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## NEW COLONIALISM

The essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from the outside.

<https://commons.lib.jmu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1007&context=scom542>

**Daniel Casal**  
Frente Sindical Obrero de Canarias  
- General Secretary - SPAIN

### CONTEMPORARY COLONIALISM

Conventional colonial power, executed directly by the metropolises, is replaced by interposed governments, consisting of locals, directed and controlled by them, leading to the idea of controlled independence and to the emergence of the power and influence of large companies.

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**Prof. Dr. Georg Auernheimer**  
GERMANY

### Hasankeyf All Over the World

The people of the countries of the Global South experienced another type of capitalism, at least in Africa, and in a slightly more moderate form in Latin America. Their natural wealth, consisting of raw materials and agricultural products, is still being exported after their independence, as in the period of the colonial system. Moreover, the surplus value generated has been reinvested at a very low level up to now, and therefore no significant productive power is generated.

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**Juan Gabriel Muñoz**  
Intergremial de Trabajadores de la Construcción y la Madera de COLOMBIA

### The New Colonialism

We, the workers of Colombia, are still subject to colonialism disguised as democracy, like the kingdom model in other cultures, our country is negatively managed as a colony where hierarchical positions are passed down from family to family, nowadays we continue to persist in turning around everything that has colonized us and that prevents us from implementing the changes that the new generations expect to receive...

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## International Students' Council

PoliTekniks' invitation to student organisations worldwide for the constitution of a united platform - the groups' positions

On 18<sup>th</sup> of April 2022, a video conference was held on this objective

Dear friends,

We are pleased to have been able to come together to discuss whether it is possible to establish an international and durable student council.

As you can see with the pandemic, the war in Europe, the financial crisis of 2008 and many other crises, we need a student voice. A voice that can act internationally and in real time to represent the interests of students in these crises situations that do not want to end.

These words can by no means reflect the whole spectrum of interests of this platform, because they have to be defined first. Where do our common interests lie? Let us discuss this question.

Sincerely,  
PoliTeknik

*Contacts with student organisations have been built up step by step over the last 2 years. The Students' Ebook Project with about 70 participants from more than 30 countries has done the groundwork for this.*

Continue on page 4-6 ►

**STUDENTS UNITED VOICE**  
in a WORLD of  
**SUSTAINABLE CRISES**

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Daniel Casal

Frente Sindical Obrero de Canarias - General Secretary - SPAIN

# CONTEMPORARY COLONIALISM

Since the time of the Phoenicians, the expansion of populations has been constant in the history of mankind. Perhaps we could find the best colonizing example in the Phoenicians, their expansion along the Mediterranean coast and their settlements and infrastructures have led them to be considered as the first colonizing population, even though their expansionist interests were basically linked to the control of trade.

Carthage itself, an ancient colony founded by the Phoenicians, eventually became a colonizing power also keen to control the commercial territory of the Mediterranean.

However, it was Rome that constituted an immense empire that governed most of Europe and the East.

The basic feature of the expansion of civilizations in ancient times was the extraction of wealth and the control of trade and routes, as well as the control of the peoples and territories occupied.

This was the fundamental axis of the interest of the colonizing powers in the expansion and domination of other peoples over the course of time.

Certain authors establish Modern Colonialism between the 15th and 20th centuries, specifically until World War II, with a temporal differentiation around the year 1800 or so, in order to differentiate the colonial processes of Spain and Portugal from the European expansion towards Asia, Africa and the Pacific.

This is an academic division that I do not agree with and that I do not understand what it contributes to the reflection on colonialism.

Indeed, the colonial expansion pursued different interests in different

historical circumstances, but it also maintained and continues to maintain a fundamental and indistinct feature: the appropriation of the wealth of the peoples, their subjugation and plundering in all its forms.

European powers have always pounced on Africa, Asia and the Pacific with the same purpose, to seize natural resources as an element of capitalist accumulation at all times.

The expansion of culture, modernity and civilization was nothing more than *empty talk* aimed at justifying robbery and occupation, if not colonial extermination.

Beginning with the processes of decolonization, a period between 1947 and 1969, which affected almost all of Asia and Africa, *a new type of colonialism* was introduced. Independences, except in some cases, were no more than a momentary illusion.

*Neocolonialism* has been incorporated into the classic colonial occupation, the former colonies becoming subject to the economic and political interests of the former metropolises and their development subjected to the interests of transnational corporations and economic lobbies.

Conventional colonial power, executed directly by the metropolises, is replaced by interposed governments, consisting of locals, directed and controlled by them, leading to the idea of controlled independence and to the emergence of the power and influence of large companies.

The most significant feature of contemporary colonialism is the large extractive companies that are politically *embedded* in the local political powers.

Of course, this is not a new capitalist penetration, since different companies are already exploiting these countries, a significant example being Africa, where Monsanto, Unilever, Syngenta, DuPont, Cargill, Diaego, SAB-Miller, Coca-Cola, Yara (the biggest fertilizer producer in the market) have a significant presence.

However, in addition to the strong presence of multinationals, there is now the control of the sovereignty of peoples through the major Free Trade Agreements (FTAs).

The FTAs run through the map of international colonialism and they do so together with military expansion and political control, which, as in the Berlin Conference, divide up the world, giving shape to what we understand as contemporary colonialism.

Colonialism's genetic map, from the Phoenicians to the FTAs, is the same: plunder as an objective, subjugation as a means and looting as a result.

Colonialism, be it classic, historical or contemporary, is the greatest pandemic that humanity has ever experienced.

Putting an end to it is a task for all of us who believe that relations between peoples should be based on freedom, equality and solidarity.

There will be no real independence if it is not firmly based on respect for the sovereignty of the peoples, and this can be achieved only with the weapons we have in our hands: the expansion of culture, peoples' power, democratic guarantees, development in freedom, and recognition of the right to self-determination.

1) The **Colonialism** in modern Europe commenced in the 15th century and can be divided into two phases which partially coincide in time: the first, from about 1415 to 1800, and the second, almost from 1800 to World War II.

2) Europeans carried with them **viruses and bacteria** that did not exist in the lands they conquered and therefore the local populations had no natural defenses against them. For example, **in America there was no malaria, leprosy, typhoid fever, diphtheria or measles**, which were fatal to the native inhabitants. In this way, the possibilities of resistance were reduced.

Fuente: <https://www.caracteristicas.co/colonialismo/#ixzz7LW0lx4RK>

3) Imperialism is a form of political domination of one state over another. **Imperialism may take the form of colonialism**, and all official empires were founded thanks to colonialist policies.

Nevertheless, imperialism may exist without colonialism, in other words, without the use of military force. The reason for this is the economic, cultural and/or political influence that a power can exercise over countries that depend on them, usually for economic reasons.

This implies that **the principal basis of imperialism is foreign debt**, since creditor countries can impose all kinds of conditions. Imperialism is also called neocolonialism.

Fuente: <https://www.caracteristicas.co/colonialismo/#ixzz7LW0pVnin>



# International Students' Council

## PoliTeknik's invitation to student organisations worldwide for a united platform - the groups' positions

**Emmanuel Kaliwo**  
**Malawi Nationale**  
**Students Union**  
 (MANASU)

In the first place.

Malawi National Students Union is an umbrella body for all universities in Malawi.

The overall objective is to unify the students and make sure that they have a voice of issues that matter to them as well as matters of national interest.

As part of continental bodies, we aim to add voice to matters of interest at continental or regional level such as access to education.

Our goals of unifying students and having a say at national and regional level can be incorporated in the International Student Council. These issues cut across several students bodies both local and international.

The council should have executive members from selected from regional bodies.

Thank you.



**Malmo Jawneh**  
**Education Students'**  
**Association**  
 (EDUSA - GAMBIA)

We the students of the school of Education, University of The Gambia hereby have a common objective and aspiration to form an association (herein after Education Students' Association, EDUSA.) This is to be governed by the spirit of the provi-

**STUDENTS UNITED VOICE**  
**in a WORLD of**  
**SUSTAINABLE CRISES**

sions of our Constitution. The aims and objectives of the association are to protect and promote the interest of its members. The association shall endeavor to make strong ties amongst its members and the administration, and thrive to achieve its goal towards national development. The Association is established by virtue of our constitutional right, (freedom of association) as provided in the Constitution of the Gambia. We recognized that the University is an assemblage of scholars, endeavoring to broaden their scope in all spheres of human dimension. Therefore we join in that drive, by recognizing ourselves through the conceptualization and creation of an association. We are aware of the importance of educational sector of the Gambia in its crusade of attainment of assessable, relevant and quality goals, and the role of teachers in this endeavor. We commit our self to same and the rising the performance of the young generation in the basic and secondary education purview.

In the above secret spirit, we pledge our firm allegiance in nation building to contribute our quota.

The aims and objectives of our organisation include;

To promote the welfare of members of EDUSA and engage in academic

and social research.

To promote the interest of students in the school, through consultation and dialogue with relevant authorities.

To establish the culture of academic and social research to increased educational knowledge.

To encourage the publication of academic magazines, booklets and pamphlets. Seek to foster a close working relationship with public enterprises and private sector.

To explore opportunities for developmental purposes for its members. To seek employment opportunities for its graduating students.

To foster close links and cordial relationship with sister club/association in the University, UTGSU, UTG authorities and other Universities within and outside the country.

To encourage solidarity among students and promote camaraderie within the student fraternity of the UTG.

To participate in the promotion of quality promotional delivery and improve performance through teaching, research, symposia, debate, seminars, public lectures etc.

To engage in fund raising activities to enhance the activities of the association.

To establish cordial relationship with the ministry of education, the Gambia Teachers Union and any other institution which share the same goal with the association.

Part of the goals that can be considered as international commonalities include sharing activities with different organizations in the council; joint collaboration in producing strong academic papers; exchange programs and other important goals.

I believe the structure of the council should be all inclusive. Each member organisation should feel themselves in the structure of the council. That's we need to establish a strong executive with a constitution that will guide the operation of the council.

Thank you!



**Jean Eudes Agathe**  
**MAURITIUS**

Like I mentioned before, I am not part of any organization. I am working mostly alone and it has been a very tedious task trying to convince colleagues and my fellow citizens to join this journey. What are my goals towards ensuring a better education? Well, it is not an easy question to answer. Here in Mauritius, we have the chance to have most of our education free. Textbooks from primary to secondary institutions are free to most of



us (state and Roman Catholic schools are concerned. Private schools are not.), university fees have been reduced, where only administrative fees are being paid for first-timers.

However, there is a lack of action from our students here. Our voices are not entirely silenced but most of the time not considered or overlooked. This has caused problems in the educational system in the Republic, where the main stakeholders i.e. students and teachers, are being seen as essential but not enough to be consulted when decisions are taken. So, there has been minor discussions to ensure the voice of learners and teachers are heard and considered, mainly from NGOs. The quality of education here in the country is average due to part of the population not having the adequate financial status. Since the pandemic, difficulties have arisen due to homeschooling. Bad or no internet connection for a huge part of the country AND the republic. Our students have found themselves lose more than a year in their educational journey. I, for my part, is trying, as a teacher, to deliver as much as possible to students in this time of pandemic but again, difficult situation. This is the actual situation right now in Mauritius and my position paper also talks about what is being done to ensure delivery of quality education.

Concerning the International Student Council, what is common to all of us? What has brought us here for this meeting. A student voice was required and a need for action towards humanity and education. I am thrilled to contribute in any ways possible towards helping each of us willing to participate in this council. Discussions can be held more often, actions taken more swiftly. I think this international council will offer a safe environment to share our ideas and express ourselves freely on how these ideas can be wielded into actions. With the pandemic, ongoing wars, famine, corruption and so on, having a group of open-minded and hard-working individuals will surely bring this Extension of Human Rights to Education to another level. I have not been part of any council and my contribution will be small but sincere. Below I have listed what I think are the goals to ensure a good start, a good basis for the International Student Council.

Goal:

- Promote mutual cultural and intellectual sharing. Let us know each other and the difficulties we are facing in our communities. Seeing the world through our friends' eyes can bring us closer to helping each another.

- Communication. Ensure that we can communicate as much as possible. Either through a common group, or individually to each other or between us. I am sure he will be glad to pass any relevant information to us.

We have seen how educational systems were fragile and precarious worldwide. More problems have been added and less solutions are being offered. This International Council could be part of a solution.



**Jules Chanvoedou**  
*Union des Etudiants en  
Comptabilité, Audit et  
Contrôle de Gestion du  
Benin*  
(UECACOG)

I will answer your question point by point.

1. The objective of our organization is to defend the interests of the student sector.

- Support groups for students who drop out of schools due to lack of resources.
- Support for the students living through minimal subsistence level.
- Raise awareness in students to make them go towards sectors sought on the labour market.

We have more goals, but I must comply to the word limits requested.

2. Among these objectives, i.e., those concerning the protection of the interests of the student sector Union and raising awareness in students to go towards sector sought on the labour market, can be the international foundation basis.

3. This Council can be structured by grouping organisations by country. Signed by the coordinator,

UECACOG-BENIN



**Alistar Pfunye**  
*Southern African  
Students' Union*  
(SASU)

#### About SASU

Southern Africa Student Union (SASU) represents all students within the SADC region and provides space through which students can exercise their agendas, raise and amplify their voices primarily on issues of education as a right, regional governance, development, democracy and conflicts which threaten their future prospects as citizens of SADC member countries. SASU envision a SADC that is free from racialism, sexism, and any form of prejudice; a democratic and economically vibrant and prosperous region, in which young people, and students in particular, are valued, respected and supported through the provision of free, quality, relevant and working class biased education, as well as quality and decent jobs.

#### Introduction and context

Students in the SADC region are protesting over educational policies that are hindering their progress and success while in school and after graduation. Protests have been sparked by excessively high tuition fees, unpaid living allowances, and/or the lack of infrastructure and learning materials which impact negatively on the academic livelihood and mental health of the students while studying. Some of the students' protests have turned violent mainly due to the lack of a medium to help channel and address the issues that students face. Student's constructive protests are become destructive and violent as governments neglect their obligations to address root causes of grievance and also due to government's failure to come up with lasting solutions. There is massive dropout in higher learning institution justified by high fees, tough economic circumstances worsened by the covid-19 pandemic and the situation is worsened by governments reduced expenditures in the education sector.

#### Strategic priorities

**Strategic objective. 1:** Advocate for free quality education and promotion of academic freedom in the region, underpinned by rule of law, democracy and protection of fundamental rights, e.g. freedoms of association and expression,

**Strategic objective 2:** Effective representation of student unions to influence the decisions and policies of SADC institutions, governments and administrations of institutions of higher learning to reflect the needs of students.

**Strategic objective 3:** To increase the recognition of the value and contribution of SASU by SADC, Governments, civil society and student communities.

**Strategic objective 4:** To improve SASU's institutional capacity to represent and advocate on behalf of student unions in the SADC region.

#### Strategic Approaches

**Rights based approach (RBA)** facilitates SASU to achieve a positive transformation of power relations among the rights holders (who do not experience full academic rights) and the duty bearers (the institutions obligated to fulfil the holders' rights)

**Policy Influencing** to impact decision making or to change a policy that is not serving students related interests. This approach recognizes that a change in policy is essential in order to bring about lasting change in the lives of disadvantaged students.

**Partnerships and Networking** we believes that achieving academic freedom cannot be achieved by one organization or actor, hence, we will work in a collaborative manner with other likeminded organizations in addressing student challenges.

**Capacity building** Part of SASU's concept of sustainability is pegged on the premise that well capacitated students are key instruments in scaling up and sustaining continuous transformative change in this complex and technical subject of enhancing academic freedoms

**Research Based Advocacy** SASU will utilise its thousand academics to produce thought-provoking research products that will be utilised by students in their lobby endeavours. SASU will produce foundational research that can provide transformative policy alternatives, model laws, trainings, and analyses at all levels.

#### Recommendation for the global student council

- solidarity platform
- networking
- exchange programs
- research and position papers
- global campaign for education
- gender campaigns





### **Alixon Mauricio** **Federación de Estudiantes** **Universitarios del Ecuador** (FEUE)

- Presentation of your organization?

The Federation of University Students of Ecuador is a student organization with over 80 years of existence that struggles for the defense of public education, is a democratic, patriotic, anti-imperialist organization.

- Which are the defined objectives of your organization?

To struggle to defend public education, to defend the rights of the Ecuadorian people, and to build a fully autonomous, quality, scientific and intercultural university at the service of the people.

- Which of these objectives could be considered as common international objectives and could be considered as the basis for the foundation of an international organization Student Council?

Solidarity, Democracy, defense of public and accessible education for all, to achieve the ODS.

- How should this council be structured?

By a coordinating team representing each continent, this team should have an organizing committee consisting of three members who will be responsible for pushing the planned

activities, the organizing committee should change every six months and the international coordinating team every year.



### **Jose Luis** **Associação dos Estudantes** **Finalistas Universitários** **de Moçambique** (AEFUM)

#### **PRESENTATION**

Association of University Finalist Students of Mozambique (AEFUM) is a non-governmental, non-profit organization, founded in 2005 by university students, with the aim of advocating the professional integration of finalist and graduate students. AEFUM has its central offices in Maputo City and has provincial delegations in all provincial capitals. It has a leadership structure represented by a General Coordinator, a National Executive Secretariat, Provincial Coordinators and Coordinators of labor sectors. Currently, AEFUM has more than ten thousand members, including finalist and graduate students.

Since its inception, it has implemented programs such as: Vacation Developing District Program (PFDD); Psycho-social support project for Orphaned and Vulnerable Children

(OVCs); Training Project on HIV and AIDS Integration Mechanisms in Sectors and Programmes; Community Outreach; Knowledge Center Project; Environmental Protection Projects; Entrepreneurship Project Fairs; Entrepreneur Assistance Program; Professionalization and Training of Young University and Graduate Students in several areas of interest; Volunteer programs and; Art projects for the preservation of the environment.

#### **Objectives Defined by AEFUM**

Among several objectives defined by AEFUM, to be highlighted:

- Socio-professional insertion of finalists and graduates of higher education;
- Creation of professional incubators for students and other young people;
- Implementation of projects to respond to climate problems;
- Implementation of campaigns focused on ensuring gender equality and equity;
- Conducting assistance campaigns for communities and vulnerable people;
- Conducting vocational volunteer program and;
- The internationalization of AEFUM and the Vacation Developing District Program (PFDD);

#### **Objectives to Be Considered Common Points**

- Creation of professional incubators for students and other young people;
- Implementation of projects to respond to climate problems;
- Implementation of campaigns fo-

cused on ensuring gender equality and equity;

- Conducting vocational volunteer programs;
- Internationalization of the Vacation Program Developing the PFDD District.

#### **Proposal for a Structure of the International Council of Students**

As an international council involving students from all continents we suggest that a decentralized and inclusive structure be created, geographically and in general terms.

#### **Structure**

- Chairman of the Board;
- International Executive Secretary;
- International Focal Points (responsible for areas to which the board is willing to work. For example: International focal point for environmental, gender, peace and reconciliation, volunteering, etc.);
- Regional Focal Points and;
- National Focal Points of the Council (This functions as a kind of chairman of the council in such a country, however, in addition to bureaucratic issues, it is also responsible for all technical areas to which the council is structured).



Associação dos Estudantes Finalistas  
Universitários de Moçambique

## **The "PROJECT EXTENSION of HUMAN RIGHTS to EDUCATION" invites you to join** *a special democratic experience for the humankind*



The Project "Extension of Human Rights to Education" has been conceptualized as a COUNCIL. 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 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.





# EXTENSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS TO EDUCATION

SYMPOSIUM  
COLOGNE 2016  
KOBLENZ 2018  
&  
POLITEKNIK  
SELECTED ARTICLES



**PoliTeknik**

a publication of the Project Article 26

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Marco Jean Paul Apaza Gonzales  
Sec. de Medio Ambiente OCLAE, Asesor Principal FEP - PERU

# THE CASTLE CRUMBLES: A STORY OF MEDIOCRITY, SURREALISM AND PERUANITY



José Pedro Castillo Terrones, the man who won the general elections of the Republic of Peru and who has led the country since July 29. The man who, hidden in the Government Palace, refuses to recognize reality, and degenerates into the worst alternative for any statesman: repression.

Since the government took office there has not been a clear path, some branded it a communist regime, others a moderate government of social democracy, in the end it ended up being a government of upstarts with corruption investigations, at least in its closest circle.

As I have said in previous articles, it is a national custom to have crises and political instability. The coups d'état are as remembered as the goals of the National Soccer Team, it is part of our identity to offer the country to warlords who end up betraying everyone.

The big difference is that this time, and perhaps it won't happen again for decades, a leftist proposal won democratically, with everything against it. With all the powers that be in opposition, which is a great message that should be interpreted by the powerful.

I win a national sentiment, discontent with the human and economic losses in the pandemic. That pain was channeled in protest, in indignation, in the desire for change, which was reflected in the polls. All this lost by the man from Sombrero Chotano who littered his land.

His mistakes, some investigated for being considered possible crimes, are so many that I cannot summarize

them. In an effort of synthesis I will mention some: corruption, appointments without suitability, breach of promises, generation of impossible expectations.

I told him, we told him, when we talked with him off-camera, that it was impossible to comply with the 10% of GDP for education, that he better handle the 6% that was previously studied by the unions. He foolishly told us that it was possible.

Today when he realized that it is impossible, he proposes an increase so small that it does not reach a percentage figure, he tells us that it will improve when he has political stability, and immediately afterwards he lays the foundations for a new social conflict. It is a permanent self-sabotage.

I think it is due to a lack of capacity, knowledge and experience, but this is exacerbated when he surrounds himself with his union leaders and countrymen who used to run schools or fix parks, and who are now ministers or state suppliers. Progress yes, but at the cost of millions of Peruvians.

It is not about changing the oppressors, from the white right to the mestizo left, so that the wheel of the state follows, crushing the citizens. It's not about that, it's about transforming reality. The skin color of those who take us to that goal does not matter, but of the objectives.

I would have no problem voting for a Peruvian of foreign origin with a compound surname, for a Quechua-speaker from the highlands, or a person from Lima with Western customs, as long as he complies with the

program of change that we have postponed for Centuries.

And so ends his first experience of government, with protests that run through the country more than any politician, with bus burnings, looting in shopping malls. Violence generated by the pandemic, of course, but also by the incompetence of his government.

It was known that the months of compulsory social isolation would have consequences for the economy, we knew that this needed a political strategy and state planning, but the ministries were distributed to the benches in Congress, which they very happily accepted.

The rottenness of Peruvian politics reaches its peak and does not differentiate between ideologies. Their misery is born and dies in formal representation in Congress. That they fill their mouths with democracy and come to the fore to claim spaces of power, taking advantage of the situation.

A surreal effect, which I believe has no precedent in Latin America, except in Chile, are the protests of the rich, who in vans and with slogans in perfect English, try to connect with popular demands. A pathetic spectacle that multiplies.

Today, for example, a cacerolazo was made in the wealthiest districts of Lima. It would be necessary to explain to the residential neighbors that the cacerolazo is a claim for the lack of food, and I think that in Las Casuarinas there are shopping centers. It is a lack of respect for people who do go hungry.

Hopefully the situation improves, but inevitably we will have to go through a new storm to reach the calm of spring. May the just struggles of Peruvians not be mixed with the vandalism of those who take advantage of an opportunity to commit crimes.

Sincerely

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# THE NEW COLONIALISM



**Intergremial de Trabajadores  
de la Construcción y  
la Madera de Colombia**

Intergremial de Trabajadores de la  
Construcción y la Madera en Colombia

[intergremialconstruye.org](http://intergremialconstruye.org)

It is said that those who do not know history are condemned to repeat it, maybe modern colonialism is not interested for us to keep history in mind; these words are right when the issue has to do with the superimposition of human beings over other human beings, the weighting of land, the indoctrination of cultures, the exchange of knowledge and the market of goods and services that favor a few, colonizing what we need and do not have is an action that borders on violence, history tells us that this practice is not done through dialogue or agreement, on the contrary, the protagonist is excess of force, impositions and lack of communication.

There are many models of colonization, religious beliefs talk about how a group of people had a whole people as prisoners, these people were their slaves, they served without reward to those who considered themselves kings or semi-gods, they delivered their labor force for them without any retribution, they were colonized and fear prevented them from seeing the wonderful options they had.

Colonialism is a political and economic system whereby a foreign state dominates and exploits a colony, using military force that the

invaded country cannot resist and the colonizer, invader or conqueror imposes military, political, economic and social controls. The history has allowed us to see how this type of dynamics exceeds the allowed values in terms of the treatment of the invaders, statistics show that this phenomenon called colonialism has often been marked by violence on the part of the colonizer.

Nowadays in a globalized world it is possible to think that colonialism is left behind on the shelves of libraries, in hardcover books preserved for philosophers and students or that this concept is just a click away in digital search engines as virtual tools, it is unfortunate for INTERGREMIAL to say that colonialism is present every day, today we are the object of modern and planned colonialism, the global powers have colonized the world, not just one nation, they have colonized the entire world, we are prisoners of colonialist-consumerism, colonialist-employment, colonialist-health, colonialist-education; being this the most worrying for us as men and women associated in this platform of workers of the construction in Colombia, we consider that we have become part involuntarily of a model of life in which we are colonized by the excess of fear in front

of the current world's management.

They insist that the changes will lead us to unmanageable situations and we overlook the fact that we are managed and programmed not to see beyond what the colonization media, sorry communication media ..... say and teach.

We, the stubborn, the unsatisfied, we who believe that everything can be better, we are on the verge of extinction, we are not allowed to be visible but we are insistent in permanently showing that "history was not yesterday, every second that passes is history"

We keep repeating during years the experience, liberation was not enough for us to make decisions respecting the right to education, access to programming

as we define the current educational model, a model for which we are numbers that are updated as it is designed, today we program our children to exist in a changing world that circulates in the philosophy of continuity, the evolution of the basic concepts of how to live are summarized in obedience, in having more efficient operating systems but with more controlled software, we are not free as long as we do not understand

that the methodology of modern colonialism is the same as the one applied by our predecessors

We, the workers of Colombia, are still subject to colonialism disguised as democracy, like the kingdom model in other cultures, our country is negatively managed as a colony where hierarchical positions are passed down from family to family, nowadays we continue to persist in turning around everything that has colonized us and that prevents us from implementing the changes that the new generations expect to receive, the INTERGREMIAL is committed to educate its affiliates by means of non-colonizing and non-indoctrinating processes and to transfer the knowledge to their families so that one day not too far away the global objectives such as those of politécnik for the benefit of human beings become a reality for the good of the new generations, that the modernity and what is to come is framed in the extension of the human right to education and the eradication of the projects that colonize people and their thoughts.

We stand for the freedom of thought of human beings and access to quality education with global awareness objectives.

Prof. Dr. Georg Auernheimer

# Hasankeyf All Over the World\*



A dam was built in the Hasankeyf valley to retain the water of the Tigris river, despite all international protests. As a result, settlements hundreds of years old are going to be under water. 10,000 people have lost their homes.<sup>1</sup> This is a shameful dispossession with an obvious character. Nevertheless, dispossessions shaped the preliminary period and the history of capitalism. But today they are more subtle and concealed.

In post-war West Germany, when I was young, the world still appeared to be on the right track. It seemed that everyone was satisfied with the system. Talking about exploitation was "old-fashioned". The average level of income, although modest, was sufficient to ensure a family's living standard. Moreover, there was some security for old age and sickness, since in that capitalism there were still traces of a society based on solidarity. In terms of the exploitation of labor, it was no softer than in ancient times. The surplus value generated by the workers was reinvested by the companies, and this was the cause of the so-called "economic miracle". A portion of this surplus value was transferred to the public institutions providing for general social interests, material and social infrastructure through the flow to the state in the form of taxes: Transportation, water and energy, educational institutions,

social services. Back then, the poverty of citizens was something that no one knew about. People were content with territorial and social mobility. Also, in line with this, there was expectations of upward mobility in society, a belief in development, a sense of freedom and confidence.

This version of capitalism was based on historical reasons, confronted with the socialist system of the East, which required the process of reconstruction, which required more workers and more reserve investments, and caused the equalization of social standards. In the USA, the first stage of *Fordism* and the accumulation regime of the *New Deal* policy of the 1930s were in the same specific historical situation, in which it was necessary to add sufficient purchasing power to the market to ensure the realization of surplus value. On top of this, there was public investment in infrastructure. Both of these provided strong legitimacy to the system. In the USA as well as in Western Europe, capitalism was felt and lived as a normality. But still, Marx claimed the following: With the progress of capitalist production, there is formed a working class that accepts the demands of that production mode as a law of nature as a result of education, tradition and custom (MEW 23, 765).

The people of the countries of the Global South experienced another type of capitalism, at least in Africa, and in a slightly more moderate form in Latin America. Their natural wealth, consisting of raw materials and agricultural products, is still being exported after their independence, as in the period of the colonial system. Moreover, the surplus value generated has been reinvested at a very low level up to now, and therefore no significant productive power is generated. We must add the transfer of profits abroad, especially when many foreign enterprises do so and also benefit from tax exemptions. As a consequence, resources for construction, infrastructure and public services are lacking. The State becomes impoverished and is constantly re-indebted. Not only are people exploited, as they do not create surplus value by working, but, unlike "Rheinstyle Capitalism", all surplus value is stolen outside the production process. The infrastructure remains weak and the state abandons the people to their fate. By means of expropriation, the relation of exploitation is extended.

Expropriation is to be distinguished from exploitation, from the retention of the surplus value that workers create in the production process (see: Harvey 2015, 75). In contrast to exploitation it is not a direct part of the capital relation, it completes the exten-

ded reproduction of capital. Whitfield (2020) refers to Harvey's concept of "dispossession", Foster/Clark (2020) describes these process as "expropriation" or "robbery".

This situation, which may be clarified in the peripheral countries, is becoming an increasing reality in the central countries due to overproduction and globalization. The investment rate has been declining for decades (Zinn 2015, 38). Zinn talks of a "stabilization of accumulation" (41). With productive investments declining and continuing to decline -the Corona crisis will worsen this trend-, acquisitions of companies by institutional investors interested in the short-term disintegration of a company are on the rise. Confronted with declining profit rates in commodity production, "investment markets act as an elixir of growth" (43). The economy is becoming financialized. Given that investment opportunities are limited, capital seeks investment areas and lures investors to public institutions. These increase the appetite of investors because of the certainty of demand. Nevertheless, the monopolistic position of, for example, public enterprises, transport companies or energy companies is often very promising. The privatization trend of state-owned companies to date can be explained by this. After taking the form of private law, they are placed



under the accounts of companies. Services are offered on a market or public-private company model and become dependent on purchasing power.

By means of financialization and privatization, the surplus value created by society no longer increases even minimally the overall profit of society. Income and wealth inequality has increased, in a way that has not happened for a century (Piketty 2020). We must also add the poverty of citizens - this is the focus of our criticism - especially at the level of municipalities with state service administrations, which makes new privatizations attractive.

But it does not end there. Capital has been able to generate profits by satisfying basic necessities of life such as housing and spatial mobility. We could also argue: Capital is now implementing on a general social level what the capitalist did with the *Truck* system criticized by Marx (paying workers in kind) and continues to implement today in some places (MEW 23, 493, 696). In the *Truck* system, the worker had to live in the residences rented by the employer and buy the food sold by the employer, and this continues today, making the worker completely dependent on the employer.<sup>2</sup> The employer even

takes out of the worker's pocket the remaining part of the value created by them as wages.

However, we should not make a distinction historically between the following two forms of dispossession: a.) the looting of pre-capitalist society with expropriation of land, water, forests, basically, in the context of natural wealth and including traditional knowledge, and b.) the privatization of public institutions and services in advanced capitalist societies. In the first case, the question is to seize the constituent elements of capitalist evaluation processes, that is, "primitive accumulation". In the second case, the question is to nullify what is the result of the wars of social distribution of surplus value.

For David Harvey, "the strategy of dispossession remains at the core of the capitalist world" (2015, 80; see. 2007, 90). This view is in line with that of Rosa Luxemburg, who believed that capitalist accumulation, based on coercion, whether economic or non-economic, requires an uninterrupted dispossession. Harvey uses the concept of "accumulation by dispossession" as opposed to the historical concept of "primitive accumulation". This may be done using military force, as in some countries of the Global South. Nowadays, it involves

strategies that include corporate directives from the financial market or supranational institutions or the power of the market directly. Harvey sees the structural adjustment programs of the international Monetary Fund as a step to "impose accumulation through dispossession in different areas and societies" (2007, 92).

Dispossessions are peculiar to the capitalist mode of production. In first place, it requires the rationality of large-scale production, concentration and centralization, which in turn implies the cost of the economic existence for small producers, artisans and peasants if they do not manage to survive as sub-industrial enterprises. In second place, there is the requirement of raw material and energy from mines, dams, etc. Their construction necessarily entails the destruction of the habitats of the communities, often to the point of their expulsion. Externalization of the ecological cost creates the same situation. The dispossession of the whole of society occurs with the public rescue measures prepared for companies that are declared "vital to the system". For Karl Georg Zinn, the rescue packages mean "the de facto privatization of public finance" (2015, 64).<sup>3</sup> Likewise, this indirect privatization has turned into a new model of capital revaluation: the privatization

of infrastructure and public services. For the Hasankeyf Valley settlements, the dispossession is obvious and brutal, but not so general.

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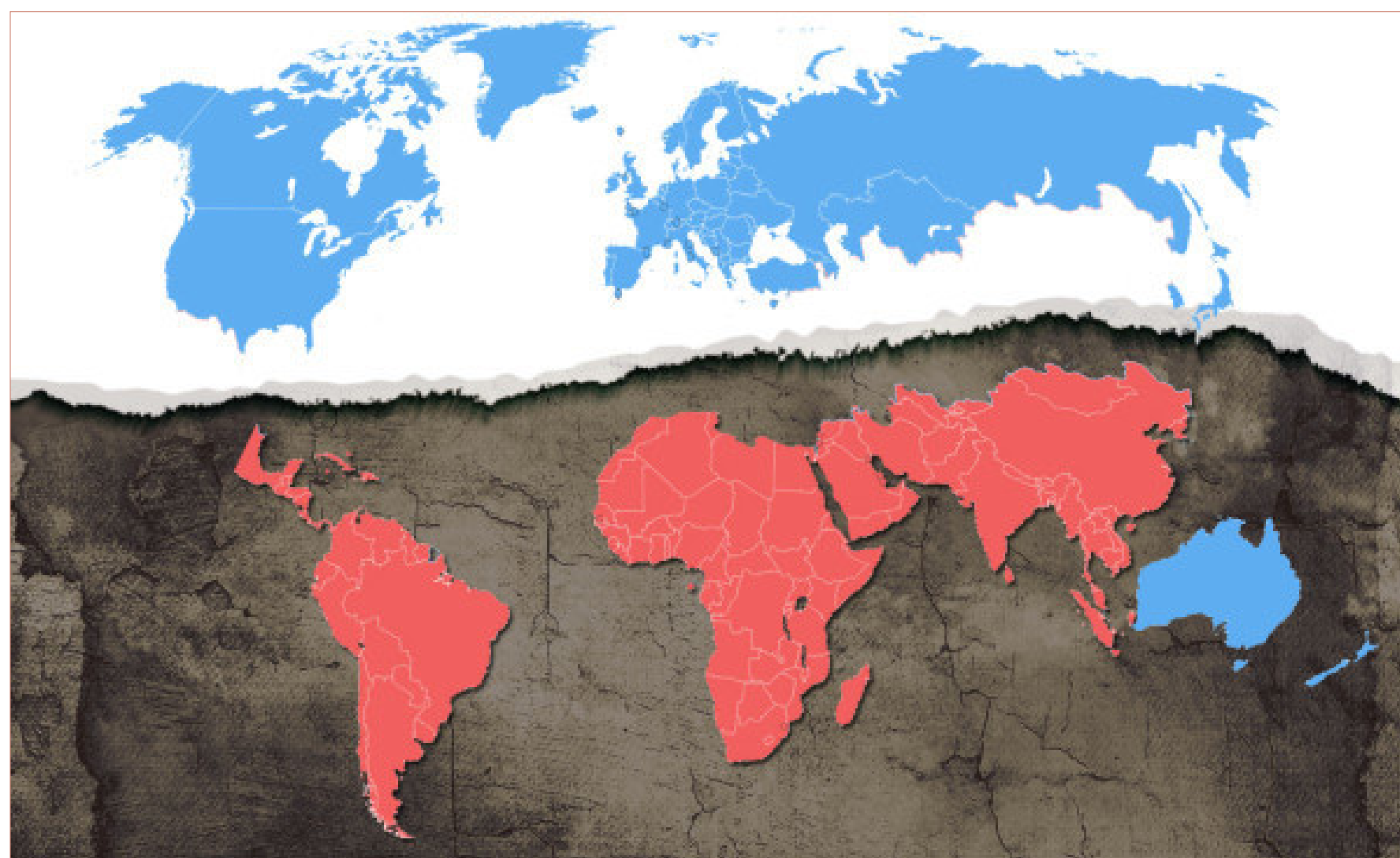
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<sup>1</sup> A population that reached 10,000 people was displaced. The administration relocated 2,000 of them to other regions.

<sup>2</sup> A current example is the exposed and scandalized situation of the meat industry during the Corona crisis.

<sup>3</sup> During the financial crisis of 2008/09, 1.6 billion euros were spent on "system-critical" banks across the EU. <https://www.bundesbank.de/medien/veranstaltungen/infokommunikation/2021/file.html>



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# Patent Law in times of the pandemic and in context of life with dignity



A patent is a limited-time exclusive right or set of rights awarded by the government to an inventor in exchange for the public disclosure of an invention. Business method patents, software patents, biological patents, and chemical patents are examples of patent classes. In general, patentability is determined by passing the following tests: patentable subject matter, novelty (i.e., something new), inventive step or non-obviousness, and industrial applicability (or utility).

Covid-19 was declared a pandemic on March 12th, 2020, and by April 9th, it had killed 81,580 individuals. Covid-19 has also highlighted larger inequalities and bottlenecks in healthcare delivery, such as the potential impact of patents. Patents have the potential to have major effects for human health when it comes to medical advances, as seen in the Covid-19 case at several levels of healthcare delivery.

There is no better time than now, during the pandemic, to argue that the right to health, and thus the right to a dignified life, is far more vital than the right to copyrighted invention. In an open letter to the *World Health Organization*, leaders of state and others said, "Our world will only be safer when everyone can benefit from research and acquire a vaccine - and that is a political problem" (WHO). Now is not the time to put the interests of the world's wealthiest firms and governments before the universal duty to save lives, or to hand over this enormous moral responsibility to market forces." It's also a question of law.

In a patent dispute involving the right of access to medicine and the right to property, the judge must be the sentinel on the *qui vive*, literally *qui vive* "Who shall survive" or "Whose side are you on?" Who has a more inflated sense of self-worth? Today, when even our survival as a species is dependent on who gets the treatment, I believe the right to life is more vital.

The public interest is not an either-or position in India's Patents Act. The General Principles of the Act, which govern the operation of patented innovations, place a strong emphasis

on public health. Compulsory licenses can be issued in the event of a national emergency or extreme urgency, and the government can purchase patents for public good. Similar provisions exist in every country, and both the North and the South have successfully applied them.

By lowering the threshold for determining non-obviousness, India ensured that incremental innovations did not get "canonized" as patents, and its Section 3(d) stands out as a model for how to use the flexibilities to promote access to health. "We shall see how the Indian legislature addressed this concern and, in harmonizing the country's patent law with the provisions of the TRIPS Agreement, strove to balance its obligations under the international treaty with its commitment to protect and promote public health considerations, not only of its own people but in many other parts of the world (particularly in Developing and Least Developed Countries)," the Supreme Court of India said. In exchange for technology transfer and promotion of technical innovation, which benefits both, the owner and the user, as well as enhancing social and economic welfare, the state enters into a contract with the patentee to enforce and defend the patent rights.

Isn't there a right to a living wage?

According to the patent rights holder, exclusivity is a reward for the information that their creation has delivered to the world. They must be given a chance to make up for their losses. "Money, money, money," as the *Swedish pop trio ABBA* put it. It is suggested that innovation will not emerge without monetary incentives. It is claimed that business owners have the right to maximize their profits. Furthermore, because the creator's right is also a human right, it does not need to give way to the right to health.

The wording of the *Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights* (TRIPS) includes social purposes such as health requirements and access to pharmaceuticals. However, no matter how good a covenant or instrument is, it will be de-

structive if those who administer it are not respectable. That covenant or statute, no matter how heinous it is, will be beneficial if those who enforce it are nice people. The intelligent judge is the one who creates a balance between these objectives.

The United Nations Human Rights Council has confirmed that human rights, such as the right to health, take precedence over commerce, intellectual property rights, and other bilateral investment or trade agreements. The importance of universal access to medicines as a fundamental human right is emphasized in Resolution, which states that increased access might save millions of lives each year.

*Costa Rica established the COVID-19 Technologies Access Pool* (C-TAP) to make vaccines, tests, medicines, and other health technology available to the general public to battle the virus. This emphasizes how important accessibility is. A pandemic tragedy is certain if vaccines and other health technology are produced in industrialized countries and only available to individuals in those countries, and even within those countries, only to those groups who have access.

*The Nagoya Protocol* can be used as a tool. As a result, any COVID-related therapy and/or prevention that is commercialized can be said to be bound by this protocol and its benefit-sharing clauses." The Nagoya Protocol and its provisions involve sharing of gains arising from the use of genetic resources, which has been ignored "...in the continuing discussions on IP concerns and COVID."

## THE PATENT'S BARGAINING NATURE

When we look at the big picture, we can see a fundamental disconnect between intellectual property policy design and pandemic response policy requirements. Although patent law, when appropriately controlled, is a vital component of a well-designed national innovation system, the manner it promotes technological growth is uniquely unsuited to the emergency conditions of a pandemic or other pub-

lic health disasters. Obtaining a TRIPS waiver for COVID-19 vaccines and treatments would thus set a favorable precedent for governments to utilize alternative, more direct approaches to support the development of novel drugs in times of crisis.

The fundamental bargain struck by patent law is this: in the long run, encourages the discovery of important new ideas while delaying their diffusion in the short term. The agreement's second part, which imposes societal expenses, is based on a patent holder's temporary exclusive rights, or monopoly advantages. Under US patent law, no one else can create or sell the patented product for a period of 20 years without the agreement of the patent holder. This allows the patent holder to keep competitors out of the market or take licensing fees from them before allowing them in, allowing it to charge customers above-market rates. As a result, patent rights limit output and raise prices, limiting the dissemination of breakthrough inventions.

In short, Covid-19 emphasizes the huge power that patent holders wield, and while many will exercise it wisely, others will not. Despite the enormous potential health and ethical consequences, patent law, as it is currently interpreted, arguably gives patent holders broad unconstrained control over how an innovation is used. Covid-19 provides a critical chance to reassess the role of bioethics in patent law, which is both necessary and long overdue.

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# Creativity in practice: The lost ingredient of Transformative Social Work

In the Philippines, social workers find themselves in what Linda Briskman (2013; 2014; Briskman & Zion, 2014) calls the 'dual loyalty conundrum'. Fergusson and Lavalette (2013) explain Briskman argues that 'it is possible for workers to navigate through the competing pressures they face to develop radical and critical practice' (p. 12). Social workers, employed by the State welfare agency (Department of Social Welfare and Development) and by local social development and welfare offices (LSWDO), are bound to follow civil service regulations and therefore find themselves in ethical dilemmas between loyalty to agency or fulfilling one's call to protect and serve the needy. Just recently, former DSWD official and social worker Florita Villar expressed concerns that the state welfare agency is now being run by non-social workers and even worse, former military personnel appointed by the president. This move of the current president Rodrigo Duterte attempts to rid the bureaucracy of militants and radical employees who question the repressive practices in government. Social workers, who would rather protect their careers, become workers of the welfare agency that has become an instrument of a repressive state apparatus. Social Workers Educators are not free from this conundrum and they may also find themselves in such situations especially those employed by more conservative universities and those limited by policies of state universities.

At the University of the Philippines College of Social Work and Community Development (UP-CSWCD), the Department of Social Work (DSW), through a series of planning workshops conducted more than a decade ago, identified its brand of scholarship as "transformative social work" which combined community engaged teaching, service and research (UP-CSWCD 2011 Strategic Planning documents). Departing from Boyer's dimensions of scholarship in the 1990s (discovery, integration, application, teaching, and engagement), the department further aimed at theorizing a Filipino brand social work informed by indigenous and local practices in response to the need to bridge the gap between practice and instruction. This meant reaching out to practitioners in different fields across the regions in the country to scan existing social work practices.

In 2016, the entry of the Duterte administration marked a new era in

social welfare and development. With thousands of citizens murdered in extra-judicial killings (EJK) related to the Duterte administration campaign against drugs, there was a clamor to revisit the commitment of social workers in relation to human rights and social justice. The main organization of social workers in the Philippines (PASWI) and other social worker formations were mostly silent on issues related to the excessive use of power by government. As such, in August 2020, during the pandemic, a group of social workers formed the Social Work Action Network (SWAN) Philippines to revive the commitment of social workers to human rights by promoting critical practice, liberative education and social justice in an eco-social world. In short, it redefined transformative social work by extending a community-engaged scholarship to a more critical and progressive stance in practice that works for structural transformation and fundamental change (George and Marlowe, 2005). However, I argue that there is still that lost ingredient in social work practice. A liberative education in the context of transformative social work should combine critical thinking with reflexive and creative thinking.

Referring to Education as a whole, Ken Robinson (2011) argued that "Current systems of education were not designed to meet the challenges we now face. They were developed to meet the former age. Reform is not enough; they need to be transformed". Ken Robinson was referring to the need to re-learn creativity in schools. According to Hafford-Litchfield, Leonard and Coachman (2012), creative styles in social work teaching develop the students for "creativity and readiness to break new ground" (p.684) and such an approach to social work education has that "transformative potential" (p.684). Putting these ideas together, the following are propositions in revising the notion of transformative social work:

1. Transformative social work requires a transformative social work education.
2. Transformative education maximises its transformative potential by combining critical thinking and creative thinking.
3. Critical thinking and creative thinking produce innovative ways on how to shape a liberative education and critical-creative practice in social work.

In short, creativity remains to be the long-lost ingredient in social work

practice. Lydia Rapoport (1968) argued that as social work was initiated to a professional subculture, the once creativity-laden practice has been consumed by standardization and professionalization. In the Philippines, the Department of Social Work revised its Social Work curriculum in 2018 to include a course on critical social work at the undergraduate level and Models of Practice at the graduate level. Although critical social work has been discussed in other subjects, there was a need to discuss spectrum perspectives and models of transformative social work, which include critical social work, radical social work, structural social work, anti-oppressive social work, as well as gender-sensitive, inclusive and green social work.

Despite human rights being an integral part of social work as the foundation of inherent human dignity and worth, teaching human rights is not explicitly part of the social work curriculum. Purposive discussion of human rights may have been taken for granted in many social work educational settings. Briskman (2014) laments of her ordeal as a social activist having witnessed the infringement of rights among the most vulnerable and yet, still received negative responses from the government which pushed her to call for the "ascendancy of the moral practitioner" (p. 301). In the Philippines, human defenders have been harassed and red-tagged or considered communists or even terrorists. As Berta Reynolds (1946) commented, social work cannot advance theoretically if it will have a purpose other than helping the people in need. If social workers become instruments of the state apparatus and social work is forced not to fulfil its real mandate of helping people emancipate themselves from the chains of poverty and oppression, then it ceases fulfilling its original function of promoting human dignity and worth through just social relations and empowerment of the vulnerable and at risk. As such, the UP faculty of social work has proposed through the Commission on Higher Education (CHED) that human rights be incorporated in the teaching of all social work subjects. This proposal has yet to be realised. In the meantime, social worker members of the SWAN Philippines conducted a workshop in September 2021 that brought together social work educators, practitioners and students to discuss Social Work as a human rights profession and learn new ways of re-introducing human rights-

based approaches in teaching and practicing social work.

In conclusion, this introductory text calls for allowing creativity to progress back into our ranks and include it as one of the values of social work. The social work community has yet to understand the philosophy of creativity in social work and how creativity harnesses innovative and transformative social work education and practice. Several social work writers have emphasized the generative potential of creativity in creative pedagogy and transformative education (Burgess, 2004; Nicolas, 2019; Rapoport, 1968; Walz & Uematsu, 1997). These writers have argued the need for a creative curriculum, a creative pedagogy, and a creative milieu. The world has witnessed the value of creativity in the time of COVID-19, how social workers responded to volatility and uncertainty. Creativity is not limited to applying the creative arts in social work. It involves pushing boundaries and knowledge creation in social work (Nicolas, 2016). Creativity is radical, not bound by a standard set of rules and therefore an important component of transformative social work.

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# War or education: The situation in conflict zones



*“The impact of war conflicts on children is everyone’s responsibility. And it must be everyone’s concern (Garça Machel, 1996). The United Nations Children’s Fund, UNICEF, reported back in 2017 that more than 27 million children in conflict zones were out of school. In times of peace, disparities are already a major setback for inclusive education, and in times of conflict and war, these terrible inequities are only reinforced and perpetuated. We must ask ourselves: How and why? Is the right to education not a human right? However, in times of war, this right is overlooked as much as child’s rights. There is a serious need to find an equilibrium – or even some kind of protection towards educational entities in dire times of war. The Geneva Conventions (1948) have, however, passed laws regarding actions that need to be respected during war times, but for some obscure reasons, are having difficulties implementing them. Article 50<sup>1</sup> does clearly mention that “The Occupying Power shall, with the co-operation of the national and local authorities, facilitate the proper working of all institutions devoted to the care and education of children.” Yet, schools and /or other educational institutions are the prime targets during wars and conflicts situations, being used as garrison points for armed militia troops for either the Occupying power or the Resistance.*

Getting education in conflictual conditions is risky for children. Attack rates on schools have risen by at least 19% in the past two years<sup>2</sup>. In the ongoing conflict between Ukraine and Russia, 20 schools are being attacked on average on a daily basis<sup>3</sup>. A very alarming figure. Children are

being deprived of a solid educational basis which results in the deprivation of necessary elementary skills, which in turn results in the incapacity of these individuals to provide for – not only for themselves, but also for the country, later on. This, ultimately, creates a generation of dependents on organisations and other countries. *“The impact of armed conflict on education creates humanitarian and development challenges and social problems”*, especially inhumane child exploitation, children, so-called “*soldiers*.” A joint intervention from the UN and its free partners has freed a total of 12 463 “child-soldiers”. Unfortunately, the situation remains troublesome and worrying. The problem is twofold. Firstly, kidnapping; which is still a common activity in conflict zones. Then, kidnapped children are brainwashed to swell up the ranks of armed militias or exploited through child labour for minimal to non-existent wages. Another major issue is unmediated sexual crimes: a sensitive subject to address. The reasons laid behind these actions are gathered through interviews with victims but Dara Cohen expressed the need to ask the perpetrators more often. A difficult task, indeed.

From a teaching level perspective, the consequences are felt. A riskier and less “upscale” area is bound to attract less qualified candidates as educators, thus, further reducing educational quality in the country. The dropout rates are higher than usual. There is an aporia. Due to attacks and the destruction of schools, there is an understandable fear from parents of losing their children combined to the lack of financial support to ensure the continuity of courses, and therefore

less children are attending schools. UNICEF, despite struggles and obstacles, is financially supporting countries to attempt to even the odds, ensuring that education is somehow being delivered. The Safe Schools Declaration (2015) *“outlines a set of commitments to strengthen the protection of education from attack and restrict the use of schools and universities for military purposes.”* These attacks are too frequent. In real time of war and conflict, data collection and analysis are tedious tasks to tackle. The conflictual impacts on a country is measured in terms of years and lost lives as well as how much resources are wasted. The numerous aftermaths that remain in war victims, both on a physiological and psychological level, need to be treated and come with a great financial cost. From home relocations, the number of orphans (1 child out of 4 lives in a conflict zone) piling up in ruined buildings is a major concern. UNICEF faces restrictions on precisely locating orphans and their support for basic services. What can you do? Set up auxiliary cells to cure or cleanse children in conflict areas? For sure! In Cameroon, for example, a situation similar to that in the Democratic Republic of Congo, political instability and war have hampered progress in education (<https://www.globalgiving.org/projects/support-orphans-came-roon/>).

The general situation is not new. It is seen all over the world, by analysts, NGOs, and experts. SOS Children’s Villages promotes the protection, care, and healthy development of children in difficult situations throughout the world. With the outbreak of the Syrian civil war, The United Nations

(UN) participated in 2016 and was in charge of the evacuation of children from Aleppo. In 2018, a temporary crisis center was built in Damascus to serve children with urgent needs<sup>4</sup>. After all, wherever it is, position or educational policy, the solution has already been found: put the child at the center of education. Make him realize that his choices and especially his voice are being heard and considered. The task remains difficult. With the arrival of the new coronavirus, things got worse. Education is a security issue. It enables fulfillment, can reduce violence, and is useful as an instrument of peace (<https://www.prio.org/Publications/Publication/?x=11165>). Strengthening democracy and state development while reducing the number of conflicts is the goal of effective education. When will successful implementation of these guidelines be achieved? War is no longer art; it has become barbarism. The deaths of children, their over-exploitation and intentional violations of children’s and human rights have hampered the United Nations’ goal of education for all...



Geneva Convention: Relative to the protection of civilian persons in time of war, August 1949

<https://www.unicef.org/education-under-attack>

<https://reliefweb.int/report/ukraine/ukraine-more-20-schools-attacked-average-every-day-escalation-war#:~:text=About%2043%25%20of%20attacks%20on,besieged%20city%20of%20Kharkiv%20alone.>

<https://www.sosve.org/actualites/syrie-sos-villages-denfants-ouvre-refuge-enfants-a-damas/>



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### NGOs

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#### EGYPT

Egyptian Center for Education Rights (ECER) •

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Newspaper PoliTeknik • Association: Verein für Allseitige Bildung e.V.

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# The need to Perceive Basic Education as a Fundamental Human Right: Ghana



## The implementation of policies to make education free

The ultimate goal of education is to help an individual navigate life and contribute to society, and for a whole country, it is the “premise of progress” (Kofi Annan, former U.N Secretary-General). Therefore, when a huge percentage of the country’s citizens are not being educated, the country could be plunged into doom. When a strong foundation in education is laid, it gives the people the power and liberation from colonialism, to forge ahead and build a strong workforce for the country. Thus, every government needs to make education, especially the foundation, accessible to all its citizens.

Ghana’s basic education, until 2019, started from kindergarten 1 through to Junior High School 3. Ghana being a developing country, saw the need to empower its people through educating the citizenry, therefore, after the government tried implementing policies that will subsidize or make education free.

Governments of Ghana, in the past, launched and implemented various policies that will ensure that all school children had equal access to and participated in basic education. This was in a bid to demonstrate their preference for education for all. Some of these policies were The Accelerated Education Development Plan (ADP) of 1951, The Education Strategic Plan (ESP) for 2003–2005, and the free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (fCUBE) policy for 1995–2005 (Acheampong, 2009). Ghana launched the fCUBE, in 1995, which was supported by the World Bank Primary School Development Project (PSDP) to ensure that all children of school-going age were

enrolled in school. This policy had the vision of making basic education accessible to all Ghanaians living in all areas in Ghana, whether in the urban, peri-urban, or rural areas of the country, to conform with the 1992 constitution of Ghana concerning education which reads,

*All persons shall have the right to equal educational opportunities and facilities and with a view to achieving the full realization of that right, basic education shall be free, compulsory, and available to all (Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, 1992).*

Ingraining measures to sustain this law, the government of Ghana implemented the fCUBE which covered the non-tuition fees of pupils whilst parents bore some educational expenses. The fCUBE was therefore a cost-sharing policy. The aim of the government was perhaps to ease the burden on parents and guardians concerning school expenses.

A lot of sensitizations went on to inform parents and guardians about the need to send their wards to school. The policy was also to ensure that no child of school-going age was to be turned away from school for non-payment of fees. So, though pupils were required to pay some fees, the non-payment did not allow school authorities to send pupils out of school. However, research reported that ‘a persistent 40% of children between 6 and 11 years in Ghana’s schools remained out of school as of 2003 (UNICEF, 2007). This statistic indicated that the vision of the fCUBE had not been achieved. The non-achievement of this vision, perhaps, was a result of education not being free.

In 2004, under the leadership of a newly elected democratic government, Ghana abolished the payment of school fees at the basic level and in addition, introduced the Capitation Grant and the School Feeding Program. This was to further help attain and perhaps to maintain education for all as a way of attaining universal access to basic education and also to meet the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) targets (2 and 3), (Ampratwum & Armah-Attoh, 2010). These policies increased enrolment greatly, but there were still children who were out of school. Whilst the fee abolition and the capitation grant policies covered all public basic schools, the feeding program was limited to some selected schools; schools that had poor enrolment.

## School feeding program as a strategy to boost enrolment

The School Feeding Program (SFP) is one where the government ‘provides food to children in primary schools in poor and deprived communities to increase enrolment and retention’ (Salifu; Boateng & Kunduzore, 2018, p. 4.). It is important to note that not all schools in Ghana enjoyed this SFP as the SFP was practiced in schools with low enrolment rates and in schools that were set up in very poor communities. This could mean that pupils in schools where the SFP is not taking place may continue to play truant or drop out of school. There were however successes that were chalked with the implementation of the SFP. Studies conducted on the SFP in Ghana and in other countries where this has taken place revealed that through the implementation of the Program in many basic schools, enrolment and retention in the area increased (Iddrisu, 2016; Kristjansson, Robinson, Petticrew,

MacDonald, Krasevec, Janzen, & Shea, 2007; Osei-Fosu, 2011).

## The capitation grant scheme

The capitation grant is a scheme introduced by the government where each pupil enrolled in a school receives an amount of GH 4.50. This amount of money was given to the heads of schools for running the school. This money was to cater to the non-tuition fees for each pupil. This grant was to make basic education attractive, especially to the poor who could not afford to pay for education. Research has proven that the introduction of the capitation grant came with it an increase in enrollment at the basic level of education (Northern Network for Education Development (NNED) & Ghana National Education Campaign Coalition and Northern Network (GNECC), 2006).

The grant has however suffered some challenges. Some of these challenges are: cumbersome procedure of accessing the grant by headteachers who have to travel to the district capitals to submit their budgets to the district budget officer, bank charges that ultimately reduce the money received by the school, delays in releasing the money, just to mention a few.

## How free is Ghana’s basic education?

When the fCUBE was introduced, it was a cost-sharing policy. Parents were to pay for expenses other than the tuition fees. Parents and guardians were made to pay for sports fees, cultural fees, and examination/printing of questions fees. Whereas some of the fees were approved by the Ghana Education Service, others were non-approved fees which schools collected from pupils. In addition to these fees,



pupils were to purchase their school uniforms and stationery. In 2004, the payment of the extra fees such as sports, culture, and others were canceled as the capitation grant was introduced by the government. However, pupils were still made to buy supplementary books and school uniforms. Schools conducted extra classes after school hours and pupils had to pay for that also. Some schools introduced Friday uniforms for the pupils and these were sold to them. These were in a bid to generate income for running the school, as the capitation grants were always delayed (Foli, 2019). However, these payments did not make education free.

### Free education at the Senior High School level

In 2019, Ghana had a major curriculum review where basic education was now defined to cover Senior High School (SHS) education. That is, basic education starts from kindergarten through to the SHS. The government also introduced the free senior high school policy where students enjoy free tuition, textbooks, and stationery, free boarding facilities for those who go to the boarding schools, free lunch for day students, and school uniforms for all. This was a promise presented in a political manifesto by the present government. This free education policy was seen as a good step taken, by the people of Ghana, especially for the poor masses who hitherto could not send their wards to the SHS.

However, the kindergarten, primary, and JHS levels had not received any beefing up with regards to free education. Though pupils at these levels

(kindergarten, primary, JHS) do not pay fees, they still buy their stationery, uniforms, school bags, etc. Textbooks to be distributed by the government were unduly over delayed, and pupils went to school without available textbooks. Teachers had to look for information on the internet to teach their pupils. Some headteachers even had to suggest to parents to buy some textbooks for their wards. Thus, even though the president is doing a great job by making SHS education accessible for all, the foundational level is still weak, since the former 'canker' fighting free education at this level is still inherent.

### The need to regard education as a fundamental human right

With all the efforts made by various governments to make basic education free, there is still a huge percentage of primary school level children who do not complete the primary level of school in the country. According to the Ghana Education Fact Sheets (2020), 31% of males and 28% of females dropped out of school. There is also 7% of children who should be at the primary level, out of school in the country as of 2020. Again, 29% of children aged between 3 years and 4 years who should be enrolled in an early childhood center, are not in school. The statistics show that the majority of the percentage of children who are either not in school or dropped out happen to be in the rural areas.

Again, not every JHS student gains admission into the SHS. This means that not all students complete basic education. Measures, therefore, need to be taken so that a greater percentage of students in Ghana can complete

basic education. The right to education is not spelled out as a fundamental human right where a person who has been refused education could seek redress. As it stands now in the constitution of Ghana, education is a right but being out of school does not attract any punishment by the government. Until education is placed on the same level as the right to life and made completely free, some parents and guardians will have an excuse to deny their wards the right to education.

Currently, in some rural areas in Ghana, the structures put in place for schools are not welcoming and attractive. There are still schools set up under trees as reported by Mohammed Ibrahim on Zaaradio that Ghana has 5,403 schools with deplorable school structures, with 2,417 schools under trees across the country (2021). Some schools lack qualified teachers because those schools are situated in deprived communities without accessible roads, potable drinking water, electricity, and other basic amenities, where no teacher would want to live. According to Kofi Annan, "*Education is a human right with immense power to transform. On its foundation rest the cornerstones of freedom, democracy, and sustainable human development.*" There is, therefore, the need for government to provide amenities in all areas in the country to attract teachers to those communities to work. Education should also be made free especially for the poor so that they can send their wards to school. It is only then that some form of punishment could be meted out to guardians who keep their wards out of school. When these measures have

been put in place and are working out well, then the vision of achieving the 1992 constitutional right to education would be met.

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# Human Rights and Discourses: Is it definable finally?

## Introduction

The popular discourse of human rights shows it in poor light but the idea of human rights is much more beyond that. It has been asserted that human right is standing on soft conceptual grounding and it has been just reduced to rhetoric. Many philosophers and legal theorists see the rhetoric as just loose talk and human rights with less intellectual strength and less strong teeth. It seems that human right activists seem more concerned with changing the world rather than interpreting it. The reluctance on the part of activists is understandable given the urgency to respond the terrible sufferings (Sen, 2009). But, despite all of this, society is unimaginable without the provision of rights. A right in its acute sense means the liberty to pursue one's own conception of good. It entails claim to those good needed for one's well-being as opposed to merely the liberty to engage in one's own pursuits..

## Understanding Human Rights

The concept of human rights has emerged from the concept of rights. There have been many western scholars with different sets of theory of rights like John Rawls (1921-2002) and Robert Nozick (1938-2003). In the liberal-individualistic theory of rights, Ronald Dworkin has given new insights. Dworkin in his work *Taking Rights Seriously* (1978) attempted to create a new theory of politics based on the adequacy of moral rights. Marx has regarded rights as a bourgeois concept and described at length that how rights are linked to politics and

seems abstract (Gandhi, 2007). Louis Henkin observed rights as 'claims' rather than charity (Verma, 2002).

Existence of human rights has a long history. Philosophers traced such ideas back to classical Greece, in particular to Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, also in some respects to Confucius in China. Even it was in India since Veda, Upanisad and other religious sects and texts since thousands year back. In a common concern of these philosophers was to finding way to achieve a society in which people were able to live fully human life.

Even contemporary understanding of human rights has emerged during the modern period in Europe especially in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Say for example, at the heart of Kant's approach was the values of human agency and autonomy. For Kant, all human beings are of equal moral worth, with all being entitled on these grounds alone to moral dignity. Kant argues that all people have an ethical duty to each other, to act in a ways that respect and uphold humanity.

All the debates and theory has generated the ground of human rights. Now let's move from the concept of rights to human rights.

Human rights have been understood as 'basic moral guarantees that people in all countries and cultures possess simply because they are human'. Human rights are universal in nature. The moral doctrine of human rights aspires to recognise the funda-

mental prerequisites for each human being for a good life. This aspiration has been reflected in various declarations and legal conventions commencing with Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) followed by the European Convention on Human Rights (1954) and the International Covenant on Civil and Economic Rights (1966). These three documents constitute together the centrepiece of a moral doctrine of human rights (Gandhi, 2007). Jack Donnelly has regarded human rights as the new standard of civilization (Verma, 2002). Hence, human rights are inalienable and inherent rights of humans. Let's now move to Indian context of human rights and its legality.

## Complexity of Human Rights

Baxi (2005) has articulated at length what constitutes human rights. He says that there is no simple answer to a clear question: what are the rights of human beings. He further says that in defence and justification of human rights, we have produced "complex and contradictory discourses". Even the global consensus on human rights values serves as poor guides in translating idea into law or practice. In his book, *The Future of Human Rights*, Baxi (2005) has made us familiar with the complexity in the meaning of human rights and described human rights as: (a) ethical imperatives; (b) grammar of governance; (c) language of global governance; (d) insurrectionary praxis; (e) juridical production; (f) culture. It actually highlights the ambiguities in conceptualising and practicing human rights. But few scholars like Amartya Sen (2009) has tried to

understand this dilemma and mentioned that "the framers of Universal Declaration in 1948 clearly hoped that the articulated recognition of human rights would serve as a kind of template for new laws" (p. 359). The emphasis should be on new legislation not just mechanical interpretation.

## Indian Constitution and Human Rights

The Indian Constitution is in congruence with United Nations charter, Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and several other international covenants as they all lay emphasis on human dignity. The constitution of India assures dignity of the individual which is a core value in its preamble. Even the constitution of India was drafted at the same time as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and that is why, it has resonance of similar provisions. This becomes obvious when we look at the Part-III of the Indian constitution and articles 2-21 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Part-IV of the Indian constitution which contains Directive Principles of state policy also has reflection of articles of 22-28 of the UDHR. So, it can be said that Indian constitution has enormous scope to protect and promote human rights and the Supreme Court of India has been at forefront to protect the human rights inherent in fundamental rights. The importance of fundamental rights can be imagined by that is not only available to citizens of India but also non-citizens and it establishes the relevance of rights in the times we are living.



## Human Rights and Discourses: Is it definable finally?

### Human rights in the 21<sup>st</sup> century

Baxi (2005) has mentioned that twentieth century of the Christina Era (latter half) is hailed as an age of human rights but what about twenty-first century issues of human rights. It has been asserted that human rights discourses are much about civil and political rights which constitutes first generation of rights. Though first generations of rights are necessary prerequisite for a just society, but they do not reaches to the point of social justice. Hence, a shift towards second and third generation of rights is required (IGNOU, 2010). There is also a growing concern towards overhaul of the conception of human rights. Ife (2001) has proposed reconstruction of human rights towards the post-modern context.

There seems to be a stark paradox between promise and practice. Everyday there is a story of human rights violations, leave alone the unreported. It seems the dignity and respect has no meaning in contemporary life and has thrown to winds. Gandhi (2007) says that "the preponderance of different institutional frameworks and social systems along with inadequate resources make it impossible to comply" to national and international conventions (p. 139).

### UDHR and Three Generation of Human Rights:

World War-II and creation of Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Devastation after World War II, UNO had created Universal Declaration of Human Rights to provide the guidelines to states to follow and to protect the incidents of human rights violations.

**First Generation HRs:** Civil & political rights such as right to vote, practice religion, freedom of speech, equality before law.

**Second Generation HRs:** Social, cultural and economic rights such as, right to food, clothing, shelter,

housing, employment, health, education.

**Third Generation HRs:** Community and collective rights such as, right to social and economic development, express own's culture, to enjoy natural world free from pollution.

### Human Rights Narratives: Some Questions

Through the above discussions, it is pertinent to reflect upon some valid questions which might be debated to intellectual forum. But, we must try to find out some answers through analytical and reflective thought process. And I think and argue that as intellectuals, we must try to do that. The questions are as follows:

### Whether development of human rights is a process?

There has been tremendous growth in human rights over the past thousands of years, incorporating religious, cultural, philosophical, and legal developments over time. All human beings are entitling to certain rights simply because of their existence; those rights are known as human rights. These rights survive for all humans equally, universally, and indefinitely. According to Kant, human beings have a unique intrinsic value that cannot be found in inanimate objects. Violation of a human right is therefore an act of disrespect for the value of human life. Human rights are a concept that has evolved continuously throughout history. (Fasih, F., N.D.)

Human rights demand to acknowledge and take into account everyone's self-respect so that everyone is protected against ill-treatment that sabotages their self-esteem, and has access to the opportunities needed to recognize their full potential, free from discrimination. Human rights development is a process in which people's options are clarified and human capabilities provided. In addition

to the government, individual citizens must act as guards to ensure the rights are protected. Every country needs human rights for development and stability. These rights have become even more important in our technologically advanced world as they protect people not only from the ill effects of change, but also ensure that they can use certain benefits as a citizen of the country. (Kapur, A., 2019)

Human rights have been negatively and positively impacted both in the past and in the present. As technology progresses, one must ensure they use these rights logically. Human rights play an important role in deciding the kind of future we want as we move forward into the 21st century. Recent human rights are characterized by state sovereignty and promote liberty and the right to property, ideas that complement life in liberal societies. It is therefore, important that human rights shape the development of new possibilities. Human rights are regarded as a codification of moral behavior that is the product of human social evolution (associated with Hume's theories). According to the sociological theory of law and Weber's work, human rights are also seen as a pattern of rules. Different approaches define society, such as the notion that individuals accept rules from legitimate authority in exchange for security and advantages - the concept of a social contract. (Wikipedia contributors, 2022) Therefore, human rights are an evolutionary process that began to reform the concept of security.

In order to ensure adherence to a universal standard of acceptability, great importance has been placed on international conventions and their implementation. These principles are gaining importance not only because of globalization and the introduction of new technology but also because they protect human beings from the ill-effects of change as well as ensure

that everyone benefits equally. Science and technology advancements, in particular, pose large risks that can severely hinder the implementation of human rights if not handled carefully. For example, in the field of biotechnology and medicine is particularly in need of incorporating human rights into their ethical codes and ensuring that basic human dignity is upheld under all circumstances. For instance, when organs can be transplanted from the living and the dead, various issues arise such as consent, defining death to prevent premature harvesting, and ensuring that all children are eligible for transplantation. A key aspect of this Convention is that it puts the welfare of the human being ahead of the welfare of society and science in order to deal with these issues. In spite of this, many countries in one or more ways are violating human rights and disregarding basic human dignity, raising questions about the efficacy of today's mechanisms. Politics, power equations, and other factors often prevent the wrongdoers from being held accountable. Violations of this type, when they are not checked, are prone to increasing in frequency and intensity, typically because the perpetrators believe they will not be punished. (Fasih, F., N.D.)

### Can UDHR be valid for all time?

The Second World War remains the deadliest conflict in history. The 1948 adoption of this magnificent and noble document was a result of not only the horrors of war and genocide, but also the economic depression of the 1930s. As a result of a growing demand and recognition by all countries, there was an impetus for developing a framework to prevent the atrocities that took place during the war as well as the terrible hardships that preceded and followed it. Consequently, the UDHR was intended to cover the entire spectrum of human rights: civil, political, economic, social, and cultural. (Green, C., 2018)





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In the age we live in, the key question is why are human rights abused and ignored repeatedly throughout the world? It is quite impossible to universally enforce these rights or to punish transgressions despite being highly authoritative and respected, the UN and the UDHR are mere declarations, not hard laws. Some critics considered that it's naive to think that human rights are a giver in a world where state interests are so powerful that the UN is mostly responsible for monitoring and investigating violations but can't force states to change laws or compensate victims, because the UN can only observe and probe violations but cannot force states to change their policies or compensate victims. Human rights laws are defended by others as vital because they provide international standards and help activists with their campaigns. Moreover, they explain that not all International Human Rights are powerless, for instance, the European Convention for Human Rights, which established a code which 47 member countries and their citizens could use to bring cases. The court issued binding decisions and each member state must abide by them. (Chisvo, L.C., 2020)

The significance of a declaration depends on how strictly it is adhered to. A universally endorsed document like the UDHR certainly has influence, and it can change the behavior of actors who might otherwise appear to stand against history and civilization. In addition, citizens and the international community can use it as a normative weapon to shame hypocrites who violate the principles they and every nation in the world have agreed to. Even so, it is simply a document, and unless it is backed by strong international institutions that assure implementation and compliance, it is unlikely to have a significant impact. UDHR and all other UN declarations are aspirational. The principles embody ideals and goals, but by themselves do not provide a framework for the achievement of these goals. The UDHR does not include any mechanism for monitoring progress or supporting the implementation of its aspirations. Despite universal acceptance of the declaration, the reality is that the people enumerated in the UDHR still reside within states and that each state remains sovereign. Human rights defenders can try to change laws and policies to implement these principles, but states are ultimately responsible for institutionalizing these principles. State volitional implementation and enforcement of human rights protection is fundamentally flawed in any international declaration. (Ozler, S.I., 2018)

While the road to progress is not always clear, it is clear that rights must advance together. Some rights cannot be privileged over others. A world without free speech or self-determination, in which everyone is materially comfortable and cared for, would be unwelcome. In the same vein, we are against a world in which people have the right to vote and assemble, but do not possess the basic economic necessities to exercise them. Human beings are endowed with a variety of fundamental rights that are listed in the UDHR. By recognizing some rights and ignoring others, the entire project is undermined. (Ozler, S.I., 2018)

Therefore, in the natural law perspective UDHR is valid all time since these rights are inherent to the human race but practically its validity remains in the hands of the state powers when we specifically talk about the document.

### **Do we need to focus on the social or the biological nature of human beings?**

There are many different approaches to psychology today, including one in opposition to another. Biological psychology, for example, tends to emphasize the relevance of genetics and biology. As opposed to behaviorism, which emphasizes the impact of the environment on behavior? Historically, debates about the relative contribution of nature versus nurture have been one-sided with one side bringing up nature the biological factor as the most significant factor and the other bringing up nurture the sociological factor as the most important aspect. Today, most experts realize that nature and nurture are critical factors in determining human development. Not only that, but they also realize that nature and nurture interact in many ways throughout life. Descartes and Plato are two philosophers who thought certain things were inborn or arose naturally regardless of environmental influences. (Cherry, K., 2020)

According to natives, all or most characteristics and behaviors come from inheritance. All of our characteristics, as well as our behaviors, are attributed to evolution according to advocates of this approach. Individual differences are influenced by the genetic traits passed down from the parents. Other thinkers such as John Locke believed in *tabula rasa*, the notion that the mind is a blank slate. In this theory, everything we are, as well as all our knowledge, is shaped by our experiences. (Cherry, K., 2020)

According to empiricists, all or most behaviors and characteristics can be attributed to learning. Behaviorism

is an example of an empiricism-based theory. Behaviorists believe there are no actions or behaviors that cannot be conditioned. According to John B. Watson, people could be trained to do and be anything regardless of their genetic makeup. (Cherry, K., 2020)

For example, Heredity is studied in twin studies, which are common in nature versus nurture research. Studies involving twins have examined identical twins who share 100% of their genes and non-identical twins who share 50%. Within these studies, twin sets are reared separately and together in order to evaluate their characteristics in both like and alternative environments. Studies of twins are conducted to determine whether nature or nurture plays a greater role in development. Research revealed that nature and nurture influence traits differently. A study found that personality and religiosity are influenced by half genetics, whereas intelligence is influenced by 75% genetics and 25% environmental factors. (Perry, C., 2020)

Environmental influences can influence certain characteristics. Parenting styles and experiences can have an effect on how a person behaves. For example, observing other children's aggressive behavior might teach one child to say 'please' and 'thank you.' Another child might learn to be aggressive by observing older children on the playground engaged in violent behavior. A popular empiricist theoretical approach within psychology is Albert Bandura's social learning theory. This theory contends that people learn from observing others' behavior. Bandura demonstrated through his Bobo doll experiment that children could learn aggressive behaviors simply by observing others acting aggressively.

The vast majority of people in modern times don't share the extreme perspectives of nativism and empiricism. As a result, they do not view from a nature-versus-nurture perspective. Instead, the two views are considered "AND" one another, such that they cannot be separated. They play off each other. A particular trait will not necessarily be expressed due to genetics or environment alone. A person who consumes high amounts of junk food and rarely exercises, for example, may avoid heart disease due to their genetics counteracting their unhealthy lifestyle habits. Activating certain genes requires specific environmental conditions. (Cherry, K., 2020)

According to most experts today, both nature and nurture play a role in influencing behavior and develop-

ment. Even so, the issue continues to be a contentious issue in many areas, for example in the debate on origins of homosexuality and influences on intelligence. The degree to which environment and biology influences behavior is still a subject of debate among experts and researchers despite the relatively low prevalence of extreme nativist or radical empiricist opinions. A genetic factor interacts with another factor, an external factor such as a social experience or culture, as well as the interaction of genetic and external factors. In recent years, more researchers are focusing on understanding how genes influence environment, and vice versa.

### **Do human rights have to be expanded or redeveloped?**

It is true that human rights have slowly become widely accepted since the mid-20th century, and many people are now aware of how they can be used when they feel threatened. While these rights have been around for a long time, the contemporary understanding of them can be traced back mainly to 1948. During this time, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) came into effect. As a result of the devastation caused by World War II, this document sought to facilitate a new world order. All people are born free and equal. In a nutshell, it ensures that states protect such rights as the right to life, to freedom from torture, to work, and to a sufficient standard of living.

Over the last few decades, these promises have been embodied in international treaties, such as the 1966 International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and in regional instruments like the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights. Recent years, however, have seen states reconsider their position. Donald Trump has flouted international human rights commitments in the US during the first months of his presidency, most notably through a controversial travel ban targeting travelers from mainly Muslim countries and refugees. Since the Paris terror attacks of 2015, France has been in a state of emergency which heightened security and police powers. (Henery, M., 2017)

According to reports, in India sexual assaults against women and girls, including those with disabilities, increased in 2012. Police sexual abuse in custody has yet to be investigated and prosecuted by the government. Former world champion swimmer Pinki Pramanik was arrested on rape charges in June 2012. Her rights to dignity, dignity, and privacy were violated as a result of the mistreatment she received from male police officers



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and the "gender determination" tests they conducted. A video showing some of her abuse has been released. (Kalita, B., & Medhi, B., N.D.). Many more similar cases can be found all over the world.

People are calling for the Human Rights Act to be scrapped in the UK. Also, the issue of whether the UK should retain human rights protections after leaving the EU is uncertain ahead of Brexit. In a world where human rights are undergoing rapid change, this raises important questions about what they are and how they should be governed. When should these rights be adapted to meet our current needs? How should future human rights be structured? Human rights are no longer tenable as they were conceived in the 1940s and 1950s. Human rights need to be reassessed and redefined. If not, the government may impose it on us.

As Utopian ideals, human rights provide a model for thinking about what we want our future to look like. The post-war foundation of the organization was built on this element, which is still important today. Nevertheless, an alternative vision need not be incompatible with liberalism, capitalism or Statism, as was the case with human rights during the 1940s and 1950s. The current instruments of human rights were defined by states and uphold the constitutional rights to property and to individual liberty, ideas that are compatible with life in liberal, capitalist societies. It is possible to imagine a new utopia using human rights instead. In order to address the problems of the present we may need new ways of living, of being, and of constructing society. During the 20th century, these approaches were often used to think about societies that displaced the state as the center of the economy. Human rights could be defined and protected collectively by the people rather than by the government. Human rights need to be viewed as collective rather than individual rights. This would help us think about ways to structure society that go beyond a focus on individuals, which is characteristic of liberal and capitalist paradigms. In order to achieve this, members of a group may be empowered to assert their human rights rather than as individuals. In the context of indigenous groups and cultural identity, this concept has been employed, but it could be further developed to conceptualize other issues in a collective manner. Consider, for instance, that rights may be used to begin considering healthcare as collective, with various protections and responsibilities held and discharged in relation to others as opposed to purely individual rights. These actions would produce a modern Utopian vision of

rights, based on very different relationships from those in which we currently live. To make the right changes for today's world, human rights must become tools to fuel critical debate and discussion in the present. They must help to create an entirely new vision of the future rather than repeating that of the past century. As a result, human rights can emerge not as something of the past, but as an integral part of the future. (Henery, M., 2017)

### Can human rights be universalized?

In a pluri-cultural multipolar world universalization or having a universal definition of human rights is in itself a big question today. Human rights are not simply an exclusively Western concept - ignoring the very different cultural, economic, and political realities in other parts of the world - as some claim. The international conventions of human rights do ignore the customs, socio-cultural and religious patterns of the third world countries to a great extent. The concept framed also spurs questions of duality and puts individuals into a dilemmatic position, for example, in 1993 Bombay bombing Yakub Memon was convicted over his financial involvement in the bombings that took over 257 lives, this particular case left the opinions divided wherein most people upheld the human rights of the ones who suffered majorly from the bombings and thus wanted Yakub's punishment for the same while on the other hand there were a different bunch of people who defended Yakub's human right and were of the opinion that punishing Yakub with a death penalty would be a violation of his human right. Hence, upholding one's human rights might lead to violation of another's leading people into a confusing state.

Another challenge to the concept of universalization of human right is of cultural relativism. Some of the human rights norms that the West considers universal are not applicable to other cultures. According to this argument, human rights are a product of Western culture and therefore should not be applied to other cultures. For example, in the Indian culture the Vedas tend to believe in duties more than rights while in the African Culture community living is encouraged more. Therefore, placing more importance on individual rights rather than community rights is what again is not acceptable to be in the defining parameters of Human rights.

Human rights are just the façade for US interests, claims Samir Amin (2004, 78). In the context of the 2003 invasion of Iraq, concern about neo-imperialism and human rights has risen strongly, since the US has not promoted human rights in Ku-

wait despite being there for decades. This clearly points towards the limited conceptual definition that the west had imposed on other countries. There is an argument among developing nations that some human rights, such as the right to political multiplicity and paid vacation time, do not apply to their societies - in this case, the right to equal rights for women. Some societies consider "universal" human rights to be little more than an attempt to impose alien Western values on them, rather than simply believing they cannot provide certain rights to all their citizens.

On the religious front, there are examples of countries that had different opinions regarding human rights according to their religious belief. For example, as far as Saudi Arabia is concerned, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights violates the precepts of Islam according to them, and the Islamic law of Saudi Arabia protects more human rights than the Declaration. This is the reason why Saudi Arabia did not comply with the concept of human rights as laid by the Western world.

### Conclusion

With the concept of human rights, the notion of development evolved; de-colonization and self-determination progressed in tandem with the desire to improve the standard of living of subject populations. When confronted with a billion human beings who are starving, underprivileged, suppressed, troubled, uneducated, and unemployed all over the world, the idea that human rights may be guaranteed simply by lacking government interference is unsustainable and indefensible. I am sure that there can be no debate as to the fact that social and economic exploitation are just as evil as political or racial persecution. We need a deeper & logical understanding and thought process of human rights and more progressive development. The universality of human rights depends on their compatibility with cultural differences, ethnic values and religious concepts, universalism should not be seen as a 'fixed' platform rights and community (culture) can and should "coexist". I also feel it is the ultimate truth about it. Hence, a definition per say of human rights though theoretically might be possible but practically one needs to consider all the above mentioned aspects before coming to one particular definition which then can be universally circulated and implemented thereafter. 'Hope is truth', let's hope truly.

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# Training teachers towards a multicultural pedagogical approach, through the Critical Race Theory (CRT) in South Africa



## Introduction

This article emerges from the need to teach for cultural diversity in higher education in South Africa. Teacher education is one of the least funded faculties in universities across the country. This alleged neglect has a potential to negatively affect the prospects of multiculturally diverse learners meaningfully gaining from education. The quality of teacher education plays a significant role in valuable and efficient education attainment. Since 1994 there have been attempts by the Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) to increase access to higher education. Fundamentally, many improvements have been implemented, in terms of increasing enrolment, however, there is minimal government funding to (McGregor, 2014). Teacher education curricular appears to be deserted during the process of curricular transformation, which includes the need to decolonise it. This process according to (Yancy, 2017) will recentre the curriculum and facilitate a discussion of uncomfortable topics, such as race. Santos, (2007) refers to this process as moving from knowledge as regulation to knowledge as emancipation.

Undeniably, the country is faced with rapidly changing classroom demographics. This therefore suggests that teacher education needs to reform and transform its practices and invest in research that addresses issues pertaining to diversity, multiculturalism and racism. This article advocates for the application of the Critical Race Theory (herein referred to as the CRT), across teacher education pedagogy.

## Theoretical Framework

The Critical Race Theory (Bell, 1980; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) is one of the practical and useful theories that scholars apply to criticise the neutrality and objectivity of the law

which ignores the societal structural inequalities, which in turn perpetuate racism. CRT is therefore ingrained in the view that racism is enduring and tightly woven into the fabric of the society. The concept of racism, based on the background of diversity, exists in the backdrop of Apartheid South Africa. However, according to (Ibrahim, 2005), unlike the racism that was engineered from apartheid policies, there is a new form of racism based on ethno-linguistics, national identity, and ethnicity, which could be true for immigrants of African descent. This is a shift from the notion that racism develops from biological superiority. Babaca et al. (2009) argues that the advocates of the new racism, do not think along the lines of the white versus black ideology, but simply recognise that if an individual does not possess the same national origin as them, then he/she is different. It is against this view and background, that this paper wishes to illuminate the construct of racism and highlight reasons for teacher education to invest in a multicultural approach in the training of teachers in South Africa, through the CRT. At the core of the Critical Race Theory is the assumption that the idea is not to design a symbolic curriculum, and recruitment of a mosaic faculty, but to create a meaningful engagement with the subject of racism.

## Complexity of Human Rights

Baxi (2005) has articulated at length what constitutes human rights. He says that there is no simple answer to a clear question: what are the rights of human beings. He further says that in defence and justification of human rights, we have produced "complex and contradictory discourses". Even the global consensus on human rights values serves as poor guides in translating idea into law or practice. In his book, *The Future of Human Rights*, Baxi (2005) has made us familiar with

the complexity in the meaning of human rights and described human rights as: (a) ethical imperatives; (b) grammar of governance; (c) language of global governance; (d) insurrectionary praxis; (e) juridical production; (f) culture. It actually highlights the ambiguities in conceptualising and practicing human rights. But few scholars like Amartya Sen (2009) has tried to understand this dilemma and mentioned that "the framers of Universal Declaration in 1948 clearly hoped that the articulated recognition of human rights would serve as a kind of template for new laws" (p. 359). The emphasis should be on new legislation not just mechanical interpretation.

## Discussion

### 1.1 Adjustments and reforms

Wink, (2005) claims that teaching teachers begins with the past, which in turn informs the present and the future topics, therefore, the history of apartheid, cannot be left unattended, because it is responsible for the economic, political, cultural shades and undertones that influence the way in which teachers deliver the curriculum, today. This would then mean that teacher education according to (McLaren, 1998), should be designed in a way that it is able to meet the demands of the challenges of the global information age, which includes, activism to a revolutionary praxis that rejects the compromise of social justice and emancipation. Commitment to social change means framing teacher education curricular within the context of anti-racism, argues Villenas, (1996).

### 1.2 CTR and its tenants for teacher education

When teacher educators and pre-service teachers are aware of the tenets of CTR, the assumption is that those who subsequently become victims of racism, for example, im-

migrants, (mainly, those of African origin), might be spared from being subjected to xenophobic attacks by their fellow South African Africans, based on the expected roles that teachers will be playing in society, from a transformation perspective. For this article, we are going to discuss key principles borrowed from social work, which are believed to have shaped CRT's approach to research and pedagogy, which can be applied in teacher education.

### 1.2.1 Racism is endemic

The first principle presents race as an endemic ideology, argues Constance-Huggins, (2012). This suggests that racism is not isolated to certain situations, but instead, it can manifest itself at any given time. It is reproduced in our structures, customs; and experiences, claims (Solórzano & Bernai, 2001). A teacher needs to be understood as an individual who arrives in the teacher training institution as somebody who already possesses some misconceptions about people who are different from him or her, and it is the duty of teacher educators to address these fallacies. Given its endemic nature, CRT suggests that the functions and effects of racism are often invisible to people with racial privileges, which could also mean the same attitude for Black South Africans, who may not consider xenophobia as a form of racism, because historically, racism is known to exist between white and black people.

The framing of teacher education along the knowledge and ability of teacher educators and pre-service teachers to approach education from a broader scope, could initiate the agency to discuss immigration and its policies, and how it has impacted the lives of immigrant learners and their parents, teachers, and the wider society. Even though the gravity of immigration on society particularly in



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education has been identified, (Turner & Figueroa, 2019) argue that what teachers learn at university and what they are expected to teach in the real teaching contexts, are dissimilar. We can exemplify this with the situation in the USA, during the 2016 presidential election campaign, where continued xenophobic and anti-immigration narratives gained momentum. Their popularity placed teachers in a predicament because they are not aware of how to care for and teach learners who are victims of anti-immigration, anti-Muslim and racism rhetoric. From these experiences, (Turner & Figueroa, 2019) state that immigrants' experiences can not be studied in isolation from the attitudes of the host country. Contexts of reception could be a classroom mediated interaction, school systems and how society is structured in terms of affording immigrants opportunities that are also available to the locals, (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). Teacher education is perceived as a platform that can ease the strain that immigrants receive, which could mean lifetime experiences unfolding and rippling across their childhood and adult lives.

### 1.2.2 Race is a social construct

The second principle of CRT, states that race is a social construct. As previously stated, advocates of the "new racism" based their logic on the idea of nationalism, as long as an immigrant shares no common heritage with then, then that calls for discrimination. According to this tenet, race is a system that was designed to depict humans according to their physical attributes, which have no relationship to genetic biological science. CRT argues that these social constructions are undeniably responsible for the discrimination that minorities suffer (Haney-Lopez, 2000). The assumption here is that the dominant groups typically determine race, using means such as the law and empirically based knowledge to protect their interests. Some of these interests are often driven by capitalists demands. (McLaren, 1998) argues that teacher education should focus on the topic of capitalism, so that future teachers can be aware of the serious reunification of capitalism on the prospects of democracy. The claim that he makes discredits unregulated pursuit of capitalist expansions, which has the capability of curtailing democratic social relations. In turn, making sound political decisions becomes a big challenge, for both developed and developing countries, argues (Mander & Goldsmith, 1996). At present, the government in South Africa is blamed for failing to bring about sound social policies to speed up service delivery, and often, immigrants find themselves scapegoated for such failures. It is for such reason, that often immigrants suffer xenophobic attacks because they are perceived as job snatch-

ers and blamed for competing with the locals for the little resources available. Solomon, & Kosaka, (2013) argue that this creates a feeling of resentment and bitterness towards immigrants, who find themselves persecuted for the failures of the post-apartheid government. This should give us an idea on what teacher education should be able to do to address multiculturalism and, in the process, eradicate racism.

Teacher education needs to meet the educational tasks demanded by the challenge of the global informational age: from the development of new languages of criticism and interpretation inspired by innovation in Marxian, feminist, and anti-colonial scholarship and activism to a revolutionary praxis that refuses to compromise its commitment to the imperatives of emancipation and social justice, (McLaren, 1998, p.130).

An anti-racist approach to teacher training pedagogy could be one of the attempts linked to the disruption of global capitalist accumulation tendencies that have a direct influence on how people treat each other based on wealth. It is a form of revolutionary multiculturalism anti-racist education, according to McLaren, (1997). Once teachers are exposed to this knowledge, challenges that accompany immigration, would be unmasked, and their mutually constitutive nature would be addressed with ease. This is another way of fundamentally counteracting hegemony, according to (Kailin, 1994; Sleeter & McLaren, 1995), and assist teachers unlearn racism, but also to develop agency, that will capacitate them with agency to identify racist behaviour. To reinforce this, (McLaren, 1998) asserts that pre-service teachers should be introduced to research methodology that analysis the mechanisms of capitalist production and exchange, as well as "encouraged to pursue sociological investigations of administrative control, bureaucratic manipulation, the process of commodification, the creation of violence in local communities and in broader contexts of nation states, and the destructive patterns within the earth's ecosystems," (McLaren, 1998, p.131).

### 1.2.3 Differential Racialisation.

McLaren, (1998) claims that CRT suggests that dominant groups in society can manipulate and recreate racial groups in different ways at different times to determine who is "in" or "out" of the dominant group. An example of this scenario is the ability of Black South Africans to decide why African immigrants are not deserving of being hosted in the country, meanwhile, there are also immigrants from Europe, Asia, and other continents, who are not subjected to discrimination. Le Roux, (2014), argues that post-apartheid South Africa, presents

a logically explainable consequences of societal racialisation, which we see through gaps that exists between those who can access power and privilege and those who cannot. It is in this context that pre-service teachers are required to ultimately make sense of their own beliefs in the midst of acquiring agency to bridge polarised society, and that is if they are conscious of the polarisation itself.

Despite transformation attempts by the government to rebuild the country and forge social cohesion, racism is still a stumbling block. This racialisation tendency by South African, is not only existing along racial lines between Black and White, but it manifests even within Black people themselves. Le Roux, (2014) explains why race still remains a defining factor, it is because "despite numerous attempts at intervention by the government, the current education system continues to feed into the continuation of race-based social inequality in South Africa," Le Roux, (2014, p. 2). This continued racialisation of South Africa, according to McKinney, (2007) impedes South Africans from abandoning the race card or even being able to think about race differently, which is one way that perpetuates racial stereotypes, utilise race as an identity marker, racial categorisation for social interactions, Collier, (2005).

It is important for us to ask if pre-service teachers are capable of escaping racializing attitudes. Le Roux, (2014) claims that education is key in transforming an individual as well as social structures, hence, teacher education, should align itself with a curriculum that interrogates teachers' roles in propagating racism and other forms of social inequality. Even though teachers in-training may strive for social cohesion, they may eventually be forced to choose racialised subjectivities that will inform their future professionalism, argues Walker, (2005). We can therefore assume that given this context, pre-service teachers have two choices, either to make sense of race and social identities, to inform their decisions and to seek agency to engage these issues through classroom pedagogy or unconsciously capitalise on them, and or perpetuate exclusion and marginalisation, argues Francis & Hemson, (2007).

### 1.2.4 Interests Convergence

In the famous historic USA Supreme 1954 Court Case known as Brown v. Board of Education, where this court ordered an end to a state mandated racial segregation in public schools, even though Brown emerged victorious, transforming the lives of Black people, who had been begging and pleading for decades to be treated according to their constitutional rights, there were however, disgruntled

white groups who believed that ushering this new era would destabilise their acquired privileged status, states Bell, (1980). Even though there were groups that acknowledged that Black people were entitled to their constitutional rights like any other citizen of the USA, however, their willingness to recognise that racial segregation could not be addressed by ignoring white supremacy, was unrealistic. This therefore led to the white people, as a dominant racial group to undertakes efforts to improve the conditions of racial minority, based on the condition they converged with their interests, claims Constance-Huggins, (2012).

Quite a similar reality exists in South Africa, where Black South Africans are grieving continued racism, which is now manifesting as individual, interpersonal, structural, systemic and institutionalised racism. Based on these two scenarios exemplifying symbolic emancipation, in my opinion, teacher educators should be aware of such circumstances and try to train pre-service teachers on the double standard perceptions that are portrayed by the dominant group when it is required to be just to minorities. It is crucial that the curriculum teaches that justice is not a favour, or an option that is accompanied by demands, but we are all required to be just to others. To avoid or minimise dominance, teacher educators could encourage teacher in training to be conscious of the multiple sources of information that may be presented in the school and classroom. According to (Constance-Huggins, 2012), among these sources of information, are macro level influences, such as unequal display of power. It is possible for immigrant learners to bring these influences to school, which can adversely affect their school lives.

### 1.2.5 Advancing the voice of the marginalized

The fifth tenet of the CRT discusses the representation of the minority groups. This idea is used extensively in social work by social workers. According to National Association of Social Workers (NASW), (2008), social workers should strive for valuing the dignity and worth of a person. This approach by social work education, is a model that teacher educators could adopt in valuing the voice of an immigrant learner. Social workers are taught to treat their clients' cases in a caring and respectful manner that is mindful of the individual's uniqueness, cultural and ethnic diversity. Furthermore, social workers are trained to seek to enhance the client's capacity and opportunity to transform his/her own life. This approach if it were to be applied in teacher education, the professional gaps that exist in the teaching profession, could be bridged.



## Training teachers towards a multicultural pedagogical approach, through the Critical Race Theory (CRT) in South Africa

### 1.3 Teacher preparedness

It is an expectation that teacher education should reinforce effective classroom practices, however, this is not always true, (Barone, Berliner, Blanchard, Casanova, & McGowan, 1996; Ashton, (1996). This is attributed to the redundant teacher education programmes that are failing to prepare pre-service teachers for the real teaching context, argues (Goodlad, 1990). Literature attributes this failure partly to the inability by teacher educators to merge practice and theory.

Multicultural citizenship continues to pose challenges in classrooms, argues Banks, (2001). The solution for teachers to address this hurdle, is to receive practical preparation during training. Teacher educators have the duty to teach teachers to critically scrutinise race, culture and every dimension of diversity that exist in their classroom. Banks, (2001) claims that the construction of race and ethnicity should be understood by teachers in the context of social, economic, and political structures. This will assist them to understand the inclusivity of race, that it does not exist in isolation.

Contrary to the above belief, different literature present consistent data on the status of pre-service teachers particularly in the USA. It claims that teachers in training possess naïve and basic views when confronted with the responsibility to respond to diversity, (Bartolome, 1994; Middleton, 2002; Montecinos & Rios, 1999; Mueller & O'Connor, 2007). They are further demonstrating that they do not hold elaborate knowledge about cultural plurality even though in some cases, teacher educators have attempted to expose them to such knowledge, argues (Avery & Walker, 1993; Gallivan, 2008; Kickbusch, 1987; Martin, 2008; Mathews & Dilworth, 2008; Rubin & Justice, 2005; Sunal, Kelley, & Sunal, 2009). It is against this knowledge that the growing need to prepare teachers for the ever-changing world is persistent. This is not only for the USA context, but also for the South African one, particularly because these two countries share a similar common history, based on racism.

South Africa is uniquely hosting diverse Black cultures as well as diverse racial groups, which makes her even more diverse, which is the justification for the strong need for teachers to understand issues linked to heritage and multiculturalism. Personal experiences which form a large part of teacher identity (Bukor, 2014), and (Andrzejewski, 2008; Clarke, 2008; Meijer, Korthagen, & Vosalos, 2009; Soreide, 2006; Watson, 2006), and academic background, could afford a teacher a deeper awareness of mul-

ticulturalism, and assist her/him to pull through when faced with the context of immigrant learners. In alliance with the above claim, Castro, (2010) states that teachers who are engaged in reflective thinking, capacitate their brains with consciousness and the desire to embrace social justice, for example, during the 2016 USA presidential election campaign, when narratives of anti-immigration were popularised, certain teachers in American schools, dedicated their career lives to proactively intervene in the situation, by creating inclusive learning environments Ortiz, & Jani, (2010).

### Conclusion

South African society continues to be altered in several ways, as the country continues to receive and host both foreign and local immigrants. The ideology of racial discrimination that was fostered by the apartheid system, appears to continue to adversely shape the socio-economic and socio-political status quo. The presence of immigrants render the situation even more volatile, and immigrants find themselves at the centre of the blame. It is crucial that the education landscape, which at the centre is teacher education and teachers, transforms. Changes in teacher education are believed to be critically important for preservice-teachers who are also expected to examine the dominant relationships and power relations medium through which they are produced and learn how they can consciously empower themselves not to be unwittingly implicated in reproducing the status quo, as we see it in South Africa. One way of effecting change and influence policy and teacher attitudes is to base teacher education pedagogy on the Critical Race Theory, because it has the ability to pose realistic questions, that would assist pre-service teachers understand the concept of race and multiculturalism in an informed manner.

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# Darkness Lurking Within<sup>1</sup>



*In the depths of the mind,  
Deeper than the deepest mine.  
Exists dark mist that corrupts our essence.  
It is slippery as smoke, one cannot catch it.  
It camouflages to one's subconscious thoughts,  
It requires meaningful focus to unmask.*

*"It maximise pleasure and minimise pain,  
It's what humans do," the say.  
Truth be told,  
I am suspicious of them who utter such words.  
Either they are naïve; cognitively impaired even,  
Or, they are apprenticing to be sorcerers and sorceresses.  
I refuse allow middle ground.*

*Now, picture this extreme:  
On a mundane day you rest under a soothing shade,  
You run your eyes around and you see beautiful trees,  
Exquisite lake, pretty humans going on with their lives,  
And close by you witness an 11 year old on a school uniform.  
Somehow, you cannot cease to stare at this attractive child.  
Suddenly you realise your gaze is now running lasciviously.*

*Disgusting, isn't it?  
It evokes gastrointestinal upset<sup>2</sup>, doesn't it?  
You'd probably prostrate yourself  
And, vow that such abomination  
Will never cross your heart again.*

*But, why would we not do the same to:  
Malice, slander, jealousy, anger, greed, pride,  
And, even lust on a contemporary?  
Perhaps, double standard?  
Haven't you read that out of the heart comes:  
Murder, terrorism, corruption, molestation, and oppression?*

*Introspect yourself and uncover your deviant inventions.  
The darkness has rooted a permanent home in your heart,  
You will never dispose of it in all your endeavours.  
Even so, you can emaciate it;  
And, with chains of order and virtue<sup>3</sup> incapacitate it.*

*Be sure that in your days of strength and peace,  
You never leave its cell unattended.  
Nor render its existence archaic.  
Lest, you will borrow a page from a psalm of David<sup>4</sup>.*

<sup>1</sup> Authors Notes:

The poem is addressing the social ills in our society, and resuscitating humanity in us to resist the urge or the inclination to immorality. It addresses the temptations to do wrong and encourage us to resist giving in to the temptations. The poem cautions humanity that every bad choice, harmless it may seem at times, have to be dealt with sincerely as if it were an atrocious act. Of course, I do not mean to overreact or catastrophize events, but treat all temptations seriously since all yield devastating ramifications if they remain unchecked.

The first stanza exposes that in our subconscious thinking we are more often tempted to make bad choices, which blend sometimes with our thoughts. At times, we ignore these temptations as our normal thinking. To evade these bad choices it requires concentration and discernment. The second stanza signifies absurdity of human beings. The third and fourth stanza paints a picture every human would likely agree that it is an epitome of absolute morality.

The fifth stanza challenges you to think about everyday simple moral failures that we sometimes take lightly; however, have devastating effects if not dealt with at their primitive stage. The sixth and seventh stanza offers an advice and hope that we always can overcome the darkness, and make good choices.

<sup>2</sup>Gastrointestinal upset — feeling of nausea and vomiting

<sup>3</sup>Chains of order and virtue — righteousness, good choices, right doing

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Useful links: more poems @ [https://allpoetry.com/Ashlee\\_Chiloane](https://allpoetry.com/Ashlee_Chiloane)



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# The Power of White Stereotypes in Black Life and Thought

## INTRODUCTION

According to the *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, stereotype stands for something conforming to a fixed or general pattern; especially a standardized mental picture that is held in common by members of a group and that represents an oversimplified opinion, prejudiced attitude, or uncritical judgment<sup>1</sup>. In the history of race relations in the United States, stereotypes preceded and accompanied the origins and legalization of the caste system and racial discrimination. In fact throughout the course of American history, deep-set stereotypes subverted Black identity and have seriously affected the formation of a biracial society based on egalitarian principles. So this article will study the war over identity in order to understand the conditions of the black community in a society mainly racist whose conception of race is based on preconceived prejudices and also understand the psychology of the black race at the turn of the twentieth century.

Whites, first, viewed the black man as a subhuman with no valid culture and someone who needed civilization even though it meant dragging him in chains into civilization and Christian religion. Their intentions were to deny the black man the elementary rights a human being is entitled and to justify the slave system and racial discrimination. As a result white rulers developed an arsenal of arguments based on stereotypes to affirm slavery as a necessary means of race relationship.

Those arguments were mainly based on the origins of blacks and their original land, Africa. As portrayed in many pro-slavery writings Africa is seen and has always been seen as the continent of savagery, cannibalism, devil worship and licentiousness. With such conceptions, black slaves from Africa could not have the same status as whites who were their masters and as a result whites had the rights to exercise full power on their black subjects. As showed by Charles E. Hurst:

White colonist commonly believed that the blacks were inferior to whites; these thoughts helped justify slavery and the institution of many laws that continually condoned inhuman treatment and perpetuated the keeping of blacks in a lower socio-economic position (2007, p17).

However, after the Emancipation Proclamation and the abolition of slavery, the same stereotypes continued to deprive blacks of civil and political rights, thus hindering their integration into the American mainstream and confining them to a second slavery. Those stereotypes have affected deeply the psychology of the blacks who resorted to hiding their true-self in order to become integrated in the American society. Many black intellectuals and writers' duty was to turn the new century's image of the black away from the stereotypes and racial prejudices scattered throughout African-American experi-

ence in the United States. Therefore some black writers chose to answer the Negrophobia of whites and show the true image of blacks and to defend the cause of the freedmen. *The souls of black Folk* (1903) is one of the most outstanding works they produced.

In this collection of socio-political essays W.E.B. DuBois depicts emotionally the precarious social, economic, and political conditions of the newly-freed black in America and particularly in the Southern states. He also articulates the social and psychological effects that stemmed from those stereotypes. *The Souls of Black Folk* is not a book that can be read in ignorance of its historic milieu. It was written in an America where whites only grudgingly accepted the idea that blacks had soul. The image most white Americans had of blacks was stereotypical and was deeply rooted in the dogma of the inferiority of blacks. The images of the African-Americans revolved around a conception of primitivism; blacks were seen as lazy, irresponsible, cunning, rebellious, untruth worthy, savage and ignorant.

In the opening chapters of the book, DuBois argues that black Americans are "*born with a veil*" (45), and he suggests that while blacks can, and indeed, must understand and participate in the perspectives of the white dominant culture, whites can only see things from their own stereotypical point of view. Whites create their own images of blackness and are blind to how different these images

are far from the reality of black life which remains figuratively invisible to them behind its veil. Therefore the author maintains that to better know the black character and consider the stereotypes that he is subject, we have to initiate an intimate contact with the black masses; they differ widely in training and culture, thus his journey on the area of Black Belt, Georgia.

According to DuBois, the direct heritages of the slave system in the South were poverty and ignorance and the latter were emphasized or brought to a crisis by Emancipation. Throughout the book, DuBois analyses the plight of the newly-freed Negro and argues that the white stereotypes have shaped it and have also enforced the negative attitudes and images of blacks. Behind DuBois's social thought lay the oppressive reality of color-caste and the unwillingness or cruelty of whites to see blacks as humans. In fact, the book aptly illustrates the situation of the black tenant farmer who lives so close to the wealth of cotton, but is compelled to poverty through 'debt' in the peonage system of the white capitalists. The author asserts that whites used 'debt' to keep blacks at work and to label them 'idler'. In the essays, DuBois agrees with the common thought of the merchants that in order to keep the 'listless' and 'lazy' at work, some pressure was needed. However he justifies that black people's poverty is the result of the white labor system and he adds that it is the root of the stereotypes of blacks as lazy listless and idler; as he writes:



## The Power of White Stereotypes in Black Life and Thought

Without doubt, some pressure was necessary at the beginning of free labor market to keep the listless and lazy at work. And this must be added, the obvious fact that a slave ancestry and a system of unrequited toil has not improved the efficiency or temper of the mass of black laborers. Nor is this peculiar to Sambo (175).

In this above quote DuBois explains that the practice of peonage system was not aimed to confront the stereotypes of the blacks but it was rather aimed to increase the profit of the whites; and he argues that it highlights the hypocrisy and greed of the white people. For this system only enriches the white merchants and keeps the black tenant farmer at a state of despair and hopelessness. As Cornel West corroborates with DuBois and writes:

The problematizing of black people humanity deprives black people of individuality, diversity, and heterogeneity. It reduces black folk to abstractions and objects born of white fantasy and insecurities, as exotic or transgressive entities, as hypersexual or criminal animals (1996, 85).

Throughout *Souls*, DuBois explains that black inferiority is stipulated in white American's mind as spiritual that God created the Negro race for inferiority because that creature was middle-way between men (whites) and cattle as he writes: "... somewhere between men and cattle, God created a 'tertium quid', and called it a negro..." (122) So, white men envisioned

to Christianize them and made them believe that they must be submissive and accept their fate as a natural or spiritual order and that any attempt to subvert it would be sinning. In fact, since whites knew that blacks were religious, they used religion to shape their *ideal* slave that is supposed to be faithful and submissive to whites.

Ironically, DuBois traces back the religious faith of blacks to Africa to refute the white stereotypes of blacks as heathens by praising the religious organization of blacks that transcended from Africa. He asserts that religion has always been a crucial part and has ever been present in Negro life, and he shows that Africa which has been seen as a land of savagery and licentiousness has given birth to the "*Negro Church*" which is the embodiment of Negro's culture and civilization as he outlines:

First, we must realize that no such institution as the Negro church could rear itself without definite historical foundation. These foundations we find if we remember that the social history of the negro did not start in America. He was brought from a definite social environmental. The polygamous clan life under the headship of the chief and the potent influence of the priest (215).

Some stereotypes are designed to justify vocational segregation and discrimination: the argument as to the Negro's innate intellectual inferiority, the unreliability, and his laziness is used for this purpose. The stereotype of the childish, immature, and servile

has been used to justify the denial of full rights; ignorance has been used to keep the Negro under a second slavery and later as a second class citizen.

In fact throughout his work, DuBois refutes the long standing stereotype of ignorance through which whites intended to disfranchise blacks. He asserts that whites, out of hypocrisy, considered the black man as incapable of education. He blames whites for not giving educational opportunities in order to wipe out ignorance. Thus, DuBois stresses the point that whites did it on purpose to increase the ignorance of blacks in order to use that same stereotype to deny them civil and political rights. In so doing, DuBois attacks the stereotype of the Negro's innate intellectual inferiority and pays tribute to some black intellectuals such as Banneker, Derham, and Douglass for their intellectual achievement. And he emphasizes that no matter how little education was available they managed to assert themselves and represent the aims and ideals of the Black community.

### CONCLUSION

Still today, the major problem of the black man in America is the quest of identity which is the result of hundreds of years of slavery and racial discrimination. The mere fact, that the black man was a slave, was enough to deny his human rights and values and his acceptance by the whites as a social equal for a long time. Thus condemned to a hopeless state of degradation and inferiority, the black man became gradually estranged from his original culture and he ends up be-

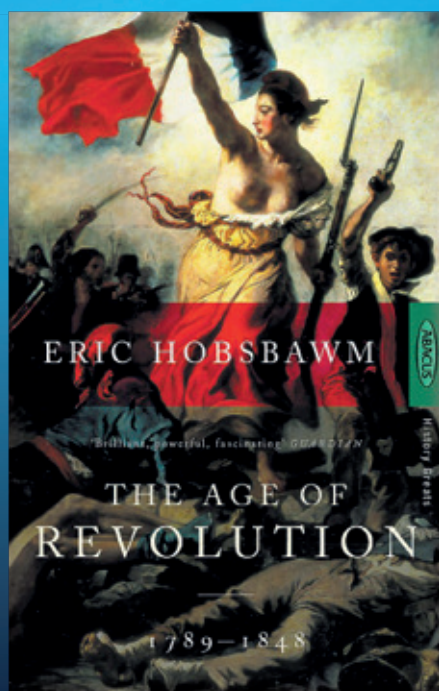
lieving in his own inferiority as a human being. Indeed to respond to their psychological oppression in Western society African-Americans would have to ground themselves in African or Black culture. Surrounding themselves with positive images of African and Black culture and history would allow them to deflect negative images of themselves. The conflict between their own culture and the American culture could be transcended by immersing themselves simultaneously in African or Black culture and incorporating positive aspects of Western society.

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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  
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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 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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