispensation, were being marginalised. While they felt bounded by their own religious identities (in most cases, Christianity) they recognised the need to be more inclusive. However, this was not without difficulty and they felt unable to do so.

> Thelma provides an example of this religious identity paralysis. She is a primary school teacher who completed her teacher training during the years of Apartheid and Christian National Education, before the new democracy which came into being in 1994. She is a devout Christian and her church teaches that only Christianity should be spoken about in the classroom and that no other religion should be mentioned. She finds it extremely difficult to teach Religion Education adopting anything other than a mono-religious approach that promotes Christianity. More latterly, she has become increasingly uncomfortable as more children, representing a variety of religions, have been accepted into the school in which she teaches and she realises that she is marginalising them and their beliefs. She is, however, unable to change her approach.

Teachers experiencing religious identity paralysis or paradox are ineffective in addressing religion within an HRE framework that promotes respect, dignity and tolerance of the other (Roux, 2019). They are unable to successfully

negotiate their religious identity and promote the human right to religious freedom.

Religious identity flexibility

Those teachers that are able to express a measure of individual agency adopted a position of religious identity flexibility. They were able to remain committed to their own religious identity while still adopting a multi-religious approach to Religion Education. These teachers are happy to teach *about* different religions and to promote religious literacies. However, this can be superficial, with Religion Education taught in a way that is most often technicist without any meaningful engagement.

> Sarisha, a newly qualified primary school teacher, provides an example of a teacher who exercises identity flexibility. She adopts a multi-religious approach to Religion Education, preparing her lessons well so that every faith represented in the classroom is featured in her lessons. Her religious literacy is excellent as she has made it her goal to know the names and traditions of various religious festivals, for example. While her lessons provide knowledge, the learners are taught about different religions. There is reference to what they believe, when referring to learners who adhere to a religion other than her own. While seemingly accepting of religions other than her own, she continues to other those who believe differently. There is no meaningful dialogical engagement.

Religious identity transformation

Teachers have to manage multiple identities as they move in and out of their personal, social and professional domains, not at least considering their belonging to a religious community and school community and classroom. Religious identity conflict between their personal and professional identities, calls for identity negotiation (Nias, 1985; Nias, 1989). A self-reflexive response (Giddens, 2002) as part of an internal dialogue between differently positioned voices in the society-of-mind (Hermans, 2011) would make identity negotiation possible. The teacher negotiating his/her religious identity, would put into parenthesis his/her own values and beliefs, while not necessarily undermining them (Jackson, 1997; Jarvis, 2008; Jarvis, 2009a). Martha is a high school teacher who provides an example of a teacher who exercises religious identity transformation. She says the following:

> My belief is firm and I feel very secure therefore there is no problem to teach religious freedom in schools. I can deepen the learners' faith and belief in their own religions, at the same time teaching them to respect other religions.

She is able to put her religion into parenthesis, while meaningfully engaging with religions other than her own and encouraging her learners to do the same (Jarvis, 2008).

Rather than teaching about religion, there is the potential for rich dialogical engagement that could be transformative, promoting HRE. A dialogical approach could mean the move from classroom practice to classroom praxis, which is both reflective (thinking through something and not just taking it on face value) and reflexive (considering the practical implications for possible change in order to inform new attitudes and practices) (Quinlan, 2014; Roux & du Preez, 2006). Encouraging classroom praxis serves the education agenda in South Africa of decolonising the curriculum. While classroom practice supports a very technicist approach to teaching, classroom praxis welcomes dialogue in the classroom where different voices can be heard and engaged (cf. Chapter four in this volume).

Religion Education teacher's voice

In order for true transformation to take place in the Religion Education classroom, Religion Education teachers should be able to exercise their voice (Deetz, 1998) which can have a very practical, emancipatory dimension. This agency (or freedom to use their voice) translates into creating new forms of behaviour and news ways of self-understanding and new codes of meaning with regard to religion (Jarvis, 2009b). These teachers could play a pivotal role in supporting human rights values by promoting respect for those that believe differently.

Dialogical voice (Allen, 2004), in particular, is about searching for meaning and understanding. It takes place when Religion Education teachers are able to publicly express their opinions and consider the ideas of others. Dialogue provides the opportunity to get to know better, not only others who believe differently, but also oneself. Ipgrave (2003) suggests a threefold approach to dialogue. Primary dialogue includes the acceptance of diversity, difference and change. Secondary dialogue involves being open to difference, willing to engage with difference and ready to learn from others. The tertiary aspect includes the actual verbal exchange. Teachers who are able to employ a

reflective-dialogical approach (Roux, 2007) would provide for the expression of their own opinions as well as the consideration of the ideas of others. This approach promotes the search for meaning and understanding (Allen, 2004). It recognises that each person has something of value to offer and opens up to the possibility of learning from the other (Ipgrave, 2003; Ipgrave, 2016), while entertaining understandings and questions from a diversity of religious traditions and perspectives. Dialogical activity allows for individual religious thinking, for intra-religious dialogue (allowing for critical inquiry and interactions between groups of the same religion) and inter-religious dialogue (when individuals of different religious traditions are in contact with one another within the same context). Simply knowing about different religions does not support a human rights agenda. A reciprocal understanding is helpful in influencing attitudes towards learners from a variety of religious and cultural backgrounds (Gadamer, 2006; Roux et al., 2006).

Classroom praxis

A teacher's empathetic-reflective-dialogical voice could shape a discourse about the issues surrounding Religion Education as praxis in a religiously diverse school context. The teacher with a transformed religious identity (Jarvis, 2008) should be able to engage in such emancipatory discourse (Ipgrave, 2016) that provides for the expression of own opinions as well as consideration of the ideas of others. This teacher is able to create a classroom space for respectful, empathetic, reflective, dialogical engagement. An empathetic approach refers to the capacity to understand and respond to the religious experiences of another person with an increased awareness of that person's thoughts and feelings, and that these thoughts and feelings matter (Barton & Garvis, 2019). Learners should feel sufficiently secure in their own religious identity so as to engage with those that believe differently. By creating this safe space teachers would be moving beyond mere classroom practice to classroom praxis where they can engage with related topics of prejudice, stereotyping, fear and suspicion of the other.

Such a teacher should be secure enough in his/her religious identity and religious discourse so as to be able to empathetically explore the practice and traditions of diverse religions represented in her/his classrooms and in society as a whole. Empathetic reflection takes place when Religion Education teachers meet and engage substantially with their learners simply as people and not as representatives of one religion or another. Religion Education teachers emerging from this are likely to be less fearful of compromising their own religious positions and more able to engage with confidence in situations

of religious diversity, thereby transforming their classroom practice to that of praxis. Religion Education teachers become empowered to view the content they teach more insightfully, to select and employ their teaching methods more creatively and become agents of curriculum development and design.

Religious identity and gender inequality

While the focus thus far has been on the Religion Education teacher, a teacher's religious identity can also impact engagement with human rights issues, other than the right to freedom of religion, such as that of gender equality, or, as is the case in South Africa, gender (in)equality. Gender equality here, refers to male and female being considered as equal to one another in quality and identical in value. Exploring how a teacher's religious identity shapes his/her gender identity could go part way to understanding why, in South Africa, gender inequality is still perpetuated nearly two decades into a new political democratic dispensation, with a well-established constitution and legal system (Jarvis, 2014). Much gender discrimination has been concealed under the guise of cultural and religious tradition with political, religious and cultural leaders defending the origin of specific ritual and practice. Patriarchy is the most important structure supporting male domination (Measor & Sikes, 1992).

Research conducted with female in-service teachers situated in six schools in four of the nine provinces in South Africa showed that teaching-learning about gender equality could be challenging for teachers who have not reflected on their own gender identity (Jarvis, 2013a). A feminist research paradigm was embraced, actively seeking, as it does, to remove the power imbalance between the researcher and the participant. Beginning with the standpoints and experiences of women, feminist research seeks to address social inequality. Narrative enquiry as a research methodology, encouraged the participants in this study to think narratively about their lived experience and how, their gender identity is possibly shaped by religious and cultural discourses. The research took place in a safe space (Roux, 2012), created to provide the opportunity to hear in-service teachers' voices in response to the master narrative of patriarchy. This space was not just physical but also figurative. It was the place where the participants could feel sufficiently secure to unburden themselves (Jansen, 2001).

Self-dialogue informing identity re-creation

Herman's dialogical self theory (DST) provides a link between self and society (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010; Hermans, 2011) advocating that individuals live not only in external spaces, but also in the internal space of their society-of-mind. Possible gender identity re-creation can result from the dialogical self in action (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007). This takes place when the individual teacher adopts a counter-position to a dominant narrative, for example a particular religious discourse that says that women should not speak in a religious gathering (see illustration below).

This counter-position adopted in her self-dialogue assists her to move from one position to another in her society-of-mind as a way of gaining an understanding about herself in relation to the world (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). Sharing her self-narrative, as informed by her self-dialogue, both with an internal audience (in her society-of-mind) and with an external audience, allowed female teachers to reclaim themselves as they discovered the extent to which it is possible to become disentangled from their other (in this case: other men). While female teachers are made to varying degrees by the patriarchal structures of society, they do have the capacity, to varying degrees, to make themselves. While they are shaped by their religious and cultural discourse, they can exercise agency by dis-identifying with and adopting a counter-position to the master narrative of patriarchy. Their gender identity transformation needs to be articulated in their personal, social and professional domains by their resistance to, and challenging of, male hegemony/patriarchy. The following serves by way of illustration:

(i) Religious discourse in society: Women do not have a voice in religious gatherings;
(ii) Accompanying *I*-position in the individual's society of mind: I as a woman do not have a voice in religious gatherings;
(iii) Individual's self-dialogue: I, as a woman, can speak up in defence of my children but I cannot speak in religious gatherings;
(iv) Dialogical self in action, adopting a counter-position to the dominant discourse in the society of mind: I, as a woman can speak up in defence of my children and if I can do this, surely, I can also have a voice that I can express in religious gatherings;
(v) Articulation: sharing self-dialogue as self-narrative to an external audience expressing this counter-position to male dominance.

Teachers' ability to share their counter-position with an external audience depends on the extent and strength of their gender identity capital (Côté,

1996; Côté, 2005). Identity capital refers to the set of relational strengths individuals have when constructing, framing and presenting their identity in social circumstances (Côté & Levine, 2002). The accumulation of successful identity exchanges, or social interaction, with their other, increases an individual's identity capital. As a female teacher's gender identity capital strengthens, she will be able to voice, both implicitly (in her self-dialogue to an internal audience) and explicitly (in her classroom praxis) and in practice in increasing measure and with increasing confidence, counter-positions to male dominance and gender inequality. By doing so she will be contributing to her professional capital (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012).

Female and male learners are greatly impacted by the gendered expectations that teachers express (Korkmaz, 2007; Lindley & Keithley, 1991). To this can be added a hidden curriculum (Boostrom, 2010) of gender differentiation which is provided by stereotypes. The hidden curriculum refers to the transmission of norms, values and beliefs that are the side effect of schooling. For example, a teacher may teach about gender equality in the classroom, and yet practice gender inequality when certain tasks are assigned gender specifically, thereby teaching that there are specific tasks that should be assigned to boys and others to girls. An example would be when girls only are always expected to clean the classroom, or comments are made by the teacher that only boys can do mathematics.

> Thabi is an example of a female teacher who voices explicitly, and practises, her counter-position to patriarchy in every domain of her life (Jarvis, 2013a). The extent and strength of her gender identity capital, drawing on her intangible resources, including her ability to reflect, and negotiate her self-identity, informs her classroom praxis. She challenges her female and male learners to engage critically with issues of gender equality, not only within the classroom but also within their personal and social domains. She not only voices explicitly her counter-position to gender inequality, but she also practises her counter-position to gender discrimination by treating the female and male learners in her school equally and by addressing any form of gender abuse be it verbal or physical. She is mindful of their personal lived experiences of gender equality. Nevertheless, she encourages her learners to listen to what she teaches them so that when they are a 'grown up woman or a grown-up man' they will know how they should behave and 'what is expected and not expected'. Thabi's gender identity transformation empowers her to conscientise her learners about their right to gender equality. Her

classroom praxis encourages her learners to be reflective and empowers them to agitate for the same.

Gender inequality and gender abuse is rife in South African society. This is too often underwritten by a dominant religious discourse. I advocate that those providers of initial teacher education programmes are duty bound to provide intervention strategies in their tertiary programmes to enable female and male pre-service teachers to engage with their personal and professional teacher identity development. Increased extent and strength of 'gender identity capital', enabling the articulation of gender identity transformation in every domain of their lives, personal, social and professional, holds the possibility of developing teachers' classroom practice, when dealing with HRE, into classroom praxis. This could be transformative for their learners and possibly for the broader society.

Empathetic-reflective-dialogical re-storying

In my own university, I have introduced a teaching-learning strategy which I refer to as Empathetic-reflective-dialogical re-storying (Jarvis, 2018). This strategy embraces an empathetic, reflective, dialogical exploration of human rights issues within a HRE framework. Re-storying, or reimagining, revising or rewriting/reauthoring an existing narrative, provides the possibility of creating transformed new knowledges. Empathetic-reflective-dialogical re-storying facilitates "a deep examination of current hegemonies and for a reimagining [or re-storying] of how to shape the outcome" (Council for Higher Education, 2017).

While I employ this strategy with pre-service teachers in a higher education institution, it could possibly be employed in a school context. This strategy provides a safe space in which these pre-service teachers can begin to deconstruct religious and cultural discourses pertaining to, for example, male hegemony.

It is through considering their self-dialogue and expressing this through self-narratives, triggering their imagination, that information about human rights transforms into empathically understanding through human rights and for human rights (cf. Nussbaum, 2012; Tibbits, 2017). Empathetic-reflective-dialogical re-storying can only be practised in a safe space in which pre-service teachers can begin to deconstruct religious and cultural discourses and build both tangible and intangible identity capital before they move into the professional domain.

The strategy comprises of five levels

At level one self-dialogue provides the dynamic flexibility for continued internal dialogue and the re-positioning of internal and external positions in the society-of-mind (Hermans, 2011) and this can lead to external identity stability.

At level two, self-dialogue is expressed through self-narrative (McAdams, 2011; Riessman, 2008) to an internal audience. There is a link between self-narrative and agency. Self-narrative has a role to play in enabling individuals to discover the degree to which they are entangled with their other and the extent to which it may be possible to be disentangled from their other and be freed to build new identities (Nuttall, 2009). As individuals construct their own meaning through what they write in their stories, they can create an alternative to a master narrative (Tsang, 2000). While self-narratives may not change master narratives, these can be undermined by re-interpreting them (Lawler, 2008). This allows for the possibility of re-storying previously held narratives. As individuals embark upon personal journeys of re-storying, there is the possibility of the co-production of new knowledges.

Re-storying takes place as the self-narrative is expressed in a safe space to an external audience at level three, in a Community in conversation (De Wet & Parker, 2014; Roux, 2012) and at level four, a Community in dialogue (Roux, 2012). At level three, in separate groups, women meet with women and men with men. Level four provides the opportunity for the other 'to dialogue with her/his other. The aim of this dialogue would be to understand self-respect and own positionality and to inspire reciprocal exchanges with tolerant and empathetic understanding.

Level five, a Community for transformation (Jarvis, 2018) provides the opportunity to discuss re-storying that could be transformatory for the individual, the classroom and the wider community.

Table 6.1
Five levels in Empathetic-reflective-dialogical re-storying (Jarvis, 2018)

Levels in Empathetic -reflective-dialogical re-storying	Process of Empathetic-reflective-dialogical re-storying	Audience	Result
1	Self-dialogue	Society-of-mind, Internal audience	Negotiation of various I-positions and re-positioning of voices in the society-of-mind
2	Self-narrative written text	Internal audience	Production of own meaning and knowledge
3	Self-narrative shared with an external audience in a safe space Community in conversation	External audience	Co-production with writers/storytellers
4	Self-narrative shared with an external audience Community in dialogue	External audience	Co-production with
5	Group narrative Community for transformation	External audience	Co-production of possible new narrative for transformation

Empathetic-reflective-dialogical re-storying supports a decolonisation agenda (Jarvis, 2020) that is a curriculum imperative in higher education in South Africa and as such seeks to change how teaching-learning takes place. Decolonisation in education refers to the process of rethinking, reframing and reconstructing curricula and research that has been the preserve of the Europe-centred, colonial lens.

Re-search with participants

As pre-service teachers adopt a reflective attitude and engage in self-dialogue (to an internal audience), they are re-positioned from objects of research into researchers. In a western research methodological stance, in the main,

research is done to, on or about participants. Decolonial research makes the shift to research that is done with the participants. In a Community in conversation and in a Community in dialogue (see Tables 2 and 3) the potential exists for the integration of new understandings into experience (McCormack & Kennelly, 2011). The possibility of re-storying can take place as new interpretations or clarified understandings are infused into dominant discourses.

This strategy attempts to engage in 're-search' by decolonising the typically western ideology of individual or focus group interviews (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). Community in conversation, Community in dialogue and Community for transformation (see Tables 2 and 3) provide the opportunity for seeking to know the other in a 're-search' context which is safe and in which all the participants take responsibility for the generation of new knowledges and, by doing so, become agents of their own learning. Chilisa (2012, p. 212) refers to these communities as "Talking Circle[s]". Tibbitts' Transformational model (Tibbitts, 2017) is helpful for the understanding of situatedness and the need for HRE to be concretised. Empathetic-reflective-dialogical re-storying contributes to this process, adopting as it does, a bottom-up approach.

Transdisciplinarity

Part of the colonial legacy is the teaching of disciplines in isolation from one another. Empathetic-reflective-dialogical re-storying adopts a transdisciplinary approach, where transdisciplinary boundary talk takes place in the blurring of boundaries between both discreet disciplines and integrated fields of knowledge. Engagement with human rights issues takes place in the space between, across and beyond academic disciplines (McGregor & Volckmann, 2013; Nicolescu, 2005; Nicolescu, 2014). Adopting a transdisciplinary approach, pre-service teachers meet in the Included Middle (Nicolescu, 2012), and as they co-construct their stories, they are empowered to build identity capital (Côté, 1996; Côté & Levine, 2002). This can be emancipatory and empowering.

Challenging patriarchy

Challenging patriarchal structures plays a substantive role in decolonisation (Jarvis, 2020; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2016). In patriarchal cultures, in particular, sexuality is used as the foundation upon which social relations between females and males are defined. Gender ideologies become stubbornly defended as traditional and immutable (Subrahmanian, 2005). Empathetic-

reflective-dialogical re-storying provides an opportunity for women (and also men) to express a dis-identification with patriarchy in a safe space in a Community in conversation and then to her other in a Community in dialogue.

Recent small-scale research projects

The findings of two recent small-scale research projects employing this teaching-learning strategy, are presented here by way of illustration. This research was conducted with twenty to forty-year-old, Black African male and female pre-service teachers in a South African higher education institution, in KwaZulu-Natal. The first cohort were provided with a safe space for participants to engage with issues of their religious identity and gender (in)equality (Jarvis & Mthiyane, 2018). A second cohort engaged with religious identity and the female right to bodily self-determination and, more specifically, the termination of pregnancy (Jarvis & Mthiyane, 2019).

Participants expressed the opinion that Empathetic-reflective-dialogical re-storying provided the opportunity for them to consider their self-dialogue (level 1), and by inference, their personal identity. They were sensitised to the possibilities of their dialogical self in action as they adopted counter-positions to the dominant voices as evidenced in their 'society-of-mind' (Hermans, 2011). They reflected that they became far more aware that their self-dialogue impacts their self-narratives (level 2). They articulated the view that by participating in Empathetic-reflective-dialogical re-storying they were empowered to become agents of their own learning as they troubled entrenched beliefs and worldviews and co-constructed (re-storied) understandings of gender equality and the right to bodily self-determination.

The following tables present the questions that informed the engagement at the various levels in each small-scale project.

One of the male participants said that he found the Community in conversation (level 3) revealing as men spoke about their other (women). He said that he found it

> … very impactful … I thought I understood gender equality but the Community in conversation made aware of our privileges as men … we have a lot of privileges we are not aware of. (Dumi — male)

Table 6.2

Questions informing the focus on religious identity and gender equality (Jarvis & Mthiyane, 2018)

Levels 1 - 3: Individually and in a Community in conversation (men and women separated) Focus – personal religious identity and gender (in) equality	Level 4: Community in dialogue (men and women together)	Level 5: Community for trans-formation (men and women together)
1. How would you describe your personal world-view/religious identity? 2. Gender equality has been defined by Subramanian (2005) as female and male being equal to one another in quality and identical in value with female and male having the same rights and opportunities. Do you think your worldview/ religious identity affects the way in which you view the Human Right to gender equality? Please explain. 3. What does your religion/ worldview say about your position as a female/as a male? 4. What does your religion/ worldview say about your role and responsibilities as a female/as a male?	Discussion based on the following topics as covered in levels 1 - 3: 1. Gender based roles and responsibilities 2. Gender based privileges 3. Gender based expectations of the other 4. Religious and/or cultural understandings of the position of males and females and the possible impact of this on the way in which gender equality would be approached in professional spaces, namely, the school and more specifically the classroom.	1. How has empathetic-reflective-dialogical re-storying impacted your understanding of gender equality in terms of experiences, roles and responsibilities, privileges, and expectations? 2. How has the dialogue impacted on your per-spectives of teaching-learning about gender issues and promoting gender equality? 3. Evaluate the efficacy of empathetic-reflective-dialogical re-storying for the transformation of attitudes towards gender (in)equality and for better understandings of the other in society.

The female participants, in particular, commented that the Community in dialogue (level 4) was most helpful providing as it did, the opportunity for them to express their perspectives about their other (men) as well as

men about their other (women). Their successful exchanges with their other strengthened their gender identity capital and opened up a space for constructing a narrative in which they can be agents of change, directing future-oriented action.

> I think this strategy gives out many possible ideas to think critically … what can we do … what are the gaps…what can be changed. (Phumi – female)
> This strategy is transformative … some will actually go home today and some have daughters and some have sons and will try and change things. (Ncami – female)

Table 6.3

Questions informing the focus on religious identity and the right to bodily self-determination (Jarvis & Mthiyane, 2018)

Levels 1 – 3: Individually and in a Community in conversation (men and women separated) Focus – personal religious/ cultural identity and the right to bodily self-determinatiom	Level 4: Community in dialogue (men and women together)	Level 5: Community for transformation (men and women together)
1. How would you describe your personal religious and cultural identity? 2. How does your religious and cultural discourse speak to the way in which you view the issue of terminating a pregnancy? 3. What do you think are the rights of the female, the male, and the foetus, when it comes to terminating a pregnancy?	4. Discussion based on the following topics as covered in levels 1 – 3: 5. What do you think are the rights of the female, the male, and the foetus, when it comes to terminating a pregnancy	6. How has your participation in empathetic-reflective-dialogical re-storying impacted your understanding of the right to bodily self-determination, and more specifically the termination of pregnancy? 7. Evaluate the efficacy of empathetic-reflective-dialogical re-storying for the transformation of attitudes and for better understanding of your other. 8. How do you think empathetic-reflective-dialogical re-storying could possibly be an effective strategy to use in a classroom setting with learners?

Faced with pregnancy, women often struggle alone, feeling judged, embarrassed, guilty, and shameful about the decision they have made to terminate a pregnancy. Questioning religious and cultural discourses is not an option.

> I feel and know that some parents (especially in our African culture/ religion) if they know that you are pregnant can even chase you away from home. There is no space to discuss what you are going through and how and why you are pregnant let alone what impact in your personal life can this said pregnancy do to 'you' as a person not the wider community. Therefore, I think sometimes decisions are taken as one is forced by circumstances … (Lungi - female)

As the female participants engaged in their Community in conversation (level 3), the identity capital of individual women increased as they drew on the tangible asset of their membership of a social group of women with whom they could share their self-narrative of their lived experience. This became clear when they addressed their male counterparts at level four with confidence, resolve and conviction.

The accumulation of successful exchanges in the Community in dialogue with their other (men) continued to increase the women's identity capital. They said that they benefited from the dialogue in a safe, supportive and accessible space and were empowered, gaining confidence as they voiced their opinions and shared their lived experiences without being judged.

> I must say that the strategy is therapeutic. One learns to get the perspectives of others and realise that I am not alone, I can survive. If what I do is a sin, then I will go to church, apologise to God, and move on with my life because if there is no support, I have to find ways so that I do not bring a child in this world who is going to suffer. (Agnes – female)

The Community for transformation (level 5), in both small-scale projects, provided the opportunity for the participants to think critically about processes of socialisation, and to discuss and begin the process of deconstructing the same. While the participants were aware of the influence of master narratives and also how their particular contexts can shape their behaviour, engaging in this teaching-learning strategy assisted them to see that they can be agents of change. The strategy opened up a space for constructing a narrative in which they have some ability to direct future-oriented action. Their views

pertaining to the efficacy of Empathetic-reflective-dialogical re-storying included the following:

> I found this strategy to be helpful especially in level 1 and 2 where one had to listen to different voices before one takes a decision … it gives you possible ideas to question yourself to say: What can you change? How can you do that? Why should you act in that particular way? (Sipho – male)

> I think that this methodology is helpful, constructive, and transformative in that it gives you an opportunity to sit back and self-reflect on the topic and further gives you a particular worldview to think about other people as well and understand their actions. (Nonjabulo – male)

> It teaches us not to be judgemental, whether female or male. (Bongi – female)

> The methodology allows you, and especially us as males, to understand the female side of the story. At the same time, it allows every one of us time with yourself, and discussions allow you to make a choice to change or not to change your attitude. (Spha – male)

> … this strategy stimulated the mind, gives us many possibilities ideas leading to critical thinking and to question yourself for better understanding and the probing questions assisted … it has a potential to be transformative. (Thabi – female)

> The strategy transforms the way you perceive issues and other people. We need to go out there as changed men and women so that we will be transformed parents to our children. (Andile – male)

> The strategy allows people to open up, share with one another, and the goal is to learn and acquire new knowledge … one's story can help or groom somebody and my story can also groom the other … I think these dialogues should happen in wider communities as well as in the wider university community … for other students to benefit as well. (Maureen – female)

Participants in both small-scale projects were of the opinion that this strategy could be an effective tool to employ in their professional space to enhance teacher/learner relationships. Their views included the following:

> As teachers, we need to do what is just with our learners ... social justice … We need to teach them and expose them to such [human rights] issues. (Bongi – female)

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on HRE and teacher personal and professional identity. It has presented an exploration of how a teacher's religious identity can influence the teaching of Religion Education and has presented a possible way in which to address this. The intersection between a teacher's religious identity and how this intersects with his/her gender identity has also been foregrounded. Empathetic-reflective-dialogical re-storying provides the opportunity for currently held narratives of the lived experience of the intersection of religion and gender, to be dialogically explored.

The strength and extent of individuals' identity capital enables both religious identity transformation as well as the transformation of previously held narratives of male hegemony. It is important to provide the opportunity for both in-service and pre-service teachers to consider their self-dialogue and to engage their dialogical self in action, by adopting counter-positions in their society-of-mind, to master narratives that perpetuate inequalities. This can be done, as illustrated by the research process described in this chapter, and, in particular, by questions presented for consideration at levels 1 and 2 of the teaching-learning strategy Empathetic-reflective-dialogical re-storying. This strategy provides the opportunity, in a way that decolonises the education curriculum, to engage in self-dialogue, self-narrative, Communities in conversation, Communities in dialogue and most importantly, Communities for transformation.

This emancipatory teaching-learning strategy, therefore, has the potential to be transformative for both the individual in-service/pre-service teacher and indeed, for their classroom practice. By engaging in self-reflection and empathetically dialoguing human rights issues in the classroom, in-service/pre-service teachers have the potential to go beyond mere technicist classroom practice. They are equipped to facilitate classroom praxis that is both reflective and empathetic. This has the potential to possibly be transformative for the learners as future participating citizens in the greater South African society.

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7

Human rights education and normative (global) citizenship education in the Netherlands

Ina Ter Avest

Introduction

In this chapter, the focus is on the rationale of citizenship education (CE) as taught in the Netherlands. The normative point of reference (Articles 1, 6 and 23 of the Dutch Constitution; section 2), the aim(s) and pedagogical strategies, as well as the understanding of this subject in the frame of the Dutch pillarised educational system (Section one) are considered. Section two deals with children's rights and the inclusion of these rights in Dutch education. The main part of this chapter (Section three) is dedicated to developments in what is referred to as religious CE, further specified in normative (global) CE – both conceptions of subjects that give room to human rights education (HRE), specifically in relation to the religious or secular life orientation of individuals and its role for their participation in the public domain of Dutch democratic society.

The Netherlands: Pillarisation[34] and the rationale(s) of citizenship education

In the first article of the Dutch Constitution, it is stipulated that:

> All persons in the Netherlands shall be treated equally in equal circumstances.

34 The Dutch education system consists of the branches of Protestant, Catholic, Islamic and public education – called the four 'pillars'.

> Discrimination on the grounds of religion, belief, political opinion, race or sex or on any other grounds whatsoever shall not be permitted (Dutch Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, 2008).

In the row, religion is listed as first among the grounds for discrimination. Article 6 of the Dutch Constitution refers to the freedom of religion:

(1) Everyone shall have the right to profess freely his religion or belief, either individually or in community with others, without prejudice to his responsibility under the law;
(2) Rules concerning the exercise of this right other than in buildings and enclosed places may be laid down by Act of Parliament for the protection of health, in the interest of traffic and to combat or prevent disorders (Dutch Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, 2008).

The relation with human rights is implicit; equality, freedom and non-discrimination, each implying dignity, are key concepts in these articles. In the Netherlands, freedom of religion in regard to education is further specified in Article 23 of the Constitution:[35]

(1) Education shall be the constant concern of the Government;
(2) All persons shall be free to provide education, without prejudice to the authorities' right of supervision and, with regard to forms of education designated by law, their right to examine the competence and moral integrity of teachers, to be regulated by Act of Parliament;
(3) Education provided by public authorities shall be regulated by Act of Parliament, paying due respect to everyone's religion or belief. (...);
(4) The requirements for primary education shall be such that the standards both of private schools fully financed from public funds and of public-authority schools are fully guaranteed. The relevant provisions shall respect in particular the freedom of private schools to choose their teaching aids and to appoint teachers as they see fit (Dutch Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, 2008).

The Netherlands – A pillarised society

The educational system in the Netherlands is known as a so-called 'pillarised' system. Pillarisation is the key to a dual educational system, consisting of public schools and confessional/denominational schools (respectively Christian [i.e., Protestant and Catholic], Islamic, and Hindu schools). Religious education (RE) is included in the curricula of confessional schools,

35 https://www.denederlandsegrondwet.nl/id/vjjdado5jqmb/grondwet_volledige_tekst.

while the curricula of public schools sometimes include 'Philosophy with Children' as an optional subject – as a kind of equivalent to RE. Since 1985, *Geestelijke Stromingen* (Spiritual Movements) has been a compulsory subject in all Dutch schools, transmitting knowledge about the different religious and secular worldviews present in Dutch society. In addition to this compulsory subject, all public schools are obliged to offer Christian, Islamic or Hindu RE as an optional subject, if this is requested by the parents.

In Christian schools the class teacher teaches RE; class teachers are appointed by the respective governing body the school is part of. In Islamic schools, the RE teacher is a theologian who teaches Islamic RE to all age groups; as in the former case, these Islamic RE teachers are appointed by the governing body of the school. The optional subjects offered in public schools are taught by RE teachers who have completed their teacher education, in addition to receiving additional training in Christianity, Hinduism or Islam; they are not appointed by the school board but by an independent organisation: *the Centrum voor Vormingsonderwijs* (Centre for Socio-Cultural-Religious Education).

Public and confessional schools are equally financed by the government in the Netherlands, and the quality of all education is controlled by the Inspectorate of Education. A basic principle of the Dutch Constitution is the separation of church and state. For education, this means that the state, or the Inspectorate of Education as a representative of the state, will monitor the quality of each and every aspect of education. Notably, CE is monitored by the Inspectorate of Education, whereas the subject of RE is exempt from this kind of supervision. School boards are free to develop RE subject matter according to their own adherence to – and interpretation of – a Christian denomination, the Islamic tradition or Hindu beliefs, as long as these subjects do not conflict with the core values of Dutch society, such as equality, freedom and non-discrimination.

The Netherlands – Paradox of a post-pillarised society

These days, the discussion is about the government's concern, or even involvement with the subject of CE, and the inclusion of religion in that subject. The matter is being discussed whether religion ought to be included in the subject, and if so: what and how (cf. Westerman, 2017). The recent decline in commitment to institutionalised Christian denominations, i.e., the churches, among the Dutch population, together with an increase of the role of Islam and the recurring discussion about its threat to social cohesion, led to a review of the 'Spiritual Movements' subject, and resulted in 2006 in

the introduction of a new CE subject, and the potential inclusion of religion therein (Miedema & Bertram-Troost, 2014).

In the legislative bill 'Proposed Law to Amend a number of Education Laws in Connection with Clarification of the Citizenship Assignment of Primary Schools' (released by the Ministry of Education in 2019), the matter at stake is described in the following way:

(1) teaching respect for and knowledge about the basic values of the democratic constitutional state, as enshrined in the Constitution, as well as the universally applicable fundamental rights and freedoms of human beings; and
(2) developing the social and societal competencies that enable the pupil to be a member of, and contribute to, the pluriform democratic Dutch society;
(3) the competent authority ensures a school culture that is consistent with the values referred to in the first paragraph, part a, and creates an environment in which students are encouraged to actively practice dealing with these values (Dutch Ministry of Education, 2019).

This legislative bill was further complemented with a governmental report on said bill. In this document, the statement is made that the CE subject is assigned "a more mandatory character. Finally, there is a duty of care for the competent authority regarding the school culture" (Ministry of Education, 2019). Denominational/confessional schools experience this added statement as an extension of the authority (and the power!) of the Inspectorate as the organisation responsible for the quality of education.

The Dutch Christian school organisations, united in *VERUS* (*Vereniging voor Katholiek en Christelijk Onderwijs*; Association for Catholic and Christian Education), are worried about this governmental report on the legislative bill, finding their arguments in Article 23 (freedom of education) of the Dutch Constitution. Their concern is about the mandatory character assigned to CE and the government's concern about school culture – leaving open the question about the responsibilities of the Inspectorate and possible government interference in schools' internal affairs. The governmental report might herald an imminent infringement of the freedom of religion – accompanied by an extreme and feared government pedagogy.

The discussion mentioned above, shows that Article 23 of the Constitution is severely contested lately. In particular, its concretisation in the Dutch dual education system is seen as outdated in a society in which the majority of

the population practices a secular life orientation. A burning issue "[f]rom the point of view of society is whether the continuation of pillarisation in the educational system, with its division into confessional and public schools, is still acceptable, while at the same time our society needs an educational system facilitating and promoting the integration of religious and non-religious, native Dutch and migrant/refugee children, and decreases the gap between privileged and underprivileged children" (Verhoef, 2015, p. 190).

In the Netherlands, the tension between freedom of education and freedom of religion, in connection with CE as a mandatory school subject, seems to be an issue stretching from here to eternity. Core human rights such as dignity, equality, freedom and non-discrimination should – according to the advocates of the freedom of education and of religion – never come to dominate religion(s) and pedagogical strategies inspired by religious life orientations. The Minister of Education may give an indication as to *what* must be included in the curricula as compulsory subjects, but the Minister may never give instructions on *how* to include the respective subjects.

The rationales of CE built on societal developments like secularisation, multiculturalisation and individualisation, and far less on globalisation. The push for the inclusion of a compulsory CE subject in the curriculum of every school, creates a potential risk of compromising the need for tolerance in a society divided by (worldview) differences, with the consequent danger of polarisation.

From the mixed methods research of Veugelers and De Groot (2019), we know that "clusters of discipline, autonomy and social involvement are central in the goals for CE" (Veugelers & De Groot, 2019, p. 18). Regarding the implementation of CE, these scholars conclude (also referring to Goodlad, [1979] that "teachers can have different ideas about citizenship" and "[a] country's education policy can address citizenship education in different ways and can emphasize different moral values" (Veugelers & De Groot 2019, p. 21-22).[36] Veugelers and De Groot distinguish between an abstract curriculum, an interpreted curriculum and an operationalised curriculum. At each level, choices can be made; different ways of doing CE can be prioritised for implementation. CE classroom practices are strongly oriented towards autonomy, while the interpretation of social involvement "is more psychological and focused on youngsters' own communities rather than global and social justice oriented" (see Leenders et al., 2008a, 2008b).

36 See also Van Waveren, 2020, p. 87.

The focus lies on participation in the democratic society, and in particular on showing respect and tolerance towards the other. Veugelers and De Groot (2019, p. 24) conclude that in CE tolerance is often addressed with respect to interpersonal relationships, and even more so at the level of cultural groups, "but very little at the level of an inclusive society".

Furthermore, according to Van Waveren (2020), CE puts too much emphasis on 'living together in peace', neglecting the frequent occurrence of conflicts deriving from the role of power and a lack of social justice – this opens our eyes to justice understood as fairness, based on equality. Van Waveren refers to Mouffe's agonistic approach which is put into practice in the pedagogy of disruption developed by Gert Biesta (2012). With this agonistic approach, Mouffe (2013) does justice to the unruly practice of citizens living in 'the democratic paradox' of plural societies. In such a framework, justice is understood as fairness, emerging from overlapping consensus.

The neglected aspect of social justice is taken up by Blaauwendraad (2016, 2018). In her view our relation with, what she calls, the 'unknown other' in the public domain, requires us to balance individual, group and societal rights, in addition to individual, group and societal priorities, circling the concepts of wisdom, courage and moderation. In their relation with unknown others, people must be free to evaluate and judge, be courageous enough to speak up, and exercise moderateness in order to transform selfishness into public interest (Blaauwendraad, 2018, p. 54). So far, these concepts are not prioritised in blueprints of CE. To enable students to discuss the tensions between individual and group interests, they must first be made to feel safe and comfortable with conflicts as such.

Before people can feel comfortable with conflicts, they must first move beyond anxiety and develop the ability to identify and face problematic and tense issues (Holley & Steiner, 2005). One aspect that has been overlooked so far in the Netherlands in regard to HRE objectives, is the identification of human rights violations. In the section below, we will expound our views regarding a possible connection between normative CE – a subject in which HRE is included – and the ability to face tense issues from a worldview perspective. In this educational frame, the school is regarded as a place and space to practice pupils' dialogical and argumentation competencies; an education that aims at living together in peace with inclusion and acceptance of the conflicts that arise from different perspectives on the good life, which have their origin in a plurality of religious and secular worldview traditions (Ter Avest, 2009).

Human rights education and children's rights

In line with the distinction made by McLaughlin (1992), we can distinguish a minimal and maximal understanding of HRE. A minimal interpretation of HRE can, paraphrasing Bob Jackson's (2014) views on CE, be defined in terms of the knowledge that needs to be transmitted about rights and obligations, statutory regulations and the promotion/protection of related issues, all from a legal point of view. Minimal HRE socialises and qualifies students and gets them ready to live in accordance with the rules of human rights. A maximal interpretation of HRE, on the other hand, focuses on the integration of human rights into the child's developing life orientation. Such a broad interpretation of HRE "emphasizes active learning and inclusion, it is interactive, values-based and process-led, allowing students to develop and articulate their own opinions and to engage in debate" (Jackson, 2020, p. 126). Maximal HRE is focused on "the intersubjective development of each participants' own identity, in mutual recognition (respect and tolerance, addition by author) of each one's differentness" (Van der Ven et al., 2004, p. 18). Maximal HRE centres on values and prepares students to live in accordance with the ethics and normative stance of human rights. Crucially, HRE is all about the creation of a human rights culture (Tibbitts, 2017). Despite the fact that human rights are mentioned in European Union publications as crucial for living together amidst (religious) differences (Religion and Prejudice in Europe (Küpper & Zick, 2011; Jackson, 2014), and despite the fact that the European Wergeland Centre (EWC)[37] undertakes efforts in the field of human rights in/and education, teacher training and the international exchange of 'examples of good practice' in human rights in/and education, no Dutch HRE projects are currently mentioned in the EWC's list of projects (EWC, consulted July 20, 2020, https://theewc.org/projects/).

In their discussion on the minimal and maximal interpretation of CE, Miedema and Ter Avest (2011) state that the two components of a (religious or secular) life orientation and a (religious or secular) identity development need to be interpreted as integral parts of personal identity development; a personal identity that is constitutive for a citizen's identity. Subsequently, a maximal conception of citizenship education implies, according to Miedema and Ter Avest (2011, p. 411), that "religious education and development is part and parcel of citizenship education, and that it should form a structural

37 The European Wergeland Centre ('Educating for Democracy and Human Rights') is located in Norway, and stimulates teachers to exchange 'examples of good practice' in human rights in/and education, as these are developed in day-to-day classroom practices. See: https://theewc.org.

and necessary element of citizenship education in all schools". Miedema (2017) speaks of Religious Citizenship Education in this connection.

In 2017, Ter Avest, further specifying and building on her earlier work with Miedema, as well as on the theoretical elaboration of Miedema and Bertram-Troost (2014), coined the concept of Normative Citizenship Education (NCE), pointing to the inevitable focalisation of values in the formation of a (global) citizenship identity. Below, we elaborate on this NCE concept, with an eye to understanding social justice as conceptualised by Blaauwendraad (2016, 2018), who focuses on the core values of freedom (to evaluate and judge), courage (to speak up) and moderateness (in balancing selfishness and public interest).

Below, an argument is given in favour of the inclusion of (religious) life orientation in CE, by explicitly referring to the core values of HRE. Living in accordance with HRE's core values of dignity and equality – which are basic for freedom, justice and peace – finds its inspiration and motivation in religious and secular worldview traditions. The main line of our argument is that people's (religious) worldview and life orientation are of pivotal importance in the way they position themselves in life in general, as citizens in the public domain and as inhabitants of a global world. People's approach to the other – individuals with different cultural and religious backgrounds – and their responsibility for the world (Arendt, 1968), are to a large extent motivated/inspired by values and norms passed on in cultural and religious traditions, which are themselves positioned in the Dutch national archive. Not only the core human rights values of dignity and equality – which lay the foundation for freedom, justice and peace – should be explicitly situated in that national archive, but also and specifically the way in which these humane values were (not) practiced in the Dutch colonies, and the continued effects of these historic actions on Dutch society, to this day (Baaij, 2015; see Chapter five in this volume).

The starting point for NCE is the right of every child to receive education, as stipulated in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989); understood as the right to be educated about, through and for human rights.

Children's rights and 'good education'

In 1989, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). Article 28 of the CRC describes the child's right to education. This right was not written as an object for legal sharpening; it

is conceived as a moral right. In the CRC, the right of the child to receive education is linked to the government's moral obligation to provide good education (Article 28, paragraph 1). 'Good education' signifies that education should aim at the fullest possible development of the personality, talents, and mental and physical abilities of each and every child. Education should prepare children for an active adult life in a free society and should be directed to the development of the child's respect for human rights, its parents, its own cultural background, language and values, as well as the cultural background of others (Article 29, paragraph 1).

Article 8 deals with the (protection of the) identity of the child. Article 5 describes the role of parents in terms of the government's respect for the rights and responsibilities of parents in regard to their accompaniment of the child in exercising the child's rights under the CRC. The CRC refers to parents as having "primary responsibility for the upbringing and development of the child" (Article 18, paragraph 1). Parents both have rights and obligations in guiding the child's development within the sphere of their own life orientation, own opinion, and personal positioning in regard to religious tradition(s) (Article 26, paragraph 3; UN Commission on Human Rights, 1989).

Parents familiarise the child within 'this is how we have always done it'; they socialise their child in their own outlook on life. In addition, according to the CRC, they also have the duty to create spaces to come into contact with different habits and customs, different ways of living, different philosophies of life; a task they share with the school. For parents this constitutes a double task of letting go and holding on. Article 17 explicitly mentions preparation for living together in diversity, in the sense of providing access to "information and material from a diversity of national and international sources" (UN Commission on Human Rights, 1989).

In short, according to the CRC, the child has the right to guidance in its identity development, directed towards living together in diversity. Respect for the other's otherness is a key concept in this, and at the heart of democracy.

A striking element is the focus on "the development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential" (Article 29, 1a). Article 3 states that "in all actions concerning children (...) the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration" (UN Commission on Human Rights, 1989). This used to be different in the Netherlands. In the second half of the previous century, Dutch religious parents attached greater importance to socialisation in the faith tradition and the confessional identity

it bestowed, an educational project that was the fruit of a collaboration between the Church (as guardian of the tradition), the family (as the primary educational environment) and the school (as the secondary educational environment). The CRC emphasises the right of the child to develop an individual position towards religious tradition(s), and the care educators must take to provide the child with access to information and materials from a variety of sources.

A paradigm shift seems to have taken place in the Netherlands. The importance attached at the beginning of the 20th century to the voice of the parents and other – professional – educators, with a focus on the school as an extension of the religious socialisation at home, seems to have shifted at the beginning of the 21st century in the direction of the interests and rights of the child to be equipped for life as a citizen in a culturally and religiously diverse society.

However, HRE, as a substantial part of children's worldview development inspired by (religious or secular) tradition(s), is not yet receiving the attention it deserves. In a democratic society, CE requires more than just knowledge of legally established laws. CE is not only about socialisation (in the legally established democratic society) and qualification (for the labour market), but also concerns the subjectification of the learner. A crucial aspect of education is the formation of the person of the learners' and their relational autonomy – a personal formation that underlies the learners' future positioning as a global citizen in relation to familiar strangers in the neighbourhood and unknown others in society at large and the world as a global village (Van Waveren, 2020, p. 42). Such a positioning requires a benevolent attitude towards conversation with the other; the other who is fundamentally different from me. Such a sympathetic conversation leads to "broadening your view, getting to know new worlds and the self-transcendence that can accompany them" (Van Waveren, 2020, p. 43). It is a type of conversation that requires the freedom to evaluate and assess, the courage to speak up, and an attitude of reasonableness in the trade-off between personal and group/community interests. Ultimately, it is about freedom of choice in one's positioning in the public domain, and the world.

Good education: From 'free from' to 'free to'

'Free from' the boundary as a strict division (like the boundaries of pillarisation), space is created for dialogue. A dialogue with the other who is like me – and yet not. Anyone who takes the liberty to be different, however,

cannot avoid taking responsibility for the right of others to be different in their own way, and to defend that right. The mutual respect for boundaries that help people to live well together despite their differences, is reflected in the image evoked by the expression: 'good fences make good neighbours'.

The fence as a border represents the protection that freedom needs – we refer here to the first concept that Blaauwendraad (2018) puts at the centre of her description of social justice – the freedom to evaluate and judge. 'The hole in the fence' represents the regulating communication with the other, to achieve social justice. People 'behind the fence' have a collective right to determine who/what is and who/what is not allowed. The courage to face conflicts or human rights/children's rights violations and to speak up about what is not permissible, is the second concept brought in that characterises an agonistic society and its specific understanding of social cohesion and justice (see Chapter three in this volume). The quality of renouncing egocentric self-interest for the benefit of the community's interest is addressed in this; this the third concept brought in by Blaauwendraad (2018) as another core value of social justice. Ultimately, when there is too much tension between freedom, courage and a moderate attitude, conversation with others is the best protection of one's own space. A conversation conducted from both sides of the fence.

Free to converse

The conversation – the process of thinking out loud – is central to Hannah Arendt's (2013) philosophy. Arendt sees the public space as a free space for conversations between citizens. In the broadest sense, people are each other's fellow citizens because they live in the same neighbourhood, city or nation; this community includes all people – also illegal immigrants, individuals without legal documents. But, Arendt (1968) argues, people only really become fellow citizens of the world by talking to each other about what they share – their living space, the public domain. It is the exchange of thoughts that is community-building and community-preserving. The thoughts brought up in such conversations can differ from one another. In order to be able to speak of an exchange, these differences have to be brought together under a common denominator, for which the term social justice is chosen.

This is the space of interest, the common interest. According to Arendt (1968, p. 185), the common interest consists in respect for "the free development of characteristic qualities and talents" of each and every child. The paradox of difference and equality is the foundation for the space of interest (Borren

2008, p. 71). Humans become equal as citizens when they speak and act in the public domain. This form of citizenship starts with the other, "with respect for other people's perspective on the common world" (cf. De Kesel, 2008, p. 49). The familiar saying 'what you do not want to be done to you, do not do to another' can be understood as 'do what the other needs', as seen from the perspective of the other. Interacting with the other as a fellow citizen means that we regard our fellow citizen as a person. It means recognising that others have their own view of the world, just as I have my own position and related perspective. It involves recognising that the shared neighbourhood, city or nation we inhabit is essentially a plural world, characterised by difference; differences in ethnicity, culture, and religion; including differences in interpretations of human rights. Respect and tolerance for each and every difference, following Arendt's (1968) line of thought, lies at the heart of the conversation, the dialogue between citizens in a plural world.[38] In Arendt's view (1968), the competences for living together can only be taught and learned in heterogeneous groups, in which differences can be experienced and problematised.

Normative (global) citizenship education: Learning to live together in difference

Pupils bring experiential knowledge to the school, including the (religiously or secularly motivated) worldview from home, not to mention the experiential knowledge of the language of the street (Hadioui, 2010). These two forms of knowledge that children acquire in their first educational environment, resonate in the classroom. Following the Flemish-German theologian Bert Roebben (2011), these two different ways of living in difference should also be problematised in education, and guidance must be offered in reflecting on them (Roebben, 2011). Every child has the right to develop respect and tolerance for what is different, which also includes the right to be tolerated for being different and to speak up when tensions become unbearable.

The marbles in the boat

The tensions that can arise in the classroom are a result of, and also a reflection of the tensions in society. Wilma Vollebergh (2006) introduces the appealing metaphor of the marbles in the boat: "Just as on a boat you can immediately see from a handful of loose marbles on the bottom which way

38 cf. Borren, M. (2008). Arendt en Derrida over vriendschap en het probleem van politieke gemeenschap. In *Hannah Arend Cahier,* (pp, 62-78) Damon.

the boat is leaning, so you can tell young people which way society is heading or which themes are of cultural importance in society" (Vollebergh, 2006, p. 69). The right of the child to develop its own position on important societal issues, is realised by the teacher who creates space for reflection about the boat and the marbles, including the conflicting marbles, such as they exist in the area of religion.

Teachers should challenge their students to jointly explore both the boat and the marbles, resulting in the development of students' own authentic life orientations in which all the different marbles are positioned – be it in a positive or negative way, or strongly or weakly voiced. This facilitates students' growth towards an active participative role as citizens in a respectful cooperation to keep the boat – the culturally and religiously plural society – on course. Such a pedagogical project requires professional knowledge on behalf of teachers, possession of a body of experiential knowledge about the many (religiously and secularly motivated) marbles, and the boat (Jackson, 2020). In the Netherlands, an important marble in the boat/issue in the conversation among citizens, is religion in/and education.

Literacy and dialogue

Without words, people cannot express what sets them in motion, why they act the way they do. HRLit and worldview literacy, both literally and metaphorically, are therefore a prerequisite for the conversation between citizens in the public domain. Here, HRLit is understood in the sense of learners' growing knowledge about the meaning of human rights issues in their day-to-day lives, and more generally in the sense of "how humans act and re-act and inter-act on abstract human rights documents within specific socio-cultural contexts" (Roux & Becker, 2015; Simmonds, 2013). Religious literacy as knowledge about tradition(s) represented in the Netherlands, as familiarity with the language of worldview tradition(s) and practiced worldview experiences in the Dutch context.

Even more important for a dialogical encounter, is the acquisition of a language in which one can express one's deepest experiences and emotions, in order to share them with others; relating to emotionally charged experiences of standing in a tradition in which you feel at home, and which offers protection and guidance (Jetten, 2018).

Be(com)ing literate carries with it the risk that what at first sight seemed to be solid ground beneath your feet, is interrupted and turns into a swampy

breeding ground. Urgently needed in that case are 'islands in the swamp', i.e., moral orders derived from the contextual hermeneutics of (religious or secular) traditions. For children raised in a literal reading of the Genesis narrative in which Adam and Eve lived in a heavenly context before succumbing to the Fall, a reading of this narrative as alluding to the general human struggle between good and evil can be shocking – a disruption of their firm belief and unshakable loyalty to their religious community. In the spirit of the CRC, every child has the right to a 'pedagogy of interruption' (Biesta, 2012), a provocative pedagogy (Ter Avest & Bertram-Troost, 2009) that challenges their personal beliefs while caring for them at the same time. A corresponding pedagogical strategy facilitates flexible identity development. Guided and coached by teachers in this way, pupils become participative citizens in a society with powerfully co-existing, varied interpretations of narratives, different 'literacies'. Such education challenges children to experience and become acquainted with what is 'new'; it creates a safe classroom environment in which the 'new' can both be explored and appropriated, creating the opportunity for learners to actively position themselves in relation to that 'new'.

Here, getting to know, exploring and appropriating what is 'new' are steppingstones in a lifelong process of personal identity development, a process of active positioning in the world, called 'subjectification' by Biesta (2012, 2020). The 'new' can manifest itself as a component of school culture, which is different from anything experienced at home. The 'new' can also be 'the other' – the other-believing student with different, perhaps unknown experiences relating to rights and duties, to religion. The other who is both near and further away.

The classroom: 'Narthex' of the public domain

Natural curiosity and fear of the unknown compete for priority in the encounter with the other. Am I able to meet the other? Can I be vulnerable and allow the unknown (other) to touch me? The school space in which the unknown (the other) is explored must be safe, both for the child who faces the new and for the child who represents the new – both relating to real life and to stories (Holley & Steiner, 2005). Among the many 'voices' that learners bring into the classroom nowadays, we find silenced 'stories of remembrance' from the Dutch national archive, dug out and presented by descendants of enslaved persons from the former colonies (Baay, 2015; Vreede, 2021), but

also new interpretations of narratives from various tradition(s) – as such, the classroom constitutes the 'narthex'[39] of the public domain.

According to the CRC, it is the responsibility of educators to create spaces for respect (*re-spicere*, literally 're-viewing') and reflection – to be applied by learners to their own value orientation and that of others. This means seeing and being seen again and again, reflecting with distanced involvement about one's personal archive (Jonathan Jansen's 'Knowledge in the blood' in 2009, told and retold in the family, among relatives, in the culture, and Suzanna Jansens' family history laid down in the novel *Het pauperparadijs*, 2017), as well as listening to this archive with the ears of the other! This is a process that possibly leads to what is called a hybrid identity: e.g., Frisian Catholic, Dutch Muslim, liberal Hindu, secular Christian.

Tradition(s): 'Narthex' of a culture of dignity, equality, and freedom

Bringing together the concepts of equality (in difference), dignity and justice, a group of scholars developed a lesson module called Playful Islamic Religious Education (PIREd; Gürlesin et al., 2020). In the PIREd teaching material, religious tradition(s), identity development and (global) citizenship education come together interactionally. The material consists of seven lessons, the *MirrorMind* game and a research instrument.

While originally this material was developed for young Muslims living in the Netherlands, after piloting it became clear that not only Muslim students, but also (secularised) Christian students and their teachers might be involved in the PIREd education process (if so, the name might need to be changed into Playful *Inter-worldview* Education). The game revealed itself as a challenging invitation for young people to start a dialogue on their everyday dilemmas and existential questions. As such, the module proved to stimulate the development of learners' comprehension of texts and narratives from various tradition(s), as well as their understanding of the relation between their life orientation and (global) citizenship. The invitation to reach a contextual understanding of religious texts turned out to open a door and create a space (a narthex) for students' insight into their own positionality regarding dignity, equality, freedom and justice in the plural Dutch society.

39 The 'narthex' is the porch of the church – the in-between state of the profane and sacred world.

Conclusion - Article 23 and beyond

In 2017, the post-pillarised Dutch society celebrated the 100th anniversary of freedom of education (Article 23 in the Constitution). When this civil right was first enshrined in the Constitution, at the beginning of the 20th century, the concept of freedom of education had a different meaning than it does now, 100 years later. At the time, the discourse on freedom was related to the availability of an individual space to adjust to a personal identity that had already been given – a personal Catholic, Protestant or liberal clear-cut identity (Taylor, 1989, 2007) – which was free from government interference in religious worldview-related subject(s), like RE. At the time, it was clear to educators what such a clear-cut identity should look like – its limited space within the Catholic, Protestant or liberal tradition went without saying. Nowadays, for many educators, the frame of reference is different.

Freedom of education, as understood today, advocates the inclusion of the other and otherness in processes of identity construction, and gives space to the other's different way of life. This freedom of education, concretised in the subjects 'Spiritual Movements' and CE, implies that attention is paid to narratives from different religious and secular traditions in which people have sought answers to existential questions for centuries. In the Education Council's 2012 report on Article 23, the Council advocated a broader interpretation of Article 23.[40] In the Dutch context, this broadening would mean that schools should no longer have the freedom to be founded on and solely inspired by a recognised ideological/religious tradition. In releasing this statement, the Education Council paved the way for new school foundations based on a pedagogical theory, or schools based on human rights, with the freedom to further interpret and concretise HRE according to the school's identity determined by identity, determined by identity conversations with all concerned (Steiner, 2004; Bakker & Ter Avest, 2009). Following Biesta's (2021) line of thought, freedom *for* education should be prioritised in the pedagogical strategies and didactics of each school (see below).

At the grassroots level, every school team and school board should feel free (!) to make use of the freedom of education by structurally including a maximal interpretation of HRE in the school curriculum, preferably as a separate subject – since HRE is a subject in its own right, and therefore requires special

40 *Grondwet in maatschappelijk perspectief* ('Constitution From a Societal Perspective'), https://www.onderwijsraad.nl/publicaties/adviezen/2012/04/05/artikel-23-grondwet-in-maatschappelijk-perspectief.

treatment. Following the development that *Curriculum.nu*'s curriculum revision proposals have been legalised in the government's clarification on CE (August 2021), HRE ethics will from now on be(come) included in Dutch CE. Whether HRE is turned into a separate subject or included in CE, in both cases the details can be harmonised with the hermeneutics of the religious or secular tradition the school adheres to; in this way justice can be done to the so cherished Dutch freedom of religion.

Instead of speaking of freedom *of* religion, Biesta (2021) explores the concept of freedom *for* religion. With this concept, he explicitly points to a relation with the German verb *Zeigen*, which in Dutch becomes *tonen* (showing) and *aanwijzen* (pointing) – with the connotation that we are pointing to something and, by doing so, we show someone that something (Biesta, 2021, p. 53). Consequently, in such an interaction, persons remain free to either follow or not follow the direction that is shown to them, which implies a certain awareness of human rights. According to Biesta, this is the crux of the pedagogical task of education. Following Biesta's line of thought, education must facilitate freedom *for* religion as an essential part of education, which implies an education *for* human rights. Education, understood this way, cannot but pay attention to religious and secular worldview traditions, thereby referring to pupils' lived religions in a specific education context – *this* class, *this* teacher, *this* school, i.e., place-space-time based education.

From August 2021 onwards, the Dutch Inspectorate of Education is charged with the duty of including HRE in school inspections. The school's vision and mission serve as a source for the development of learners' own positioning in the world of human rights, their own identity as citizens of the world. The classroom serves as a space of social justice, with its core values of freedom (to evaluate and judge), courage (to speak up) and moderateness (in balancing selfishness and public interest) as introduced by Blaauwendraad (2016, 2018). It functions as a space where the rights of every child are etched on the teachers' memory; to do right, every child matters. The classroom serves as a space that does justice to the otherness of the other, the other's narratives, and to the need to connect with 'the other' to reach an autonomous positionality in the world; relational autonomy in the context of the school, the neighbourhood, … the world.

Teachers' personal religious or secular worldviews and value orientations, their pedagogical line of thought resulting in a pedagogical praxis, the school's vision and mission, and the societal context all meet in classroom conversations about tense situations relating to (violations of) human rights

and children's rights. Tense situations should not be avoided, instead they should be embraced as starting points for development. In teacher training, this multi-perspectiveness must be explored and reflected upon – *Amor complexitatis* (Bakker & Montesano Montessori, 2016). Disruptive moments facilitate student-teachers' development as normative professionals who are competent in complex/multiplex classroom conversations, guiding learners in their coming to grown-up-ness.

Such classroom conversations do justice to the rights of all children, and challenge teachers to fulfil the moral duty of which human rights documents and the CRC speak. It is the duty of teachers to create spaces for students to come into contact with other habits and customs, and to make every child flourish; it is a teacher's duty to point students to human rights and its practices, and to empower students to courageously make a firm stand for human rights for all of humanity.

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8

Conversations 'en route'

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Introduction

In the preceding seven chapters and roughly about the same number of zoom discussions[41], scholars from South Africa and the Netherlands explored the ways in which human rights education (HRE) is understood, conceptualised and implemented in the respective countries.

Many themes and questions crystalised during our conversations. We put three questions to the fore in this last chapter. We tried to link core issues in HRE, as explored and discussed in the different chapters, to these questions. We attempt to answer the following questions:

(i) How should policy makers, curriculum developers and in particular teachers in classroom praxis interpret human rights in place-space-time and translate it to their students?

(ii) To what extent could and should HRE influence the (non)realisation of human rights and what are the consequences of the (non)realisation of HRE in both contexts?

(iii) What knowledge needs to be included or challenged; and how can themes, issues, models and approaches, discussed in this book, guide teachers to infuse a culture of human rights into classroom praxis?

An assessment of possible answers to these questions could guide us to the next trajectory of our 'en route' – a work in progress. The notion of place-space-time was extremely important in our conversations and in answering the three questions. The differences between the Netherland's

41 We used zoom meetings because of the global pandemic and the subsequent lock-down and travel restrictions in 2020/2021 in both countries. The Covid-19 pandemic caused global travel bans, lockdowns, school closures and disruptions to professional, religious, cultural and everyday activities.

place-space-time, and South Africa's place-space-time in the focus, scope and conceptualisation of HRE, became clear in all the chapters presented. Authors of both countries argue that the importance, the role and impact of place-space-time serve as a commonality between the two contexts.

At the end of this chapter, we articulate some thoughts on the continuation of transformative processes set into motion by our conversational analysis to stay 'en route'.

Recapturing place-space-time and its impact on human rights education and classroom praxis

Place-space-time act as an impetus for all the domains of HRE and HRLit (Roux & Becker, 2019, Chapter two and three in this volume). This includes policies, curricula, teachers and students in classroom praxis. To guide the first question: How should policy makers, curriculum developers and teachers in classroom praxis interpret human rights in place-space-time and translate it to their students? this section will link the following themes within the two contexts: cultures of remembrance, decolonisation and decoloniality, dignity and equality.

Cultures of remembrance

One cannot explore or converse on human rights, the declarations and programmes in HRE without a deep understanding of histories and cultures of remembrances (Roux, 2019; cf. Boschki, 2016). In any society, different experiences of histories are linked to how we remember or what we remember. Generational knowledge and/or past and present material realities furthermore cause conflict and complicate conversations on the meanings of human rights.

South Africa's HRE scholars' understanding of their post-colonial (conflict) society, and the importance of histories (colonialism and apartheid) in place-space-time, put cultures of remembrance at the centre of their contributions and approaches. The influence of the role of place-space-time in South Africa had as consequence a return to critical theories and pedagogies with bottom-up transformative approaches (Chapters four and six in this volume).

In chapter two the South African history, engulfed by colonial wars, ethnic and racial violence and racism during colonialism and apartheid, was highlighted. While centuries of freedom struggles are still imbedded in South

Africa's cultures of remembrance, new cultures of remembrance are emerging linked to growing poverty, ongoing discrimination and inequality.

Today, what human rights is, and what it should enable, remains irrelevant to many individuals in South Africa. This is because, human rights have not improved the living conditions and basic needs of many people in South Africa. For these South Africans the (non)realisation of human rights is just a fact of life. It is in this realm that HRE scholars in South Africa embarked on new approaches and propose praxis linked to decoloniality and HRLit. HRLit serve as a nexus between the ideals of human rights and HRE and material realities. It enables an understanding of the complexities and interrelated nature of cultures of remembrance and material realities.

Memories of the atrocities during World War II and the Dutch liberation from Germany's occupation (ended in 1945) remains paramount in the Netherlands; memories resurging with the invasion of Ukraine by Russia on February 24, 2022. Added to this is the process of liberation from the pillarized organisation of society (until recently dominating the Dutch culture of remembrance), during the 1960's. This was a consequence of the interactionality of processes of secularisation, migration, democratisation and individualisation. It freed people from the solid and religion-based foundations of the Dutch society i.e., unity in diversity. This paved the way for a secularised and liberal way of life in which everyone can determine (resulting in: must determine) for themselves what the good life means; autonomy as the most desirable personal characteristic to be developed at home, at school and in higher education institutions. Processes of secularisation and individualisation do, therefore, enable space for a provocative pedagogy, challenging the commitment of the age-old tradition of Christianity and loyalty to the church, while at the same time introducing a caring attitude towards others (Chapter seven in this volume). As the poet Jo Govaerts wrote *"Het schept/veel verplichtingen mens te zijn"* (It creates/many responsibilities to be human) (Govaerts, 1987).

Histories and cultures of remembrance culminate in material realities of and for all generations in both contexts. Human rights activist groups should acknowledge cultures of remembrance and need to act in social responsibility through the present towards the future by means of continual dialogue and action. HRE is in its essence, action orientated in linking past, present and future.

Decolonisation and decoloniality

Colonialisation and occupation through war efforts prompt different cultures of remembrance (for the occupiers and the victims) and this is clear in research in South Africa and the Netherlands. Decolonisation and decoloniality are high priorities in South Africa. Colonialism and its consequences have however only become a topic of discussion in the Netherlands recently.

Roux and Becker (Chapter two in this volume) explained in detail the importance of addressing colonial assumptions and histories in human rights and work towards a decolonial HRE. Together with processes of decolonialisation which is the geographical and political liberation of colonised countries, decoloniality is an ongoing project. As explained before, decoloniality is understood as the resistance and disruption of ongoing coloniality in the fields of power, the domain of knowledge, the social consequences of colonialisation and the lack of recognition of worth and dignity for all human beings across the globe (Chapter two in this volume).

During the conversational analysis it became clear that there is a global need for human rights and HRE programmes, modules, teachers and/or facilitators to consider decoloniality to resist coloniality (Becker, 2021a; Maldonado-Torres, 2017; Mignolo, 2009). During our conversations we specifically noticed the role of coloniality of power, as power relations influence how human rights are perceived in any conversation on human rights. It became clear that in both contexts to stimulate not only knowledge about human rights, but also a courageous attitude to stand up for human rights, HRE scholars and teachers must reflect on who speaks, from where do they speak and for whom do they speak (Mignolo, 2018; Becker, 2021a). If only Euro-western speakers speak through a western lens on human rights for all of humanity (coloniality of power), then all knowledge in HRE will be euro-western (coloniality of knowledge) (Chapter two of this volume). This should be addressed globally through literacies on decoloniality and ongoing coloniality (Becker, 2021a).

In the Netherlands, the memories of the atrocities of World War II have obscured the view of the inhumane devastation of colonisation by the Dutch rulers in their colonies. Apart from the minimal attention for the return of the soldiers of the KNIL (*Koninklijk Nederlands Indisch Leger*; Royal Dutch Indie's Army) from the colony Dutch Indies (as it was called in the 15-1600), there was, until recently, very little discussion in the Netherlands on the freedom struggles in its colonies. Neither was there a reflection on the role

of the coloniser, the neglect of human rights, and the consequences thereof in South Africa, in the East and Dutch Indies (Chapter three in this volume). A national discussion on the aftermath of colonisation, decolonisation and ongoing coloniality as a habitual aspect of being Dutch, is lacking. In opening the national archive, the self-image of the Dutch as "a small, but just, ethical nation; colour-blind thus free of racism" can be examined and questioned (cf. Wekker, 2016). This self-image is mirrored in the Dutch expectation that all others should assimilate and integrate into the Dutch liberal ethics and the Dutch way of doing things, as is evident in integration courses as well as in the subject CE. Liberation from the Dutch self-image of tolerance is still an ongoing process. Initiated in the second decade of the 21st century by publications on the Netherlands as coloniser and slave trader, tolerance had to give way to the awareness of 'the enslaved other' as part of the national identity and the national archive (see Chapter three in this volume). To enable this ongoing process there is therefore a need for literacies on the effects of colonialisation and ongoing coloniality, racial literacies and literacies on how othering happens in the Dutch society.

Dignity and equality

In post-apartheid South Africa, the Constitution and Bill of rights (1996), with the values of freedom, dignity and equality, became the core premise for society and education after 1994. To reclaim full humanity for all, South Africa's focus in legislation since 1994 is on dignity and equality.

The link between dignity, equality, socio-economic rights, gender rights and the right to religion (Chapter six in this volume) has a crucial impact on the material realities of South Africans (Chapter four in this volume) and necessitate a focus in HRE in South Africa. Both race and gender are categories related to historic and colonial hierarchies, gender discrimination and violence especially in a patriarchal system and its interpretations of e.g. the Abrahamic religions. These traditions are mainstream belief systems in South Africa and in many cases linked to the Africanisation of the traditions.

The Constitution of South Africa (1996) as a written contract with its citizens, urge government and citizens to uphold the values and rights of freedom, dignity and equality. Although the philosophy of *Ubuntu* is a shared common value and part of the moral imagination of most South Africans (Ngubane & Makua, 2021; Metz, 2011), it is the Constitution and Bill of Rights which binds all South Africans after years of oppression and strife.

As indicated in Chapter three in this volume, equality, freedom and non-discrimination are key concepts in the Dutch Constitution. Although all Dutch people gather under the umbrella of these values it is the freedom of education that allows for an own interpretation and concretisation of these values in individual schools' curricula. Nationally, key targets are formulated for CE while allowing space for individual schools to control the content and processes of the subject CE. There is however growing criticism that government is gradually diminishing space for interpretations by individual schools in respect to CE (Bertram-Troost, 2022). Ter Avest (Chapter seven in this volume) states that the *Inspection Framework on Active Citizenship* and *Social Integration* (*Toezichtkader Actief Burgerschap en Sociale Integratie)* does monitor schools' attention to the freedom of expression, equal dignity, respect for others and tolerance, although this is not explicitly part of a subject human rights.

Equality in the Netherlands, as it is framed in CE, refers to social cohesion in the public domain, the *Gesellschaft* they belong to, and its values as laid down in the Constitution they share (Tönnies, 1887). The focus is thus on social cohesion and citizenship in the Dutch culture and society, and less, if not at all, on the rights protecting against the state outplaying persons' freedom and disrespecting human dignity – rights that each and every person is born with. This becomes problematic for immigrants and refugees with the demand for assimilation and integration into the Dutch culture.

In reflecting on the first question, we highlighted the decisive role of place-space-time in each context. All stakeholders should be literate about cultures of remembrance, histories, ongoing coloniality and how freedom, dignity and equality are conceptualised, understood and implemented in students' material realities, in policies, curricula and teaching. Because of the diverse material realities in the two contexts, different crystallisations of each of these three aspects presented themselves. Place-space-time is the lens through which HRE should be conceptualised, realised and practiced in each of the two contexts. An analysis of place-space-time is the first step towards any interpretation, understanding and teaching of human rights for policy makers, curriculum developers and teachers in HRE.

The (non)realisation of human rights and HRE

The second theme, crystalising from the conversational analysis, is the (non)realisation of both human rights and HRE in South Africa and the Netherlands. The UDHR (1948), global and local human rights legislation,

Constitutions and the Bill of Rights for and of any country, cannot guarantee that a society or the education fraternity will comply to, or implement, human rights. There remain problems with the full realisation of human rights (see Chapters one, two and four in this volume) and the full realisation of HRE (Chapters three and four in this volume) in both countries.

In this section we would like to pose the second question explored during our conversations i.e., To what extent could and should HRE address the (non)realisation of human rights and what are the consequences of the (non) realisation of HRE in both contexts? We link the following issues to this question: dialogical possibilities and different struggles and avenues to the implementation of HRE in both contexts.

In the second section we also highlight the two subjects Life Orientation (South Africa) and Citizenship Education (CE) (The Netherlands) that serve as vehicles for teaching human rights.

Changing negative attitudes with dialogical possibilities

Attitudes and perceptions of all stakeholders on the value of HRE is important in any context. In our conversations it became clear that, even in South Africa, with a well-defined HRE programme, negative attitudes on the value of HRE often contribute to its failure. If we want to change the attitudes and perceptions of teachers and policymakers, we need to address these issues.

A strong position of HRE in any educational structure or system demands a comprehensive articulation of what human rights are, why we need to teach human rights and how we teach human rights (Chapter one in this volume). Having HRE as a dedicated discipline or subject field does however not automatically guarantee HRE praxis or transformative action (Chapter two in this volume). HRE praxis, as part of transformative HRE, should focus on dialogue, reflection and action. Effective and transformative HRE will contribute substantially to the full realisation of human rights in both contexts.

A precondition to this is that teachers should have the necessary knowledge of human rights. Human rights should be included in all pre-service and in-service teacher education curricula. Student-teachers must also develop the competency to listen – to each other in society – and to each student for whose education they are responsible. This includes prejudiced voices in their communities and own society of mind (Hermans & Hermans-Jansen,

1995; Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010). Finally, all teachers must be able to listen to silenced voices – a responsibility that applies for all citizens of the world.

For Freire (2017) listening is an action that connects the speaker and the listener, without prejudice, within dialogue. Listening is an attitude on the part of both speaker and listener to be open to the words, gestures, and differences of situated selves (Roux & Becker, 2016). This is when dialogue as praxis becomes transformative (Roux & Becker, 2016). This requires also, in conversations and dialogues, for the listener to sometimes be silent and wait for the other to speak while opening one's mind (Hannam, 2021, p. 134). Such an approach should be given priority in South African and Dutch teacher education.

Jarvis (Chapter 6), for example, offers a teaching-learning strategy that plays a role in creating space for pre-service teachers to explore their identity through the process of on-going dialogue in the dialogical self, in relation to their understandings and lived experiences of human rights issues. Classroom engagement that is empathetic, reflective and dialogical presents the possibility for classroom praxis that can be transformative. Empathetic-reflective-dialogical re-storying as a teaching-learning strategy holds promise for previously held narratives (and previously held negative attitudes to human rights) to be re-storied (rewritten) within a human rights framework.

Continuous dialogue in HRE could and should be used to address violations and the (non)realisation of human rights. One of the examples of the (non) realisation of human rights, we argue, was the right to education during the global pandemic in 2020/2021. The right to education was severely impacted for most children in developed and developing countries during this time. This was partly due to the lack of technological access and resulting lack of technological literacy crystalising against the background of socio-economic disparities when online teaching was introduced. In South Africa as well as in the Netherlands the pandemic crystalised gross inequality and provided evidence of the unequal access to technology in the world. This was evident in a more extreme way in South Africa than in the Netherlands. In South Africa it also had an impact on food security. Many schools in South Africa provide daily meals to children and the imposed lockdowns and school closures in 2020-2021, deprived those children from daily meals contributing to food insecurity.

To combat the (non)realisation of human rights, HRE is crucial. HRE not only focusses on learning about human rights but also focusses on learning through human rights for human rights. Action and activism for human rights have throughout human history brought about social change. It is therefore crucial to change negative attitudes to HRE through engaging with all stakeholders through continuous dialogue and listening.

Different struggles and attempts at implementing HRE in both contexts

The importance, scope and focus of HRE in the Netherlands have only been debated in recent years. A small number of individual teachers and a few NGOs are engaging with the international body of knowledge on HRE and continue to make important contributions that inspire other teachers to practice HRE in their classes. The three chapters exploring HRE in the Netherlands (Chapters three, five and seven in this volume) indicate that the preference is to link HRE and CE and/or HRE and (religious) worldview education, with a specific focus on children's rights.

In the Netherlands social cohesion is a priority, resulting in the introduction of the subject *Geestelijke Stromingen* (Philosophical Movements) in 1985, that changed into CE in 2006. In 2018 the project Curriculum.nu started a bottom-up process, in which researchers (so called early innovators) and policy makers work together in reviewing and revising content and aims resulting in a publication *Bouwstenen voor een nieuw curriculum* (Basics for a new curriculum), and a first advice for the Minister of Education in 2021.[42]

Freedom of religion in the Netherlands is specified in Article 23 of the Constitution (2018) and linked to the pillarised education system. Religion has become a challenge in the discussion on CE (Biesta & Hannam, 2021). Religion, in particular lived religion and practiced life orientation, claims its own place in normative CE (Chapter seven in this volume). In normative CE the normativity is rooted in and inspired by stories and characters in narrative traditions; be it religious, indigenous or secular. After all, these are the traditions with narratives on human dignity, equality and non-discrimination holding up a mirror to inspire people to be fair in their everyday life. This is in line with Joyce Miller's plea for an inclusive RE. She articulates the need for a relational pedagogy, including in its relationality human and non-human life forms (Miller 2021, p. 137; Hermans 2022, p. 263).

42 https://www.curriculum.nu/voorstellen/

Since 1997, in South Africa, education was assigned a leading role in teaching about and for human rights and the understanding thereof. It was soon realised that knowing about human rights does not naturally evolve into a culture of human rights. The material realities of South Africans were not reflected in HRE content. The outcomes of various research projects (see Chapter two in this volume) pointed to the critical need for HRLit in the nexus (link) between the UDHR (1948), South African Constitution and Bill of Rights (1996), HRE and material realities in place-space-time.

In the next subsection we first focus on how South Africa implements HRE, in Life Orientation, followed by a Dutch reflection on HRE in CE.

Life Orientation

In South Africa the current subjects History and Life Orientation, from grades R-12 (ages 7-18 years), have specific outcomes that explicitly teach about, through and for human rights as these are the carrier subjects for HRE (Chapter four in this volume).

As was explained by Ferguson in chapter four in this volume, HRE is positioned in the subject Life Orientation with democracy education. Ferguson and Keet (2018) argue that HRE should be fused with critical democratic citizenship education. Core human rights concepts and constitutional values such as equality, social justice and equity, non-racism and non-sexism, human dignity (*Ubuntu*), accountability and responsibility, the rule of law, mutual respect, an open society and reconciliation are fundamental values in Life Orientation, critical democracy education and HRE. All teachers are expected to socialise their students in these values.

The process of learning for EDC / HRE starts with the education of student-teachers. The way they are exposed to democracy and human rights must start in the lecture- and classroom (microlevel), which should emulate the kind of democracy they wish to experience in broader society (macrolevel). Ferguson (Chapter four in this volume) argues for a de-centralised classroom organisation, where students are organised in communities of inquiry. Working in communities of inquiry allows for maximal participation by student-teachers to engage critically and reflectively with the difficult and sensitive knowledge that HRE in a democracy presents. It also enables a confrontation with their own prejudicial positionings and unconscious biases.

Citizenship Education

The Netherlands is saturated with processes of secularisation and an urge for autonomy. This is reflected in the distinguished approaches of CE. Whether the focus is on adaptive, individualistic or critical democratic citizenship the emphasis is on the individual's development of the respective competencies of being a good citizen in the Netherlands.

Despite the implementation of the subject CE in the curriculum in the Netherlands, human rights remain a marginalised topic in the discussions. Book publishers and NGOs do develop teaching material, and some of them do include human rights, but the implementation is teacher dependent (Chapter five in this volume).

In 2021 a first advisory report of the working group Curriculum.nu regarding the revision of the subject CE was presented to the Minister of Education. This advice concerns in the first place "the assessment of the Curriculum.nu proposals and the second advice concerns the work assignment for developing core objectives for primary education and the lower classes of secondary education".[43] For VERUS (Organisation of Christian and Catholic School Boards)[44] however the reports indicates a shift towards disabling the freedom of education, that is the freedom of foundation, orientation and organisation of education in line with parents' religious, secular or pedagogical commitment (Biesta, 2021). Biesta (2021) however argues that the freedom for education (not of education), enables a resistance to claims on education rooted only in society's needs. He argues that the primary educational aim is subjectification – that is for schools and teachers to enable, encourage and challenge the socialisation function of education. This will give space to the new generation's capacity for natality, the capability to initiate the creation of a new world (Biesta, 2021).

Teachers, lecturers and scholars argue that the governmental description of CE with its focus on social cohesion, learning to live together with the other (different cultures and/or religion), is too vague. Human rights are not explicitly mentioned in the rationale of CE. The aim of CE is to contribute to an individual's consciousness and well-being, developing a fair relationship with others in the here and now. It is assumed that in this realm it will also be

43 https://www.curriculum.nu/actueel/wetenschappelijke-curriculumcommissie-overhandigt-adviezen-aan-de-minister/

44 https://www.verus.nl/zoeken/wetsvoorstel%20burgerschapsvorming%20gaat%20te%20ver?orden=rel.

for the benefit of society (and the world?); when students develop into well-balanced individuals and be(come) good citizens who take care of and are responsible for others/the other (Den Ouden, 2020, p. 78).

Examples of the different avenues through which HRE is implemented shed light on the different roles of human rights in both contexts. In the South African context, the emphasis is on democracy, dignity and equality (EDC/HRE) while in the Netherlands it is on social cohesion (CE).

Human rights education knowledge, models, approaches and praxis

In this section we reflect briefly on the last question posed in the beginning of this chapter. The question reads as follows: What knowledge needs to be included or challenged; and how can themes, issues, models and approaches, discussed in this book, guide teachers to instil a culture of human rights into classroom praxis?

Knowledge content in HRE is always influenced by place-space-time and material realities. There are however basic human rights concepts and principles which should be included in HRE knowledge content. This was discussed in chapter one of this volume. Material realities will dictate what human rights discourses should be challenged, critiqued and contested in HRE.

For South African authors, the answer to the second part of this question: how can themes, issues, models and approaches, discussed in this book, guide teachers to instil a culture of human rights into classroom praxis? is in following transformative bottom-up approaches. To link HRE to material realities and make it easy for students to internalise human rights principles and values, a bottom-up approach to curriculum-making, teaching and learning is crucial.

Bottom-up approaches and models in South Africa

In HRE classrooms and lecture rooms, bottom-up approaches hinge on the connection with students' material realities, grassroots struggles and the human rights issues within their communities, societies and the country. It is therefore directly linked to place-space-time. The success of bottom-up teaching and learning furthermore depends on chosen pedagogies, teaching and learning strategies, classroom relations and interactions.

In South Africa there is a preference for bottom-up approaches because of the diversity of peoples, cultures, religions, socio-economic disparities, gender and racial conflicts and ongoing political turmoil. The South African scholars and teachers, Ferguson (Chapter four in this volume) and Jarvis (Chapter six in this volume) explain how to teach about, through and for human rights in transformative bottom-up approaches.

Ferguson (Chapter four in this volume) creates participatory democratic learning spaces through decentralised communities of inquiry. Action as part of transformative learning and praxis is encouraged. Tibbitts' (2017) *Activism-transformation* model and Baja's (2011) HRE for *coexistence* approach are used in conjunction by focussing on dialogue, conversations, reflection, praxis, action and activism to teach and learn human rights concepts in democratic classroom communities from the bottom-up. Topics for dialogue and inquiry are furthermore directly linked to students' material realities and the human rights issues they struggle with.

Jarvis (Chapter 6) uses a dialogical bottom-up approach in HRE to unpack religious and gender contentions within HRE. Both Tibbitts' (2017) *Activism-transformation* model and Bajaj's (2011) HRE for *coexistence* approach, which focuses on healing in post-conflict contexts, are used. Knowledge, approaches and teaching strategies are linked to place-space-time, material realities and the grassroots struggles of many young women and men in South Africa and specifically rural South Africa from which many of the students come.

Both these examples illustrate the possibilities for teaching towards HRLit. Students become literate in how to balance religious and gender issues within the limitations and possibilities for change which human rights provide (Chapter six in this volume). They develop political literacies (student protests,) and are encouraged to explore how rights should or could be balanced during events such as pandemics and lockdowns (Chapter four in this volume). Being human rights literate enables these students to negotiate their rights and their material realities and decide what action needs to be taken when their rights or the rights of others are infringed.

Good practice and models in the Netherlands

In the Netherlands HRE in everyday practice, and legalised in 2021, is mentioned as a possible building block in CE. Although HRE and CE can be seen as in line with each other, the scope (global versus local), focus (relationality versus autonomy), and goals (individual competencies

versus community building) differ. HRE in the Netherlands can however be incorporated in approaches used in CE, peace education and religious education as Ter Avest & Tuinier show in chapter five.

Ter Avest and Tuinier (Chapter five in this volume) present some of the NGO's examples of good practices for HRE. They discuss: Amnesty's *'Toolbox Mensenrechten op school'* (Toolbox Human Rights at school), followed by the (bilingual Dutch/German) 'V-LAB Express' (Peace-LAB Express), the Aflatoun project, the teaching method *'Krachtbronnen/samen leren leven'* (Sources of inspiration/learning to live together) and the developments in *Curriculum.nu.*

All these practices loosely show characteristics of Tibbitts' (2017) *Values and awareness-socialisation* model, they argue. Implicitly, this model is practiced in primary education with a focus on children's rights. The *Values and awareness-socialisation* model however does not create space for critical thinking or activism. By consequence it does then not enable subjectification and social change.

The *Values and awareness-socialisation* model emphasise the cognitive aspects of identification, thinking skills and content knowledge – either or not in relation to a secular or religious life orientation. The aims are the development of competencies in CE towards active participative citizenship and social cohesion in the Netherlands. Hardly any attention is given to the tensions that arise between feelings of belonging to the own community, the own *Gemeinschaft,* and the *Gesellschaft* at large (cf. Tönnies 1887). The same holds for the attention to Europe or global interconnectedness. The focus is on knowledge about social commitment, active participation and responsibility for societal issues.

Participatory and interactive methodologies must be included in the *Values and awareness-socialisation* model to avoid a top-down transference of knowledge. The *V-LAB Express* practice is participatory and interactive with its focus on knowing about and reflecting on living together in a peaceful way in the Netherlands. The peace approach is in line with the history of the pillarised education system (peacefully living apart together) in the Netherlands and memories of World War II.

The Curriculum.nu project seems to also favour the use of the *Values and awareness-socialisation* model (Tibbitts, 2017; Chapter five in this volume). Ter Avest and Tuinier (Chapter five in this volume) however propose a

dialogic and participatory/interactive methodology to be included in this model to counteract the passive approach of this model.

Facilitated by the governmental directions for the mandatory subject CE including human rights and working towards a bottom-up approach, it can be favourable that individual schools are to adapt HRE to serve their specific place-space-time. This however makes heavy demands on boards and teams of schools to mirror their HRE commitment to a specific religious, secular or pedagogical orientation with Tibbitts' models of HRE. In this sense the Netherlands might also make use of Bajaj's (2011) approaches.

En route – considerations and new possibilities

Although the priorities, purpose and aims for HRE differ in the two contexts, after reflection and analysis of existing practices and difficulties in both countries, we would like to conclude by raising two points that need to be considered when working in and on HRE. Firstly, in considering HRE as an evolutionary concept driven by action, it follows, secondly, that there should always be transformative practices and praxis in any HRE programme, approach, curriculum making and teaching-learning situation. In focussing on transformative processes, praxis and action new possibilities can be considered in both countries. These possibilities can be of specific benefit for the Dutch as they embark on their HRE journey after the legislation on HRE in education in 2021 (see Chapter five and eight in this volume).

Human rights and human rights education are evolutionary concepts driven by action

Since its promulgation in 1948 many new issues and conflicts have led to the evolution of human rights and the development and inclusion of rights. Article 25 of the UDHR (1948), for example, states that "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family". In 1948, the concept of ecological footprint was not yet an idea related to personal well-being. In the 21st century, however, with its worldwide reflection on sustainability, we cannot but give special attention to the so far silenced voices of non-human life forms.

The evolution of both human rights and HRE is brought about by action and activism. This is, and should be, the continual work for HRE scholars and teachers in South Africa and the Netherlands. It is acting in the moment, in the present, between past and future, which brings about the evolution of

human rights, HRE and social change (cf. Arendt, 2006). Without knowing the past, you cannot understand the present and move to the future; "each generation grows into an old world", as Arendt (2006, p. 170) stated in her essay *The crisis in education*. Action, in the present, links the past and future. In the present we live the future of our fore-fathers and –mothers; in the present we make the future for future generations (im)possible.

HRE should enable knowledge, attitudes, skills, action and activism to continually be the beginning of a beginning, splitting the world into forceful new directions and change (Arendt, 2006, p. 10). The human condition of natality (to continually start new) is the inherent principle of humanity and of human rights (Birmingham, 2007; Becker, 2021b). Human rights therefore always belong to the future. The task to bridge the (human rights) gap between past and future is up to HRE.

The society in the Netherlands is 'en route' in the process of opening the national colonial archive, to stop silencing the voices of the black page in their colonial past in South Africa, the Dutch Indies (what now is called Indonesia) and in the West (what now is called Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles) (Chapter three in this volume). They need to open the library (literally and metaphorically) and create room for voices from that past and become aware of the roots of present day's approaches towards the other. Social movements such as the *Zwarte Piet* [Black Peter] discussion in 2020, and the *#Black Lives Matter* movements are part of opening up.

As authors we believe that HRE can only prepare students for the future and enable them to be(come) responsible for the future when different levels of inclusiveness are explored and acknowledged through HRE (Hermans & Bartels 2021, p. 147). In other words, we must ask ourselves how education – HRE and/or global citizenship education respond to the task of renewing human relations in the Netherlands and South Africa, the *Gesellschaft* we share as citizens (by birth) but also as immigrants and refugees – each with their own *Gemeinschaft* and communities they belong to (cf. Tönnies, 1887).

Transformative practices and praxis are needed

Knowledge about human rights should always include transformative practices and praxis. As we learn from the experiences in South Africa, mere knowledge does not necessarily lead to dignity, equality and justice for all. For transformation and social change to happen there should be continuous transformative approaches enabling action and activism.

In the Netherlands, HRE has formally been included in the core objectives as described in the education laws related to clarification of the citizenship mission of primary and secondary education in August 2021 (Chapter five and eight in this volume). By consequence every teacher from now on – adjusted to the place-space-time of their students – must instil an awareness of the possibilities of addressing human rights violations in their community and society through action. Secondly, in addition to knowing about human rights in place-space-time, attention must be given to curriculum making and the development of pedagogical strategies in HRE. Facilitation from government should enable experimental bottom-up pilot studies (at grassroots level). Pilot studies exploring HRE as a separate subject must be encouraged. HRE's integration with CE, or Religious Education (in the Netherlands), or History and Life Orientation (in South Africa) should also be explored.

The work of Tibbitts (2017) and of Bajaj (2011) (see Chapter one in this volume) may serve as models or approaches respectively to evaluate existing practices specifically in the Netherlands. These models or approaches might assist in enabling place-space-time related praxis and activism in Dutch curricula. The new requirements regarding HRE in curricula explicitly point to the need to carefully analyse different positive as well as negative voices and attitudes in society regarding HRE through continuous dialogue.

The South African experience indicates that the focus should be more on what binds people together coming from diverse and conflict-ridden pasts, entrenched in discrimination, inequality and a lack of dignity for all. It is the South African Constitution and the Bill of Rights (1996), as the contract between the state and its people, that bind people together to respect and uphold human dignity and equality.

In the Netherlands however, culture and/or religion should not necessarily motivate division, as experienced in the pillarised society. If handled with caution, and within the terms of dignity and equality, religion and different world views can become a binding factor and integrated in human rights values towards being a good Dutch citizen. Instead of looking to the past of pillarisation and subsequently different interpretations of article 6 ("the right to freely profess one's religion or belief, individually or in community with others") and article 23 ("teaching is free, subject to government supervision") in the Netherlands, policy makers should turn to the future and articulate the unifying force of the UDHR (1948) and the Dutch constitution.

This turn to the future seems to be a contradiction with the urge for the Dutch to face their colonial past. This contradiction, however, needs to be explored for the sake of a future of unity in diversity. Jarvis's (Chapter six in this volume) dialogical approach is a good example of both sides' crossing boundaries from which new positions can emerge, a so called third position (Raggatt, 2012), psychoeducation being a constitutive part in this approach. This process should be facilitated by the Minister of Education in the Netherlands and there should be provision in the budget to train student-teachers in HRE and on how HRE should be implemented in classrooms. These directives should create room and space for grass roots concerns and movements (pupils, students and their parents) for place-space-time related praxis of HRE (bottom-up).

In our conversations 'en route' it would be beneficial to remind ourselves of the words of Eleonor Rooseveldt, one of the drafters of the UDHR (1948):

> Where, after all, do universal human rights begin? In small places, close to home – so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any maps of the world. Yet they are the world of the individual person; the neighbourhood he [sic] lives in; the school or college he [sic] attends; the factory, farm, or office where he [sic] works. Such are the places where every man, woman, and child seek equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere. Without concerned citizen action to uphold them close to home, we shall look in vain for progress in the larger world.

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Any analysis of histories and cultures of remembrance, bears testimony to the witnessing of humans who have either lived through the experiences as insiders or who have not lived through the experiences of the past as outsiders. The possibility of bearing witness to (remember) the horrors, trauma, and destitution of the human condition and to consider its implications for human rights education is what this anthology of essays is about. The editors, Anne Becker, Ina Ter Avest and Cornelia Roux, portrayed as insiders, cogently accentuate how human rights violations in South Africa and the Netherlands ought to be expiated through teaching and learning to justify and preserve dignity, self-respect, and freedom towards the advancement of affective life and humanity. Hopefully, through education, it is averred that degradation, inhumanity, and irresponsibility will be undermined and eradicated. The possibility that dignity and decency will remain in place and that it ought to be preserved at all costs even beyond the imagination, and rightfully so, seems to be at the centre of the editors' concern for the cultivation of human rights education. In this way, apartheid, colonialism and other pervasive torments of human and non-human life should be distanced from genuine educational encounters.

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