



The Long Way to the Independence a View on Historical Experiences

Dr. Souribanhu Kar
former General Secretary of the All India Trade Union Congress in Odisha State

Understanding Gandhi Through Padayatra in Odisha

The national movement laid by Gandhiji for various social causes like abolition of untouchability and harijan rights for entry to the temples were indeed very important milestones in the annals of human rights movements in modern India.

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Dr. Uday Balakrishnan
Centre for Contemporary Studies, Indian Institute of Science, Bengaluru, Karnataka

Remembering India's Most Powerful Leader

Indira Gandhi did not get an easy country to administer. At the time of her takeover as Prime Minister in 1966, India was less than 20 years into freedom, still raw from a partition that had devastated much of its northern and eastern parts.

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Dear Friends

Human Right to Education Greeting to all of you.

Education is a basic Human Right. We believe this. On the contrary, new data from UNESCO reflect that globally 263 million children and youth are out of school.

The number of out of school children or children who are deprived of their basic human right to education is very high. The UN agencies, National Governments, Teachers Unions and Civil Society Organisations have contributed to education movements and millions of children got their human right to education. The "Education For All (EFA)" and Millenium Development Goals (MDG) marked a significant development in right to education of children.

Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4, also emphasizes on right to education and envisions EFA a reality.

However, there are new challenges emerged in the changed economic, social and global order in the last few decades. The "Human Right" perspective of Right to Education for all children is missing in the new world order. The refugee crisis in European, Asian and West Asian countries, increasing ethnic conflict in societies, terrorism, climate change, distress migration and internal displacement of the population has deprived millions of children from their human right to education. Additionally, privatization has become philosophy of Governance and there is huge challenges in making human right to education a reality with help of privatization. National Governments are rolling back from public education, public health,

social security and other areas. There is increased role of private players in health and education field now. To what extent the private parties are committed towards and accountable to Human Rights principle? Is there any mechanism developed to make them accountable for human right? How to ensure Human Right to Education in war zone, crisis situation, conflict area, during humanitarian crisis?

To discuss, debate and deliberate on all these aspects of Human Right to Education, we at PoliTeknik International, welcome you. We are looking forward to collaborate with youths, student union, teachers organisations, INGOs, local NGOs and different National Government, Public Policy forums for making "Human Right to Education" a reality for all children.

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Dear readers,

PoliTeknik is now available with three new newspapers in Portuguese, Spanish and English.

In this first issue, the three reviewers have the opportunity to address our readers.



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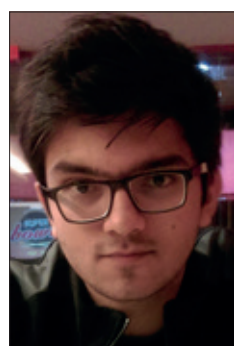
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Editorial Message

PoliTeknik Português

Sharing Knowings and Rehearsing Alternatives: for an intercultural dialogue in defense of Human Right to Education as a practice of freedom

In the 27th of October of 2018, we've been joined at University of Koblenz, in Germany, in order to share knowings and rehearsing alternatives in the field of extending the Human Right to Education. In this meeting, marked by a will of collective work, we have debated about challenges, perspectives and possibilities to overcome situations that hamper the access of children, young, adults and the elderly to scholar education.

As we took off from the conference, back into our homelands, it was clear for everyone the necessity of, collectively, organizing ways of encouraging and strengthening an intercultural dialogue. Because of that, fellows from Brazil, India and Chile have assumed the engagement of organizing local versions of PoliTeknik Journal. In this sense, it's been possible now, after a long way of collective action, sharing knowings and rehearsing alternatives in Portuguese, Spanish and English.

Therefore, we invite comrades from countries that have Portuguese, Spanish or English as a national language, to share their local experiences about the Human Right to Education. The contribution can be in form of interviews, experience reports, articles, etc.

Teachers from public or private schools can participate and also students from schools and universities, university professors and those ones who act with social and community movements, whom, with their experiences, are collaborating in the sense that actually is possible to build a fraternal society, with justice, with freedom, with participation, creativity and criticality.

Each of our nations has its own historical trajectory, with specific experiences in the field of human rights and the human right to education, that can be shared and enhance our perceptions about these themes, opportunizing actions and ideas for extending the human right to education.

Thereafter, extending the Human Right to Education is also extending the right to take education as community experience, broadening our cultural identities, expanding articulations between education institu-

tions and community life and enhancing dialogue with social movements, reaffirming the role of education (in scholar and non-scholar spaces) as a fundamental right and a public good.

Nowadays, in January of 2020, according with UNESCO data, "258 million children and young still not attend school; 617 million children and young doesn't know reading and basic maths; less than 40% percent of girls in sub-saharian Africa conclude secondary school". The human right to education of these kids and adolescents may be being violated and this is unacceptable.

What is it that global leaders of business and politics, joined in Davos, are feeling, thinking and acting over these and many others situations that mistreat human dignity?

With no sharing of knowings and no rehearsal of alternatives, in a dialogical perspective (as defends think-

er and educator from northeast of Brazil, Paulo Freire), it's impossible a real access and continuance to children and adolescents, adults and the elderly, foremost in the scholar space. It's necessary that inside schools and universities there are knowings and experiences from all and that school and university be the very spaces to contribute to the extension of human right to education.

We complete this editorial message inviting all to participate in this movement, specially sharing your social and educational experiences, that even often facing challenges, are contributing for building a creative, critical, democratic, participative, respecting and dignous society.

Lastly, we want to recover a Paulo Freire's thought, whose, in 2021, we will be celebrating 100 years of birth. In his book, Pedagogy of the Opressed, he remembers us that "very modestly, if nothing remains of these pages, at least, we hope that remains: our confidence and faith in people. Our faith in mankind, in the creation of a world in wich is less difficult to love".

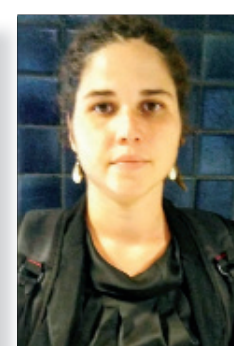
We'd be happy with your contributions in form of article, experience reports, interviews, etc., for Politeknik Journal in Portuguese, Spanish, or English.

So long!

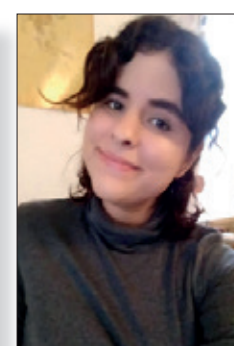
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Editorial Message

PoliTeknik Español

Proyecto de Extensión del Derecho Humano a la Educación

Con motivo de la celebración del setenta aniversario de la Declaración Universal de Derechos Humanos, un colectivo global de académicos, trabajadores sociales, sindicatos de educadores, asociaciones de estudiantes y organizaciones de la sociedad civil, coordinados por el Periódico PoliTeknik, el Instituto de Educación y Cultura de la Universidad de Jena y el Centro Interdisciplinario sobre la Infancia de la Universidad de Wuppertal, hemos iniciado un proceso de reflexión que llevará a plantear una propuesta de extensión del artículo 26 de la Declaración Universal de Derechos Humanos, referido al derecho a la educación.

El proyecto tiene como referencia el cambio sustantivo que el mundo ha experimentado desde la adopción de la Declaración Universal de Derechos Humanos y específicamente, los nuevos retos que enfrentan los Estados, las comunidades y las organizaciones de la sociedad civil, en contextos que amenazan la provisión de oportunidades educativas públicas, gratuitas, de calidad y adaptadas a la diversidad cultural.

Entendemos que el derecho a la educación comprende un amplio rango de obligaciones estatales, consagradas en diferentes instrumentos del derecho internacional de los derechos humanos y en las legislaciones do-

mésticas y su pleno disfrute requiere de la superación de la desigualdad, la exclusión y la discriminación en todas las esferas de la vida institucional y comunitaria.

Se trata de un derecho fundamental que a su vez permite el cumplimiento de los demás derechos humanos. Por esta razón, este proyecto suscribe los compromisos contraídos por los gobiernos en 2015 en la Agenda 2030 para el Desarrollo Sostenible y sus 17 Objetivos de Desarrollo Sostenible.

Las metas del Objetivo de Desarrollo Sostenible número 4, que se refiere específicamente al derecho a la educación, expresan un compromiso global para que todos los países garanticen el derecho a la educación de calidad para todos a lo largo de la vida. Esto específicamente al derecho a la educación, expresan un compromiso global para que todos los países garanticen el derecho a la educación de calidad para todos a lo largo de la vida. Esto incluye el compromiso de garantizar tanto el acceso a una educación pre-primaria, primaria y secundaria de calidad, como la igualdad de oportunidades en el acceso a un aprendizaje efectivo y relevante.

Guiados por estos propósitos universales, hemos realizado diversas actividades de análisis y divulgación, incluyendo simposios, seminarios, publicaciones y discusiones técnicas entre las personas, instituciones y organizaciones participantes del proyecto, con base en las cuales deseamos presentar próximamente a consideración de los Estados Miembros de la Asam-

blea General de la Organización de Naciones Unidas, una propuesta de extensión del citado artículo 26.

Este proyecto busca actualizar el conjunto de obligaciones y derechos involucrados en la arquitectura fundacional del derecho humano a la educación y de esta manera fortalecer la implementación de acciones políticas e institucionales para su plena realización.

El desarrollo del proyecto requiere de la participación de sectores diversos y por este motivo cuenta con un Consejo Académico, integrado por instituciones y personas provenientes de universidades, sindicatos, organizaciones de la sociedad civil e institutos de investigación. Además, el proyecto cuenta con un Centro de coordinación liderado por el Periódico PoliTeknik, que además es responsable de establecer consejos académicos y de asesoría en diferentes países, en las que participan universidades, sindicatos, grupos de estudiantes, organizaciones no gubernamentales y representantes de Ministerios de Educación.

La participación de estas personas, y por su medio la ampliación de la membresía del proyecto, es fundamental para la consecución de los fines planteados, considerando que la extensión del derecho humano a la educación debe responder a una reflexión sistemática respecto de los alcances de la Declaración Universal de los Derechos Humanos y su capacidad de respuesta a una realidad global cada vez más compleja.

Para trabajar en la elaboración de la propuesta se han integrado varios

comités de redacción, dependiendo del idioma de trabajo. Para la lengua castellana, el comité está integrado por Vernor Muñoz y Laura Camila Beltrán Cañón

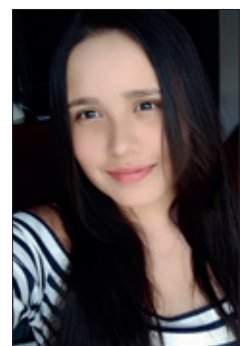
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Right to Primary Education of Syrian Children in Turkey



Introduction

Since the first group of Syrians has entered to Turkey in 2011, they were considered as guests until they were legally granted “Temporary Protection” status in 2014. This political approach affected the policies on primary education of Syrian children. The Ministry of National Education (MoNE) had not intended to bring forward any policies to provide permanent formal education but only provided education in the accommodation centres with an idea to prevent Syrian children’s future adaptation problems in Syria when they return. Outside the accommodation centres, national and international organisations had provided education to Syrian children without any formalisation. The Circular on Education Services for Foreign Nationals (CESFN) (No: 2014/21) was adopted on 23 September 2014 and became the legal source of current education practices in Turkey. In this regard, the right to education of Syrian children have been prescribed by CESFN in a standardized framework as compatible with the core human rights obligations.

Syrian children’s primary education in Turkey

Based on the UNHCR numbers in 2019, there are around 600,000 Syrian children between 5-11 years old in Turkey¹ with 3% of them living in the accommodation centres. Enrolment rate to primary schools was 96.3%² by the end of 2018. However, in 2014, before CESFN, the participation rate of Syrian children in primary school was 14% outside of the accommodation centres and 60% in the accommodation centres in Turkey.³ Those numbers were below the 99% of enrolment rates in Syria before the war.⁴ The numbers indicate that the introduction of CESFN played an effective role for this increase.

Once the CESFN was introduced, Syrian children have started enjoying

their right to education as guaranteed under International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on Rights of Children, and the European Convention on Human Rights to those Turkey is a party. These Conventions require Turkey at least to (i) make primary education compulsory, free and available, (ii) provide the same education system in terms of the content and diploma, (iii) take necessary steps to eliminate discrimination and support Syrian children and (iv) ensure them a formal education in Turkish, the official language of Turkey.

In light of the human rights standards, CESFN offers two types of education to Syrian children. These are (1) formal education at Turkish Public Schools and (2) Temporary Education Centres (TECs).

(1) Turkish Schools

Syrian children are entitled to receive 12-year education in Turkish schools without any restrictions or limitations, that is same as Turkish citizens. They are registered to the nearest school to where they live. Unlike to Turkish citizens, 12-year education is not compulsory for Syrian children, but local municipalities conduct regular visits to the Syrian families to make sure that their children attend to the school. Furthermore, to keep Syrian children in school, the Conditional Cash Transfer for Education programme, financed by European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations and implemented through Turkish authorities, supports vulnerable Syrian families financially upon submission of the school registration documents.

Schools are free and schoolbooks are provided by the MoNE free of charge. However, parents should still afford auxiliary costs including stationery and uniforms. They might be asked for a contribution fee or donation once or twice a year. While Turkish parents may reject to pay such fees, Syrian parents hesitate to object those fees since they are concerned that their children may not be registered to the school or may be treated in a less favourable way.

Once registered to the school, the appropriate grade-level of Syrian

children is determined according to any official document, interviews or exams indicating the children’s past educational background in Syria. Most of the time, children are placed based on their age even if they do not speak Turkish or have any previous education. As of 2019, almost all Syrian children starting primary school were born in Turkey or either arrived at Turkey as infants. Hence, current generation will directly start primary school without any previous education assessment.

When the assessment is completed, all Syrian children are integrated to the online school (e-school) service same as all Turkish students. Thus, they become a part of the formal education and entitled to the same rights and obligations applicable in Turkish schools such as allowed absence days, content of education, and disciplinary rules. Once the children complete their education, they receive the formal and valid diploma like Turkish students.

(2) Temporary Education Centres

As defined in CESFN, TECs provide “primary and secondary education to Syrian refugee children for temporary period resulting from the mass influx”. TECs were to be established by national or international organisations subject to compliance with the standards and principles of the MoNE and 12-year education in all accommodation centres were provided through TECs until 2016/2017. There were approximately 404 TECs in or outside the accommodation centres with almost 292,000 Syrian children enrolled in 2017.⁵ The education language in TECs was Arabic with a revised Syrian curriculum as approved by the MoNE. Turkish teachers appointed to TECs by the MoNE for Turkish language lessons. A variable tuition fee are applicable at most of the TECs. Turkish government recognises the diploma obtained from TECs for further education in Turkey.

It should be stressed that despite the regulation in CESFN, on 22.08.2016, the MoNE declared a new course of action to take necessary measures to enable Syrian children to receive a qualified education in every province in Turkey.⁶ UNHCR has expressed this step as “placing greater emphasis

on the inclusion of Syrian children in Turkish schools”.⁷ According to this step, the MoNE has decided to close TECs gradually and integrate all Syrian children in the Turkish School system effectively. Thus, in 2016/2017 education year, Syrian children at the 1st grade, 5th grade and 9th grade could not be registered to the TECs but instead could be enrolled in Turkish Schools. As for the accommodation centres, the MoNE has set up public schools starting from the first year of education in 2016/2017. Accordingly, TECs will be permanently closed by the 2020/2021 education year.

Conclusion

Overall, the current legal regulations on paper can be considered efficient and have already enabled almost all Syrian children to participate in the primary education in Turkey. However, challenges including insufficient integration policies, unstable policies, language barrier, peer bullying, academic failure and lack of parents’ involvement are still being observed and expressed by the academics, NGOs, schools and Syrian parents.⁸ In this regard, reasons should be researched, and new course of actions should be taken to reach the full realisation of Syrian children’s right to education.

¹ UNHCR. “Syria Regional Refugee Response”. UNHCR Data: December 2019. <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria/location/113>

² European Commission, *Managing the Refugee Crisis the Facility for Refugees in Turkey*, 2018, p.5

³ Xanthe Ackerman, *Education for Syrian Refugees in Turkey – Beyond Camps*, 2014, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/education-plus-development/2014/01/17/education-for-syrian-refugees-in-turkey-beyond-camps/>

⁴ UNICEF. “The State of the World’s Children 2013”. UNICEF.2013. https://www.unicef.org/sowc2013/files/SWCR2013_ENG_Lo_res_24_Apr_2013.pdf

⁵ ECRE-AIDA Asylum Database Information, *Access to Education*, 2019, <https://www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/turkey/access-education-1>

⁶ MoNE, “Suriyeli çocukların eğitimi için yol haritası belirlendi.”, 22.08.2016, <https://rdb.meb.gov.tr/suriyeli-cocuklarin-egitimi-icin-yol-haritasi-belirlendi/haber/11750/tr>

⁷ UNHCR, *Syrian Refugees in Turkey Frequently Asked Questions Table of Contents*, January 2017, <http://www.unhcr.org/turkey/uploads/root/eng/69.pdf>

⁸ Kilic Volkan, Gokce Asiye, *The Problems of Syrian Students in the Basic Education in Turkey*, European Journal of Social Science Education and Research, January-April 2018.

Rama Kant Rai

Convener National Coalition for Education (NCE) – India

Challenging paradigm of Sustainable Development Goal 4 in India

“Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all”



After the end of disastrous World War II the world community came out with a new commitment for human rights. On December 10, 1948 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This commitment is **called Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)** having 30 sections. One of the most important commitments was article 26 which reads as *“Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality”*.

While the commitment seemed to be comprehensive in its intrinsic form the development of the human beings, full personality, is important as a thematic thread running through the UDHR. Its significance in framing a holistic concept of human nature as essentially free, social, potentially educated, and entitled to participation in critical decision-making is bolstered by repetition at several points of the UDHR as under:

- Article 22 says everyone's rights to social, economic and cultural rights are "indispensable" ... for the "free development of his personality".
- Article 26 posits a right to education, and states: "Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality".
- Article 29 repeats the holistic vision of human rights, saying: "Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible".

The "full development" goal was intended to capture the enabling qualities of the right to education, and of education about human rights to capacitate people to their potential faculties so as to ensure human dignity. This view follows from a close reading of the key phrase – "full development of the human personality" – which is immediately followed without so much as a comma by the phrase: "and to the strengthening of human rights

and fundamental freedoms". Using a standard approach to statutory construction, one might fairly conclude that the joining of the two elements was deliberate and meaningful, especially in view of Mrs. Roosevelt's injunction to seek conciseness.

Article 26 says education should "further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace". In its full text it reads as;

1. 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 on the basis of merit.
2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

The United Nation Human Rights Council further resolved reaffirming its resolution 8/4 of 18 June 2008 and recalling all other Human Rights Council resolutions on the right to education, the most recent of which is resolution 29/7 of 2 July 2015, and the resolutions adopted by the Commission on Human Rights on the subject, relevant for the role of private sectors in education. Reaffirming also the human right of everyone to education, which is enshrined in, inter alia, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families,

the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, the Convention against Discrimination in Education, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and other relevant international instruments.

It welcomed the steps taken to implement the right to education, such as the enactment of appropriate legislation, adjudication by national courts, the development of national indicators and ensuring Justiciability of this right.

This resolution was adopted during the 32nd session of the Human Rights Council (13 June to 1 July 2016), urged all States to "address any negative impacts of commercialization of education", in particular by putting in place a regulatory framework to regulate and monitor education providers, holding to account providers that negatively impact the right to education, and supporting research.

The rights of millions of children are being violated every day. Thousands of children have no access to education, work for long hours under hazardous conditions and are forced into slave like conditions, sometimes even made to serve as soldiers in armed conflict. They suffer targeted attacks on their schools or languish in institutions and detention centers, where they endure inhumane conditions and assaults on their dignity. All these factors directly affect the learning opportunities of children and leads to unhealthy and insecure future.

Almost 7 decades have passed after the UDHR declaration by UN and the world community has seen the significant progress of UDHR in dubious pace. In most of the IIIrd world countries the pace of universalization of education is still a dream. Let us see what happened after UDHR declaration in the world;

The promises made for Right to education

However the UNESCO Global Monitoring Report GMR) of EFA reveals that;

- Only one third countries have achieved all the measurable goals of EFA.
- Half of the countries could complete

universal primary enrolment.

- **One third of countries** did not reach gender parity in primary education;
- **Half of countries** did not in secondary education
- UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) and Global Education
- Monitoring (GEM) report of 2016, says that globally 263 million children, adolescents and youth between age of 6 and 17 are currently out of school and deprived of their right to education.

Thus the EFA goal remained unfinished in most of the developing countries by 2015 as committed by the world community.

III. SDG-4 Education 2030 and “ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education and lifelong learning opportunities for all” by 2030: During the year 2015 the UN member states signed Sustainable Development Goals in its General Assembly. World community has also signed in “Incheon Declaration” called “Education 2030”. This is a more ambitious goal than ‘Education for All’ (EFA) goal which remained unfinished in most of the countries including India.

The appalling progress of promised goal of ‘Education for All’ in India;

Even after seven decades of Universal declaration of right to education under article 26, Jomtien declaration 1990, Dakar declaration (EFA 2000), India made elementary education a fundamental right by inserting Article 21A in its constitution which states *“The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen years in such manner as the State may, by law, determine”* and finally it also signed the Sustainable Development Goal which includes goal 4; *“Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all”*.

The progress of 8 year Elementary Education in India: With more than 1,448,712 Elementary schools (354,743 Private and 1,093,969 Govt.) India operates the biggest education system in the world. The implementation of constitutional amendment and Right to Education Act 2009 is

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still sluggish and not all children are in schools. The DISE (District Information on School Education) data is a surprising report which reveals that the progress of elementary education is dubious and there is something inherently wrong in the enrolment of children. The 'Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act' seems a farfetched dream for all the children of this country.

Massive Number of Out of School Children - Based on the 2011 Census figures, there were 233,583,108 children from age 6 to 14 in India. However, from the total enrolment figures for 2011-2012 (page 27 of the DISE 2012-13 Flash Statistics) had only 199,055,138 students in schools ("including enrolment in unrecognized schools and Madrasas"). This means that over 34.5 million children covered by the RTE Act were not enrolled in school.

The role of state to Right to Education: New challenge of massive privatization and commercialization; The recently drafted New Education Policy 2019 talks about giving a big rope to private sector and trying to soften all the regulatory mechanism in favour of private sector right from pre-primary to University and technical education institute level. This is going to pose a big challenge for poor and marginalized masses to avail the over ambitious Sustainable Development Goal 4.

With nearly more than 200 million pupils in primary and secondary schools, India has the largest youth demographic in the world. Estimates place the potential value of India's education market at US\$110 billion and, as an emerging economy, multinational corporations like Pearson, along with international chains like Bridge International Academies, have encouraged privatization

of the school sector education through the promotion of private schooling, vouchers and public-private partnerships, especially targeting low-income and working class communities. This sector, in the avaricious minds of the profiteers, represents a vast untapped market.

At the same time, government-funded schools have suffered from disinvestment and neglect for decades, creating a mass exodus of working poor and middle class from public schools and leaving the poorest and most vulnerable behind. Recent primary school enrolment has reached 96 percent (with most of the growth in public schools), and girls make up more than 50 percent of new students.

State needs to be more responsive to Right to Education plight.

Throughout the world governments are trying to redefine and promote education quality for all. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the current blueprint for global education policy, not only expanded the scope of education beyond access, it also included goals and specific targets regarding "inclusive quality education for all... in addressing gender disparities and improving teaching and learning".

More importantly, central to SDG Goal 4, is increasing the number of qualified teachers. Our report centrally argues that the provision of entire school sectors cannot be run on the basis of unqualified minimally trained and underpaid (mostly) female teachers. India must better support teaching and learning – but not with a tablet and minimally trained instructors who read from a script of narrowly defined learning materials.

Education must remain a public good: Privatization of education refers to the state's policy of allowing educational institutions to be run by private parties for monetary benefits. And this

is against the spirit and mandate of UNHCR article 26 and Indian constitution.

- According to "State of the World Children Report-2016", released globally by UNICEF, around 34 per cent children from Muslim families, 25.9 per cent from Hindu families and 25.6 per cent from Christian families did not attend pre-school.

- According to the government's National Survey for Estimation of Out-of-School Children conducted in 2014, more than 60 per cent of children dropped out before completing grade 3.

- However, 36 per cent of children drop out before completing elementary education and about half of them are from marginalized and deprived groups.

Need to intervene by International community; "Extending Right to Education in UN Declaration of Human Rights."

Within the above backdrop there is a need, therefore, to rethink education more radically and consistently than before. The United Nations has laid down the right to education in the Charter of Human Rights, and declared it to be an obligation - for governments, civil societies and individuals. Its implementation has been partial, at best, and all efforts must be made to achieve its universal enforcement. The world situation has become so acute that the right to education has to be significantly expanded. Education must become a global and comprehensive right - an entitlement that constitutes the core of human self-understanding. This must be jointly and universally affirmed so as to make the states accountable and take the responsibility to realizing the Right to Education for all, as enshrined in SDG 4.

The Project "Extension of Human Rights to Education" has been conceptualized as a council to the UN. Various social actors involved in the extension of human rights to education will work

out different aspects of this matter with the aim of formulating a "Declaration on the Extension of Human Rights to Education" not later than 10th December 2018, which is the 70th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The project focuses on Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which is to be amended/supplemented by way of a progressive expansion. Under the "Extending Right to Education in UN Declaration of Human Rights." project a process has been initiated for establishing coordination with many countries, academicians, social activists and all stakeholders to work on a declaration to chance the article 26 of the Human Right Declaration.

The Goal:

The project is advocating for re-examination of Article 26 of UDHR of 1948 in the changed global scenario and to reformulate it through a council, participation in which is open to all democratic organizations, Teachers' Union, Students' Associations, Grassroots NGOs, Community Based Organizations (CBOs), institutions and individuals of the world.

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Understanding Gandhi Through Padayatra in Odisha

Many times we see the statement of Einstein : “ Generations to come will scarcely believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth.” How prophetic these words are when I look back his Padayatra(foot walk) in Odisha at the time of intense freedom struggle. The personality of Mahatma Gandhi and his vast philosophy, covering every aspect of human knowledge cannot be evaluated but his humanitarian approach and love for the downtrodden masses gives a glimpse of his unique personality.

Gandhi termed Odisha as a tirtha – pilgrimage. Odisha became a pilgrimage to Gandhi because he started the untouchability movement in a different manner. Gandhi visited eight times Odisha from 1921 to 1946. He has started his historic harijan (untouchable) walk from here for the first time.

Gandhi's visit depicted not only the struggles for freedom but also the Hindu Muslim Unity, spread of Khadi & removal of untouchability. While visiting Odisha, Gandhi could see the poverty of the people. This was moved him very much. For the first time Gandhi came on 23rd March, 1921 when he addressed a Mammoth Public meeting at the sands of Kathajodi river. Pandit Gopabandhu Das welcomed Gandhiji there and termed him not as a man but an angel who has come to ameliorate the plight of the poor masses. Gandhiji's messages to the people of Odisha was clear and loud. It was satyagraha and non-cooperation. He also never forget to collect Tilak Swaraj Fund. Odisha enrolled three lakh congress membership and three lakh rupees for Tilak Swaraj Fund.

Gandhiji's life and messages was widespread in rural Odisha and was worshiped as an incarnation of God. In 1922 during Ratha Yatra (Car Festival) at Berhampur, the non-co-operators used the image of Mahatma in front of the chariot. Gandhi became a household name in Odisha and Odia literature depicted vividly on the glory of Mahatma. In 1925, Gandhi with the invitation of Madhusudan Das, the founder of Utkal Sammelani visited Cuttack and the Utkal tannery. Gandhi was deeply pleased when he found the Hindu Muslim Unity in Cuttack. He also

met the inmate of Alakashram established at Jagatsinghpur which works on Gandhian Constructive line. Gandhi emphasised the need of national education. Gandhi on his visit to Odisha laid great emphasis and the participation of women in the freedom movement. Many women from wealthy families at the call of the Mahatma joined in the Satyagraha struggle. Rama Devi, Malati Devi, Jamuna Devi, Godabari Devi, Subhada Devi and many more joined the freedom struggle.

Gandhi visited Odisha eight times and spent 69 days in Odisha. His eventful fifth visit to Odisha in 1934 deserves special significance because he has undertaken Padayatra or foot-march. Gandhi in his life-time undertook foot-march twice i.e. first in Odisha and second in Noakhali in 1947. This padayatra has rightly been regarded as the Dharmayatra (Religious March) of the messiah who travelled on foot for the emancipation of Dalits of the state. Gandhi in this historic padayatra collected Harijan Fund at every place.

Gandhi felt, “The Harijan movement is religious by nature. All great religions are their existence to the foot marches undertaken by great spiritual leaders. Puri is a place of pilgrimage and a centre of religion. So the change-over to the really religious method of preaching out to be undertaken here.”

Gandhi undertook his padayatra on 9th May, 1934 at 5.30 A.M. along Puri-Cuttack Road. His companions were Amritlal Thakar, Miss Mira Behn, Sushila Behn, Uma Bajaj (Daughter of Jamunlal Bajaj), Pravabati Devi (wife of Jayaprakash Narayan), Balaji Govindji Desai, Damodar Das, Kaka Kalekar, a German journalist K. Butow, Gopabandhu Choudhury, Rama Devi, Harekrishna Mahtab, Nilakantha Das, Raj Krushna Bose and few other leaders. Jadumani Mangaraj, Satya Narayan Sengupta, Bichitrnanda Das, Binod Kanungo, Surendra Patnaik, Sahadev Das, Gajendranath Das, Nanda Kishore Das, Karunakar Panigrahi and many others also joined the Padayatra. Mass and massive crowd followed him on his padayatra. He visited harijan basties on his route and advised them to discard alcohol and follow the rule of hygiene. Gandhi was of the view that ‘Hinduism will be effaced altogether’ if this evil is not resisted.

Gandhi visited Gopabandhu Seva Sadan (Kadua Ashram) on 10th May,

1934 and stayed at Harijan boarding. He addressed the Brahmins of Birapurushottampur who were determined to wipe-out untouchability. Even he invited the harijans to dine with the padayatries. He opened the Kunjabihari temple at Baliana for Hindus including Harijans. In 1938, when Gandhiji came to Odisha for Gandhi Sevashram meeting, Kasturba was with him. Kasturba desired to have darshan of Lord Jagannath at Puri. Baikuntanath Mohanty, one of the volunteer took Ba to show the different places in Puri and took her to Jaganath temple. The harijans were not allowed to the temple. Hence, Gandhiji took the vow that he should not enter the temple but Kasturba went to the temple without the knowledge and consent of Gandhiji. Gandhi when came to know of this, declared in the prayer meeting to go on fast. He continued fasting and remained totally silent.

Gandhiji advised the Harijan activists of Odisha in a meeting. He said, “In this pilgrimage those who have directly participated, they would have noticed that real work lies in the village. In this area mostly harijans are staying. The poverty is rampant here. So, this harijan karmi sangh should send their good cadres to the villages. This does not mean that they should neglect the work in town. Village activists should do the work of both touchables and untouchables. They should organise education for all harijan children and adults, provide them clean drinking water and open the doors of the temple---. They should teach them to avoid wine and intoxicate habit. Keeping friendship with the touchables, they should take interest to serve the harijans. Never try to do it forcibly.”

He laid emphasis on the purity of character of the workers. Those who cannot change their character should not venture for this work. He specially advised Smt. Rama Devi to look for the proper accommodation and education for the workers and organise the institution. Gandhiji in his harijan padayatra in Odisha stayed on the open below the sky and encouraged the workers to do the harijan work to remove untouchability from the society.

While at Delanga in Puri district, Gandhiji in a public meeting said, “Odisha is the dearest place in India for me. When I reached India, I came to know the poverty, drought of Odisha. I have realised that if I could serve

the people of Odisha, I will realise that I have served India. Odisha became a sacred place to me, not because of Lord Jagannath, because his doors are closed for the harijans, so it is for me. This is my tirtha, for this reason is that I have started to remove the work of untouchability system from here on my padayatra. I heard that the orthodox people wanted me to kill and stop the untouchable work. If I go by train or by motor, it was not easy for them to kill me. Apart from this, the pilgrim should go on walk for pilgrimage. The pilgrim take the name of the lord, forgets the pain and anguish and offers his service at the feet of lord while go on pilgrimage by foot. Whether we will backtrack if sanatani brothers disturb at Puri or face them with the policy of non-violence. This is not possible if move in the train or motor. So, I have decided to walk on foot, the rest of the days of harijan padayatra”.

Gandhi was firm of his work of social reconstruction. He opened Ashrams and institutions like Akhil Bharat Charakha Sangha, Akhil Bharat Gramodyog Sangh, harijan Sevak Sangh etc. Organisations for constructive work programmes and propagated non-violent agitation, dignity of labour and discipline of austerity. The national movement laid by Gandhiji for various social causes like abolition of untouchability and harijan rights for entry to the temples were indeed very important milestones in the annals of human rights movements in modern India. As a matter of fact, this was a bold step taken by a man of strong convictions and determination.

In respect to his approach and methods, Gandhi explains : “ My mission is to teach by example and precept under severe restraint the use of the matchless weapon of Satyagraha, which is a direct corollary of non-violence and truth. I am anxious, indeed I am impatient, to demonstrate that there is no remedy for the many ills of life save that of non-violence --- when I have become incapable of evil and when nothing harsh or haughty occupies, be it momentarily, my thought, would then and not till then, my non-violence will move all the harvest of the world. I have placed before me and the reader no impossible ideal or ordeal. It is man's prerogative and birth-right.”

Gandhiji's padayatra in Odisha was a historical event and it established firmly his philosophy of truth and non-violence through the struggle of satyagraha.

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India is the world's largest democracy. It is raucous and at times chaotic, but the world knows very little about what makes a fifth of all mankind come together and stay together. People in the West know more about Ho Chi Min and Mao than about any Indian leader except perhaps Mahatma Gandhi. This essay introduces one of the greatest Indians of the 20th Century, who deserves to be better known in the rest of the world. Born in November 1917, Indira Gandhi was assassinated by her security guards in October 1984.

Pugnacious, ruthless and shrewd, Indira Gandhi was without a doubt the most powerful leader India has ever had since independence. Globally she remains the only third-world leader who stood up to American pressure - tellingly in 1971 and got away with it.

Her unorthodox education at home, in school and college in India, including stints in Shantiniketan, Switzerland, and Oxford conditioned Indira's national and international outlook. She grew up in the fierce churn of the freedom movement giving her a deep understanding of India.

Her international outlook as well as the vague socialism she practiced - amongst other things leading her to nationalize banks, doing away with privy purses and amending the Indian constitution to explicitly cast India as a socialist, secular republic - came from imbibing the liberal spirit of her times and those that her father fostered in her.

Her years as Jawaharlal Nehru's confidante and official hostess through his Prime Ministership developed in Indira, even more than in Nehru himself, a profound understanding of the complex mix of social and ideological forces driving free India.

Those within the Indian National Congress who elevated her to Prime Ministership, believing they had a novice who could be easily manipulated and controlled, realized much too late how well equipped she was for the job and how ruthless she could be. It is hardly surprising then, that she could easily navigate treacherous political waters to continue as India's Prime

Minister longer than anyone else except her father, Jawaharlal Nehru.

Indira Gandhi did not inherit her position but earned it through sharp political maneuvering that split the Congress party, ensuring that the breakaway wing she led became the successor to the one that was founded in 1885.

Indira Gandhi did not get an easy country to administer. At the time of her takeover as Prime Minister in 1966, India was less than 20 years into freedom, still raw from a partition that had devastated much of its northern and eastern parts. Pakistan and China were menacing again. The internal threats it faced, made India look very fragile indeed. She tackled them all with ruthless resolution. Long-running insurgencies in the country's North East in Mizoram and Nagaland were tackled with uncharacteristic toughness.

The only instance where the Indian Air Force was used in an internal conflict was when it was used to bomb Aizawl in early 1966 soon after she took over as Prime Minister. Within a year into her Prime Ministership, violent Maoism had reared its head for the first time in 1967 in Naxalbari and was crushed.

Ever a pragmatist and conscious of India's diversities, Indira Gandhi could be flexible when she knew she had to be. A classic instance is how she diffused the anti-Hindi agitation in the South Indian state of Tamil Nadu with understanding, by accepting that usage of English will continue.

Rampant poverty coupled with a rapidly growing population and mass illiteracy made a bad situation on the food front terrible at the time of her taking over as Prime Minister. Two successive monsoon failures in 1965 and 1966 had laid India low, leaving it dependent on imports to feed its people. The US, which stepped in to ease the shortage and stabilize food prices, kept India on a short leash.

It's a tribute to Indira Gandhi's sagacity in the midst of a political churn that she could take a long-term view of things. Her determined pursuit of an on-going objective to make India self-sufficient in food grains saw dependence on imports plummet from 10 million tons in 1966 to 2 million in 1971 and almost nil thereafter.

Indira Gandhi recognized competence, accommodated and rewarded it very well giving it the freedom to carry on. When Satish Dhawan took over as the head of Indian Space Research Organisation, she allowed him to continue as Director of

the Indian Institute of Science. Both flourished.

The likes of MS Swaminathan and Varghese Kurian were given the freedom and the time to unfold the green and white revolutions in India. When she saw the need for a dedicated external spy agency Indira brought in an extraordinary police officer, RN Kaw and gave him the freedom to develop one.

Indira Gandhi was a true visionary foreseeing the rising importance of space research as well as a scientific base in Antarctica. In both areas she thought big and put India alongside the most developed nations of the world.

Along with the Communist states of the world especially the former USSR, she was on the right side of history, supporting the North Vietnamese against the Americans, denouncing western imperialism in Africa and Asia and standing by Cuba.

Like other Indians, Indira too was crushed by the 1962 Chinese victory in its border war with us. Under her leadership, the Indian army recovered some of its lost pride by unexpectedly besting the Chinese in a little-known bloody border conflict in 1967.

Although she was passionate about non-alignment, it did not come in the way of concluding a Treaty of Friendship with the former USSR, and reequipping the armed forces with Russian help. Both proved their worth in the 1971 war to liberate Bangladesh. However there were some blunders too, for which India is, even now, paying the price.

While the 1971 war with Pakistan saw her at her best, she made a hash of the peace that followed. The Shimla Agreement she arrived at with Bhutto, let Pakistan off the hook, making the rump state, which had just perpetrated a genocide look honorable. Eventually this led to Pakistan going nuclear, fulfilling a vow that Bhutto had made that he'd do everything to get the Bomb.

By repatriating the 93,000 Pakistani prisoners of war (POWs) in Indian custody to Pakistan, Indira Gandhi ensured that not even one was tried for the genocide committed in, what was then, East Pakistan. One wonders if the Pakistan army would ever have returned to a dominant role in the governance of Pakistan, had that not happened.

Contrary to popular belief the 21 month long Emergency she declared in June 1975 was not her worst mistake. Rather it was the excesses that she allowed

her son, Sanjay Gandhi, to commit during that period that bordered on criminal. These included mass forced sterilization and the heartless demolitions of places where the poor lived - Turkman Gate being a case in point - that made the Emergency a nightmare. She paid the price for her blunder and was elected out of office in 1977 only to come back as Prime Minister in 1980.

Indira Gandhi's worst failure was to emasculate a great political party and make it so subservient and beholden to her. She achieved this by blatantly promoting her mediocre sons, first Sanjay Gandhi who became the face of the emergency and the author of practically all the things it came to be notoriously associated with - the forced sterilizations and the destruction of the homes of the poor and the marginalized, best exemplified at Turkman Gate in Delhi.

When he died in a plane crash, she brought in her other son, Rajiv Gandhi who blew the massive sympathy-mandate he got through an ill-advised armed intervention in Sri Lanka, a dangerous game of playing to worst elements in the Hindu and Muslim communities and topping it all with a humongous arms scandal that finally brought his government down. The Congress party, thereafter, has remained a family enterprise leaving a once grand party as a personal fiefdom of one family ever since.

By the time Indira Gandhi fell to an assassin's bullets on 24th October 1984, India was a very different country from the one she had taken over. It was more integrated as a nation than ever before. A distinct Indian identity emerged under her long administration. For that, India will remember her, along with her father Jawaharlal Nehru, as one of its greatest leaders.

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Child Labour in Sri Lanka

In Sri Lanka anyone under 18 years of age is considered as a child. All children must attend school until 18 years of age. Using children below 14 years of age for labour is considered a huge crime in my country. Compared to other Asian countries child labour is not a burning issue in my country as it is very less. Sri Lankan government offers free education up to the university level. So most parents try to provide their children with good education. Instead of involving them in day-to-day activities and household works,parents always motivate their children to study.

But there are a few situations in which the children are labouring for their own family. If the mother has gone abroad,then the elder boy or girl has to look after the younger siblings. In situations like these some of them have to stop schooling. If there is an infant in the family, the elder has to look after him/her. In some situations these children don't have enough time to manage their studies and household work. For the sake of family their schooling is stopped. According to my opinion poverty is the major reason for this type of child labour.

Mother is considered as the all round guardian of the family. When she has

to migrate for work due to financial reasons, lives of some children are squandered in vain. Considering this issue Sri Lankan government has taken some steps to minimize the difficulties of the poor. Families with low income are given essential food items and sanitary items for free every month. Apart from this people are given some amount of money every month. This is called "samurdhi". Staple meal of Sri Lanka is rice and curry. Although rice can be provided for free vegetables cannot be given for free every month. Therefore the government has taken steps to motivate people towards home garden cultivation. To support this essential vegetable plants and fertilizers are given for free. By these solutions a family with low income doesn't need to spend a lot for food. They can use this money for other family needs. Tendency of Sri Lankan mothers to go abroad has been reduced relative to the past because of these efforts.

When a child lives with a step mother or step father, they try to use that child as domestic help In situations like these the child has to do various household work that isn't suitable for the age. These children have lack of parental love and undergo depression. This has grave impact on

a child's future. Once they grow up, there is a substantial chance that they would treat their kids the same way. Thus, a child's mental and emotional health is extremely important, especially in such conditions. Some girls are sexually abused and physically harassed by their step fathers which, in some cases, can plunge them into becoming sex slaves or make them take their own lives. In other situations, physical abuse can aggravate to a regular occurrence.

A separate unit has been established in every police station of Sri Lanka for crimes on children and women. A female officer is appointed as the administrator of that unit. A child who is facing such a situation has the ability to complain directly. Necessary legal actions are taken after the complain. If the child no longer likes to live with these people, he/she is sent to a care centre which is administered by the government. There all the needs of the child are fulfilled. The government takes full responsibility to make their life a fruitful one in the society.

Child labour is a huge crime in Sri Lanka. Therefore, instances of child labour are scarce in my country. Everyone loves to have a sweet childhood. No one has any right any

right to make someone's childhood a bitter one. Every child should be treated equally. The most important thing is to take great care of a child's mental and emotional health. If not, a society full of corruption and crime will be created and because mentally harassed children would grow up to become an unproductive member of the society because of their personal bitter experiences. It is a noble thing and a great responsibility to be a good parent. If everyone cared for all children the same way they do for their own child, it would make the world a better place. A child represents the next generation of that country to have a fruitful generation children and should be treated well.

Sri Lanka is a country which considers the education as a child's right. So a prominent place is given by the government by offering free textbooks, uniforms and other school items. People in Sri Lanka gain a lot from free education. Most of the children work hard for studies and make their dreams come true with the help of a free education system.



Edition Example 2019

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Luchas sociales por el derecho a la educación – Chile

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En Chile, las movilizaciones estudiantiles y sociales que se han generado en la última década han planteado la necesidad de consagrar la educación como un derecho para todos los ciudadanos, generando un debate amplio y profundo sobre los alcances de esta afirmación. Nuestro sistema educativo vigente fue construido durante la dictadura cívico-militar que gobernó nuestro país entre 1973 y 1990, y que impuso una "verdad" revisionista neoliberal, entregando la provisión de la educación al mercado. En Chile, más del 80% de la educación superior chilena está en manos de privados.

En el nivel escolar, los mecanismos de mercado generaron una segregación excesiva entre estudiantes, con un pago una fuerte segregación social que derivó en verdaderos "pueblos educativos". A la fecha, menos del 40% de la educación escolar es entregada por escuelas públicas. Lo anterior se reproduce en las universidades: la actual prueba que permite el ingreso a estas solo demuestra el poder adquisitivo que tienen las familias. En educación superior, el panorama de segregación se repite entre las universidades públicas tradicionales, las universidades privadas (creadas luego de la reforma universitaria realizada en dictadura en 1981) y la educación técnica. La cobertura se ha ampliado exponencialmente en las últimas décadas, sin embargo para ello se han impuesto altas tasas de endeudamiento a los jóvenes que acceden a ella en busca de mayores oportunidades, pero que ven frustrados sus sueños en carreras con baja empleabilidad y alta deserción.

De esta manera, el Estado en Chile no se ha hecho cargo de la promoción y aseguramiento de un auténtico derecho a la educación sino que, al contrario, ha abierto espacio para la construcción de un mercado educativo donde la educación está a cargo de empresarios que priorizan sus utilidades y fines de lucro antes que el derecho a la educación de los ciudadanos chilenos.

Recientemente la Declaración Universal de los Derechos Humanos, la efectividad de los derechos sobre la educación está al arbitrio de las medidas que decida adoptar cada Estado, lo que en muchos casos puede ser contradictorio con el carácter universal que la declaración le entrega a este derecho. ¿Por qué? Nos parece que es difícil sostener que un derecho humano universal puede ser garantizado a través de medidas que terminan excluyendo a gran parte de la población.

Esta discrecionalidad con la que los Estados pueden hacer efectivo el derecho a la educación no solo se limita a la Declaración Universal de los Derechos Humanos, sino que también, se replica en otros tratados sobre derechos humanos, tales como el Pacto de Derechos Económicos, Sociales y Culturales. Al no existir una mención a qué tipo de medidas son idóneas para garantizar derechos sociales, muchos gobiernos terminan implementando políticas que dificultan la universalidad de dichos derechos y fines de lucro antes que el derecho a la educación de los ciudadanos.

Algunos ejemplos de políticas públicas que atentan al carácter universal del derecho a la educación son las políticas de focalización del gasto público, tales como becas, créditos y subsidios educativos. Este tipo de medidas, al tener por objetivo concentrar los recursos po-

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Project "Extension of Human Rights to Education" INVITATION FOR COLLABORATION

Prof. Dr. Michael Winkle
Head of the Academic Advisory Board - Project "Extension of Human Rights to Education"

Perhaps we have an opportunity. It might be a small one, but it gives hope to all societies, countries, regions, groups and communities. Above all, it gives hope to each and every individual.

This opportunity is education. Education is a range of things: teaching and learning, knowledge and skills, understanding other people, and understanding oneself. It means the ability to work with others to shape the world, to find and develop common ground where controversy prevails. Education means recognizing the lives of others as legitimate ways of living, thereby preparing the ground for peace.

In a world marked by strife, exclusion and misery - a world that is losing its beauty of language, society, culture and nature - a lot depends on education.

There is a need, therefore, to rethink education more radically and consistently than before. The United Nations has laid down the right to education in the Charter of Human Rights, and declared it to be an obligation - for governments, civil societies and individuals. Its implementation has been partial, at best, and all efforts must be made to achieve its universal enforcement.

That, however, would not be enough. The world situation has become so acute that the right to education has to be significantly expanded. Education must become a global and comprehensive right - an entitlement that constitutes the core of the human self.

It is about initiating and establishing a common conversation, a common thought process. It is about conducting a universal and substantive deliberation that would eventually persuade the world community - the United Nations - to extend human rights to education. What would be the themes of such deliberation? While nothing can be fixed beforehand, the nature of the task would be demanding. This must be jointly and universally affirmed.

This affirmation, and the practices that follow from it, must be a collective exercise - something carried out in a spirit of understanding and listening to each other.

We invite you to this exercise - an enterprise that has already begun in a variety of ways, its implications being felt across the world.

The task is to identify the structural inadequacies, while at the same time supporting and strengthening the education opportunities that do indeed exist. In other countries and social contexts, education is being increasingly subordinated to the imperatives and priorities of corporations. While it is important that they can find employment in corporations, education cannot be reduced to such training. The concept of education,

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Paulo Reglus Neves Freire Participação de crianças e adolescentes na ampliação dos direitos humanos à educação: partilhando saberes e ensaiando alternativas

Prof. Dr. Alexandre Magno Tavares da Silva
Universidade Federal do Paraíba-Brazil

Introdução - Neste artigo pretendemos trazer nossa leitura sobre saberes construídos na participação ativa de adolescentes como sujeitos sociais (Freire, 1996; Freire, 2000). Dentro do projeto sócio-comunitário, esses saberes colaboram na forma de conscientização e se posicionam diante dos problemas sociais de seu tempo (comunidade, cidade, estado, região, país), bem como geradores de estratégias para ampliação dos Direitos Humanos (Menschel, 2003). Isso só está sendo possível a partir do momento em que educadores e educadoras passaram a olhar esses jovens sociais não como indivíduos isolados e passivos dentro da realidade social, mas sim como sujeitos sociais ativos que procuram tomar posições e proposições críticas na vida social, escolar e comunitária. Destacamos ainda os princípios da Pedagogia Libertadora e da Educação Popular (Freire, 1996; Freire, 2000) que tem referência no pensamento pedagógico do educador brasileiro Paulo Freire (1921-1997), enquanto fundamentos educativos em alguns projetos sócio-comunitários.

As mudanças computarizadas e de clima político vivenciadas no Brasil no final de 2015 e início de 2016, pelo governo interino, têm causado uma virada radical na concepção dos Direitos Sociais que estava se construindo no país nas últimas décadas. No relatório do Programa das Nações Unidas para o Desenvolvimento no tocante ao panorama brasileiro, destaca-se que o Brasil conseguiu tirar 29 milhões de pessoas da pobreza no período entre 2003 e 2015. Anualmente, com o governo interino, convivemos com uma grande ameaça aos direitos sociais e o risco de invisibilização e retrocesso em diversas conquistas nas políticas públicas. Enquanto isso, a base social brasileira apresenta uma triste realidade: 2,5 milhões de crianças sem creches, 600 mil sem pré-escolas, 600 mil fora do ensino fundamental e 1,7 milhão de jovens, de 15 a 17 anos, fora do ensino médio e ainda 15,1 milhões de analfabetos, sendo que 54% estão localizados na região nordeste do país. Diante desse quadro, entidades, organizações sindicais e dos movimentos sociais populares organizados, têm incentivado mobilizações contra as reformas e ameaças diante dos direitos sociais e "sacramento das políticas públicas". O esforço será para a construção coletiva e unitária, e participação na construção das ações, pois os retrocessos nas políticas públicas só serão barrados com a mobilização de estudantes, trabalhadores, movimentos sociais, organizações da sociedade civil, sindicatos, movimentos sociais do campo nas ruas. O Brasil, como outros países da América Latina, possui uma longa história de lutas e processos emancipatórios a favor dos direitos humanos. Lutas que geraram as bases e aprofundaram os processos participativos interclassistas.

Vale destacar, entre os anos sociais envolvidos nesta luta, o papel da criação dos direitos sociais. Essas reflexões do que se encontram em situação de luta e vulnerabilidade social. Ao longo dos anos 90 no Brasil, passaram a ser tomados cinquenta sujeitos sociais ativos, protagonistas também de um projeto político que teve início em meados dos anos 80 através de uma grande mobilização no Brasil na qual crianças, adolescentes e jovens representando várias cidades brasileiras se encontraram em Brasília a fim de discutir os desafios que envolvem as políticas públicas, identificando as dificuldades e propondo mudanças. Trinta anos depois, vários direitos conquistados pelas crianças, adolescentes e jovens estão sendo constantemente atacados e suprimidos de forma cruel na atual conjuntura brasileira. Nesse sentido, gostaria de destacar pontos que nas últimas décadas de nossas investigações, tem chamado a nossa atenção quanto à produção de Saberes no processo participativo de crianças e adolescentes nos projetos sócio-comunitários, e suas contribuições no campo da ampliação dos direitos sociais. Essas reflexões do trabalho de doutorado na Universidade Johann Wolfgang Goethe - Frankfurt/

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Pupils' Voices on the Rights to Education

Mikael Menezes - Brazil ♦ Hande Soran - Canada ♦ Aysel Turaçlı & Omar Irani - England
Ayban Dilsaz Ulsan - Germany ♦ Abhinav Raja & Shivani Sundara Babu - India



The PoliTeknik Project organized a conference with volunteer students from different countries on 13th October, 2019. The objective of the meeting was exchanging points of view and experiences about the human right to education in their context. The conference was really informative and productive, as we could discuss the present scenario of education systems in their respective countries. The skype conference was based on three important questions, the quality of education, access to education and how to improve the education system. We had 12 to 16 year old pupils from Canada, Brazil, England, India and Germany sharing the pros and cons of their homeland educational systems and also putting forward suggestions what could be done in order to improve the quality of education. Also, these students identified mechanisms of exclusion that could hinder one's access to education in their countries.

We believe that promoting experiences that merit pupil's voices are important for evolving perceptions about education. Being in touch with the reality of education in other nations certainly leads to different reflections and can help participants have new ideas on how to improve education in their contexts or in the other colleagues' contexts, by sharing experiences and views. We'd like to thank all students involved in this engagement and hope we can move forth in this global education discussion!

Hande Soran

1. How do you evaluate your education in terms of quality? What are the pros and cons you observe?

- In terms of the quality of education, Canada has a very developed education system.
- In Canada they don't make you study and learn and never take your head out of books, they allow you to personally develop and learn.
I believe that this helps the quality of education
There are 4 types of education in Canada

Public: Free education
French immersion: Free education.
Is meant to teach students French so that they can embrace the bilingual qualities of Canada.
Private: Paid education with the school's own curriculum
Catholic: Public education with the influence of religion
When considering the difference between the private and public educations though, private education has more enriched programs.
Public Education:
Pros: Students who want to focus more on out-of-school activities have the freedom to do so because of the early end of classes

It is free for residents
It's a large community that will allow students to have a broad social life as well as fair education.
Cons: If the parents are not interested in their child's hobbies, and don't send them to do extracurriculars than the child may not do any extracurriculars since the school does not provide many.
The education is limited and assumes that all students want to learn the same way.
Catholic education:
Pros: Students have their academic education and still incorporate religion into their daily lives
It is free
A community that you probably know

from other places like church
Cons: Limited extracurricular opportunities in school
Larger classes that people with difficulty learning can find hard to learn in
French Immersion:
Pros: Students have the opportunity to become bilingual, if not already. Learning new languages also helps in brain development.
It is free
Students who want to focus more on out-of-school activities have the freedom to do so because of the early end of class
Cons: Since you have to register for French immersion education from a very young age, if a student does not

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want to learn French when they are older, then the students will be unenthusiastic about school

If the parent's can't pay a lot of attention to their child, and don't send them to extracurriculars than the child will not do any extracurriculars since the school does not provide many

Private Education:

Pros: Has extracurriculars in school so that students can learn and pursue their passion at the same time

Has a different curriculum than public schools (mine teaches two years ahead in English and math, with a STEM program. We learn 1 year ahead in French and science)

Mostly project based learning

Small classes to allow students to learn in a more closed and personal environment

Cons: Objective: Student sharing view about his/her own education, how she/he evaluate his/her own education.

low students for outside after-school activities

Pretty expensive

Objective: Student sharing view about his/her own education, how she/he evaluate his/her own education.

2. Do you think everyone has good access to education in your country/region? Why?

I think in Canada quality education is accessible at all levels.

There are 8 provinces and 3 territories in Canada. Each province or territory is responsible for their own education system.

Most of them are alike, but there may be small disparities

I can only speak from the perspective of the province of Ontario, but I know that most provinces and territories have similar systems

Any child can have access to free education. The only reason for a child not to get a good education would be because they don't want to. For a child willing to

study and have a profession in his/her life, the public system in Canada can offer the opportunity for free. For this, the child should be guided well through the family or the teachers who would recognize/ acknowledge it.

But the public system would not provide the best opportunities for things like advanced curriculum. The system is based on one way of learning and if the kid has a different way of learning, s/he may not thrive in public education

Everyone in my region has equal access to education. This is provided through public schools. If a child is willing to pursue higher education, a public school from elementary to high school will give them the opportunities they need.

The reason why I think that everyone in my region has good access to education is because the Canadian government had worked towards that and ensured that this happened.

Objective: sharing the vision of the student about education in her/his own country, region or community. Some different social contexts shall appear here.

Objective: sharing the vision of the student about education in her/his own country, region or community. Some different social contexts shall appear here.

3. What do you think would be a good idea to make education and access

to education better in your country? What could be done and who could do it?

Canada has almost perfected the education system.

The only flaw in it are the benefits provided to teachers, backbone of any educational system..

If the teachers were paid better, then they would be more enthusiastic.

For this to happen though, more money would have to be put into the education system.

Many teachers prefer teaching in public schools because they retire as part of the government and get retirement funds as if they were a government employee.

It is not easy. And in private system the teachers' contracts are renewed yearly, so their jobs are not guaranteed for the following year which may have impact on their stress level. Also, new implementations in the education system might make teachers lose their job.

Objective: sharing a notion of a way to follow in extending the right to education by the views of the students

In the end, it's expected that the students will have a more enhanced perception of the different types of education realities around the world, being provided a reflection about education in his/her own nation



Kaynak: Atilla Soylu

Ayban Dilsaz Ulusan

A Brief Outline of the German Education System

As is well known Germany is a federal state with 16 states, they are called "Bundesländer". Each of them are responsible for their own education system. Cologne belongs to the Federal State of Nordrhein-Westfalen, it is abbreviated NRW.

In NRW education system is divided into primary Education: these are Kindergartens, primary schools and secondary education schools. The secondary education is divided in 4 different School-levels, plus separate institution for disabled people. So far after 4 years of primary school education, if you are a very good pupil, you can go to a high level school called gymnasium, that is aimed to prepare you mainly for university education.

There are also Gesamtschule-schools. They have all kinds of pupils and if you perform well enough, after secondary

school you can also attend the high-school level in these schools and go on to attend a University. Third option is Realschule and Hauptschule. These are for children that pursue non-university education. They are for 5 years. After, you can make a pre-education for example for a craft- profession and so on.

Besides there are also schools with special pedagogical program like Montessori or Steiner-schools. These schools are like private schools. I am going to a high school that focuses mainly on art subjects like music, theater, painting use etc..

However, I will start with the pros of the German education system:

It is nearly without payment, only in private school you have to pay fees.



https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Wappen_von_Köln_vor_Panorama.JPG, Rolf Heinrich (Köln)

Usually you have well educated teachers with two subjects like PE and History for example.

You get a comprehensive and diverse education

All schools must complete with the same central exam. So you have equal conditions for all

Usually you partake in more than one internships to get better prepared for a job. You have the choice to get non-governmental education. You also have a number of sports and other clubs to participate in for low budget.

However in my view the cons are:

You have a lot of subjects, curriculum to learn, you get large amounts of home work and you have to manage all with your parents. So if you are a child of non-educated people you have a low chance to perform well in an exam: that means no equal chances.

Also the early division

in schools with different levels for successful pupils and so on highlights non-equality. Also an important issue is; you have sparse leisure time. It's really hard, you have 32-35 hours of school each week topped with 2-4 hours of time spent preparing for homework assignments. Support from teachers is a big concern. They are mostly overworked.

In most schools, teachers are not well versed in latest media and equipment know how.

So you have to go 13 years to school for finishing plus university education.

Another special point is, in Germany you don't have school-uniforms, therefore many cases of mobbing are happening.

The curriculum focuses on European themes on thinking, culture and history. Focus on other cultures from around the world is rudimentary.

And therefore languages like Polish, Russian, Turkish, Arabic or Chinese aren't common in Germany despite large populations representing them for example close to 5 million Turks, 2 million Russians and one million Polish.

So these are the main pros and cons of the German education system.

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Mikael Menezes



Brazilian education system has both public and private sector involvement. Positive point of public education is that it is based on humanitarian and social project model. Private education, on the other hand, focuses primarily on "future" career. Negative points of public education include lack of pedagogical structure, finances and absence of better security conditions.

Not all Brazilians have adequate access to good education, this is a grave problem mainly for those who lack fiscal security. Despite of public schools, they have to work in order to buy sustenance. This harsh reality turns children away from education.

In order to improve access to education, I think, more social inclusion projects targeted for students with adverse financial conditions can be run by the government. This would improve the quality of education and life for many children.

Mikael Menezes da Rocha Barreto (13 years old)

(Brazil, 2019)



Omar Irani

My Education

1. How do you evaluate your education in terms of quality?

I believe that overall my education is of high quality because I am getting high grades in all the subjects that I am studying.

What are the pros and cons you observe?

Pros:

- Teachers have a comprehensive understanding of their subject and are able to give coherent explanations

tions of their subject.

- Majority of subjects for specialisation are optional, many topics allow a vast knowledge to be acquired.
- School offers clubs and other activities.
- Specialised tips etc given on personal development and form periods.
- Frequent tests prepare me for the future qualifications needed for potential jobs.
- Rich diversity of students and teachers along with the school providing facilities for different religions and beliefs allows cultural diversity and respect among others.
- School allows students to learn at their own pace while doing well.
- Textbooks and exercise books are provided as well as computers, printers and much more for organisation and work ease.
- Teachers offer catch up/help sessions at lunch times.
- Teachers give homework every day to keep students on track with classwork on the topic and reinforce the learning done in school.

Cons:

- Topics taught does not provide in-depth analysis, only what you need to know for the exams.
- Not all teachers provide written or verbal feedback.
- GCSE grades changed from A* - G to 9 - 1, which is more confusing.
- In year 7 and 8, three languages (options: German, Spanish, Latin and French) are taught (alternating terms), which does not allow deeper knowledge of each one.
- Subject options are limited and not all schools offer the same subjects. For instance, some schools offer Psychology, Drama, Politics or Business Studies at GCSE level but others don't.
- Certain subjects are obligatory, so you have no choice but to study them.
- Common actions such as taxes or taking out a mortgage, banking, investing, general financing or even mannerism are things we are not taught about.
- Some children can lead to disruption and alter the educative environment, hence there should be stricter school policy.

2. Do you think everyone has a good access to education in your country/region? Why?

I believe that everybody in my country has access to education due to comprehensive schools but not necessarily a 'good' one.

For instance, thousands of private tutors are around Britain just to help 10-year olds to do the 11+ exam and gain a place at a Grammar School or/alternatively sit a Private School exam. I know this as one of my good friends is a math tutor. This creates an

incredibly competitive environment with many bright young people getting overwhelmed by this experience hence missing out on 'good' or 'superior' education as they are purely focused on passing these crucial exams.

The education received by these kids in a school that wasn't their first choice (has lower achievement than other schools) is not in any way inferior, however the environment in these schools affects them - it's not what



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they learn, it's how they learn it. For instance, if they are in a class with disruptive or rude peers then their chance of learning decreases as the teacher spends a lot of time to control these pupils instead of teaching. This and also higher student numbers in a class mean that the educative process is interrupted and is of a lower quality.

3. What do you think would be a good idea to make education and access to education better in your country?

More schools each with more money from government to employ more teachers, create extra classes and facilities. This will allow individuals to not be drowned out and also let group workers still work in their favoured environment. Furthermore, this would fix class size and accessibility issues.

What could be done and who could do it?

I also believe that the GCSE choices are too early in a child's life as they are lifechanging decisions and impact their future. As a replacement, I believe there should be an exploratory year of subject choices for students to truly acknowledge their abilities and preferences, then over 3 years (where students are told the details of each subject) the GCSE studies should be done,

each with an end of year exam that is averaged.

This could all be done by the government's secretary of education.

Aysel Turaçlı

The main and in my opinion, the most important points of the **Article 26 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights are...** (!!!Only mention the bold points!!!)

- 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** on the basis of merit.
- Education shall be **directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups**, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
- Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

1. How do you evaluate your education in terms of quality? What are the pros and cons you observe?

As a student who studies in a grammar school (a type of selective school) in England, who is also going to sit for their GCSEs in a couple of months, I would say that the education is not as perfect or amazing as many would expect it to be. Naturally, as I am sure this applies to many other schools, the type of school you go to or the reputation the school holds does not define the quality of education it provides. Yes, I have many teachers with outstanding qualifications and a great ability to teach, however, as expected, there are errors made and areas of improvement apparent. What makes a school or an education centre so great is their openness to improvement and ability to take aboard constructive criticism.

I am sure that many people will hold different views to my own experiences because school life is personal to an individual. These are my own experiences. My school life is not the end of my work as a student: shifting the focus to education outside of school, I can fairly say that my parents and older brother are the people who support me the most academically. They provide for books, tuition, courses and tutors etc. and ensure that the onus is on me to enrich my life skills in addition to the thinking skills and PSHE (personal, social, health, economics). Despite this, I know there are many deprived areas (or areas where there are high

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crime rates) in England (such as parts of London) where the quality of education is much lower than the standard. This will most definitely affect the child's performance and influence the school's role in their education. It will without a doubt affect students' attitude towards education and its importance: opinions an individual develops in their formative years tend to be strong and fixed. However, I also know people who achieved all 9s in their GCSEs in spite of their school's reputation or ability because of the extra work they took the initiative to do outside of school. Even in my grammar school, we are constantly told that in order to stand out and really succeed in your education, you must work for it yourself and have to work hard outside school, even if it is just an online course like My GCSE Science. In my opinion this is a crucial view that one must develop at one point in their lives, because even in a country like mine, where help is given to everyone, one must work for themselves – nothing will be given to you on a silver platter.

Objective: sharing a notion of a way to follow in extending the right to education by the views of the students

3. What do you think would be a good idea to make education and access to education better in your country? What could be done and who could do it?

The UK is currently about the 20th best country for education, however I strongly believe that it could definitely be improved. Perhaps with a little more funding, Pupil Premium aids (which means additional funding for publicly funded schools in England) could be improved.

Perhaps schools could spend more money on extracurricular clubs like boosters and theatrical shows to both improve morale, enforce a sense of unity within the students of the school and to show how education is more than a exams that you sit in – it is a measure of how well rounded an individual is – and it is vital that they are aware that it does not end with school: education is something that follows you throughout your life. I feel that if more students become aware of this early on, they will have a different stance towards education and its meaning. It is crucial that a student knows the meaning of education before embracing it – only then can they truly appreciate it. Programs to drill this idea into the minds of children would encourage them to come to school and informing their parents of the importance of education would without a doubt decrease the rates of illiteracy. Furthermore, making students and their guardians aware of internet resources would boost access to education.

Objective: sharing a notion of a way to follow in extending the right to education by the views of the students

Abhinav Raja

1. How do you evaluate your education in terms of quality? What are the pros and cons you observe?

I think that my education is quite good right now. From my experi-



ence, it is a bit better than it would be had I pursued different places of education. At the same time, it could be better. A more detailed analysis:



Puducherry Park Monument

Pros:

Not much stress on studying, and the subjects are taught so we can appreciate their essence as well. Extra curriculums aren't frowned upon and workshops and competitions are plentiful enough to provide opportunities for every student to shine.

Cons:

The above pros function only in most schools. However a few schools, and the society at large, is more obsessed with pure academic study and tends to encourage students to shun other activities in their higher classes. The strict syllabus of activities to be conducted in class also restricts schools, which could otherwise frame activities to better match the school's environment and situation.

2. Do you think everyone has a good access to education in your country/region? Why?

As far as I know, access to education is quite good in my country. The quality of such education may be questionable, but access definitely is not, with a plethora of schools around the country, government schools, and special schemes to make sure everybody gets some basic education.

3. What do you think would be a good idea to make education and access to education better in your country? What could be done and who could do it?

With regards to access to education, simple access to the internet would provide students access to a wide range of online learning material which would be more than enough. Providing students access to a computer for a fixed time each week, as has been done in some government schools, would easily provide access to quality education.

As to making education better, I think the strictness applied by education boards on matters such as writing formats and expected points should be relaxed so that schools have a chance to preserve the individuality of their students (and can bend the rules in certain situations) rather than aiming for a standardized student across the country. We need to learn how to encourage uniqueness! Most of these changes would have to be implemented by the various education boards, who should probably appoint student delegates in order to better understand their needs and requirements.



Project Extension of Human Rights to Education

The Project “**Extension of Human Rights to Education**” has been conceptualised as a council to the UN. Various social actors involved in the extension of human rights to education will work out different aspects of this matter with the aim of formulating a “**Declaration on the Extension of Human Rights to Education**” to the UN for voting. The project focuses on **Article 26** of the UN Declaration of Human Rights which is to be modified/supplemented in the sense of a progressive enlargement. The original deadline for submitting the **Declaration** to the UN was **10th December 2018**, the **70th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights**. This date is considered by management to be the time to fully develop the project, which is expected to take several years.

Since the UN General Assembly of 1948 proclaimed the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights** in resolution 217(A), several international agreements, conventions and declarations have been adopted which seek to provide new ways of approaching the human right to education. On the basis of the concrete experience with these subsequent agreements, and in light of an expanded and deepened conception of education, Article 26 of the UDHR will be re-examined and reformulated by a council, participation in which is open to all the democratic forces of the world. This is the outstanding feature of the project “**Extension of Human Rights to Education**”.

The series of articles published in **PoliTeknik** under the theme “**Thoughts and Recommendations on Extending Education Rights in UN Declaration of Human Rights**” since September 2015, have highlighted the global need for the project.

This series drew participation from education unions, scientists and students from **Germany, Turkey, Switzerland, United States of America, Cuba, India, Australia, Greece, Chile, Brazil, Spain and Costa Rica**. The ideas and suggestions presented in the articles are diverse and wideranging. The contributors focus on the content, quality, funding, duration, implementation, target groups, and sponsors of education, engage theoretically with definitions of education, and are broadly critical of **Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights**.

The project is designed to take on board concerns of affected and interested parties around the world, and to meet needs that are new or neglected.



Project
Extension of Human Rights to Education

Universal Declaration of Human Rights – Article 26

1.
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 on the basis of merit.

2.
Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3.
Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education to be given to their children.

<http://www.unhcr.org/50101010.html>

Проект
Расширение прав на образование

Projekt
Erweiterung des Menschenrechts auf Bildung

Proje
Eğitim Haklarının Genişletilmesi

Proje
Extensão do Direito Humano à Educação

مشروع
توسعة ضمانات الحق في التعليم

Proyecto
Extensión del Derecho Humano a la Educación

THE OFFICIAL PROJECT DOSSIER in SEVEN LANGUAGES

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The invention of the modern enlightened subject and the advent of the discourse of the African Other subject



Introduction

The 16th century, in western Europe, it brought the revolution in thought, historical formation and in social theory in general yet disastrous effects on African continent and the rest of the non-western Europe. The subject who used to rely on intuitive qualities of the mind to establish truth-value was born in 16th century. Modern subject therefore killed the medieval subject who relied on the scripture as a tool of enquiry to establish the truth.

The first part of the paper present theoretical foundations of the European modern enlightened subject. The second focus on the advent of the African Other subject in the discourse of colonial modernity.

The importance of the Copernican revolution: From Copernicus to Galileo

This part presents the theoretical foundations of European modern enlightened subject, grounded in the explanation of the Copernicus revolution. Further afield, this part is going to demonstrate how Copernicus revolution paved the way for the emergence of the modern science through dismantling the medieval subject *albeit* Copernicus left the project of invention of the modern subject incomplete that Kepler and Galileo had to finish it [the invention of the modern subject].

Copernicus

Prior Copernican revolution, peoples in Europe understood themselves to be human living under the great cosmology that was finite and limited by the tangent of God above it. People believed heavens were a sacred space and that the heavenly bodies were understood to be pure sacred entities

whose light was synonymous with salvation (Tarnas, 1991). What can be glanced from Copernicus revolution is that it thus obliterated salvation from the nature. The sacred notions from nature ceased to exist because of the objective truth of science in lieu to metaphysics. Karl Marx aptly characterized this phenomenon as, *“what was once sacred has become profane”*.

Copernicus revolution dislodged cosmology through the scientific revolution. The 16th century scientific revolution destructed the ancient cosmological order *qua* Cristian Judeo cosmology through the geometrical and mathematical methods of inquiry. The 16th century scientific geometrical and mathematical methods of inquiry were borrowed from Egyptians and Greek scientists. Therefore, it can be said scientific revolution was the retrieval of the Greek and Egyptian geometry and mathematics (Tarnas, 1991).

Copernicus revolution mantra was an attempt to predict the movement of the celestial. Copernicus acknowledged that a clear mathematical framework that is comprehensible had to be invented. Therefore, Copernicus invented mathematical framework that discarded Aristotelian-Ptolemaic Geocentric model.

Copernicus, therefore, reached a conclusion that Ptolemaic system made it difficult to predict the movement of the heavenly bodies and further posited Ptolemaic strategy failed to establish and to explain the movement of celestial *notwithstanding* its sophisticated mathematics tool of enquiry (Tarnas, 1991: 248). Copernicus, therefore, reading the ancient literature, established that many Greek philosophers and mathematicians had proposed a moving terrestrial therefore Copernicus was fascinated by the theory of the esteemed sun. Accordingly, Copernicus, advancing Pythagorean and Platonic theory, advanced the theory of a moving earth together with the sun centred universe. This

phenomenon is said to be heliocentric model (Tarnas, 1991: 205).

In a nutshell, heliocentric theory entailed the destruction of the notion of the division between the terrestrial and the celestial. The Catholic church welcomed Copernicus' findings *notwithstanding* resistance from the protestant reformist block. The protestant reformist argued that Copernicus revolution contradicted and further polluted the bible and therefore the church for positing terrestrial was moving. (Tarnas, 1991: 252). Copernicus revolution caused a chaos as the whole ancient belief system was falsified bringing to the fore uncertainty and scepticism.

Copernicus revolution however retained the ancient traditional assumptions. For instance, Copernicus retained Ptolemaic dictum of uniform circular motion. The reason Copernicus retained the ancient traditions was because of heliocentric model. Heliocentric model had complex mathematical application that it inherited from the Ptolemaic mathematical system. Therefore, Copernicus revolution theory of moving terrestrial theory was dismissed as its findings seemed impossible. Copernicus left problems of the project he initiated to solve inconclusive thus, scientists such as Kepler, Galileo, Newton and Descartes had to complete it (Tarnas, 1991: 255- 257).

Kepler

Kepler believed in the mystical supremacy of numbers and geometrical forms and further believed sun was the image of God's head. Kepler was devoted to the harmony of the heavenly spheres and inspired by Neoplatonism motivation.

Kepler's objective was to establish simple mathematical laws that would help to solve the problem of the planets. Kepler, therefore, concluded that the universe was arranged in accordance with elegant harmonies. Kepler inherited the correct astronomical

observation collected by Tycho De Brahe (Tarnas, 1991: 256). Contrary to Copernicus, Kepler had simple geometrical figure and simple mathematical equation that helped him to produce results of quality observation. Kepler was able to outdo the Ptolemaic system; the system that Copernicus reached limitations to transcend (Tarnas, 1991: 255-257). Kepler solution led to the physically account of the heavens as material entities with its motions regarded to be physical same as everyday experience on earth bellow.

Galileo

Galileo contributions advanced Copernicus' theory of the heliocentric model. Galileo created a telescope to the celestial for improved observation and quality results based on evidence to validate heliocentric model. The findings Galileo found validate Copernicus theory of the moving earth and the sun centred universe (Tarnas, 1991).

Galileo observations further paved the way for a renewed examination of the empirical phenomenon with a critical eye. A new celestial world was opening to the European mind for the exploration. Not only celestial world was opening for observations, rather likewise with the celestial, terrestrial world was opening for the observations. The opening of terrestrial world gave rise to the notion of explorers that became the midwife of colonialism and colonisation.

The initiation of the modern subject

In this part, I will establish the contribution of the scientific revolution and the works of Descartes to the formulation of the modern subject.

Descartes

Descartes invented the category of the subject and advanced the movement away from the dictum of the Ancient Greek metaphysics started

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by the scientific revolutionaries. Descartes gave the emerging science its philosophical principles by initiating the modern subject.

The Cartesian category of the subject gave birth to a new epoch known to us as modernity.

There are six theses to the Cartesian subject: namely, the typological subject, the *res extensa* subject, *res cogitans* subject, instantaneous subject, radical doubt or uncertainty subject and the structuralist subject albeit that we are not going to parse on the all here.

The typological subject

Descartes believed that there is an evil genius who exist and whom must die for man to be born. Descartes believed in the idea of creation that there was a God who created the world, He left everything in the supervision of man.

Descartes first meditation observed that typological subject manifest itself in two forms. There is God who is the creator who is Supreme good and the fountain of truth. On contrary, there is an evil genre which is powerful and scheming (Descartes, 2002: 32). Descartes believes that the evil genre has been preying on his sense to deceived him. However, God cannot deceive him due to his qualities of goodness and Holiness (Descartes, 2002).

Res extensa of the subject

The *res extensa* is the extended attributes of the subject are the objective world *viz* the matter, the body and the universe. It can be argued that the extended things are the primary measurable objective qualities *a la* Galileo. These are things that are subjected to radical doubt (Descartes, 2002: 28).

Res extensa has the capacity to be determined by a certain shape as it can fill up the void so to exclude other objects from filling that void (Descartes, 2002).

Therefore, *res extensa* subject can be comprehend senses *qua* taste, smell, touch, sight, and hearing and be moved to various ways by an external entity. Moreover, *res extensa*, perhaps, it can be argued that is the true subject of observation and scientific knowledge.

Res cogitans subject

Res cogitans subject in a nutshell the thinking subject *qua ego sum* subject. *Res cogitans*, in juxtaposition with *res extensa*, is the un-extended thinking subject. *Res Cogitans* characterised by its capacity to doubt and its capabil-

ity to think popular known as, *cogito ego sum* or I think therefore I am. *Res cogitans* capacity to doubt manifest itself in a manner that it doubts all external sources of knowledge extent its own body and doubt the existence of God (Descartes, 2002: 69).

Radical scepticism and radical doubt subject

Radical scepticism and radical doubt subject are mutually compatible with *res cogitans* subject. Radical scepticism seeks to prove the existence of the *cogitans* over the *extensa* through doubt. Radical scepticism to establish truth it must reach indubitability point for it to establish the truth



(Descartes, 2002: & ferry, 2010). This subject is visible in the Cartesian *cogito*, on Marxian notion of the *species being*, and to Hegelese *consciousness/spirit*.

During scientific revolution epoch in Europe there was sceptical relativism concerning external sources of knowledge. This was because of the void left by the destruction of the old cosmology of the truth criterion (Ferry, 2010: 275). Therefore, it could be argued that the subject of radical scepticism in the Cartesian subject is an interpellated subject because its doubting does not exist in isolation of its context.

Nonetheless, the genealogy of the scepticism and radical doubt is traceable back to the philosophy of the ancient Greek. The idea of the epistemological doubt, scepticism and the idea of uncertainty emanates from the Greek humanists (Ferry, 2010: 275). This mean that the subject does not merely exist, rather- it is interpolating from traditional and ancient beliefs.

However, when the western scientific subject encountered with the African subject, the western scientific sub-

ject dehumanised the African subject. What enabled the western scientific subject to dehumanise the African subject was the discourse of othering the African subject emanating from the scientific subject. In the following part discuss the othering discourse of the African subject.

The advent of African Other subject

This section examine the classification of human beings in society to arrive at how Aristotelian grids were used to exclude the African corporeal schemer to be radical othered subject.

After having established the western scientific subject it has become apparent that it value differentiating

beings who were superior to other human beings. *Linnaes Systema Naturae* is an example of a modern classification of the human species or homo sapiens into Europeans, Asians and Africans based on phenotypical differences and animalistic behaviour and/or spirit (Mudimbe, 1988: 09). This system is closely associated with the exclusionary nature of the western discourse of colonial modernity in its scientific and philosophical nature (Mudimbe, 1988: 09).

The discipline of the art in the 18th century was influenced by the philosophical and scientific principles of modernity. In fact, art was the manifestation of the principles of western discourse underpinned by philosophical and scientific principles that marginalised Africans within patterns of symbolic and material realities.

During the 15th century, the first artefacts from Africa made their way to Europe through Portuguese sailors and were kept in safe cabinets of curiosity to be viewed by Europeans (Mudimbe, 1988: 10).

During the 18th century, however, the art came in to further constitute a category of African arts thus symbolizing the difference. Prior to the 18th century, there was no category of difference in the field of art and every artefact that seems to differ from the European art - which is purported to be the standard art was considered to account for the diversity of the category of the same. Artefacts in cabinets of curiosity came to constitute categories of difference.

Art was in fact used to justify enslaving Africans by portraying them as dark creatures, savages and ugly Leviathan-like humanoids and therefore in need of Western civilization and Christianity for their redemption.

Mudimbe (1988: 01- 23) outlines the role played by the discourse of art in nullifying the humanity of the black colonized people of the African continent. With arrival of the explorers at the Cape and with their voyagers encounters with the Africans at the Cape with diabolic intentions to distort the image of the Africans. The voyagers gave a non-human account of Africans to the European artists. European artist in their quest for fame, perhaps, experiencing a struggle to know what was seen by the explorers, they were determined to complete their paintings and used the distorted accounts of the image of the Africans. The intention was to fuel their artistic imaginations (Mudimbe, 1988: 07). They would sometimes return to the Greek Art- with Italian style- to try to find ways to create standards of racial differences espoused by the voyagers (Mudimbe, 1988: 07).

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The modern subjects' representation and the imagination of the African Other

Foucault (1981: 55) informs his readers that in the 16th century that *cogito*, *qua* the modern, subject emerged as the continue with the quote which was prior to experience and all forms of knowledge. This can be, perhaps, to be considered the passion of the western mind. This modern subject was used as the form of exclusion and was instituted in the discourse of colonial modernity (Foucault, 1981: 55). Mudimbe (1988), the categories 'Africa', 'black' and the 'other' are an invention of a passionate western *cogito* human who can give meaning to the existence of things and name them. In Foucauldian discourse analysis, madness and difference are constituted by discourses and practices that regulate social normality or acceptance form abnormality and non-acceptance within western society (Foucault, 1981: 56). In the same vein, the categories of Africa constituted by the discourse of colonial modernity and the practices that regulates discourses about the entire African that is seen as abnormal and unacceptable in its entirety in comparison to western society.

One of such practice relating to the metaphysical subject of modernity is the category of the same or a universalizing variable is history (with small letter 'h') as a meta-narrative, i.e., there are two theses of history. One is History and the second one is history. The subject of History is the real human being that has the right to give meaning and naming. The second history is the negation of African subject.

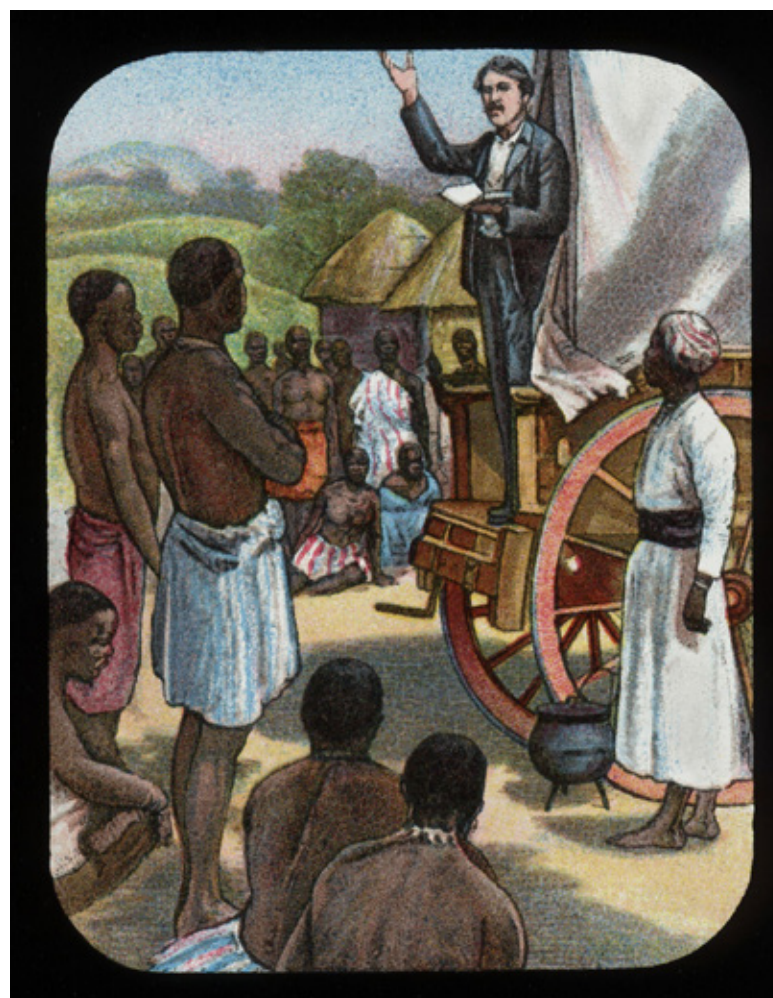
Magubane (2004: 130- 131) discourse analysis illustrate to us what enabled the modern subject to represent the black colonized. Magubane (2004: 130- 131) state that the colonial discourse was written from the white locus of enunciation which privileged a white settler minority and excluded the black indigenous majority. The discourse of colonial modernity is burdened with representations of black colonized people as an aberration of whiteness with everything that is bad about humanity and the world. Whiteness is being described as ordained to civilize the black colonized savages and stamp out barbarism. This discourse valorised white people and allocated white people with the category of human beings who have the capacity to imagine and to represent (Magubane, 2004: 130- 131).

The institution of the disciplines of African studies and Anthropology, as realities of classification of beings, also account for the representation and the imaginations of the African other (Mudimbe, 1988). The emergence of

these academic disciplines was in line with the dominant capitalist ideology closely associated with colonialism (Mudimbe, 1988: 16- 17). From this we can conclude that the emergence of anthropology served colonial interests. To be more explicit, anthropology was instituted to directly serve the interests of colonial modernity and it became a stronghold of colonial domination of the other and maintenance thereof at the level of discourse. Imbued with social Darwinist and mercantile world views, anthropologists started to interpret the notion of sav-

pology represented and imagined the African other subject.

Fanon (1967: 18 - 19) informs us that to assume a language is to assume a culture. For the black colonized peoples who have been reduced to a state of nothingness with their linguistic categories reduced to that of animal state and culture to a state of wildness in the jungle therefore for the black colonised peoples to speak the language of the colonizer fluently is to be close to human. Thus, in South Africa the emergence of black nationalism was informed by the black intelligent-



[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Preaching_from_a_Waggon_\(David_Livingstone\)](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Preaching_from_a_Waggon_(David_Livingstone))

agery and primitiveness (Mudimbe, 1988: 17).

One example of the exclusionary nature of anthropological ideologies was the theory by Turgot during the 1750s which created hierarchies of people from savages to civilized using cultural and linguistic categories. Turgot undertook to determine whether a group of people was primitive or civilized by looking at whether they were a hunting society or a capitalist society (Mudimbe, 1988: 04- 10).

The categories from which anthropologists of the 18th century imagined and sought to represent the other were in line with capitalist ideas of the time. Capitalism is thus quintessentially the need for European economies to penetrate virgin lands with the purpose to enlighten the savages and primitives (Mudimbe, 1988: 18). It is from this capitalist world view and Western experience that anthro-

pology represented and imagined the African other subject. Peter Abraham (1954), together with others in South Africa during the anti-Apartheid struggle- inspired by W. E. B Dubois- aspired to talented tenth notion unlike the nationalist who were fighting for the inclusion to modernity and civilised society.

The entire experience of colonial modernity was of physical and spiritual violence thus metaphysical calamity for the black colonized people. The role of colonial discourse in this calamity was to objectify the corporeal schema of the colonized into an object of scorn and hate (Fanon, 1967: 110- 111).

Black people are observed not to have ontological categories to utilize in their defence as a result of the way they have been represented by the colonial subject of modernity in the

history of western modern discourse (1967: 110- 111). Discourse has its systems of exclusion that seeks to regulate it (Foucault, 1983: 52- 54). When Africans tried to utilize discourse they are still marginalized because of their supposed cannibalism, primitive cultures and customs that are not in line with civilization and they are furthermore reminded they do not have the representative and imaginative qualities of the modern rational subject thus do not possess ontological categories (Fanon, 1967: 110- 111).

In effect, the argument goes, according to colonial-modernity, black people do not possess ontological categories and philosophical categories that mitigate in their favour as human beings or *cogito*. Therefore, black people in the history of colonial discourse and experience do not have the metaphysical categories to assert their humanity from the interiority of the discourse of modernity and thus they fail to be human beings through the text and through language.

Conclusion

This article has explained the Copernican revolution in modern science and stated its importance in the initiation of modern subject. Therefore, it has focussed on the advent of the modern subject and the advent of the African other in the discourse of colonial modernity and the role played by the Copernicus revolution. Therefore, this article has argued that Copernicus revolution opened space for the subject of scientific methods of inquiry and the destruction of the old cosmology that meant a movement from metaphysics to scientific methods of inquiry.

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Habiter en couple mixte, habiter une culture en construction - Le cas des couples franco-marocains



Résumé

Habiter en couple mixte, habiter une culture en construction Le cas de couples franco-marocains

Habiter en couple soulève d'autant plus de difficultés que les partenaires sont issus de deux espaces culturels distants, ce qui est le cas de ceux qui sont dits « mixtes ».

Passée la lune de miel mue par le souci de chacun des partenaires d'inscrire leurs deux corps dans une psyché unique », phase narcissique par excellence visant à éradiquer toute différence, visant un seul « habitat » c'est, comme pour tout couple, au contact du quotidien que surgissent les difficultés, dans la durée, l'espace et les diverses circonstances de la vie sociale et personnelle. Ainsi, les conflits surgissent sur le tracé des frontières du moi et du non-moi ; sur les limites à respecter pour préserver l'intégrité de chacun et percevoir où commence l'intimité du territoire de l'autre...

Mais, différemment de tout couple « ordinaire », ces sources de différends sont exacerbées par l'absence ou la faiblesse des compétences linguistiques ; par une connaissance superficielle et le plus souvent stéréotypée de la culture de l'autre ; par des attentes idéalisées, par des comportements « incompréhensibles » portant sur des modes de pensée qui heurtent parfois des habitudes acquises et les systèmes de valeurs... Bref, les territoires doivent être redéfinis et, à l'habitat « unique » succèdent des habitats plus ou moins sécants, plus ou moins habitables à deux, plus ou moins contenant, mais toujours des tracés à redresser. Ce qui renvoie ... aux fondements culturels de chacun, à des interrogations sur leurs pratiques et celles de l'autre... mais aussi à reconnaître que l'autre peut aussi être, et « est » porteur d'une « troisième » culture non seulement existante mais aussi dynamique et évolutive. Il s'agit

alors d'une culture qui n'est ni celle de l'un ni celle de l'autre mais plutôt une synthèse des deux, une culture en construction où les traits culturels d'origine se trouvent souvent (ou toujours) sous des formes différentes, représentant ainsi un enjeu fondamental de la négociation portant sur l'habitat commun.

Vivre dans une culture en construction ne veut pas dire conserver sa culture telle qu'elle est à l'origine mais plutôt mieux « habiter » sa culture, comme culture légitime et reconnue, tout en acceptant de la confronter à celle de l'autre, accepter de la transformer en une culturelle individuelle : une culture en dialogue susceptible de se transformer en conséquence.

Cette troisième culture, sourcée dans des crises plus ou moins importantes, « bricolée » sur les fondamentaux de la vie, pose la question de la transmission des codes culturels de chacun, de leur filiation et de leur(s) affiliation(s) ainsi que de leur devenir. Elle remet en question les étayages et les organisateurs psychiques d chacun pour accueillir une autre culture sans que le sentiment de continuité du soi ne soit rompu. A des cultures aux différences marquées, succède une culture nouvelle, de négociation, qui puise ses racines dans ... l'ancien.

Cette communication a pour objectif d'interroger le processus amenant les partenaires de ces couples mixtes à constituer cette troisième culture mais aussi à montrer comment les traits culturels de l'un et l'autre, « étrangers », se trouvent encore, sous des formes différentes dans cette troisième culture.

Introduction

a thèse de doctorat porte sur la construction des relations au sein d'un couple mixte. La question de l'identité en constitue le fil directeur. Partant de cette thèse, dans le cadre de ce colloque, il me paraît intéressant de placer l'habitat dans ses rapports à l'identité.

Les nombreux travaux menés sur les couples mixtes ont concernés essentiellement des français ayant épousé des étrangers, ceux de (Emmanuelle Santelli et Beate Collet) (1992), Hammouche (1998), Tribalat (1991). Ils sont relatés à travers le prisme de

l'émigration Sud/Nord. Différemment d'eux, nous avons choisi, d'interroger des conjoints français émigrants ayant épousé des femmes résidentes au Maroc en nous penchant sur quelques composantes essentielles de leur vie quotidienne.

Ces composantes sont issues de nos lectures et des premières analyses d'entretiens réalisés sous forme de récits de vie uniquement auprès des femmes. Ils ont été menés en 2009-2010. Il en ressort plus particulièrement, quatre dimensions: l'histoire des deux pays, l'espace, la religion et la langue au quotidien. Les résultats concernent 10 couples. Seuls sont présentés ceux portant sur les récits de vie des épouses.

La sélection de ces couples a été établie grâce à quelques critères objectifs : l'âge et le niveau d'études, le niveau socio économique du conjoint et la stabilité du couple vivant au Maroc depuis au moins 3 ans.

1. couples mixtes et histoire des deux pays

Beaucoup de travaux sur les couples mixtes ont en commun de souligner un contraste, une opposition - voire un conflit potentiel - entre les parties contractantes de cette union même si les éléments en cause varient en fonction du paramètre considéré (nationalités, religions, "ethnies", âges, sexes, goûts, etc.).

Des travaux plus récents dénotent le passage des relations axées sur une culture colonialiste reproduisant au sein du couple des relations qui étaient les reflets des relations des pays respectifs des conjoints (Varro, 2003) vers une autre culture qui reconnaît les origines culturelles contrastées, et qui n'est plus fondée sur une coloration mono culturelle.

En faisant le choix de vivre avec un occidental, la femme marocaine tente d'instaurer de nouveaux modes de relations avec son conjoint en créant un lien fondé sur l'égalité qui consolide son couple et l'aide à se construire autrement. Je ferais l'hypothèse qu'une nouvelle identité est en construction dont la mesure où ces femmes aspirent à vivre en rejetant un mode de vie fondé sur leur dépendance vis-à-vis de l'homme.

2. Aménagement spatial et la quête identitaire

L'aménagement spatial de l'habitat constitue une forme de manifestation de l'identité.

Préalablement il faut en choisir la forme. Ainsi Leila a insisté pour ne pas vivre dans un habitat traditionnel mais dans un immeuble, mettant en avant la notion du voisinage. Elle s'y sent plus libre, notamment de pouvoir entrer et sortir de chez elle sans être épiée par tout le quartier et de pouvoir s'habiller autrement. Sara nous confie qu'elle avait porté le voile parce qu'elle ne se sentait pas libre, et qu'en habitant désormais avec son mari dans un quartier non traditionnel elle se sent suffisamment libre pour sortir sans voile.

Or fréquemment les conjoints français cherchent à mettre une coupure avec le monde occidental, en aspirant à une vie qu'ils disent authentiquement marocaine. Ce peut être la source d'un conflit entre eux. Selma se plaignait du fait que son mari voulait absolument quitter la ville et s'installer dans le village des grands parents maternels, là où Selma n'a jamais mis les pieds. Il lui tenait un discours écologique qu'elle ne pouvait accepter.

Du quartier à la maison, ces jeunes femmes interrogent en même temps leurs espaces et elles-mêmes à travers la question d'une identité renouvelée. Leurs choix d'habiter les nouveaux quartiers s'inscrit dans la continuité d'une rupture nécessaire à l'émergence et à l'affirmation de leurs identités.

La manière dont est occupé l'espace intérieur renvoie souvent aux fondements culturels de chacun, à des interrogations sur leurs pratiques et à celles de l'autre. Elle conduit aussi à reconnaître que l'autre peut aussi être, et « est » porteur d'une culture différente. Des aménagements sont nécessaires et ils font l'objet de négociations conduisant à l'émergence d'une « troisième » culture, dynamique et évolutive. Elle n'est ni celle de l'un ni celle de l'autre mais plutôt une synthèse des deux, une culture bricolée faite des traits culturels de l'un et de l'autre, et elle est l'objet de négociation au sein du couple, ce qui permet l'instauration de nouvelles relations incluant les traits respectifs de

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chaque culture. Ainsi Nadia est passée d'une maison « Dar », qui appartient à tout le monde et à personne en même temps, traditionnelle, à une maison permettant de ne voir la famille qu'une fois par mois.

A titre explicatif, j'avancerais que la représentations de l'espace domestique chez ces femmes marocaines, se transforme dans la mesure ou dans la tradition, la jeune fille et la femme mariée sont toujours considérées comme des invitées.

L'intérieur de l'habitat reflète le passage d'une disposition traditionnel, conventionnel vers une dimension dont laquelle l'intimité du couple est mise en avant. La question des territoires revient souvent. Amal apprécie que les territoires masculins et féminins soient entremêlés, mais dit-elle que la cuisine soit exclusivement féminine surtout quant sa famille est là. Najat veut bien que son mari débarrasse la table, mais ne veut pas qu'il touche à la cuisine, » il peut rester au salon en attendant que le repas soit prêt ». Quant à Leila, elle a besoin de ses espaces à elle pour que chacun occupe son « rôle naturel ».

A l'image de son quotidien, l'espace domestique d'un couple mixte est investi par les composantes culturelles, de l'ordre de la domination ou de la suprématie, du confort ou de l'écologie, du modernisme ou du traditionalisme, mais c'est surtout un miroir qui reflète cette nouvelle façon de vivre autrement, qui n'est pas encore

tout à fait construite, mais qui est déjà très différente du model de l'un et de l'autre.

3-Habiter par la religion

Bien que pour les femmes interviewées, la question de la religion reste secondaire, essentiellement liée aux fêtes, les occidentaux doivent se convertir à l'islam s'ils veulent se marier avec une femme musulmane. En dépit de leur conversion, des réticences subsistent. Elles sont généralement levées sur la base d'un compromis, c'est celui de l'aide économique que le conjoint français peut apporter à cette famille. C'est le cas de Leila qui précise que son mariage avec son conjoint français lui a permis de prendre en charge de la famille. Amal dit «...de toute façon mon mari touche une pension sans travailler...c'est comme ça là-bas....mes parents peuvent en profiter aussi ». Quant à Najat elle confirme que ses frères ont accepté de « donner sa main » au français, pour qu'il leur facilite la vie ici et peut être ailleurs ».

Je ferais l'hypothèse que la multiplication des mariages entre les « nouveaux convertis » et ces femmes marocaines, est un indicateur d'une évolution en douceur de la société, fondé sur une certaine souplesse non dite dans les relations entre des communautés culturellement différentes, qui tend non pas à se fondre l'une dans l'autre (rapport de force), mais à construire une troisième culture.

4-Habiter la langue

Habiter la langue est délicat au sein de ces couples. En effet, les occidentaux n'éprouvent pas le besoin d'apprendre une langue qui est remise en question par les nationaux. De leur côté, les femmes marocaines disposent toujours de deux ou trois langues. C'est peut être pourquoi, elles sont très réticentes ou refusent d'apprendre le français. Ainsi, Fatem ne trouve pas la nécessité de parler français, puisque dit-elle « elle ne va pas habiter en France ». Il en découle que le plus souvent les échanges sont fondés sur la mise en place d'un code qui leur est propre pour communiquer, réduisant sans doute leurs échanges. Une conséquence peut être celle d'une remise en question de la transmission d'une langue aux enfants : sur quel code sera-telle fondée ?

Conclusion

Comme esquissée à travers les entretiens, la question d'habiter en couple mixte renvoie bien à une culture inachevée, en construction, dont les formes prennent racines dans un passé ambivalent. Il est rejeté par les deux quant il concerne la dimension affective des relations. Il est rejeté seulement par les femmes quant il concerne l'habitat.

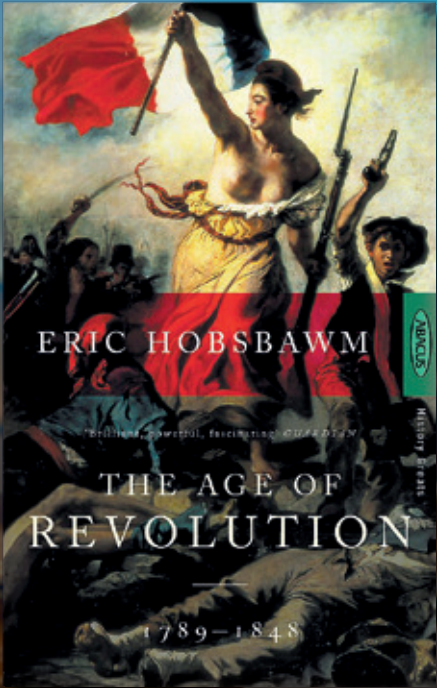
Il semble donc intéressant de poursuivre la réflexion sur la question de la transmission appliquée au couple mixte, car elle permet d'interroger les identités personnelles, comme

le résultat de conjonctions entre des appartenances plus collectives et des choix individuels.

¹ Emmanuelle Santelli et Beate Collet, « Comment repenser les mixités conjugales aujourd'hui ? Modes de formation des couples et dynamiques conjugales d'une population française d'origine maghrébine », dans Revue européenne des migrations internationales, 2003, p.51-79.
² Hammouche Abdellatif, Mariages et immigration, la famille algérienne en France, PU Lyon, 1998.
³ Tribalat Mihéle, 100 ans immigration étrangers d'hier français d'aujourd'hui, Institut National D'études Démographiques, 1991.
⁴ Varro Gabrielle, Sociologie de la mixité, de la mixité amoureuse aux mixités sociales et culturelles, Belin, 2003.
⁵ 10.000 mariages mixtes selon les statistiques du Ministère de la justice marocain en l'année 20007.

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THE AGE OF
REVOLUTION
E. J. Hobsbawm

Eric Hobsbawm traces with brilliant analytical clarity the transformation brought about in every sphere of European life by the Dual Revolution - the 1789 French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution that originated in Britain. This enthralling and original account highlights the significant sixty years when industrial capitalism established itself in Western Europe and when Europe established the domination over the rest of the world it was to hold for half a century.



FOR WHOM
THE BELL TOLLS
Ernest Hemingway
ISBN: 978009289821

High in the pine forests of the Spanish Sierra, a guerrilla band prepares to blow up a vital bridge. Robert Jordan, a young American volunteer, has been sent to handle the dynamiting. There, in the mountains, he finds the dangers and the intense comradeship of war. And there he discovers Maria, a young woman who has escaped from Franco's rebels. FOR WHOM THE BELL TOLLS is Ernest Hemingway's finest novel, a passionate evocation of the pride and the tragedy of the Civil War that tore Spain apart.



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Experiences from the UFPB's Educational and Public Outreach (EPO) for the Promotion of Dialogue and Intervention on Pedagogic Mediation of School with Teenagers Living in Casas de Acolhimento³ in João Pessoa/PB - Brazil



Introduction

The university extension experiences lived through the "Promotion of Dialogue and Intervention on Pedagogic Mediation of School with Teenagers Living in Casas de Acolhimento" outreach project, which was approved by the 2017 PROBEX/UFPB, had, as its goal, to enhance the academic and civic formation of graduation students, and to elaborate pedagogic intervention strategies with education professionals connected to public schools funded by the Municipality and/or State, in which children and teenagers suffering from age/grade distortions originating from Casas de Acolhimento to study at, in the city of João Pessoa/PB - Brazil.

To do so, we did studies and a diagnosis of the teenagers' scholastic reality, and mapped the schools where they are enrolled. Following up, we visited three of those schools, and took part in pedagogic planning meetings, aiming to draw a profile in time and space of the teenagers/students from the Casas de Acolhimento.

Along with the school staff and the participating students⁴ involved in the project, we studied the concepts of "Casas de Acolhimento", "Social Vulnerability", and "Pedagogic Mediation", to then discuss the vulnerability situation of the teenagers/students, and how it would be possible to reroute the everyday pedagogic and educational classroom practices in order to improve these subjects' learning.

With that goal in mind, the outreach project worked towards presenting sensitivity training workshops to the school teachers. Three (03) schools were chosen to implement the project,

two (02) of them belonging to the municipality's educational institutes, and one (01) to the state's.

In the project's first year (2017), our focus was on the sensitization process of the school's education professionals, aiming to enable a dialog about pedagogic strategies to overcome the situation of scholastic failure that encompasses the low school performance, and the learning difficulties of these sheltered teenagers.

We sought, however, to specifically study and learn about social vulnerability, a state and/or condition that envelops those teenagers living in Casas de Acolhimento.

A brief word on social vulnerability

The initial meetings with the undergraduate students at the beginning of the PROBEX/UFPB 2017 project talked about Institutional Sheltering of children and teenagers, as well as the Shelter Services, the Complexity Levels (Basic and Special Social Protection), the Types of Shelter Services, the sheltering and shelter withdrawal of children and teenagers by the aforementioned services and, at last, how Concentrated Hearings⁵ work.

Such knowledge was important to the students, in order for them to know the judicial apparatus that ensures the rights of those teenagers living in Casas de Acolhimento. We will highlight next a few dialogues about the situation of social vulnerability that assaults those teenagers.

According to CARARA (2017), and SILVA and RAPOPORT (2013), social vulnerability is characterized by the impossibility of modifying one's current conditions. It is related to those families exposed to risk factors, and who live in precarious conditions.

Therefore, those citizens, who live in a situation of social vulnerability, do not recognize their rights, nor know where and how to claim for changes to their life conditions; bound to this situation is the precarious state of the

educational process, since a significant portion of these subjects suffer from a low education.

To GOMES and PEREIRA (2005), the social vulnerability situation of low income families is directly linked to structural poverty, worsened by the economic crisis that forces the man or woman into unemployment or underemployment.

It can be said that it is a cluster of problems, and one of them is a governmental absence, characterized by a lack of resources and public policies to aid those families that live within a precarious educational structure, terrible healthcare, unemployment, low public security etc.

However, it is necessary to understand that many families with children and teenagers suffering from scholastic difficulties are not only poorly educated, but also come from a situation of scholar failure and, as such, do not see education as a form of social ascension.

Many children and teenagers also do not live with their families, like the ones living in Casas de Acolhimento.

Within this context, the school ends up taking on roles that go beyond teaching, since "the children's affective and social needs force the school staff into offering more than what the legislation delegates to the school" (SILVA; RAPOPORT, 2017, p. 11).

Therefore, the quality of the pedagogic work, and the commitment of the education professionals to their student's learning process, are indispensable. Beyond a good structure, there is a need for teachers who are motivated by and committed to their students' development.

The teacher, then, needs to know his students' reality, and their specificities so that both parties can enjoy a good relationship.

Next, we describe the experiences of the outreach project, acquired through the sensitivity training work-

shops, which were presented from July through December 2017 at the schools partnered with the PROBEX/UFPB 2017.

The sensitivity workshop's experiences at the schools

The sensitivity workshops with the teachers, pedagogic coordinators, and school administrators involved in the EPO were ministered during the monthly pedagogic planning meetings in the city of João Pessoa/PB.

The goals of those workshops were to situate in time and space the profile of the teenagers/students from Casas de Acolhimento, discuss how the teachers felt upon meeting them, the difficulties found in the pedagogic work from the viewpoints of both learning and teaching, and learning the attitudes that could be taken to face these matters while teaching.

At those workshops, it was soon learned that the majority of teachers were unaware of the conditions of institutional shelter and social vulnerability among those teenagers living in Casas de Acolhimento. They also believed the teenagers to be juvenile delinquents on probation.

We then noticed that most teachers had difficulties in realizing how greatly the school could contribute to the teenagers' learning needs while considering their social vulnerability-steeped life experiences.

In reality, the teachers were welcoming to the university's participation through the EPOs, which allowed an investment into a continued education on the school grounds, and discussing and promoting strategies to tackle the issues faced in and by the school, among which was the pedagogic service to those teenagers living in Casas de Acolhimento.

Following up, a plan was drawn, looking out for the maintenance and growth of the EPOs in 2018, having as its objective an inclusion of the teachers' arguments, in order to plan the

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courses according to the needs identified by these professionals during the sensitivity workshops.

One of those workshops had, as its focus, a presentation of the lives of the children and teenagers living at Casas de Acolhimento in the city of João Pessoa/PB, Brazil. To do so, we played a video called "Cuida de Mim"⁶ ("Take care of me"), that talks about those life stories.

On top of that, a slideshow was presented discussing the theme of "Institutional Shelter of children and teenagers", in which we seized the moment to discuss the Shelter Services for Children and Teenagers, the Complexity Levels (Special and Basic Social Protection), the concept of Institutional Shelter, the Modalities of Shelter Services, the reasons why children and teenagers are taken in and leave Casas de Acolhimento, and how Concentrated Hearings work.

After these sensitization moments, the teachers said they did not know about the institutional shelters and

the reality the teenagers/students live in, and pointed out the actions of EPOs like this one as an essential contribution to the pedagogic mediation by education professionals in schools.

The sensitivity workshop's last class approached the subject of the teenager's Custom Accompaniment⁷ at the Casas de Acolhimento, focusing on those who have difficulties reading and writing.

Despite the hardships, we consider the actions and interventions taken at the schools to be important to break the invisibility of the teenagers living in Casas de Acolhimento, who are often derogatively called "shelter kids", or even confused with juvenile delinquents.

The knowledge gathered during the 2017 PROBEX/UFPB allowed us to understand how necessary it is to know the context in which the students live, to then invest on the teacher's pedagogical mediation, and respect each student's idiosyncrasies in order to develop a significant learning pro-

cess while paying special attention to those under shelter.

Finally, we reflected upon the experiences brought on by the EPO that deal with the institutionally sheltered teenagers' realities and learning process, allowing for a new outlook on the schools' pedagogic deeds that allow them to overcome their scholastic failure situation, while seeking to empower them to the everyday life.

⁷ An EPO organized by the Program for Tutored Education Knowledge Connections (Programa de Educação Tutorial Conexões de Saberes) titled "Juvenile Protagonism in Urban Peripheries" (Protagonismo Juvenil em Periferias Urbanas), by the Federal University of Paraíba.

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The history of the education of Sri Lanka

Education in Sri Lanka from 6th century to 20th century.



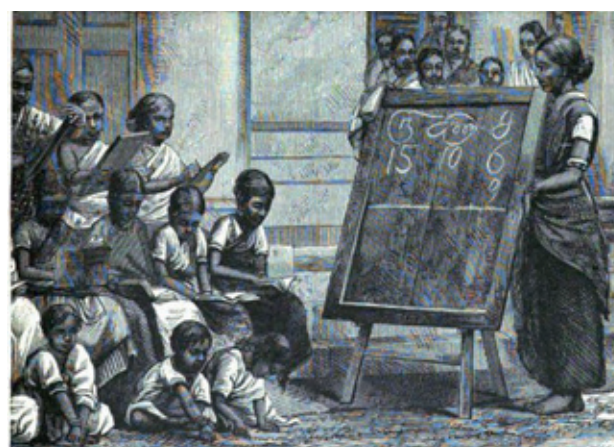
Monastic education dates back to the 6th century BC in Sri Lanka, according to the Mahavansa and Dipavansa which contain some of the oldest historical records of the island. Monasteries & temples were the first educational centers for both the Buddhist clergy & the lay people in Sri Lanka villages. Before colonial times, education was limited only to a exclusive group of individuals, which primarily included Buddhist monks. These monks would in turn, instruct individuals from the upper echelons of the village in reading & writing. In Tamil communities, teaching was the role of the educated Brahmins & Velars.

The curriculum of these traditional Schools mostly involved religious studies, & practical or technical skills, which included mental working, weaving, architecture & geometry. Art & painting were also among the Subjects that were taught. Outside of these schools, knowledge was inherited from father to son. Yet, the vast majority remained unlearned & illiterate.

The ancient system of learning was followed by a more modern education system, which was introduced to Sri Lanka by its Europeans colonizers. In 16th century, when Sri Lanka fell Portuguese control, Portuguese missionary groups set up a number of schools in Sri Lanka to promote Roman Catholicism. In the following century, when the Dutch captured the island, they introduced a Christian primary school system, which flourished for about a hundred years. The British took over the country in the late 18th century and they proceeded to change the me-

dium of instruction in Christian missionary school to English Language. This greatly reduced student attendance. As most of the Sri Lankans did not know English at the time. In 1836, a standard system of government schools was established by the British based on the recommendations of the Colebrooke commission, giving rise to the government funded school system in the Island, which persists to this day. Royal College, Colombo, which began as a privet school in 1835, was made the first government-run secondary school for boys in 1836. Most

government schools taught student in vernacular, resulting, in a resurgence in student attendance. Education mostly free, was made officially so in 1848, several new educational institutions were founded the literacy rate increased.



"Tamil Girls in a Boarding-School," Mary and Margaret W. Leitch, *Seven Years in Ceylon: Stories of Mission Life*, New York: American Tract Society, 1890, 117.

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Localised elite state violence: South Africa immigrants' attacks



Introduction

The localised violent attacks on poor African immigrants by their South African counterparts is putatively said to be xenophobic attacks. However, in this paper, I argue that xenophobia terminology is not an appropriate term for understanding the phenomenon of the localised township and informal settlement violent attacks on the immigrants *notwithstanding* the widespread of the attacks in the country to certain townships because of local political economy and/or the politics by other means. What I mean by localised violent attacks is that the attacks happened in South Africa and in certain townships however they didn't happen in all townships. Therefore, the terminology of xenophobia reaches its limitation as it simplifies the attacks and generalise the attacks as if all the immigrants were attacked yet specific immigrants that are attacked. The terminology xenophobia is silence on factors such as law/legality, class and race of the immigrants attacked thus xenophobia terminology masks the nature of the attacks and simplify the attacks. Concomitantly, this paper is going to argue that the attacks on the immigrants are localised violent attacks targeted poor African immigrants residing in townships and informal settlements in the country.

This paper is thematically divided in to three parts. The first part of the paper presents a migration theoretical framework. The second part focus on the causes of the attacks in the townships and informal settlements. The third part discusses solutions to the attacks of poor African immigrants in South Africa.

Migration theoretical framework

The approach to the attacks of immigrants in South Africa has been a blanket approach. Media report headlines, op-eds and social media all give

the impression that immigrants are attacked in South Africa. This approach is very limited, and it portrays South Africa to be anti-immigrants, thereby instilling fear in tourists [white tourists] visiting South Africa and this concerns the government to the extreme. Subsequently, the government has responded accordingly to dispel xenophobic sentiments as a means to quell fears among tourists visiting South Africa. Moreover, the government, because the attacks are targeting poor African immigrants in townships and informal settlements, has characterised the attacks as an expression of self-hate, qua Afrophobia (Bernardo, 2015). Despite the government shedding a light and a point of departure to theorise frequent poor immigrants' attacks in the country post-independence in 1994, scholars who have studied these attacks, insist the attacks are an expression of xenophobia behaviour (Monson and Misago, 2009, Tella, 2016, and Landau et al, 2009).

However, theorising about immigration, in African context, would offer us an opportune point of departure to understand South Africa's notorious poor African immigrants' attacks. Garba (2015) and Adepoju (1993) offers us a better explanation of the causes of immigration of the continent. Furthermore, Mamdani (2009) helps us to understand that immigration is not a recent phenomenon in Africa. Mamdani (2009) and Oyewumi (1997) further debunk the notion, however subtly, that Africa in the pre-colonial era did not have a regulated immigration and a borderless continent. This will be apparent in a moment.

Garba (2015) offers us a better locus of enunciation to the paradigm of immigration in the continent. Neoclassical economic theory views immigration to be the manifestation of the hidden hand of the market. Neoclassical economic theory posits that the market dictates the flow of labour in an asymmetrical manner. Neoclassical economic theory asserts that global trade comparatively unjustly favours the Global North (GN) at the expense of the Global South (GS). GN states attract labourers from the GS because of the high wages the GN offers (Garba, 2015).

There is no theoretical divergence from neoclassical economic theory and dual labour market theory theorising about immigration in the continent. Likewise, with neoclassical economic theory, dual labour market theory school of thought asserts that the asymmetric global trade favours the GN and the expense of GS. Dual labour market theory maintains that the GN initiates and perpetuates immigration through division of their [GN] economies. GN divides its economies in to primary and secondary sectors. The former sector is dominated by the nationals who are skilled thus command high remuneration while the latter sector is dominated by the immigrants who are unskilled. Moreover, the secondary sector is dominated by the immigrants, notwithstanding the immigrants being not adequately remunerated for their labour. The immigrants, more often because they are not protected by law, with no resistance, accept the meagre remuneration imposed unto them. Employment opportunities in the secondary sector are abundant at GN countries and they attract GS immigrants because the GN citizens contend the sector is not adequately remunerating and that secondary sector employment don't have a social status. The previous assertions are the cause secondary sector employment in GN dominated by the immigrants (Garba, 2015).

New economics of labour migration school of thought not accentuated, nor it deviated from the previous two theories causalities of immigration. New economics of labour postulate immigration is initiate by the economics advancement disparities between GN and GS. It is paramount important that we note new economics of labour, unlike the previous two theories, afford GS subjects an agency, *in lieu* to yield agency to the economic factors (Garba, 2015). New economics of labour postulate that GS subject post pondering about its material conditions and seemingly not a discernible economic prospectus of economic growth and development on their respective countries at GS, the GS subjects then decide to seek better economic opportunities in the GN (Garba, 2015).

Furthermore, within the prisms of

the theories of immigration in the continent, it would be remiss to be silent about the notorious neoliberalism. Neoliberalism has been touted to be the major cause of immigration in African. However, there has not been equal and/or balanced theorising of neoliberalism in the continent. Much of theorising about the effects of neoliberalism in the continent has favoured Africa and there has been silence on the home-grown neoliberalism effects. For instance, Ghana is said to be the first state in the continent to have initiated its own home-grown neoliberal policies prior the external imposed neoliberal policies by the Bretton Woods Institutions (BWI). Ghana initiated its own home-grown neoliberal policy Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) foreboded the external neoliberalism imposition to Ghana and the continent.

BWI notorious policies, qua Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) and Austerity Measures (AM) embrace market led economy for the pretence of economic recovery. Briefly, with the implementation of SAP the continent witnesses the privatisation of state-owned enterprises and parastatals, liberalisation of the economy which culminated with the shedding of many jobs in the public sector while AM advocate for cutting of budget in public services such as education and health-care (Adepoju, 1993, Garba, 2015).

SAP and AM engendered immigration in the continent with peoples of the continent immigrating to GN seeking for employment opportunities (Garba, 2015). Nonetheless, to assert that immigration is a recent phenomenon in Africa would be a grave error.

Immigration in the continent is old as the continent. Mamdani (2009) offers us adequate locus of enunciation to enter the debate that immigration is not a recent phenomenon in the continent. Mamdani (2009) postulates that immigration in the continent is not a recent thing, however, Mamdani states what obscure its reality is that in Africa, pre-colonialism, the notion of absolute state did not find expression. Accordingly, Mamdani (2009, 139-143) postulate Africa pre-colonialism had social domains yet the social domains recognised neighbours' borders *albeit*

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the borders were not as borders in the modern day. This is amplified when Mamdani (2009: 139-143) asserts that aggression was not tolerated and that neighbours were not aliens.

The notion of social domain, *in lieu* of absolute state, is further reinforced by Oyewumi (1997) that it was apparent in the continent pre-colonialism. It was impossible that a person would settle in a particular social domain without people of that particular social domain being not cognisant. This is amplified when a particular European settled certain Yoruban land. Oyewumi (1997) informs us that when that particular European settled went to the chief of that particular social domain requesting the land to settle *albeit* this European settler was surprised to hear from the chief that land was not a commodity to be sold in Yoruba. This was not limited to the Yoruba tribe; however it was an African system that land is not a commodity to be sold (Ngcukaitobi, 2018:180). This manifest that social domain existed without physical borders as that particular chief didn't allocate the land out of his social domain. (Oyewumi, 1997).

Mamdani (2009) and Oyewumi (1997) nullified the popular notions that Africa pre-colonialism was a borderless continent and reinforced that particular Mamdani (2009) -that popular notions that immigration in the continent is not a recent phenomenon. However, if, Africans, desire to learn to coexist, it is paramount important to acknowledge that the world is not stagnant and cease the desire of invariable wanting to be politically correct and be cognisant of the dire consequences that comes with the contemporary immigration if not properly regulated.

The next section looks at the attacks of immigrants in South African townships and informal settlements and posits that the immigrant attacks are an expression of the contemporary consequences of the immigration.

South Africa immigrants' attacks

This section is going to argue that immigrants' attacks in South African townships and informal settlements are not xenophobic expression, rather they are localised attacks, an expression of local political economy and/or politics by other means (Misago, 2017). Landau at el (2009:105) adequately captures this phenomenon through stating that the attacks in South Africa are the micro-politics of townships *albeit* Landau at el they still insist that the attacks are xenophobic attacks. However, in this section I argue that the attacks cannot be said to be the expression of xenophobia as not all the immigrants are attacked.

The notion of localised violent attacks is that the attacks happened in South Africa and in certain townships however the attacks didn't happen in all townships thus to generalise such attacks to be an expression of the xenophobia is a limited. Xenophobia terminology is silence on race, class and legal factors of the attacked immigrants.

Moreover, this section is going to show that the attacks are organised by the local leaders, local businessman, and argue that the quiescence of the state apparatus, qua South African Police services (SAPS) and the speeches made by the political leaders, fuel the attacks.

Garba (2015) and Adepoju (2007) aptly outlined migration theories and in particular Garba they stated that post the implementation of SAP and AM, African peoples immigrated to Germany, India and South Africa to seek for employment opportunities. South African in the continent having comparative economic advantage (Tella, 2016: 153), witness immigrants from the continent flocking in search for employment opportunities. Nonetheless, the poor immigrants from the continent were not welcomed with open arms by poor South Africans in the townships and informal settlements. However, it is important that we note that, *albeit* we are not going to parse on this point, immigration in South Africa is not a recent phenomenon. Immigration in South Africa can be traced as far as the discovery of minerals in the country (Cavanagh, 2017: 295).

The local leaders, and the governing elites, manipulates South African township and informal settlement dwellers convincing them that poor African immigrants are the cause of their misfortunes. These sentiments espoused local leaders and the governing elites has been aptly said to be the scapegoat theory (Monson and Misago, 2009: 25).

To adequately comprehend scapegoat theory- in the immigrants' attacks context- is better that we juxtapose it with Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy limitations. In 1996, two (2) years post-independence, South Africa government adopted GEAR policy that yielded impressive economic growth yet with no employment opportunities (Mangu, 2008). High unemployment rate (coupled with lack of service delivery in townships and informal settlement) disgruntled townships and informal settlement dwellers that culminated with a plethora of service delivery protests (Reddy, 2015). The service delivery protests, in their nature, are violent and public property is often damaged.

The poor African immigrants residing in township and informal settlement become the scapegoat that the township and informal settlement dwellers lacked better service delivery because of the poor African immigrants are taking the services meant for them (Misago, 2017: 41, Monson and Misago, 2009: 25 and Tirivangasi at el, 2015).

The failures of South African government to provide service delivery to township and informal settlement dwellers pitted township and informal settlement dwellers against the poor African immigrants. However, to say that the township and informal settlements dwellers had no agency over their leaders would be remiss. They could have refused to be the participants in the attacks.

Local leaders intervened and manipulated township and informal settlement dwellers to attack the immigrants because they said the immigrants are taking services meant for them. For instance, in Ramaphosa area, the local ward councillor of the area is said was involved in planning the attacks of the immigrants perpetuating the narrative of scapegoat theory (Misago, 2017 :43, 47-48, Landau at el ,105).

Itereleng and Alexandra townships are of the many notorious townships and informal settlements that have had local leaders involved in the attacks (Landau at el, 2009: 105). The leaders involved in unleashing the attacks on the immigrants are not limited to political leaders only, however, they extend to leaders in civic organisations. The South Africa National Civil Organisation (SANCO), a civic organisation in alliance with the governing party (Misago, 2017: 45, Landau at el, 2009: 106), is said to have some of its leaders involved in planning of the attacks.

Most of the immigrants are in the business sector; they are shop owners (Misago 2017:41) thus they pose a competition to local businessman. The local businessman in one way or another, to curb competition, they are also involved in the attacks. The previous sentiments that local businessman are involved in the attacks manifested with the arrest of certain Western Cape businessman arrested for being involved in the attacks. However, the businessman, involved in the attacks, was later released because of the intervention of former Western Cape former Premier, Members of the Executive Committee and local police commander (Landau at el, 2009:104).

Traditional leaders didn't want to be left outside the crusade of espousing the attacks. King Zwelithini, in 2015,

delivered a speech that incited the attacks (Reddy, 2015: 19 and Tella, 2016: 143, 151) yet King Zwelithini never faced the consequences for inciting the attacks. The possible explanation for King Zwelithini not being held accountable for his speech that incited the attacks, could be the customary law finding its expression in the indirect rule that made the traditional leaders to be semi-gods, qua that traditional leaders are above legal reproach (Mamdani, 2009). The customary law, finding its expression of indirect rule, continue to rear its ugly head in South Africa and recently manifested itself with the release of King Buyelekhaya under the pretext of Presidential remission.

The SAPS can also not be exonerated from being quiescence about the attacks of poor immigrants (Monson and Misago, 2009: 27, Cavanagh, 2017). The SAPS involvement in the attacks is not limited in being reluctant to quell the attacks, in fact, the SAPS are involved and cognisant of the attacks as it is reported SAPS attend the meetings planning the attacks. The previous assertions are apparent with one of the respondents interviewed by Monson and Misago (2009:27), confirming that the members of SAPS would attend community meetings planning the attacks yet they would not disperse such gatherings nor conduct intelligent investigation to arrest the leaders involved in planning the attacks.

Moreover, in year 2000, certain SAPS members are reported to have unleashed police dogs to attack Mozambique immigrants (Tella, 2016: 143, 152). SAPS attitude and behaviour towards the immigrants is the reflection of governing elites' sentiments on the immigrants in the country.

To substantiate my assertions that the SAPS members' attitude and behaviour is the reflection of the governing elites' sentiments, Waltz school of thought (Tella, 2016) is of great assistance for me to substantiate my assertions. Waltz posits that the behaviour of the leaders influences the direction and/or the state policies (Tella 2016). Therefore, when the governing elites are espousing anti-immigrants' sentiments, we should then not be surprised when the ordinary people are expressing anti-immigration sentiments.

The assertions that South Africa governing elites harbour anti-immigrants' sentiments are reflected in Mamdani (2017) speech Mamdani gave at the 8th Thabo Mbeki Africa Day Lecture. Mamdani (2017) said South African government fuelled the attacks through making the citizens to spy on each other on who is a South African citizen and not a South African citizen in their society and to report to the

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police those who are not the citizens. This in one way or another, fuelled anti-immigrants' sentiments to ordinary South African citizens.

Tella (2016, 2016: 149) traces anti-immigrants' sentiments in the governing elites as far as Nelson Mandela led administration with Nelson Mandela harbouring anti-immigrants' sentiments. In the previous points we have cited Mamdani (2017) asserting that South African government fuelled anti-immigrants' sentiments to its citizens. Thabo Mbeki obstinate refusal to acknowledge that in 2008 immigrants were attacked (Tella, 2016: 149) and characterising the attacks are merely an act of criminality is the reflection of South African government anti-immigrants' sentiments.

Jacob Zuma, likewise his predecessors, also harboured anti-immigrants' sentiments. In the midst of the attacks, Jacob Zuma, *in lieu* to deliver a speech that was going to quell the attacks, Jacob Zuma called for the protection of the legal immigrants in the country (Tella, 2016: 150). The call by Jacob Zuma to protect the legal immigrants is the reflection of the broader sentiments and notions that illegal immigrants are responsible for the crime in the country.

The current president, president Cyril Ramaphosa, has also been found wanting last year, 2019, on the attacks of the poor African immigrants, and lest is said about Cyril Ramaphosa response to the 2019 violent attacks on the poor migrants' attacks, is the better. This is because it has become apparent norm for president Cyril Ramaphosa to be found wanting even on domestic matters. President Cyril Ramaphosa norm of being ever found wanting propelled John Steenhuisen (2019) aptly characterised president Cyril Ramaphosa behaviour to be that of a man in office and not in power.

Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi attempted to quell the attacks in Johannesburg despite that Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi attempts were futile. The governing elites tend to either forget fast or are so bent to populism and, perhaps, think that people forget fast as them [governing elites]. The very same Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi who attempted to quell the attacks is the very same men who once publicly expressed anti-immigrants' sentiments. It is best that I cited Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi anti-immigrants' sentiments here, "*if we as South Africans are going to compete for scarce resources with millions of aliens who are pouring into South Africa, we can bid goodbye to our Reconstruction and Development Programme*" (Tella, 2016: 150). Moreover, Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi attempts were in fact no attempts as the men speech

was more about himself and seeking appropriate respect for himself. Because the people are not gullible as the governing elites thinks they are, people left Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi on the stage and he can be heard raising ageism sentiments that the people will have cursed for not respecting and listening a man at his age speaking (Buthelezi, 2019).

The perceptions that the illegal immigrants are responsible to crime in South Africa (see earlier discussion) has resulted to government resorting to draconian operations. The government adopted Operation Crack Down hunting illegal immigrants to be deported back to their respective countries (Tella, 2016: 152 and Monson and Misago, 2009: 28). The deportation of the immigrants after the attacks hinders justice for the immigrants as the witnesses would be deported thus resulting in cases not further investigated (Monson Misago, 2009). The culture of impunity for the perpetrators of the attacks in further expressed by Landau and Misago (2009: 104). Because of the governing elites' anti-immigrants' sentiments, the country and the world, should then not be surprised when the Department of Home Affairs and Department of Home Affairs bureaucrats inhumanely treat immigrants, in particular African poor immigrants.

The manipulation of the township and informal settlement dwellers, more especial by the governing elites founded on scapegoat theory, reflects the South African government attitude post-1994. The South Africa government is the best in blame shifting of its failures to bring change in the lives of the township and informal settlement dwellers. If South Africa government doesn't blame white people for the misfortunes of the black people in townships and informal settlements, the South Africa government has to find other peoples to blame for their failures to deliver service delivery and such peoples are invariable white people if not what the ruling party refer to coconuts (see Mlambo 2019, Mangcu, 2008). Unfortunately, the immigrants, if not white people are not blamed, suffer the brunt for the failures of South Africa government to deliver services to township and informal settlement dwellers.

What needs to be done

The poor African immigrants' attacks in South Africa is not a dilemma that can be resolved by South African government on its own. It can be resolved by the whole Southern Africa Development Community (Tirivangasi et al, 2015) and the continent as the whole. Poor governance in the continent fuel the emigration and the people who bear the brunt of the poor governance is not the elite, rather- it

is the political society. The unfortunate phenomenon of emigration in the continent is that the political elite, when the dire consequences of immigration- such as attacks -the political elites are invariable the first people to retort Pan Africanist slogans, yet their behaviour are in sharp contrast to the Pan Africanism ethos. If the attacks on poor immigrants manifest itself in the diaspora, self-entitlement is ever revoked that the GN developed because of the exploitation of Africa and slavery. Inasmuch geo-trade continues to be asymmetrical thus comparative favours global North, the African elites are, likewise the GN, enemies for the development of Africa through looting of state coffers and undemocratic government. For instance, in Southern Africa, emigration is not holistically economic motivated, rather- it is politically motivated.

South Africa, because of its better economic opportunities in the continent, unfortunately witnessed a plethora of immigrants migrating to the country that pitted them against the local elites and governing elites. Both the local elites and the governing elites manipulates the *hoi polloi* which culminates in localised physical confrontation which subsequently spread across the country townships and informal settlements. The confrontations are motivated by crumbs that falls from the capitalists' tables and the governing elite (see earlier discussion cited Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the scapegoat theory).

There is a salient need for the institutionalisation of state apparatus in the country to enforce law without favour and the rule of law to find expression. This would mean that all those who had incited the attacks must face law and be held accountable for their reckless speech despite of the leadership positions they occupy (see earlier discussion). Furthermore, Mamdani (see earlier discussion) assertions debunked the notion of borderless pre-colonial Africa therefore borders are to be protected. The protection of the borders, however, should not erode the spirit of ubuntu, *viz*, emigrants from warzones infested states are to be offered refugee status. Economic emigrants and political emigrants need to be cognisant its them only who can be the agents of change in their respective countries therefore for them to flee from fixing their domestic political-economic and social conditions is not a solution.

Therefore, because of the widespread of the attacks on poor African immigrants by their fellow poor black Africans in the townships and informal settlements, the general wisdom concludes its xenophobic attacks *albeit* having studied the nuances of the attacks. However, enable by the liter-

ature review on the attacks on poor African immigrants, this paper argued that xenophobia terminology to understand the attacks in South Africa reaches its limitations as race, class and the notion of legality is discarded of the attacked immigrants.

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