

A VOLUME IN PEACE EDUCATION

PEACE
EDUCATION
FROM THE
GRASSROOTS

edited by
IAN M. HARRIS

Peace Education from the Grassroots

A volume in
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Ian Harris, Edward J. Brantmeier, and Jing Lin, *Series Editors*

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Peace Education from the Grassroots

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*I would like to dedicate this book to my wife, Sara Spence,
who has supported me throughout my thirty years as a peace educator.
She has inspired me throughout my journey.*

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PREFACE

BACKGROUND

This collection of essays had an unusual beginning. Early in December 2008 my wife Sara and I were in Cordoba, Spain. I had just completed teaching a peace education course at Jaume Primero University in Castellon in a wonderful graduate program in Peace, Conflict, and Development. Sara and I were traveling around Moorish Spain enjoying the sights. Cordoba was one of our favorite spots. As was my custom I went one day to a local coffee house to read my e-mail. To my surprise I had an enquiry from an Antonio Poleo from Malaga, Spain about where he could buy books on peace education in New York City. He was planning to go there with his family after Christmas. Because I had been a student at New York University in 1961 and used to hang out in Greenwich village, I was able to give him a few suggestions. In my reply I told him that my wife and I were going to Malaga the next day and asked him if he would like to get together. He invited us to stay with him for two days.

We accepted his gracious invitation, but it was a challenge to communicate. Neither Antonio nor his wife spoke English, while Sara and I know a little, but not much, Spanish. We could get by and travel comfortably in Spanish speaking countries, but it is hard for us to understand and convey sophisticated concepts. We had to speak Spanish the two days we were with Señor and Señora Poleo. To my surprise, I found out that Antonio Poleo had been teaching peace education in southern Spain as long as I had been teaching it at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee—since 1983. He was a social worker who helped train teachers. I asked him about the history of

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peace education in Spain. He responded with an earlier draft of his essay in this collection.

What fascinated me about his presentation was that there was no one person, no academic whom he credited with the evolution of peace education. Rather he referred to groups of people meeting informally in each other's houses and studying Gandhi, or offering support to the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, or teaching about the nuclear threat, or supporting human rights initiatives, or trying to free prisoners through Amnesty International, and other such activities. Some of these groups were church based, some were community based, while others were teachers. All of them were using peace education tactics to advance their peace agendas. Some were sponsoring conferences; some were teaching courses to adults; others were writing newsletters, staging rallies, promoting multiculturalism and anti-imperialism, challenging racism, and/or infusing peace concepts into their lessons.

What was so surprising to me was that I knew similar activities were taking place in the United States at the same time, but I never thought of an intellectual discipline advancing from the grassroots. I always thought that the history of ideas advanced through the insights of gifted intellectuals, say Descartes, who advanced mathematics, or Newton, who changed our understanding of the universe, or Locke, who advanced ideas of democracy, or Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who promoted civil rights, or Maria Montessori, who promoted peace education as an antidote to fascism, or Jane Addams, who championed the cause of immigrants rights, or Desmond Tutu, who advanced forgiveness and reconciliation as a means to resolve conflicts. History most often tells the stories of the elites, not the grassroots peace activists.

I knew that peace educators were urging citizens and students to pressure governments to change their pro-war policies, but I didn't know that they were creating a kind of intellectual history, advancing ideas about how to teach peace and how education could reduce levels of violence. I thought that work was the domain of intellectuals like myself, theorizing about how we can improve our world.

Many important ideas come from the grassroots. Peasants in the streets of Paris in the eighteenth century advanced concepts of liberty, equality, and brotherhood that are the cornerstones of democratic theory. Blacks mobilizing against segregation in the South taught the world valuable non-violent resistance skills that have been duplicated in countries like Burma, the Philippines, Poland, Serbia, and Tunisia. As this volume demonstrates, people all over the world are using educational tools to liberate themselves from human suffering caused by direct and structural violence. Where there are conflicts, there are peace educators.

Eager to test this theory that peace education was growing from grassroots initiatives, I sent out in January 2012 a call for papers that would

become chapters in this book. I was looking for stories about how citizens at the grassroots level developed peace education initiatives to inform fellow citizens about the dangers of violence and the promise of peace. I wanted to hear about how teachers have adopted a variety of peacemaking strategies to reduce violence and hostility in schools and campuses. Because I have been a member of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) for twenty years, I knew that peace education was becoming a worldwide phenomenon and was able to use IPRA contacts to distribute this call widely. Authors from many different countries have responded to this call and written fourteen chapters about peace education in different nations (Belgium, Canada, El Salvador, Germany, India, Jamaica, Japan, Mexico, the Philippines, South Korea, Spain, Uganda, and the United States). A fourteenth chapter describes the efforts of the International Red Cross to implement a human rights curriculum to teachers on the ground in the Balkans, Iran, Senegal, and the United States. Interestingly, I did not receive any submissions from Northern Ireland or Israel/Palestine—areas where there has been considerable peace education activity.

Each chapter will describe grassroots peace education efforts in that respective country. These presentations are not meant to be comprehensive of all the peace education projects in those countries but rather to present samples of peace education activities in different parts of the world.

While each of these articles touches on many different aspects of peace education (PE), they can be categorized according to main PE dimensions. Three of these articles have a main theme of reconciliation with past wars and suffering; three of them have a main theme of conflict resolution education; three have a main theme of human rights education; two have a main theme of international education; and two have a main theme of development education. (Interesting that there are none that focus on the environment.)

These chapters describe a variety of schools, colleges, peace movement organizations, community based organizations, and international nongovernmental organizations engaged in peace education activities. They describe how grassroots people in local communities are helping fellow citizens push back against violence. These chapters provide examples of peace education from below. They represent a rich diversity of peace education projects. I want to thank all the authors who have taken time to contribute to this interesting snapshot of the field of peace education at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

CONTENT

The fourteen chapters in *Peace Education from the Grassroots* tell how diverse organizations and people use diverse peace education strategies in different

contexts. These chapters describe peace education initiatives organized through schools, peace organizations, and non-government organizations in which citizen actors engage in peace education activities as volunteers. Peace educators organizing with their peers in community based organizations can find out that they are not helpless in the face of violence and can make a difference by practicing and supporting peace education. Through these associations they find the courage to speak out against outrageous forms of violence. Such activities build a vibrant civil society.

The first article in this collection, “Jamaica’s Path to Peace and Love in Society” by Megan Call-Cummings and Janilee Abrikian, tells the story of a highly successful teacher training organization founded in 1994. Staff at Peace and Love in Society (PALS) taught alternative dispute resolution techniques to teachers with the goal of reducing violence in schools. This essay discusses the challenges of getting teachers involved in new activities and sustaining such a program. PALS has also trained police in nonviolence. In spite of receiving an official endorsement from the Ministry of Education in Jamaica, PALS still struggles to survive. This essay raises questions about the long-term sustainability of grassroots peace education organizations.

The second article, “Peace Education in Teacher Professional Development in Saltillo, Mexico” by Sandra Lourdes Candel and Stephanie Knox-Cubbon, describes a peace education project by Teachers without Borders designed to help the staff at a school in Mexico promote peace. This essay contains a review of peace education literature in Spanish. The program that began in 2011 emphasizes moral and ethical development and peaceful conflict resolution strategies. This essay raises questions about what teachers can do to help their students live peacefully in the midst of a violent drug and gang war culture.

The third chapter, “Peace Education in the Grassroots in the Philippines” by Virginia Floresca-Cawagas, Loreta Navarro-Castro, Ofelia Durante, and Toh Swee-Hin, describes how peace education has been used at the grassroots in Mindinao to help resolve conflicts among natives people (Moros), the Christians, and the Muslims. These peace educators started with a course “Introduction to Peace Studies” in 1988 when there were no peace education materials. They had to develop their own curricula. In 1997 a peace education center at Miriam College was established that developed partnerships with peace oriented groups in the community where they conducted workshops on nonviolence. The success of many of these endeavors described in this chapter led to an executive order by the national government to institutionalize peace education in all public schools in the Philippines.

The fourth chapter, “Empowering the Children of Ex-Combatants through Soccer and Peace Education in an After-School Program in El Salvador” by Kathy Crawford and Jose Roberto Gil, tells the story of how

a peace education program founded in 2006 as an after-school program featuring soccer and poetry has helped youth avoid gangs and brought together rivals from different sides of a vicious 12 year civil war. This chapter discusses the role of sports in promoting peace among ex-combatants and raises questions about how peace education can prevent young people from becoming violent.

The fifth chapter, from Belgium, “Peace Education in Flanders, Belgium: Grassroots Organization at Work in Schools” by Nils Duquet, Geert Castryk, and Maarten Van Alstein, presents the findings of a major research project on peace education in Flanders where the authors of this chapter analyzed over 454 peace education projects carried out by 62 peace organizations. In Flanders eighty percent of secondary schools and sixty percent of primary schools have some type of peace education program. They develop eight different categories for these peace organizations (peace movement, development, educational, environment, human rights, international, micro peace and conflict handling, and war remembrance) and focus on which of five different types of peace education (conflict resolution, development, environment, human rights, international) are taught. This chapter provides a quantitative methodology for comparing peace education offerings in different areas and raises questions about which types of peace education are promoted both by community groups and schools.

The sixth chapter, from Uganda, “Teaching Forgiveness In Uganda: On the Road to Reconciliation” by Brandon Fryman, presents a justice and reconciliation project meant to facilitate forgiveness after the long civil war there. The essay describes the important role of peacebuilding processes such as community theatre, art, and drama in rebuilding a civil society torn apart by ethnic struggles and raises questions about the relationship between restorative justice practices and peace education.

The seventh chapter, from the United States, “From the Bottom up: Educating for Peace and Justice in America’s Nuclear Age” by Ian Harris and Charles Howlett, traces the growth of peace education in the United States at the end of the last century, starting with efforts to stop the war in Vietnam, to alarm at the threat of nuclear war, to opposition to U.S. policies in Central America, to outrage over school shootings. Teachers and citizens at the grassroots have spearheaded these efforts. The article raises questions about the role of nongovernmental organizations promoting peace both in formal institutions and in community settings.

The eighth chapter, “How Peace Education Has Tried to Overcome the Division of Korea into Two Nations: Practicing Peace-Reunification Education in Schools” by Soon-Wan Kang, tells about how educational means were invoked to bridge the gap between the two Koreas. These grassroots efforts on the part of teachers contrast with reunification efforts from above by the governments of the two Koreas that were caught in a cold war tango.

The chapter demonstrates the important role of NGOs working outside the system pressing for change within the system. It raises questions about how peace education is buffeted by political changes, as new regimes in South Korea switch the government position on reunification. How can peace educators sustain their efforts to transform a culture of violence and promote democracy while national governments at one time endorse peace education and at another time condemn it?

The ninth chapter, from Canada, “Building Peaceful Schools in Canada, One School at a Time: Peaceful Schools International” by Robin Neustaeter, describes how a mother whose son died as a result of bullying created and implemented a program, “Hands are for Helping,” that became a global network for teachers to promote peace education called Peaceful Schools International (PSI), a network that includes 350 member schools in all Canadian provinces and 17 countries around the world. This chapter contains an up-to-date literature review on bullying in schools and a summary of what PSI is doing to promote peace in such hotspots as Serbia, Northern Ireland, Sierra Leone, and Pakistan. This chapter raises questions about how peace education can be used to stop school-based violence.

The tenth chapter, “Peace Education in Spain: Present and Future” by Antonio Poleo, describes how teachers have been organizing in different parts of Spain since the first half of the twentieth century to promote freedom and democracy. Spaniards interested in the power of nonviolence formed schools, conferences, community-based organizations (CBOs) and networks to promote peace education. This chapter describes how in various parts of Spain teachers and citizen activists have organized to respond to the UNESCO call to establish cultures of peace and raises questions about the different dimensions of peace education pedagogy.

The eleventh chapter, “Peace Education from the Grassroots in North-east India” by Leban Serto, describes a series of workshops in Northern India designed to deal with ethnic strife. Some of the activities carried out in this part of India include training teachers in workshops and courses, commemorating events like the sixth of August—Hiroshima day—with the local Japan-Friendship club, campaigns for human rights education with Amnesty International, promotion of Gandhian ideals, one month certificate courses in peace, touring India with a program called Peace Counts, and lecture series. This chapter raises questions about how peace educators can confront violence in multicultural settings through community-based education.

The twelfth chapter, “A Case Study of Holocaust Education in Germany” by Miriam Shenkar and Zahava Szasz-Stessel, describes attempts to remember the horror of the Holocaust in a town in Germany that had a concentration camp but no commemoration of that camp, so that the local people had no idea of the horrors that had been committed there. This is a kind of “remembrance education” as mentioned in Chapter 5 about Flanders, where peace

education is seen as a way to avoid the horrors of war, by keeping those horrors in people's consciousness. Most of remembrance education focuses on interstate wars and human rights. Holocaust memorials would fit within this category of peace education. This article raises questions about how peace education can provide evidence against denial of past horrors.

The thirteenth chapter, "The International Red Cross Educates the World about Humanitarian Law" by Cris Toffolo, takes a different tangent than other articles in this collection. All the other chapters have described how peace education begins with one person or a group of people and spreads to organizations to become delivered on a wide scale. This essay starts with an international organization, the Red Cross, and tells how it has developed a human rights curriculum by interacting with teachers and citizens, who have to adjust the curriculum to fit local needs before delivering it. This article raises questions about how grassroots peace educators interact with an international non-government organization.

The fourteenth chapter, "Peace Education in 'Life is Treasure House' in Japan" by Kazuyo Yamane, presents the efforts of one Japanese citizen to create a peace museum that focuses on the tragedy of war. There are over 60 different peace museums in Japan, most of which commemorate Japan's suffering in the Second World War. "Life is a Treasure House on Okinawa" emphasizes nonviolent opposition to the U.S. bases still located in Japan. This essay raises questions about the role of peace museums in promoting peace.

DISCUSSION

Historians often ignore the day-to-day struggles of ordinary people to improve their lives. They tend to focus on the accomplishments of illustrious leaders. *Peace Education from the Grassroots* tells the story of concerned citizens, teachers, and grassroots peace activists who have struggled to counteract high levels of violence by teaching about the sources for violence and strategies for peace. Many of the stories told here come from the grassroots, meaning that the educators are close to the forms of violence they are addressing. These peace educators "on the ground" do not get to make policies related to war, peace, and violence, but they strive to influence the decisions of policy makers by convincing them about the efficacy of non-violence. They aren't removed from conflicts as a bureaucrat might be, or a politician, or even a professor.

Peace strategies can be grouped into three main headings—peace through strength, peacemaking, and peacebuilding. Peace through strength strategies rely on the use of force to quell disagreement, conflict, and dissension. These security strategies are negative in that they try to stop violent behavior. Governments advocate for them to provide security. For

example, in the past six years the government of Felipe Calderon pledged to get tough with the drug gangs in Mexico and increased police presence with drug raids. Such tactics angered the drug lords, who escalated their use of force. In this case peace through strength did not bring peace, so you can read in Chapter 2 how some teacher educators in Mexico adopted a peacebuilding strategy and are using peace education tactics to raise a generation of young people who will avoid violence.

Peacemaking strategies are both negative and positive. They are negative when they are used to stop conflicts that have already erupted. (Calling them negative does not mean that they are bad. It just means they are applied to redress a conflict that has already broken out.) They are positive in that they are used to prevent violence. Peacemaking strategies can be used to get the arguing parties together to try to work out their differences. Peacemaking also has as its aims the teaching of skills to resolve conflicts without the use of force. Peacemaking involves communicating, persuasion and dialogue, mediating, putting ourselves in someone else's shoes, promoting empathy, and reconciliation. Chapter 9 describing the work of Peaceful Schools International provides many examples of peacemaking activities in schools to help young people resolve their conflicts nonviolently.

Peace education is a form of peacebuilding. It tries to avoid violence by creating cultures of peace. This positive peace strategy attempts to protect human rights. Peace theory postulates that the goal of peace education should not be just to stop the violence, but rather to create in children's minds a desire to learn how nonviolence and positive visions of peace can provide the basis for a just and sustainable future. Several chapters in this collection describe how peace educators attempt to build a peace culture in countries torn apart by various forms of civic violence—drug, gang, poverty, ethnic, and religious—as opposed to traditional peace education that focuses upon war between states.

There exists an interdependent relationship among peace activists, peace researchers, and peace educators. The activists put into play various strategies to promote peace and nonviolence; the researchers engage in conflict analysis, evaluate the efficacy of peace strategies, and propose alternatives; the educators help people understand the causes of violence and methods that can be used to reduce violence. What is relevant to point out from an educational perspective is that this activity has been and continues to be carried out by ordinary citizens and not elected leaders.

The authors of these fourteen different essays illustrate how international is the desire for peace but how particular is the practice of peace education. Essays from four different continents provide brief histories of peace education activities in Belgium, El Salvador, Jamaica, Japan, Korea, Mexico, the Philippines, and Uganda. There are various types of peace education pedagogies in this book—seminars, after school programs, traveling road

shows, teacher training, infusion, lectures, and interactive workshops. Each peace education effort is embedded in a context, a set of circumstances that give rise to the violence and related strategies used to reduce the violence. Whether an advocacy for peace arises or not depends upon various people who share a concern about a form of violence becoming spiritual agents who educate others about what can be done to prevent violence. They are “spiritual” in that they are concerned about the well-being of their neighbors, their children, and the flora and fauna that surround them. They are “agents” in the sense that they are taking steps to reduce violence. Education is a form of action. Peace educators act out of alarm about growing levels of violence where they live and work.

Peace education goes through various stages. First, there is awareness of the importance of understanding human suffering from direct and structural violence. Out of that concern people take action. The process of peace education can be represented by the following formula:

$$PV \rightarrow CC \rightarrow CA \rightarrow B(P)C \rightarrow LV$$

where PV stands for a problem of violence, CC stands for citizen concern, CA stands for citizen action, B(P)C stands for behavioral or political change, and LV stands for less violence. An example of how this works comes from the Cold War fears generated by a commitment to a nuclear arms race by the Soviet Union and the United States in the last decades of the twentieth century. People who heard about the danger of nuclear weapons (CC) felt frightened by the Cold War rhetoric that threatened a nuclear exchange between the United States and the Soviet Union (PV) and decided to organize workshops, classes, college courses, teach-ins, and protests, and so on (CA) to change the stated policies of the super powers (PC) that led to arms treaties and a reduction of nuclear stockpiles (LV). Peace education has to have all of these stages in order to be successful.

Thus there exists a dilemma about peace education. A peace education lesson may be both successful and unsuccessful at the same time. A peace educator may teach a good lesson, but that lesson does not result in policy changes (PC), behavioral changes (BC), or less violence (LV). Formative evaluations of peace education activities concern the first three factors in the above equation. What are the issues of violence (PV), and how appropriate is the lesson used to address that form of violence (CA)? Does the teacher (CC) understand the conflict in question? Most of the evaluations of peace education activities are formative because of the difficulty in conducting valid summative evaluations (Nevo & Brem, 2002). How can it be proved that a peace educator’s teaching activities resulted in a behavioral change on the part of a learner? Summative evaluations assess the results of

peace education. Are there policy changes and less violence as a result of peace education activities (Harris, 2008)?

Different methodologies and content arise from different approaches to stopping the violence that may vary from anti-war marches to inter-religious dialogue. The chapters in this book provide examples of a wide variety of interpersonal techniques and tactics that peace educators use to stop the violence. These include forgiveness, reconciliation, critical thinking, cooperative learning, dialogue, affirmation, restorative justice, and empathy. Overall several authors indicated that interactive pedagogies work best for peace education. In interactive classrooms, the instructor and the pupils are going through a series of exercises. These are not passive classrooms where the teacher lectures and the silent students listen. They are based upon a dynamic democratic dialogue.

The majority of peace education activities described in this volume falls into the category of micro peace or positive peace in interpersonal relations. The chapters in this book do not provide examples of “Kingian” non-violence used to promote social change (so-named after Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who used nonviolent strategies to overcome racial hatred in the United States in the twentieth century). Nor do they provide examples of “Sharpian” nonviolence used to change oppressive government policies and behaviors (so-named after Gene Sharp [1985], who catalogued over a hundred different nonviolent strategies). Such larger macro strategies often deal with negative peace, or stopping state violence. The strategy used to address the problems of violence should fit the circumstances that gave rise to the use of force.

Peace educators operate both within and without the academy (Harris & Morrison, 2013). This suggests three separate domains for peace education. The first and hence traditional domain is citizen-to-citizen peace activists in peace movement organizations alerting their fellow citizens about the dangers of war (Howlett & Harris, 2010). This domain can be seen in Chapter 7 that mentions several antiwar peace organizations in the United States and in Chapter 5 where Nils Duquet, Geert Castryk, and Maarten Van Alstein survey the peace education activities of many different peace movement organizations.

This collection of essays points out how peace educators also work with teachers, who use insights gained from peace activists to bring peace and calm to their schools. Most of the peace education activities described in this book are directed to teachers in schools to provide them with knowledge about alternative dispute mechanisms that they may not have learned in their preparation to become teachers. This suggests a second domain, citizen-to-the-academy, where teachers work with external organizations to help develop peace curricula. Peace educators from the Philippines explain in Chapter 3 how they have been working both inside and outside of formal

schooling organizations to put pressure on teacher training institutions to prepare future faculty to provide notions of positive peace to their students.

The third domain is teacher-to-student, where teachers who are convinced of the value of nonviolent responses to conflict try to elicit in their pupils peaceful beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors. This domain can be seen in Chapter 9 about the work of Peace Service International in Canadian schools. The chapters in this book demonstrate that people all over the world are looking to schools to promote peace.

The past fifty years has seen a large growth of interest in peace education (Harris & Morrison, 2013; Salomon & Cairns, 2010; Bajaj, 2008). Peace is now taught as a serious subject at the university level in academic disciplines as varied as communications, education, philosophy, political science, and psychology. There are over 400 colleges and universities that have peace studies programs (Harris & Shuster, 2006). It is now possible to earn a bachelor's, master's, or doctoral degree in peace studies. At the primary and secondary level many schools are using peacemaking techniques to create a positive climate for learning (Harris, 2007).

The success of grassroots peace educators striving to reduce violence, whether it be in schools in Spain or in the streets of Northern India, has generated considerable interest in peace education. The Cold War has ended, and the United States is trading with Vietnam rather than bombing it. Peace education activities promote discussion, debate, and dissemination of alternatives to violence—discussion about the roots of violence, debate about what are appropriate ways to address problems of violence, and dissemination of peacemaking and peacebuilding strategies to rectify the horrors of violence. The stories told in this book with diverse examples of how peace educators operate in different contexts provide examples of the challenges and rewards of peace education.

One of the biggest challenges concerns the long-term viability of peace education endeavors. The first chapter in this book tells about a successful peace education initiative in Jamaica that received the approval of the ministry of education but does not receive funds from the Jamaican government and has to struggle to raise money so that it can continue its work in schools. Similarly, Chapter 13 about the International Red Cross humanitarian law curriculum states that after initial funding in Senegal by the United States and UNESCO, the project is unable to raise funds to keep it going. Chapter 3 about educating for a peaceful Philippines provides an example of national support for including peace education in all schools at all levels, but funding for training teachers is inadequate.

In spite of the obstacles that these educators face, they persevere. When this editor wrote his first book on peace education in the late 1980s, there were only about ten books on the theme of peace education. Now, thirty years later, there are over three hundred books on various peace education

topics. These titles may be seen in the bibliography at the end of this book. Peace educators experimenting with different strategies to build a culture of peace have had a profound impact upon the academy, primary and secondary schooling, as well as national policies. These actions by teachers and ordinary folk may not be well known, but they should be heralded because they have brought about significant improvement in many people's lives.

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CHAPTER 1

JAMAICA'S PATH TO PEACE AND LOVE IN SOCIETY

Meagan Call-Cummings
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General Manager, PALS Jamaica

*NGOs are not meant to be long-lasting organizations.
They're not meant to last forever.*

—Janilee Abrikian

We in peace education strive to educate for ecological, economic, or other types of sustainability. We write articles and books and talk at conferences and in classes about how we can achieve sustainability not only on a global level, but also on the organizational level. Sustainability formulas have popped up in pamphlets and papers and seem as easy as $2 + 2 = 4$; however, small grassroots organizations may beg for a different set of rules—a different formula for success. By their very nature, these organizations spring up in the midst of the most difficult of circumstances, often because of one person's vision or one community's needs. The problem is that when these organizations are built around one or two key actors' vision, motivation, hard work, monetary contribution, dedication, or charisma, they may not be sustainable in the long term because of a lack of foundation or structure

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to support that original founder's vision. So even when needs have not been met, a grassroots organization may collapse because of a shortage of funding, personnel, or other critical input.

We ask in this chapter then, how can small grassroots organizations achieve their goals for peace if they do not first, or at least simultaneously, seek for organizational sustainability? We need to strive for organizational sustainability in at least some small way before or alongside the realization of sustainable peace. If organizations sprout up for a year, or five, or ten, but then die off because of exhaustion, lack of funds, or some other preventable reason, it would seem that long-term goals for peace may be thwarted, missions and visions rarely fully realized, and peace education never completely achieved.

The contribution of this chapter is to not only tell the story of the rise of a peace education program in Jamaica, but to share lessons learned through its failures so that other grassroots peace organizations may at least think about their own sustainability before it is too late—as may prove to be the case here.

This chapter will begin by setting the scene in Jamaica: what was the situation in Jamaica when Peace and Love in Society (PALS) was born? Why was it necessary? Who organized and funded it, and why? What was its original vision and mission? We then move to a discussion of its successful programs in the late 1990s and early 2000s, what populations the organization served, and what needs it met. Last, we turn to focus on PALS in recent years—what have been its recent accomplishments and what is on its horizon.

HISTORY OF VIOLENCE IN JAMAICA

During the nationalist movement of the 1930s and 1940s, two political parties were formed in Jamaica: the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and the People's National Party (PNP). Founded in 1938 by national hero Norman Manley, the PNP was essentially a nationalist, left-wing, social democratic party. The JLP, founded in 1943 by Alexander Bustamante, was originally conservative in nature and opposed to the PNP's socialist platform.

During the 1930s, Norman Manley formed Jamaica Welfare (JW), which many deem “a highly effective community development tool” (Levy, 2009, p. 19). By 1955, the JW had organized 120 community councils that engaged in activities as diverse as cottage industries, savings clubs, and adult literacy programs (Levy, 2009, p. 19). This community-building endeavor marked a major step in nation building. These tightly knit communities were also seen as “integral and important to the development of the entire country” (Levy, 2009, p. 19). But as funding and political will dried up in the years before and after independence from Great Britain, the 1960s and

1970s saw these communities, hallmarks of a nation, turned into inner-city garrisons where the poor and marginalized were corralled and controlled.

It was during this time that political leaders drew these communities into their webs, sacrificing unity for votes and wellbeing for power. Levy and other scholars agree that “youth gangs, it is clear, were purposefully drawn by the two main political parties into their contestations for control of depressed urban communities and of the government of the country and thus into the parties’ violent confrontation, almost civil war, of 1980” (Levy, 2009, p. 31; see also Chevannes, 1981 and Gray, 2004). This political infighting started these communities and the entire nation down a distinctly destructive path that culminated in the 1980s, continued into the 1990s, and has led to today’s crises of urban warfare and political corruption, with seemingly few alternatives.

PALS IN THE 1990S

In the midst of the overwhelming violence of the 1990s, a group of media directors formed an organization in 1993 to address the needs of Jamaica through its youth: Peace and Love in Schools, or PALS. The founders wanted to promote change by teaching not only peace, but just as important, hope, which was sorely lacking in schools and in Jamaican society at large.

After several months of organizational preparations, PALS began its work in mid-1994. At this time, the main focus of PALS was to teach alternative dispute resolution techniques in schools throughout Jamaica, with the goal of decreasing violence in schools. No other organization existed in Jamaica at that time to fill this need. With no implementation model to follow, innovation and trailblazing led to a great deal of trial and error in those first years.

PALS first attempted to reduce violence by teaching alternative dispute resolution in schools. Concurrent with this effort was the creation of a peace curriculum for teachers and administrators to use in classrooms. PALS spent time to fully “Jamaicanize” elementary-level workbooks from the United States¹ to ensure that the curriculum spoke to local needs and that content accounted for Jamaican history and culture. User-friendly teachers’ manuals were also created. Copies of the workbooks and manuals were sent to all 800 primary schools on the island. The assumption was that with the country in such crisis, teachers and administrators would be hungry for the new curriculum, PALS would not be able to keep the workbooks in stock, and the program would be a grand success. This assumption turned out to be devastatingly wrong.

The workbooks collected dust on the shelves of many schools. While no formal inquiry was ever made, anecdotal evidence from many schools and

teachers made it clear that there were major problems in the delivery of the curriculum. First, teachers believed they already had too much to do—that they could not fit an entirely new program into an already too-short school day. Also, because teacher training did not keep pace with delivery of the curriculum, teachers were often in the dark as to how to apply it. Third, teachers and administrators felt imposed upon because they were asked to implement the curriculum with no input. Most of them knew peace education was a good idea, that something needed to be done to help the children and the country climb out of a seemingly bottomless pit of violence, but they wanted to have some control over how that was to be done. Simply sending them workbooks and telling them to use the curriculum in their classrooms did not provide the control they needed.

This failure was exacerbated by the fact that there was no cohesive national policy that spoke to or even addressed peace education. A desire at the national level to address violence in schools existed, as PALS personnel met often with Ministry of Education officials to discuss plans and ideas, but there was no Ministry of Education policy that demanded or even encouraged schools to implement any particular program. This turned out to be one of the greatest challenges PALS had to face. Often, PALS would receive awards or congratulations for work well done, or encouragement for work to continue, but not the official policy—so urgently needed—that would give them the support and authority they needed to be sustainably successful. PALS worked hard to garner that support both in the government and in civil society spheres, but no matter how much Jamaicans said they believed in PALS' methods and approaches, official buy-in was not supported by funding, and other sources of support were piecemeal, or not sustained.

So even though the country was in great need of peace education to, hopefully, put a stop to pervasive violence, even though schools were not required to put up any funds to receive or implement the curriculum, and even though the curriculum itself was extremely responsive to local needs, the obstacles were daunting. PALS had not taken into account the need for teachers and school administrators to have more control over the process. In addition, PALS' limited resources did not allow the organization to keep up with teacher training demands, which meant that even teachers and schools that responded positively to the program could not fully implement the curriculum. Finally, the Jamaican government offered no official support in the form of a national peace education policy that would lend PALS the authority to ensure implementation of the program in all schools.

PALS quickly learned its lesson and bounced back with its next major project, SUPERPALS 1, which began in the mid-1990s and continued to 2000.² A team at the University of the West Indies (UWI) evaluated the program in 2000:

The SUPERPALS I project arose as a result of the urgent desire of some inner-city school principals for an intervention programme that would reduce the problems that confronted them. In some schools, stealing and fighting were rampant and students exhibited hostile behaviours. Play was rough, language coarse, and there was little regard for adults. Children carried knives and razor blades, and the use of pencils for stabbing was prevalent. A gunshot drill was enforced in one school, while in another school, there were guards on patrol. The communities in which these schools were located suffered from typical inner-city problems of violent crime, high unemployment, lack of recreational facilities, lack of proper training facilities, poor waste-disposal facilities, substandard housing, and inadequate public utilities. In addition to the training of teachers in the knowledge and skills of conflict resolution, the SUPERPALS I project undertook to sensitize parents as well as to carry out community outreach activities. (University of the West Indies, 2000, pp. 59–60)

The program was a resounding success in several communities. In fact, a Jamaican newspaper ran a story about a school with a particularly effective program (Cooke, 2009c). A school administrator said about the SUPERPALS I program: “The children went home and sang the song and talked about Perky Parrot... We tried to get the parents involved. We held numerous workshops. We trained them in how to resolve conflict with their partners and in the community, also, the things they say in front of their children to incite violence, as well as what they say to the students to damage their self-esteem” (Cooke, 2009c). The administrator went on: “In the wider community, it had the effect we wanted” (Cooke, 2009c). An activist in that same community said about the SUPERPALS I program: “It was a program that was proactive, not reactive” (Cooke, 2009c). He continued: “Just as the program had a marked effect on the teachers and students, it had a marked effect on the participants who took it back to the community” (Cooke, 2009c). In this community the program was so successful that the school held a graduation ceremony where the member of Parliament representing the area presented certificates (University of the West Indies, 2000). Again, while it was an important show of faith in both the PALS program and these schools, PALS wished the photo-op had been translated into action and meaningful support on a higher level.

Another community within Kingston saw great success, creating a PALS follow-up committee after the school completed the SUPERPALS I program. Later that year, the members of the follow-up committee went to another high school where they taught students the PALS methods for conflict resolution (University of the West Indies, 2000, pp. 59–60).

SUPERPALS I was successful in reaching not only students, but entire communities. By involving parents and community leaders, and by sending PALS volunteers and personnel to literally sit on street corners to talk to people about peace and alternative methods of conflict resolution, some

communities began to see the change they had been waiting for. In one evaluation report on PALS activities in four schools throughout Jamaica,³ parents', teachers', and students' feelings about the program were recorded:

Parent: "Miss, I tank God fi PALS every day cause a since im inna di PALS ting da, im calm dong."

Parent: "Well, I live in the scheme and the girls who are on the PALS programme, dem no really fuss and fight as before. And anything happen pan de block, dem cry 'Peace!'"

Parent: "I use to batter my son 'cause him use to lick head wid di good-fi-nothing area boy dem an cum home late. But him an two gal dem inna 'peace,' and every time mi open mi mout fi go cuss, me hear the 'Peace! Talk it out!' and the 'I-statement!'"

Parent: "Some woman from PALS did come to the PTA meeting and tell us about conflict and not to get angry with the children and we should listen to them, and we should be our child's friend."

Teacher: "I use the I-statement."

Student: "Since PALS, less lick fra teacher. Less fighting. We control anger more and the girls are in less argument. It mek you gain self-respect." (Henry-Lee, 2004)

This was the beginning of the change PALS had been formed to achieve. But change did not come without challenges:

The community-outreach work was the most difficult aspect of this project. The complexity of turf-control issues, the lack of cohesive and effective community organizations, the failure to use effective communication methods, the incidences of violence on days when events were planned, and the attrition of PALS trainers were some of the challenges experienced... While there were residents who showed interest and attended workshops, interest was overshadowed by other pressing community problems and poverty. (University of the West Indies, 2000, p. 59)

PALS would have to learn repeatedly that sometimes programs would not work as well as they could have because of circumstances outside of the organization's control. PALS' administrator learned time and again to "run with the horses that were running," or do what she could and then shrug her shoulders, smile, and pray for what she could not control or change.

But when the UWI report identified some of those factors that seemed to be outside the control of PALS and its personnel, it was difficult for PALS to just shrug its shoulders because the report gave the impression all may have been for naught:

Parental and community influences have been identified as the most oppressive forces affecting the PALS programme. Although the PALS concepts and methods have made some inroads within the school setting, regression often takes place after the students leave the confines of the school environment. One group cited the differences observed before and after weekend breaks and the level of warring factions in the community. Fighting, violence, and intimidation are overshadowing initiatives for peace. Some teachers are disheartened as they believe that the PALS methods are inappropriate when confronted with the cultural norms and values of the community that influence how the young people think and behave. The consensus is that these forces have to be tackled aggressively . . . To these teachers, without peace in families and the wider communities, there can be no real peace at school among students. (University of the West Indies, 2000, pp. 59–60)

The evaluation of PALS in four schools also illustrated through the words of students at these schools that real change was going to be difficult, and not immediate:

“Di teacher dem call wi all kina name, Miss—wild animals, pigeon and cow—and dem dis you.”

“I’ll say that the programme is working, but as for the guns, you cannot do anything about that.”

“You can’t go to school sometime because of the gun firing in the area.”

“Gunmen give the yout guns to carry and shoot up di place.”

“Nuff polotics inna di place. Man a kill man and dem tings.” (Henry-Lee, 2004)

PALS struggled to find a way to address these issues with little official support from the Jamaican government, no real authority, and few financial or other resources. The UWI evaluation team asked PALS to extend the reach of its programs, visit homes and parents, create more innovative programs that would capture the interest of all community members, and follow up by training many more mediators (University of the West Indies, 2000, p. 60). These communities were asking for real change and real investment, not just the program-of-the-moment. Unfortunately PALS, like so many other grassroots organizations, could not adequately respond to these requests because of a lack of funding.

PALS SINCE 2000

During the first part of the new millennium PALS enjoyed great success, and with increased funding from Jamaican businesses and government

agencies, it was able to reach out to and serve more people and communities than ever before. There was still great need for PALS programs throughout Jamaica:

“I live in the [inner-city] area. My community is very violent at times and very tense. The behavior of persons in the community causes other persons to call it ‘ghetto.’ I have a few friends that are always doing wrong, they never cease. Mothers are not better. They always quarrel.”

“Many times in [my community], I have witnessed several crimes. I have had to behave as if I did not see anything just for me to live.”

“I live in the [inner-city] community. It’s a very big and violent community. Every day we hear of people getting stabbed, shot, or even chopped to death. Stealing is also a big crime.”

“...Here, many women have children for several different fathers. As a result of this, and persons in the community discover that they are related to each other. This poses several problems such as daily conflict because brothers and sisters fight over simple things such as which child gets more financial support from his or her father. Sometimes these quarrels lead to fights even resulting in deaths. In my community, there are many incidents of violent crimes, drug abuse and illicit sexual relationships between some of the younger girls and older men.”

“In my community, there is a lot of violence, guns and many gunmen.” (PALS Jamaica, 2003, p. 16)

PALS’ administrator was constantly searching for new and improved techniques for reaching students, getting into communities, and meeting needs in a way that would be perceived as useful and culturally meaningful. Most important, she wanted peace in Jamaica. One of the ways she did this was continually to write and rewrite curricula that could be flexible and speak to current needs in Jamaican classrooms and communities. For example, she wrote a new module to fit into existing peace curricula that focused on changing school culture and fostering a nurturing school climate. Curricula were also written to address teachers’ pedagogical practices to make sure they were modeling peaceful methods through their pedagogy. Workshops like “Responding to Inappropriate Student Behavior” and “Classroom Management” were deemed particularly effective. Related to this was the creation of school codes of conduct. In partnership with school administration and faculty, PALS created student codes of conduct that listed both rules and associated consequences. These would offer alternatives to the very punitive orientation in many Jamaican schools.

Another successful program that addressed the often harsh punishment students received for various behaviors was in-school suspension (ISS). An alternative to out-of-school suspension (OSS), ISS sought to address

the underlying cause of students' inappropriate responses to school rules through social-skills building and de-escalation activities, academic assistance, and follow-up procedures. The program was also created to provide an opportunity for students to continue with their regular academic work and to receive appropriate credit for that work. All of these programs simultaneously solved real, pressing school issues while modeling principles of peace.

During these years, PALS guided schools to create and operationalize Critical Management Incident Committees. Critical incidents of violence were occurring more and more frequently throughout the country and were bringing with them increasing tragedy both inside and outside of schools. PALS sought to address this trend by helping schools respond to these critical incidents in a more efficient and organized manner through the use of a prepared plan—one that was known by all school teachers, administrators, and students. Until this time, most schools would react to critical incidents as they occurred, with little planning or preparation. The program consisted of a pre-planning session with administrators, followed by a one-day workshop for the school's teachers and administrators, and then a two-day, or longer, monitoring period.

At this time, PALS made significant strides to get into more schools to conduct peer mediation training and conflict resolution training for student leaders, two programs that now form the backbone of PALS' work in schools.

Peer Mediation

The goal of PALS' peer mediation training is to teach leadership and communication skills, help children understand and practice non-violent expression of feelings and needs, give students experience listening to an issue or conflict without taking sides, role play problem-solving situations, and discuss how to improve the school environment and take responsibility for their own actions. This is done through participation in structured and semi-structured discussions about themes like conflict, peace, responsibility, and leadership through listening activities and games. PALS trainers choose from a number of activities and games to help students learn and have fun in the process. An example of one of these activities is a game called, "It's a What?" The goal of this game is to help students understand obstacles to collaboration and experience the collaborative process. The facilitator splits the group into smaller groups of three to five people with the following instructions: One person draws an outline; the drawing is then passed to another person who adds to the drawing; time spent by each person on the drawing is five seconds; no discussion is permitted during the drawing or before the drawing starts; the drawing must be completed in

one minute. When the drawing is complete, the smaller groups recombine to discuss the activity using the following questions as a guide:

1. Did your team draw anything recognizable?
2. How easy was the understanding among the group?
3. How did persons work differently on this task?
4. What was the effect of time pressure?
5. Was there a tendency to draw supportively and harmoniously, or were there more conflicting ideas?
6. Did your expectation change? Why?
7. Why was it important to maintain an open mind?
8. How does flexibility relate to cooperation?
9. How do stress and pressure affect our willingness to collaborate?
10. Why might it be important to collaborate during times of stress and pressure?

Participants tend to enjoy these games, which have proven to be an effective tool in starting conversations about important topics like understanding, working together, collaboration, flexibility, and other themes that are central to conflict resolution.

In general, PALS has seen many direct and indirect benefits from this training program. Mediators typically gain confidence in their ability to help themselves. They learn to get along better at home with family and friends and at school with peers, teachers, and administrators. Often, those who participate in these training programs even see their grades improve. The vice-principal and one of the teacher coordinators at the school under the USAID-funded “Peace and Prosperity” project reported on the program as follows:

Six peer mediators were awarded places in traditional schools based on the self-discipline they acquired from the PALS programme. The disciplinary aspect of the programme plays an integral role in students’ holistic education. (PALS Jamaica, 2003, p. 19)

After they are trained and graduate from a PALS program, peer mediators serve their school by helping students resolve conflicts. They work in pairs and are scheduled for duty by a program coordinator. When they are on duty, peer mediators assist disputing students in the peaceful expression and resolution of their conflicts by using a prescribed problem-solving process. Disputants may be referred to peer mediators by the principal, teachers, other students, or themselves. The process is totally voluntary. Peer mediators are to act as facilitators, not judges or disciplinarians. They are trained to help students express their conflicts and find their own best resolutions.

In elementary schools, pairs of peer mediators or “conflict managers” watch the playground during recess and lunch. At least two pairs of students are on duty at once. They are easily identifiable, such as wearing bright colored T-shirts or a sash. When the conflict managers see students in conflict, they offer assistance, and if the disputing students agree, take them to a quieter part of the playground to work through the process.

In secondary schools, peer mediators may be on duty in a special room. Teachers, staff, or students may refer disputing students to them, or sessions may be scheduled by appointment during specified times. Peer mediators deal with disputes that occur in class, at lunch, in the halls, or anywhere on the school grounds. Peer mediators may either be called in to handle the problem immediately, or the students may be referred to conflict managers during office hours.

From a report about one school’s experience with peer mediation training (PALS Jamaica, 2011, p. 10):

The best thing about this workshop was:

- When we do activities about the different topics.
- That we learned how to understand people and how to work together.
- That they have a lot of fun and explain things when we do not understand.
- They teach you how to behave in a conflict.
- Acting out skits and practicing to be conflict managers.
- As students we got to interact with each other and to understand each other.
- That it taught me how to be more understanding and to listen to others more.

I now understand:

- Different ways I can deal with conflicts.
- That it is best if you listen to someone when they are talking because you can learn from them.
- That when you are in a fight you must figure out what is the problem and see if you can use the rules to solve the problem.
- How to control my attitude towards other children and solve problems.
- That conflict is natural and that there are several ways to resolve conflicts.
- How to be a perfect conflict manager and to bring peace between two persons.

Conflict Resolution for Student Leaders

PALS is dedicated to making its programs sustainable in several ways. In fact, one high school vice-principal commented to a Jamaican newspaper, “Once PALS has a foot in any school, even when they pull out, it remains. It is hard for them to leave completely. The program is sustainable” (Cooke, 2009b). Unfortunately, long-term sustainability has not been that easy for PALS.

One way PALS attempted programmatic sustainability was by training student leaders in schools. The original idea was that leaders would be chosen by teachers to participate in a week-long training session that focused on discussing and developing leadership competencies such as accountability, trustworthiness, listening, analytical thinking, conflict management, decision making, emotional intelligence, negotiating, problem solving, and meeting ethical standards. Many of these topics are also covered in peer mediation training but would be altered during these sessions to focus on how leaders develop and use these competencies to effect positive change in their communities.

The training is very similar to that done for peer mediation. Each session is one to two hours long, begins with an introductory concept, and is followed by an activity and discussion of the meaning of the activity and what students learned; then some form of homework that requires more analytical thinking about the concept discussed is assigned.

One school’s report about the conflict resolution training their student leaders received illustrates what students could gain from these training sessions (PALS Jamaica Program Impact 2008–2011, p. 5):

What did I learn today?

- We learned about that simple things can lead to violence and the things we can do to prevent violence.
- I have realized that I don’t have to fight when I have a conflict with someone. I simply just talk it out or walk away.
- All of the students participated in the activities. I learnt a lot, especially how to make wise decisions for myself and others. I wish to have more classes, tours and activities on these topics. I think students should be involved in these things and they will learn how to interact with both the young and the elders and Jamaica will be a better place as a country.
- . . . I have also learnt the many different ways a leader should act and handle things like conflict. I have learnt a lot today and am looking forward to learning more in the next class so I can become a good leader now and when I am older.

- ... Who is a leader. How a leader can influence someone. What starts or causes a conflict.
- ... How to make the right choices or decisions. Characteristics of a leader. A leader should be respectful and influential.
- ... Being here today really showed me how to be a great leader, respectful leader and I am proud to say that I have learnt a lot. I have learnt that being a leader takes effort, good work and being respectful.

In 2009, Dunoon Technical High School held an assembly to recognize and introduce their newly trained “conflict managers.” As one school administrator described: “They operate in pairs and are scheduled for duty by the coordinator. They assist students in peaceful expression and resolution of their conflicts” (Cooke, 2009a). This same administrator made sure everyone at the assembly understood that these students were going to act as “facilitators, not judges or disciplinarians. They help students express their conflicts and find their own best solution . . . They won’t tell you what to do. They won’t say who is right or wrong. They invite you, the students, the disputants, to come up with your own solutions. The philosophy is that students can handle their conflicts themselves” (Cooke, 2009a). The idea, then, was that teachers would be freed from dealing with minor conflicts, and students would exercise what they learned through the PALS training to bring peace to the school, community, and society.

Learning these things is important no matter where in the world we are, but in Jamaica it is crucial. Through these programs students learned that even though they are young, they too can change the world around them just by leading others by example. They “don’t have to fight when I have a conflict with someone. I simply just talk it out or walk away” (PALS Jamaica Program Impact 2008–2011, p. 5). Students could learn to be leaders not only among peers, but also in their families and communities.

Although a few schools experienced success with this program, many could not muster the teacher or administrator buy-in for it to work well. The training that most students received in fact did not facilitate the kind of sustainability PALS envisioned because there were no funds for follow-up sessions. Even though some schools supported it and started the process, PALS stressed the need for follow-up sessions as well as training for teacher-coordinators. These aspects would have made the program more sustainable. In reality, PALS learned through this and other programs that it is very challenging to get schools to follow this kind of model. While the idea that trained students and teacher-coordinators would pass on the training to new recruits was good in theory, it was difficult to pull off in reality.

Teacher Training

Peer mediation and conflict resolution for student leaders are highly successful PALS programs. Their success has increased because PALS has dedicated itself to keeping the programs sustainable through teacher training. By training teachers in these schools to keep the programs functioning, continuing with periodic training of successive student groups, and enacting principles of peaceful conflict resolution themselves, PALS ensures the programs will run longer than the one or two weeks the PALS trainers spent in the schools. In fact, PALS hopes these programs will turn into more than just programs, but will be ingrained in the school culture, creating a culture of peace in the school that seeps out through those walls and into communities, spreading eventually to the entire country of Jamaica.

Teachers commented on what they learned in one particular PALS workshop (PALS Jamaica Program Impact 2008–2011, pp. 7–8):

The best thing about this workshop was:

- It allowed me to evaluate myself as it relates to conflict and my approach in my everyday life.
- That conflict is a natural part of life and that it is important for people to respect each other's views on things.
- That much good can be accomplished by spending time to understand how different conflicts can be resolved.
- That it helps to understand that conflicts are not necessarily bad things and sometimes it can bring a positive change to the particular situation.

I now understand:

- How to address issues without attacking a disputant.
- How to assist my students in resolving some of the conflicts that arise between them.
- Communication is the key to conflict resolution.
- How to resolve conflicts without using violence.

I would like to know more about:

- Dealing with disruptive students.
- Ways to solve problems and dealing with student anger.
- Ways in which I can resolve some of the conflicts in my class.
- How to get my students to freely express themselves in class. It's a major problem both verbally and written.

One thing I would like to change . . .

- My tolerance to students and their behavior.
- How I deal with students and their conflicts.
- How my students and teachers deal with conflict. The culture of aggression among students.

OTHER INNOVATIVE PROGRAMS AND TECHNIQUES

PALS was, and continues to be, an innovator.

Janilee Abrikian

PALS began working with communities, parent associations, police units, and even former prisoners who were attempting to re-enter society, while also continuing its main work in schools throughout the country. One of the most innovative programs, though, was the police peace education program introduced to police officers who were surrounded by violence every day of their lives.

Amnesty International has said, “Jamaica has one of the world’s highest rates of police killings” (Summers, 2004, par. 21). In 2004, a group of Jamaican police in the Crime Management Unit (CMU) were charged with extra-judicial killing of four people during a raid. The leader of the CMU, Superintendent Reneto Adams, is considered “Jamaica’s version of Dirty Harry: an avenging angel who is the scourge of the island’s criminals” (Summers, 2004, par. 3). While it was a good sign that the police officers were charged, issues of planted evidence and other problems led to acquittal. Even though a United Nations Special Rapporteur concluded that “extra-judicial executions by the police . . . had in fact taken place” (Summers, 2004, par. 20), Superintendent Adams and the CMU enjoyed wide support “across the political divide, among the business community and ordinary citizens with whom there is an overwhelming perception that he is an effective crime fighter” (Summers, 2004, par. 13). This perception is widespread to this day.

In response to this problem, PALS partnered with the Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF) in 2009 to offer training that would, hopefully, lead to a decrease in the number of unnecessary or illegal police killings, an increase in the public’s trust of police officers, and an increase in international political support. The JCF had already developed a safe schools program that it had started to implement in schools. PALS entered into discussions with the JCF to introduce an adapted PALS curriculum to the JCF training academy. This would eventually mean that PALS would work itself out of training opportunities in this regard since the JCF’s instructors would have

received the training, with the expectation that they, in turn, would train their officers. As in so many of PALS' approaches in previous years, it was trying hard to achieve programmatic sustainability; that is, it sought to train those who were either already in a position, or who would be put into a position, to train others, assuring a kind of cycle of peace education that would not be dependent on PALS' organization. Unfortunately, the program was dependent on the ability of the JCF to raise funds to underwrite the training, and this has proved very difficult. One hundred and fifty police officers were trained.

The JCF program was for the most part a resounding success, according to individual officers who spoke to PALS to express their gratitude for the course. For the first time in their lives, several police officers had taken the opportunity to share with others their thoughts on violence. The courses were a safe forum to clear their consciences and ask for help in building skills that would allow them to reach for words, instead of their weapons, first.

2009 MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

It is significant that the same year PALS started this initiative with the police, the Ministry of Education signed a memorandum of understanding with PALS, and officially committed to using PALS peace curricula in more primary and secondary schools across the nation for the next five years. Among the agreements within the memorandum of understanding was an agreement about the causes and effects of violence (PALS Jamaica, 2009, p. 2):

The Ministry of Education and PALS Jamaica agree that:

1. Antisocial and violent behavior has permeated all sectors of the society and that the school is no exception.
2. Student violence is a national and societal problem.
3. Violence flows out of the school to the community and wider society as unresolved issues are dealt with in a violent way beyond the school gates.
4. Violence stifles students' potential for learning.
5. Greater involvement of parents is needed in order to strengthen the link between home and school and school and community.
6. All service providers should maximize efforts to achieve violence-free schools.

This memorandum of understanding was more than just a piece of paper, more than just an agreement between a non-profit organization and a government, and more than just an agreement for funding. This

memorandum of understanding officially acknowledged the importance of education and educational programs in the creation and preservation of peace. The enduring problem, though, was that this acknowledgement was not supported by policy or funding.

Ever since the worldwide economic downturn, funding has been increasingly difficult to secure for PALS. Operating on an ever-shrinking budget has meant cutting programs and staff. While still continuing to run peer mediation, leadership, and teacher training when funding is available, PALS has had a difficult time keeping its doors open. While some on the board argue that it is because of the economic downturn, the viewpoint also exists that PALS is no longer “the new thing” around. PALS is yesterday's news. The problem, though, is that Jamaica still has a pressing need to reduce violence.

This has been most frustrating for PALS' core staff, who continue to work hard, often without pay, to bring peaceful conflict resolution to schools and communities that request it. But looking forward, the prospects look fairly dismal. PALS now can afford to keep its doors open only three days each week.

THE FUTURE PATH TO PEACE AND LOVE IN JAMAICA

To outsiders it would seem PALS is nearing the end of its life. But insiders are optimistic. Those involved with PALS over the years have worked hard not only to dream up programs to address the very urgent and long-term needs of a nation through its schools, but also to ensure that the programs they have implemented are sustainable, and that even without a formal PALS training program in place they may continue on, ingrained as part of the school or community culture.

Unfortunately, though, attaining programmatic sustainability has been more successful than achieving PALS' desire for organizational sustainability. It is an all-too-common story: a grassroots organization springs up almost overnight with great excitement, works well for a few years, and then becomes old news, closes its doors, and another one pops up in its place. While the birth of a new organization to fill local needs is a positive step, the lack of institutional memory means that the new organization will have to go through the same trials and errors of the previous one, learning the same lessons, and dealing with the same frustrations all over again.

No matter what happens to PALS as an organization, Jamaica continues its quest for peace and love in society. Whether through PALS or some other group, Jamaica perseveres on the path to find ways to live together peaceably and solve problems in a society where the consequences and costs of violence have been high. PALS has tried to teach that exposure to

violence hinders the development of self-esteem; the capacity to trust; the ability to feel happy, safe, and loved; and the skills to learn. PALS' programs sought to provide the Jamaican people with the knowledge, abilities, and processes needed to choose alternatives to self-destructive, violent behavior when confronted with interpersonal and inter-group conflict. Ultimately, whether through PALS programs or not, Jamaicans need to accept the desirability and the possibility of creating a non-violent society and the right of every citizen to feel safe and be safe. Violence shatters this right, resulting in scars that endure for years—even generations.

NOTES

1. The Peace Education Foundation (PEF), Miami, Florida, generously allowed PALS to use the contents of its workbooks. The PEF is represented on the PALS Board of Directors. The Ministry of Education had to approve the workbooks as well as the training program for teachers.
2. SUPERPALS 1 was later reinvented in SUPERPALS 2 in the northern tourist areas of Jamaica. It was well funded by the Jamaican Ministry of Tourism and was deemed highly successful.
3. These four schools were part of the Canadian International Development Agency's Social Conflict and Legal Reform (SCLR) project.

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CHAPTER 2

PEACE EDUCATION IN TEACHER PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN SALTILLO, MEXICO

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BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

The high levels of violence reported in recent times are a major concern for Mexican society. Saltillo, like many other cities, has been experiencing an increase in violence in recent years. With a population of approximately 725,000 residents, Saltillo is located in northeastern Mexico, south of Texas. This colonial city once known for its auto industry has been falling under escalating violence due to drug trafficking and rival cartel wars. When the teachers at Colegio Inglés, a private K–12 grade school, learned about the Teachers Without Borders (TWB) Peace Education Program for teacher professional development, they immediately requested to study so

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that they could become leaders for peace in their communities. With peace education and a culture of peace as a backdrop, this chapter contends that teacher professional development in peace education (in this case specifically the Teachers Without Borders' Peace Education Program) has the potential to lower rates of violence and contribute towards a culture of peace and nonviolence.

The Colegio Inglés and Their Efforts to Bring Peace to Saltillo

Colegio Inglés is an educational institution founded in 1989 by a group of professionals dedicated to education to provide bicultural education on the pre-school, primary and secondary levels. In 2009, Colegio Inglés based its curriculum on a human development perspective that includes four fundamental areas: academic, science, physical development, and values formation. Their holistic approach is intended to ensure that students are committed to transforming their social, educational, and physical environment through critical thinking and conscious action. The school aspires to be nationally recognized as being a leader in their educational programs from kindergarten to high school. For this reason, they pay special attention to teacher training, are committed to being ecologically conscious, and claim to be among the highest scoring schools on the National Evaluation of Academic Achievement tests, known in Mexico as ENLACE (Colegio Inglés, 2011).

Colegio Inglés is a private school that serves middle and upper middle class families in the south side of Saltillo. It is a bilingual (English and Spanish) institution that employs teachers from Mexico, Japan, the United States, and England. Because great emphasis is placed on the formation of their staff, most teachers hired have a master's degree, they undergo extensive teacher training throughout the year, and all must have a deep commitment to teach values. Shortly after being hired, teachers must take the Peace Education workshop designed by TWB.

History of Peace Education in Mexico

Peace research was introduced in Mexico in the 1990s (Abrego-Franco, 2010). Consisting mainly of education for human rights, it has been heavily supported by the UNESCO Conference on Human Rights, held at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) in 2005. This conference was a direct result of the Seminars on Higher Education and Human Rights, an annual program intended to create academic circles where participants could reflect upon this complex subject matter (Abrego-Franco,

2009). Currently, some publications of manuals for peace values and human rights for teachers of preschool and primary school have been published. Nevertheless, it must be noted that Mexico does not have a formal plan to implement peace education in the schools despite efforts from the Mexican Secretariat of Education to implement it at the national level (Abrego-Franco, 2009).

Relevant Peace Education Research

The criteria for analyzing the literature will be based on the peace education theories and practices being undertaken in Mexico and Spain. The literature review will be organized into four major themes:

1. peace education theories;
2. peace education in the curriculum;
3. studies on school violence in Mexico; and
4. peace education and human rights.

After an exhaustive examination of the literature, there was an evident lack of studies on the evaluation of peace education programs in Mexico. Therefore, this chapter will contribute to the field by exploring the effectiveness of the Teachers Without Borders' Peace Education Program in Saltillo.

Peace Education Theories

One of the most prominent theorists of peace education in Spain is Xesus Jares (Abrego-Franco, 2010; Jares, 2006). His *coexistence* theories (Jares, 2006) are among the most influential in Spain and Latin America and can be summarized in three main categories: human nature contents, human relations contents, and citizenship contents. Jares (2006) suggests educating from and for conflict to learn to coexist from the home to the school and to learn to respect human rights, dignity, and social justice (Abrego-Franco, 2010).

Francisco Jimenez advocates the *neutral peace* theory (Abrego-Franco, 2010; Jimenez-Bautista, 2009). Jimenez-Bautista (2009) contends that there is no such thing as "absolute peace." He explains that neutral peace is characterized by an attitude that seeks to understand the culture of "the other." Therefore, neutral peace is an open attitude that promotes the constructive growth of all human beings; it seeks to counterbalance the violent patterns in society by reorganizing the relationships among individuals, groups, societies, and nature (Jimenez-Bautista, 2009). To Jimenez, the most important instrument to promote neutral peace in all aspects of our daily lives is education.

Freire's *liberatory education* theory (Freire, 1971; Pascual & Yudkin, 2004) posits that liberatory education is practice, reflection, and action of men and women over their world in order to transform it (Freire, 1971). Freire's liberatory education theory is based on the dialogue between teachers and students that leads to an authentic transformation of men and society. For Freire, education is an act of courage that seeks to transform a disadvantaged reality in a spirit of solidarity and fraternity. Therefore, Paulo Freire posits that peace education should not seek to appease people; instead, it should serve to make people more aware of the economic and social inequalities present in structural violence (Pascual & Yudkin, 2004).

Peace education has sometimes been embedded within the *reproduction theory* (Fernández, 1995; Schmelkes, 2000), arguing that education reproduces unequal social relations by separating students according to their social class. This division exacerbates violence in schools and in society. Palomero and Fernandez (2001) summarize the effects of reproduction theory when they assert that "education, through the hidden curriculum, reproduces the dominant norms: male, white, westerner, urban, heterosexual and middle-class" (p. 34).

Peace Education in the Curriculum

Studies on the peace education curricula encompass: structural violence, the values taught in the hidden curriculum, and the methodology of peace education. Structural violence in the school (Fernández, 1995; Jares, 1995) manifests itself in unequally distributed resources; reproduction of social status, meritocracy and competition; and school hierarchies. Fernandez (1995) found that structural violence in the school is closely related to the *hidden curriculum*, which refers to knowledge that is taught implicitly—without the approval of the student or the family, with no intention from the teacher—and transmitted through cultural norms, routines, and daily interactions (Jares, 1995). The hidden curriculum in education systems hinders teamwork, cooperation, and exchange, all necessary elements to create a culture of peace. Even learning structures—with an emphasis on tests, grades, competition, and individualism—have made clear that education systems are hostile to the basic principles of peace education (Fernández, 1995).

Enclosed in the hidden curriculum are the values taught in school. Diaz (2006) observes that today's youth experience a "values crisis" worsened by information technology. Young adults in the 21st century seek instant gratification, and they are more likely to acquire their values from social networks than school settings. Diaz (2006) questions to what extent the school is responsible for the formation of values, while Caballero (2010) contends that teaching values is primarily the family's obligation. Rosa Maria Torres (2000) challenges the behavior of teachers who teach in a values-based

education—promoting respect, solidarity, justice, responsibility, truth, and dignity—when teachers themselves display behaviors that are completely opposite. Yet, this contradiction is not problematized in research. For Diaz (2006), teaching values in the hidden curriculum has more to do with “acting” than with “saying.” In other words, a teacher can talk about democracy, tolerance, and respect, while at the same time acting authoritarian, intolerant, and disrespectful. This would obviously send a mixed message to the students. Furthermore, there is no indication of *how* values can be taught in school. In this regard, Carbajal (1997) offers four case studies where discipline was based on a positive-values model with a human rights approach. The encouraging results revealed that utilizing a human rights approach to peace education resulted in a closer teacher/student relationship and a better group discipline that led to a more peaceful classroom (Carbajal, 1997).

The methodology of peace education establishes that it does not have to be an isolated subject, but may be infused in all aspects of the curriculum (Sainz, 1995). For peace education to be effective, it must be relevant to the student not only in the school, but also in the home. Peace education should be a process that goes from a personal experience to the reflection and analysis of such experience. Teachers’ attitudes, their interactions with students, and the type of activities they design send a louder message than the content of the lessons (Sainz, 1995).

Studies on School Violence in Mexico

School violence in the form of bullying, aggression suffered by teachers, teacher aggression toward students, and the pressure this situation puts on schools, has been researched extensively. In 2001, Palomero and Fernandez found that factors influencing school violence included individual characteristics of students, school environment, poor teacher training, family relations, and structural violence. The authors studied the school with a critical lens and discussed how the school’s standardized norms, monotonous pedagogies, and hidden curriculum might contribute to school violence (Palomero & Fernandez, 2001).

Bullying was analyzed by Valadez in 2008. Her study of 16 secondary schools in Guadalajara, Mexico—where she interviewed students, teachers, parents, and administrators—found that bullying poses serious implications for the Social Health and the Education Department in Mexico (Valadez, 2008). The author concluded that root causes came from teachers who were indifferent to the problem and parents who lacked communication, discipline, and clear rules. Palomero and Fernandez (2001) found that teachers are more concerned with academic performance than with the emotional stability of their students. When faced with bullying, they either ignore it or respond with aggressive behaviors. Teachers do not communicate with

families, they resist change in the classrooms, they ignore the ministry of education's rules, and they refuse to get permanent training (Palomero & Fernandez, 2001). This behavior is corroborated by Prieto (2005), who conducted an ethnographic study at a public secondary school in Mexico City chosen for the high incidence of violence. Prieto's (2005) findings revealed a serious problem with school violence that students and teachers chose to ignore, rather than report or resolve.

Despite a perceived increase in school violence, Muñoz (2008) presents a quantitative study based on the National Institute of Evaluation for Education (INEE). After comparing the statistics of school violence in Mexico to statistics in other parts of the world, Muñoz concluded that Mexico is no more violent than the U.S. or Canada. He also concluded that among countries with the same characteristics as Mexico, the statistical results are not significant enough to infer that violence in Mexico is higher than violence in Brazil or Nicaragua. For this reason, Caballero (2010) advises that we should not fall prey to "social alarmism" or blind trust in schools as spaces of peace.

Peace Education and Human Rights

Caballero (2010) points out that between 2001 and 2009, there has been an increase in educational centers committed to a culture of peace in Spain. These centers were created as part of UNESCO's initiative in favor of human rights and a culture of peace (Caballero, 2010; Jauregui, n.d.). This initiative, called *Red de Escuelas Asociadas* (REA) or Network of Associated Schools, has been adopted by nearly 8,000 schools worldwide; of those, 1,200 are in Latin America (Jauregui, n.d.). The REA is based on a peace education model that promotes human rights, dialogue, and participation. Its main objectives are to promote values, freedom, diversity, non-violent conflict resolution, critical thinking, equality, and protection of the ecosystem (Jauregui, n.d.).

TWB Peace Education Program Launches in Saltillo

On March 26, 2011, TWB's Peace Education Coordinator, Stephanie Knox Cubbon and TWB's Mexico coordinator, Deya Castilleja traveled to Saltillo, Mexico to introduce more than 100 teachers to their Peace Education Program. Ms. Knox Cubbon was to give the keynote speech at the launch of the Peace Education Program, while Ms. Castilleja, along with five teachers from Colegio Inglés, had planned a morning of workshops to generate interest in taking the entire course, which they would later offer through a blended model of face-to-face workshops and online meetings using the TWB Toolset and WebEx platform. This model, using blended methods of delivery and driven by local leadership, was exactly what TWB



Figure 2.1 The Colegio Inglés facilitation team. Photo by: TWB.

had envisioned and dreamed of when developing the program. TWB wants the program to be adopted, contextualized, and taught by local teachers who are passionate about building peace in their communities.

The TWB staff met with Gladys Garcia, the principal of Colegio Inglés school and host for the conference. Gladys had some last-minute details to go over and showed TWB's team the posters they had made (in Spanish and English) of guidelines for the day's workshops. They were a compilation of various principles of the program and guidelines for creating a peaceful atmosphere. It was exciting for the TWB team to see how the posters exemplified a part of the keynote that addressed creating a "zone of peace" in the classroom.

The next day upon arrival at Colegio Inglés, the TWB staff presented their speech in Spanish, and the workshops began. Participants broke off into smaller groups to attend one of six workshops for two hours. Afterwards, they demonstrated what they learned. TWB staff decided to spend about 20 minutes per workshop, observing and taking photos. Stephanie Knox Cubbon, TWB's peace education coordinator, was deeply impressed by each facilitator. They all demonstrated not only how well they knew the program, but also how much they had taken it to heart and taken ownership of it. Each workshop started with a warm-up exercise for the participants to introduce themselves. They then explained the guidelines for the "zone of peace" that they had created, and finally moved into their workshop theme.

At the day's end, participants gave very positive feedback. Out of approximately 100 participants that day, approximately 50 immediately enrolled

in the certification course. It was a fantastic start, with great momentum, but the work was only beginning. These teachers would now be studying the course, and slowly starting to implement and integrate peace education into their classrooms.

What Type of Conflicts is Colegio Inglés Experiencing?

The epidemic of violence is new in Saltillo. A few weeks prior to the program launch, eight people were killed when there was an altercation between police and gangs, and other incidents have been reported. One such incident was a grenade explosion, which was suspected to be another incident of the gangs retaliating against the police for making arrests. This violence permeates society, and especially affects young children who transfer the violence experienced in the streets to their school settings. According to Caballero (2010), even educational centers with cordial and respectful relations among students have experienced undeniable cases of aggression, bullying, exclusion, and denigration. This display of violent behavior, along with an evident loss of values, has forced school officials, teachers, and investigators to take notice of the problem (Diaz, 2006).

Colegio Inglés is well aware of this situation; as a result, in 2009 they re-directed their curriculum to a model centered in human development. They contend that the social changes of moral concepts grow exponentially in a very short time, and this implies that the educational models should be updated in the same way and at the same times (Berlanga, n.d.).

Values formation begins at home and is reinforced in the school and in society. Unfortunately, Berlanga adds, the current educational models are systematically oriented to reaching academic goals and to comply with the timing of official programs, neglecting the development of moral values and critical thinking.

Teachers at Colegio Inglés expect their students to learn the following during their values formation program:

- a. to develop moral thinking;
- b. to develop complex conceptual structures that allow moral development;
- c. to understand the value of cooperation and responsibility as key elements in the development of morality;
- d. to apply peaceful strategies in conflict resolution;
- e. to use self-reflection and self-analysis when required;
- f. to use morals and ethics for their personal development and their integration in society; and

- g. to live experiences that allow for analysis, discussion, and debate of ethical dilemmas to strengthen their own beliefs and values.

Teachers also expect their students to be supported by their parents and their families in this process. Regrettably, teachers at Colegio Inglés reported experiencing growing problems with the children's families. Divorce is negatively affecting children who live in single-parent homes, with a step parent, with the parent's partner, or with an older sibling. Parents are not engaged in their parenting roles, and there is an evident lack of discipline at home, which causes students to be nonchalant. Parents expect the school to take on the disciplining duties; this trend has been discussed by Diaz (2006), who asserts that today's youth face a crisis in the formation of moral values, and in light of this rupture of "ethic guidelines," schools are thought to be responsible for the transmission of values. This idea is shared by Sylvia Schmelkes (2000), who contends that schooling has two main functions: to form the individual for economic competitiveness, and to socialize the individual through values formation.

The TWB Peace Education Program

Leaders at the Colegio Inglés originally learned of the TWB Peace Education Program while taking another TWB professional development program, the Certificate in Teaching Mastery. The leadership team saw the TWB Peace Education Program as the perfect vehicle to solidify their values formation agenda and to teach their students about peace. According to Caballero (2010), peace education is the ideal instrument to develop a culture of peace because it teaches individuals the information, attitudes, and values needed to resolve conflicts without violence. *Culture of peace* is defined by the UN as "a set of behaviors, traditions, and life-styles that are based on the fundamental human rights for the development of a fulfilling and peaceful life" (Caballero, 2010, p. 156).

The Peace Education Program developed by TWB moves from the theoretical to the practical, providing participants with peace education theories and concepts, examples of classroom applications and lesson plans, and key questions to guide participants in their own peace education practice. It is divided in three units: the first unit begins with the history and definitions of peace education, its philosophical underpinnings, and the core concepts in the peace studies field. Unit 2 explores the scope of peace education, reviewing areas such as human rights education, critical peace education, multicultural education, and environmental education. Unit 3 emphasizes practical applications and provides tools and selected activities that teachers can immediately use with their students to build a peaceful classroom, school, and

community (TWB, 2010). After completing the program's three units, teachers are asked to create their own peace education resource. For example, they can develop a lesson plan, start a peace club, plan a community event, or anything they choose that demonstrates their effort to integrate peace education into their communities. After completing this final project, teachers receive a Certificate of Completion in Peace Education from TWB. The course has been taught through in-person workshops in the United States, Canada, Mexico, Kenya, Uganda, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and South Africa and is offered online as an ongoing part of the National Peace Academy Peacebuilding Peacelearning Certificate Program.

School teachers have a particularly important role to play in promoting peace, as they serve as role models and knowledge sources for children and young adults at a formative phase in their development. By being role models for peaceful living, and by helping learners to acquire the knowledge and attitudes needed to live peacefully, teachers can play a vital role in the transformation towards a culture of peace. Therefore, peace education programs, if they are to be successful, require the teacher to truly internalize all the skills, knowledge, values, and attitudes associated with peace education (Baxter & Ikobwa, 2005). Peace values include compassion, justice, equity, gender-fairness, caring for life, sharing, reconciliation, integrity, hope, and nonviolence. A peace attitude consists of a dialogical approach in which teacher and learner educate each other to develop a deeper understanding of problems and are empowered to solve them (TWB, 2011).

Evaluation of the Peace Education Program at Colegio Inglés

The prevention of school violence in its many manifestations and the creation of a culture of peace at Colegio Inglés depend on the appropriate implementation of Teachers Without Borders' Peace Education Program. Evaluation of the program is imperative to examine its impact on the creation of a peace culture, the reduction of violent behaviors, and the internalization of peace values in teachers and students, which all act as indicators of a successful program. For this reason, Sandra Lourdes Candel set out to evaluate the program as part of her master's thesis research in February 2012. Her findings shed light on the impact of the program and are discussed below in more detail.

On How Teachers Perceive Their Role as Peacemakers

From a pool of 19 teachers who volunteered to participate in the study, participants' answers revealed that the greatest contribution of the program was to increase their knowledge about positive and negative peace, about a

culture of peace, and about the theory of peace. Before the program, they only knew peace as the absence of violence. Now, their concept of peace has evolved to include not only their own wellbeing, but also the well-being of those around them. Teachers felt the program prepared them to teach about peace by giving them practical strategies, such as encouraging students to reflect on their behaviors and to solve conflicts using dialogue. The program prepared teachers to be better peacemakers in their professional lives by giving them peace theory and concepts. Even though they did not name specific concepts, the program covered topics that included negative and positive peace, nonviolence, culture of peace, and peace education as transformative practice. Participants also expressed that their greatest role as peacemakers came from a change in their own behavior. Teachers conveyed being more understanding, tolerant, nonjudgmental, and compassionate. They reported being more respectful toward their students and their colleagues and becoming conscientious about social justice. Teachers also indicated gaining skills such as better communication and negotiation practices and using peaceful approaches such as helping students to deescalate conflict by using reflection.

On How Peace Education Has Advanced a Culture of Peace and Reduced Violent Behaviors

As shown in Figure 2.2, a significant 75 percent of teachers interviewed concurred that the program had a positive effect on advancing a culture of peace at Colegio Inglés. The most cited observations were the eradication of violent games during recess, a reduction of verbal violence in the classroom, and an improvement in children's behaviors by becoming better listeners. A lesser 17 percent of participants considered the program to have little or no impact on the reduction of violent behaviors, maintaining that the low incidence of violent behaviors is rather the result of a disciplinary and values-formation system that the school promotes. Only eight percent of participants considered children at school to still be influenced by the violence they experience in their everyday lives.

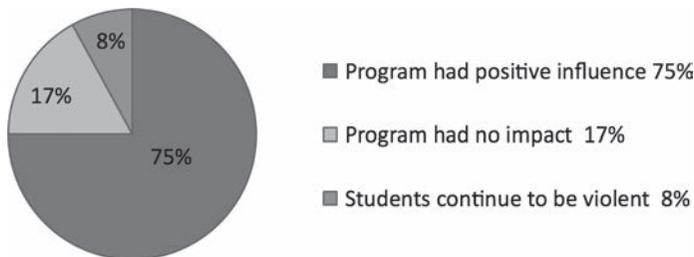


Figure 2.2 Impact of peace education program in advancing a culture of peace.

On How Teachers and Students Internalized Peace Values

The researcher conducted qualitative one-hour classroom observations at Colegio Inglés in the first, third, and sixth grades with no more than twenty students per classroom. Observations were based on teacher and student behavior, classroom atmosphere, class contents, activities, and instructive materials. The most observed value was respect among teachers and students. Every classroom flowed in an orderly manner, and people treated each other kindly. The researcher was impressed by the level of respect displayed throughout the day, not only in the classrooms, but throughout the school. However, in the brief interviews conducted after each class observation, one teacher reported having an incident involving a lack of respect from one of the students. The teacher commented that a few students were defiant and rude, attributing this unacceptable conduct to parents' absolute support for their children, an inability of parents to establish consequences at home, and loose disciplinary actions at school. These incidents, it must be noted, were isolated. The next most observed value was nonviolence. Overall, teachers and students seemed calm, with the obvious playful behaviors common in kids. Tolerance was mainly displayed by teachers who tried to be accepting of their students' different abilities, and students who tried to be accepting of their English, Japanese, and American teachers. Compassion was the least observed value and the most difficult to detect because of the short observation time.

Unstructured interviews, which offered participants the opportunity to share intimate and elaborate responses on the internalization of values, revealed that for teachers, the most internalized value was compassion. This was surprising, as in the researcher's observations, compassion was one of the least observed values. Interviewees indicated that students internalized compassion by being empathetic, or by "putting themselves in the other's shoes" as several teachers mentioned repeatedly during interviews. One way for teachers to show compassion was by being more understanding of each student's situation and trying to be supportive and caring. Teachers internalized nonviolence by becoming more conscious about using peaceful behaviors and maintaining composure in stressful situations. Interviewees noted that students showed more respect by using good manners and becoming better listeners. Teachers described an increase in students' tolerance by being more accepting of differences, especially among older secondary students.

According to all participating teachers, internalized peace values were being displayed not only in their school, but were being transferred to their homes as well. They reported, for example, being more tolerant while they were driving and being more considerate with their spouses at home. These seemingly minor acts decreased the frequency and degree of family conflicts.

Data analyzed seems to indicate a pattern among participants who took the peace education program and participants who did not. Participants

of the program displayed a genuine desire to put into practice a peace culture, showing more patience and a better disposition to solving problems. Non-participants were less hopeful and less optimistic about positive change. However, follow up research is needed to confirm that the peace education program directly influenced these behaviors.

The Most Useful Modules of the Peace Education Program According to Teachers

As shown in Figure 2.3, the survey revealed the following: Education for Peace, Conflict Resolution, and Building a Culture of Peace in Your School were considered to be the most useful modules from the entire program. Disarmament Education was rated the least helpful module, with teachers arguing that Mexico does not have armed conflict.

Participants felt the program covered two major needs: it gave structure to Colegio Inglés’ values formation agenda, and it prepared teachers to use critical empowerment with their students to help them become aware of their reality. However, participants felt a number of needs were *not* met by the program. First of all, the program did not address family issues that have a negative impact on students. The city of Saltillo—and Mexican society in general—is experiencing a crisis in values formation that negatively

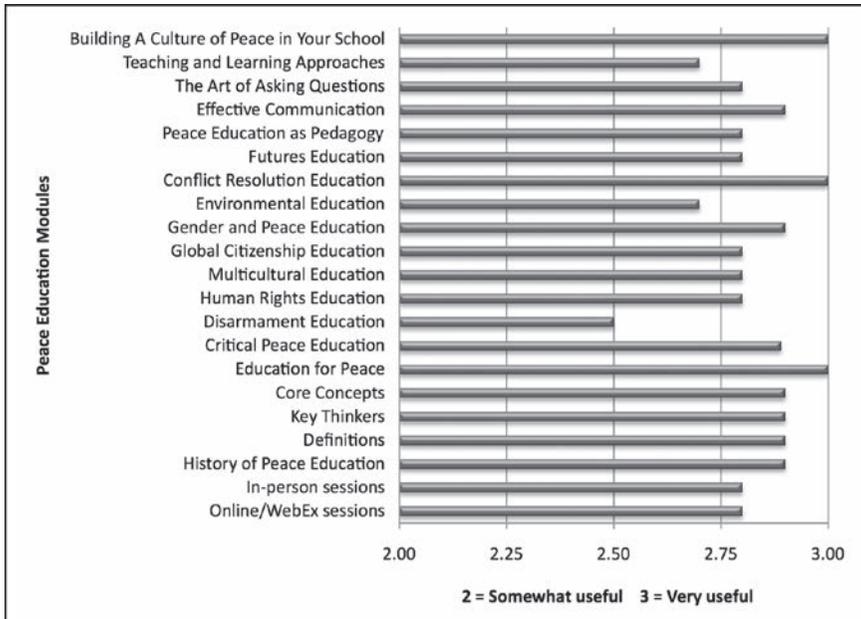


Figure 2.3 Peace education program modules according to how useful they were to teachers.

influences the family structure. Participants considered it imperative that TWB incorporates a module that addresses divorce, neglect from parents, lack of discipline at home, and the new demands on modern families. Secondly, the program failed to adequately address the cultural issue of critical thinking. Participants observed that, as a general rule, Mexican society is non-analytical. The program should seek to incorporate modules that foster critical thinking while deterring biased judgments, stressing the importance of analytical and critical-thinking skills for citizens. Thirdly, the program was perceived as insensitive to language needs. This was unexpected, since TWB goes to great lengths to have its programs translated to every language spoken in the regions they cover. This study, however, uncovered the need to accommodate non-Spanish-speaking participants, who reported feeling “left out.” The authors would like to note that the program is available in English and could have been made available to the participants had this need been communicated during the program. Finally, participants expressed that the program should be enhanced with visual aids and should incorporate modules that reflect the problems they are facing. Fourthly, the program design requires improvement.

FINAL THOUGHTS

Peace education seeks to develop democratic societies capable of a peaceful coexistence founded in justice and equality that reject violence in all its forms. Thus, there must be a joint effort that includes the school, family, socio-political, economic, and cultural contexts (Abrego-Franco, 2010). This case study of peace education in one school indicates the need for widespread expansion of peace education programs, and especially in regards to teacher professional development in peace education. Peace education is needed as part of the solution to the violence that currently plagues Mexican society, and teachers are an integral part of this solution.

The seed of peace has been planted in Saltillo, a place that is struggling with an epidemic of violence. These teachers give us great hope, not only for this small city, but for the world.

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CHAPTER 3

PEACE EDUCATION IN THE GRASSROOTS IN THE PHILIPPINES

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INTRODUCTION

The Philippines is the second largest archipelago in the world, consisting of more than 7,100 islands scattered in the westernmost Pacific Ocean. The people of the Philippines, now known as Filipinos, have survived almost four centuries of colonization and foreign domination by Spain, the United States, and Japan. Despite the debilitating influence associated with the

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colonial history of all colonized peoples, the Philippines today is a beautiful island nation of warm-hearted, intelligent, resilient and resourceful people.

In 1986, the Philippines “people power” movement brought down the oppressive Marcos dictatorship and installed Corazon Aquino as the first woman president in Southeast Asia. In 2001, the Filipino people received an award from the Nobel Peace Prize Laureates Foundation (Nobel Foundation) and the Center for Global Non-Violence for their courageous example of people power as an exercise of living democracy. The Philippines is the first country to receive such recognition for the promotion of change through peaceful means.

The people’s organizations (POs) and non-government organizations (NGOs) that mobilized the 1986 people power were not “recent” elements of the Filipino social and political movements. As early as the 1970s, sectoral groups of urban poor, laborers, peasants, students, and other cause-oriented groups courageously challenged the Marcos dictatorship despite risks of limbs, life, and livelihood. As demonstrated in the event of Philippine people power in 1986, which deposed the president, social movements emerged to a position once solely dominated by political parties and formations.

Today we can witness diverse exemplars of maturing and enduring social and political movements and networks in the Philippines. Their vision and mission focus on many sectors, institutions, and locations, including people-centered development for marginalized rural or urban communities, women, indigenous peoples, environmental sustainability, human rights advocacy, interfaith dialogue, and traditional approaches to overcoming armed conflicts and militarization.

One of the most significant contributions of such movements, groups, and networks to societal transformation in the Philippines has been their commitment to building peace based on transformative educational pedagogy and non-violent processes. Through the work of formal educators at all levels from schools to universities, and community or non-formal educators in NGOs (non-governmental organizations) and POs (people’s organizations), young and older citizens develop a critical consciousness towards issues that determine their quality of life and their social, economic, political and natural environments. Citizens learn to overcome years of uncritical acceptance of “top-down” and “authority-based” knowledge as they ask questions about the root causes of societal problems. Through a continuing educational process, the people acquire skills for gathering data to answer those questions as objectively as possible—skills that are infused with ethics, reciprocity, and solidarity. This is peace education in the grassroots in the Philippines.

The work of peace educators in all levels of schooling and non-formal educational contexts may not always be as visible as participating in peace

rallies, peace negotiations and other forms of non-violent action. But as practitioners of such visible peacebuilding actions will admit, education is necessary to help the reconstruction and re-formation of consciousness that enhances knowledge, values, and competencies or skills consistent with a more peaceful world now and in the future.

This essay represents a collaborative effort to narrate our longstanding commitment to peace and our networking efforts with other peace educators in the Philippines.

LORETA NAVARRO-CASTRO

One cannot underestimate the influence that a training institute or seminar-workshop can have on a participant. This perspective has guided my own involvement in the work of peace education. In 1979, after I participated in a two-week institute in New York organized by Gerald and Patricia Mische, founders of the Global Education Associates (GEA), I felt that I reached a turning point in my life. I had been a teacher for ten years when this awakening happened. The experience made me see that educating the educators towards becoming peace educators was a strategic approach. I realized how a new vision of education—one that is holistic, human and ecological—could be built from the ground up, by training and exposing teachers and administrators to the learning content and processes that comprise peace education. Upon my return from the New York Institute, Dr. Lourdes R. Quisumbing, founding president of the Philippine Council for Global Education (now called Philippine Council for Peace and Global Education), invited me to share my experience with Miriam College (then called Maryknoll College), where I was a teacher.

Hence in the 1980s the school started its peace education thrust by infusing peace and global perspectives into subject areas such as the social studies. In 1988, a three-unit college level course entitled “Introduction to Peace Studies” was introduced in the curriculum of the international studies department. This initial course has evolved into a whole academic minor program called Peace Studies, with a good enrolment and with many of its graduates working in civil society organizations (CSOs) and in government agencies such as the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process. Another curricular milestone is the inclusion of a three-unit peace education course in the teacher education major curriculum.

In 1991, Miriam College committed itself to being a zone of peace. In its “Declaration of Miriam College as a Zone of Peace,” the community pledged that it would promote caring relationships, non-violent conflict resolution, cooperation instead of aggressive competition, a simple lifestyle, and peace action/activities of social concern. It was also in the 1990s when the “Whole

School Approach” to peace education was embraced. This means that the school has been attempting to infuse the ideas, perspectives, and values of peace in the various aspects of the school’s life—curriculum; teaching-learning processes; student development programs such as education sessions on conflict resolution, peer mediation, challenging prejudice, and bullying; faculty and staff development programs; materials development; organizational structures and policies; and its socio-political actions. It is an approach that Miriam College has tried to share with other academic institutions in the country during talks and workshops, believing that this is the best way to be effective so that the transformation we are seeking happens not only in the classroom but also in the whole school and even beyond. This peace education advocacy was of course also being advanced by other national organizations such as the Catholic Educational Association of the Philippines (CEAP) and the World Council for Curriculum and Instruction- Philippine Chapter (WCCI).

A challenge in the 1990s was the lack of teaching materials, and this was the time when I attempted to write a textbook entitled *Tungo sa Isang Mapayapang Mundo* (Towards a Peaceful World) for grade seven social studies (Castro, 1993). It was soon adopted by other schools either as a textbook or reference. Some years ago I invited my Center for Peace Education colleague, Jasmin Nario-Galace, to be my co-author in this book’s revised edition (Castro & Galace, 2009). It was around this time that Jasmin and I worked on a book addressed more to educators, *Peace Education: A Pathway to a Culture of Peace* (Navarro-Castro & Nario-Galace, 2008). We have used this as our basic material for our teaching and training work.

In 1997 the Center for Peace Education (CPE) was formally established at Miriam College, as a natural development in the evolution of the school’s peace education efforts. I was its founding director, and I continue to work for the CPE to this day. Although based in a school, the CPE’s mission is much bigger than just serving Miriam College. Hence, the CPE has the following goals: to institutionalize and strengthen the peace education thrust of Miriam College through faculty training, curriculum development, research, and student development programs; to help promote the culture of peace in the larger society by sharing Miriam College’s inspiration, knowledge, and experience with other groups and educational institutions, including those that are underserved; and to network and develop partnerships with peace-oriented groups and with all people of goodwill towards advocating and building a culture of peace.

The establishment of a Center for Peace Education enabled a more systematic training of Miriam College faculty and students. Faculty members were given an orientation workshop on peace education before the start of a new school year. The students received conflict resolution skills training and selected student leaders received peer mediation training. To support

these two training programs for the students, the CPE produced a source book on these topics authored by Jasmin Nario-Galace (2006b).

Recognizing the need to be more organized in our education work and advocacy as peace educators, the CPE initiated the first meeting of the Peace Educators Network (PEN) and has been its coordinator to this date. The PEN is a loose network of organizations and educational institutions throughout the country that undertake peace education or are keenly interested in promoting education for peace and non-violence in either the school system or through the community-based or alternative learning system.

The PEN became active in writing joint letters, statements, and appeals addressing issues on education. For example, the PEN appealed to the Education Secretary urging the Department of Education and Sports (DECS) to “undertake a more systematic teacher orientation and human resource development for peace education and a more systematic utilization of peace education materials such as the modules co-produced by the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP) and DECS.” In 2003, the DECS and OPAPP conducted a nationwide launching of the revised peace education modules. It was accompanied by a series of basic orientation training exercises that involved about 300 public school administrators and teachers. The CPE provided the orientation in peace education. The PEN also sent appeals in connection with the internal conflicts in Mindanao, calling for ceasefire and resumption of the peace talks each time they were stalled. One relatively recent statement was against the return of the mandatory Reserved Officers Training Corps (ROTC), which certain members of Congress were proposing at one time.

During the resurgence of war between the government forces and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) in February 2003 that resulted in hundreds of thousands of evacuees, the PEN members engaged in fundraising for the displaced war victims. The PEN raised an aggregate of more than PhP 200,000, which was turned over to Tabang Mindanaw, a CSO that does relief and rehabilitation work at evacuation centers for war victims.

Soon after the war of 2003, PEN joined the Mindanao Solidarity Network (MSN). The MSN is a group of Metro Manila based groups that work in solidarity with the Mindanao peace advocates. PEN members have also cooperated among themselves in the conduct of multilateral and bilateral peace education efforts such as the conducting of youth conferences and faculty workshops in PEN member-schools. In 2009, the PEN had a conference on Good Practices in Peace Education to celebrate PEN’s 10th year anniversary.

In August 2004, the CPE launched with the help of Balay Rehabilitation Center (a PEN member) a Twinning Project with the theme “Building Bridges of Understanding and Peace” between the Miriam College’s grade seven and high school students and students of Rajah Muda High School (RMHS), a public high school in Pikit, Cotabato attended by

Muslim students. The project's overarching goal is to challenge prejudice and to build understanding and solidarity between the two youth groups, through exchange of letters, the publication of joint newsletters, and joint training workshops. The teachers involved in the project have also held a joint seminar. This project is still ongoing and in June 2012, an assessment of the effects of the project was done, using content analysis of the themes of the reflection-essays that the student-participants have contributed. The findings showed that the theme mentioned most is "aversion to war." This is followed by the students' realization of their "role in building peace, including raising the awareness of others," and their conviction that "despite their differences, Muslims and Christians can be united and can help each other in promoting peace." Another theme that "friendship can be created despite diversity" was a belief mentioned by many participants. The subsequent group actions by the student-participants after their return to their school communities have shown that they have undertaken activities relevant to their own contexts. In the case of the RMHS students, one of their most significant initiatives is the establishment of a Peace Club named "Suara No Kalilintad," Maguindanaon for "Voices of Peace." In the case of the MC students, they organized short echo seminars for their fellow students. A distinctive activity to which they contribute very actively every year is the annual celebration of the Mindanao Week of Peace. The regular features of the Mindanao Week of Peace are awareness-raising activities and fund-raising to help their twin school, the Rajah Muda High School, as well as to help Mindanao- and peace-related causes. This assessment indicates that there have been positive effects of the project on the participants' beliefs and attitudes as well as on actions they have taken as a group.

In 2006 a significant peace education policy framework was signed by then President Arroyo, Executive Order 570. It was entitled "Institutionalizing Peace Education in Basic Education and Teacher Education." A technical working group (TWG) for EO 570 was created to work on the implementing guidelines addressed mainly to the Department of Education and the Commission on Higher Education, the two main agencies tasked to implement the order. However, I now realize that there can be a huge variance between having an Executive Order and having it implemented widely.

From 2007 to 2010, the CPE organized four peace education workshops for eight Southeast Asian countries in collaboration with the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict. The participants were formal educators, community-based educators, and curriculum officers of ministries of education in Southeast Asia. Participants from the Philippines included the curriculum officers of the Department of Education (DepEd).

Beginning in 2010 the CPE focused on conducting training workshops for teacher-educators or faculty of colleges of education in the Philippines.

We view this as a strategic move because of the multiplier effect inasmuch as teacher-educators teach hundreds of pre-service or prospective teachers each year. In a monitoring survey that the CPE conducted with the May 2011 participants six months after their training workshop, the results show that all the respondent teams were able to integrate peace education themes in various subjects in the teacher education curriculum.

In 2011 the CPE collaborated closely with the Catholic Educational Association of the Philippines (CEAP). The CEAP adopted peace education as the theme of its national convention and its regional assemblies. Jasmin and I served as CEAP's resource persons.

Interfaith Peacebuilding is also a branch of peace work that the CPE has been concerned with. We cooperated mainly with two leaders in the interfaith peacebuilding work, Fr. Sebastiano D'Ambra of the Silsilah Dialogue Movement and Marites Guingona-Africa of the Peacemakers' Circle. In the first week of February 2013, we marked the UN-declared World Interfaith Harmony Week with meaningful activities together with other faith-based organizations.

In the recent years the CPE, through fellow peace educator Jasmin Nario-Galace, has been active in the campaign for the adoption of an Arms Trade Treaty (ATT). Similarly, she has also been active in the formulation and implementation of the National Action Plan on UN Security Council Resolution 1325. The CPE is in fact the Secretariat of the Women Engaged in Action on 1325 (WE Act 1325), a network of civil society organizations on women, peace, and human rights. This work on the ATT and UNSCR 1325 on women, peace, and security issues enabled the CPE to work closely with the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP), the Philippine National Police (PNP), and the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), by cooperating with these government agencies in the conduct of trainings and consultations.

The CPE has endeavored to link with many kindred groups locally and globally. We are active in various local networks such as Kiloskapayapaan, Waging Peace Philippines, Mindanao Solidarity Network, Sulong CARHRI-HL, Philippine Action Network to Control Arms (PhilANCA), Philippine Campaign against Cluster Munitions (PCCM), Pax Christi and Generation Peace Youth Network. It is mainly through these local peace networks that the CPE supports the ongoing peace processes in the country, between government and non-state armed groups.

REFLECTIONS

Over the three decades that I have worked as a peace educator, I can note the following positive developments. One is the establishment of a Center

for Peace Education at Miriam College, the first such center in Metro Manila. It became a hub for peace education activities in the national capital region and nationally. Both formal and community-based peace educators have also gravitated to the CPE in their search of resources, including several CPE publications. The initiation of the PEN composed of schools, organizations, and individuals interested in peace education is another significant development. The PEN enabled the flourishing of many collaborative activities ranging from awareness-raising to advocacy efforts. I am also happy about the collaboration with multiple stakeholders, including government agencies (OPAPP, DepEd, PNP, AFP) and many civil society organizations whose names were mentioned earlier. There have been fruitful results in terms of formulation and implementation of plans related to peacebuilding. The effects of CPE projects on participants have also yielded positive results. Based on reports received from former participants of the CPE teacher-training workshops, the following are most notable: the establishment of a Peace Education Center in De La Salle Lipa (Southern Luzon) specifically to serve teachers in their region and the inclusion of a three-unit peace education course in the teacher education curriculum of Western Visayas State University.

Amidst these successes, the CPE has encountered two major obstacles. The first is not having enough time for all the work that needs to be done. To overcome this, the CPE is assisted by faculty associates who volunteer their services in various CPE activities and workshops. We also encouraged the formation of a peace-oriented student organization in 1998, which has been very helpful in the awareness-raising, lobbying and advocacy efforts of the CPE. The second challenge is the constant struggle for funding sources for the projects. Nevertheless, we continue to search creatively and also to protect the good image of the Center by providing timely and accurate reports to the funders.

OFELIA DURANTE

For many people, whether Filipinos or foreigners, Mindanao is a land of promise because of the beauty and richness of its natural resources. Mindanao is home to three major groups, referred to as the island's tri-people: the Christians, the Muslims, and the indigenous peoples.

Yet, for a long time until today, many people view it as an unsafe place. For more than three decades now, Mindanao has been surrounded by violence, engulfed by the continuing conflict between the government and the Moro separatist groups in the area. The Moros in Mindanao have a long history of struggle. This dates back to the time when the Philippines was colonized by Spain for 333 years. The Moros fought bravely, not wanting

to be conquered by a foreign power. They continue to assert their rights to traditional lands and to self-determination. Conflicts escalate with armed confrontations between government forces and the CPP-NPA, the MNLF and MILF, the Abu Sayaf, the numerous clan conflict commonly known as “rido” (Durante, Gomez, Sevilla, & Manego, 2007), and the disturbances perpetrated by criminal elements and private armies of politicians.

At the root of this violence are the contest for natural resources and poverty brought about by the denial or absence of justice to a large segment of the population. As violence increases, our people plunge deeper into the abyss of deprivation and misery; the nation projects a panorama of escalating human rights violations, innocent civilians falling helpless victims of senseless killings, indigenous people’s ancestral lands being sacrificed in the name of modernization, ecological degradation resulting in flash floods, gender discrimination, loss of spirituality, and a host of other problems of increasing magnitude and gravity. These onslaughts on the dignity and rights of the human person and the integrity of the environment create an image of a country heading towards self-destruction.

Amid all of this chaos, peace education found its way in, slowly being recognized as a major tool toward the transformation of these conflicts. In 2006, Executive Order 570 was issued mandating the institutionalization of peace education in basic education and teacher education. While there are now efforts to implement this order through the formation of schools for peace especially in conflict affected areas, my journey dates much farther back.

My Peace Education Journey

Looking back, I can trace the roots of my interest in peace to my Oblate of Mary Immaculate (OMI) training. I was brought up by my devout Catholic parents, having the OMI priests as close family friends. The Oblate charism “preferential option for the poor” became part of my training from childhood. Living in a multicultural community, respect and solidarity has also been a way of life for me.

All these facilitated my entry to peace education. My formal peace education journey started at Notre Dame University (NDU) in 1987. NDU hosted one of the first Peace Education Centers in the Philippines. The Center was established, with the assistance of a partner peace educator from Australia, Professor Swee-Hin Toh, to become a focal point of the first graduate program in peace and development education in the Philippines.

Since this was the first tertiary level peace education program in the Philippines, enormous difficulties came along the process. Obstacles appeared in getting a permit to offer a graduate program in this field, building a library with no financial resources, getting faculty support, and attracting

students to enroll in the program. We surpassed all these barriers through hard labor, patience, and assertiveness. Building a peace education library with no financial resources was the most challenging. One very successful strategy was to write to many libraries in the world pleading for support. Months later boxes of books arrived, allowing us to build a decent peace education library, again the first in the country. The first batch of peace and development graduates was small, but the program generated an overwhelming interest and commitment among the arts and sciences faculty who enrolled in some of the courses. This paved the way to the formation of a core group of peace educators. This core group was mainly responsible for spreading peace education in Mindanao. The members of the core group are full time faculty members who spend all their “free” time at the Center discussing peace issues and building a vertical file of newspaper articles used in peace education classes in the graduate and undergraduate levels. Weekends of the core group members were spent facilitating peace education workshops among teachers, administrators, and students of schools in nearby municipalities, among church leaders and workers, local government executives and civil servants.

Leaving NDU in the year 2000 opened a new window of opportunity for me to participate in peace education. Moving to Ateneo de Zamboanga University (ADZU) and becoming the research director offered more opportunities to engage with communities, especially in the island provinces. At the same time I was given the chance to facilitate a series of workshops for the member schools of ZamBaSulTAPS (Zamboanga, Basilan, Sulu, Tawi-Tawi Association of Private Schools). The experience was remarkable since these areas encountered a long history of difficult and different conflicts.

There were also opportunities for research such as dialogue with communities in conflict in Zamboanga, Sulu, Basilan and Tawi-Tawi. .

Recycling war trash for peace research (Durante, 2005) was conducted in the province of Basilan after a big war between the Philippine Government and the AbuSayaf, a Moro separatist movement. The conflict characterized by hostage-taking, bombing of public places, and armed confrontation between government troops and the Abu Sayyaf, resulted in a large number of orphans. Children in the school-age group were compelled to shift their roles in place of their parents to augment family income or take full responsibility for the family’s subsistence, leading to disruption or permanent discontinuance of their schooling. This further exacerbated the already alarming existence of out-of-school youths (OSY) in the area as one more feature of poverty. In sum, the problems identified by the community were associated with the youth of Basilan categorized as follows: (a) stressful effects of trauma arising from their personal experiences; (b) economic pressures of sudden role shift, having lost their parents in the war; (c) insufficient or lack of productive means for mental and emotional diversion

in the process of coping. These problems became the focal points of this research. The project trained 25 OSY on metal crafting to transform empty bullets, collected from the community in exchange for food and clothing, into peace items such as bells, gongs and other ornaments. The six-month training integrated peace education.

Konsult Mindanao was a research project that opened an opportunity for the people of Mindanao to participate in the peace process: a peace talk between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). The peace process broke down in 2008, resulting in the displacement of more than 600,000 people and polarization and insecurity among the population. The Bishop Ulama Conference, an interfaith organization composed of 24 Catholic bishops who are also members of the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines (CBCP), 26 Ulama and Ustadz, members of the Ulama League of the Philippines (ULP), and 18 protestant bishops and pastors who are members of the National Council of Churches in the Philippines (NCCP), recognizing the enormous problems facing Mindanao, undertook a project of consultation and dialogue with the tri-people communities. The project involved conducting more than 300 focus group discussions all over the country. This meant confronting four major questions: (a) What is your vision of peace in Mindanao? (b) What are your recommendations for the GRP-MILF peace talks? (c) What other activities must we do to attain broader peace? (d) What are you willing to offer and sacrifice for the sake of peace in Mindanao? (Alejo, 2010).

In 2007, ADZU hosted the first Mindanao Community-based Institute on Peace Education on the theme “Interfaith Dialogue and Peace education,” which brought together almost one hundred school administrators, peace educators, interfaith dialogue practitioners, advocates, and activists to share successes and difficulties in implementing peace education and interfaith dialogue programs (Durante, 2007).

ADZU offers a doctoral program in development education where peace and development courses are offered. A confirmation of the significant influence of the peace education course came from one of the graduates of the program. She became a training officer of one of the biggest agencies in the Philippines preparing seafarers to work abroad. She developed a peace education manual for seafarers that she used in her one-week training,

Peace education continues to spread in Mindanao, especially in conflict areas. In 2011, AusAid Basic Education Assistance for Mindanao completed an Islam-based peace education program for the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). The ARMM was created in 1990 to help solve the long-festered armed conflict in Mindanao and at the same time hasten the economic development of the Muslim areas. It covers the predominantly Muslim provinces in Mindanao. The conceptual framework of

the Islam-based peace education program states that: “*peace education in the ARMM should be built on the synergies and complementarities of the three ideologies or worldviews, namely, Islamic, Filipino and Moro, guided by the holistic framework of peace education by Swee-Hin Toh and Virginia Cawagas.*”

An important peace education program that Swee-Hin Toh, Virginia Cawagas, and I are involved in is the Mindanao Peacebuilding Institute (MPI). It is an Asian training institute based in Davao City, Philippines. The Institute, established in 2000, brings together peace builders of diverse cultures from the Asia-Pacific Region (sometimes Africa and North America) to participate in annual peacebuilding training. Since its inception, MPI has been a meeting point of peace builders from many Asia-Pacific countries as well as other parts of the world. MPI conducts annual trainings using models developed and adapted for and by Asians. Peace Education is one of the courses regularly offered since 2002 adopting the holistic framework developed by Swee-Hin Toh and Virginia Cawagas.

One of the highlights of the MPI training is the development of an exit plan as a commitment of participants to apply what they have learned. One of the participants of the May 2012 training, working with the Department of Social Welfare and Development in Butuan City posted this update in her Facebook account:

I'm burning my midnight candles these past few weeks working on the Module on Peace Education I committed during our action planning. Our GIZ partner and our Technical Working Group commissioned me to finish the module for critiquing by August. The module will be used to integrate peace education in our Family Development Sessions (FDS) and will reach all our Pantawid Pamilya Beneficiaries (at least 200,000 households in Caraga region alone).

Currently, I am assisting public schools located in Pikit, Maguindanao (Pikit was the seat of the 2000, 2003, and 2008 government's “all out war” program to “solve” the Moro struggle for self-determination) in building schools of peace. The goal of the school's peace program is to strengthen peacebuilding in communities affected by hostilities or those vulnerable to conflict. It is hoped that the program will contribute to the dismantling of a culture of war among the children and youth by integrating peace education in the school curriculum.

As a response to the President's Executive Order 570: Institutionalizing Peace Education in Basic Education and Teacher Education, the Commission on Higher Education Region XI with the assistance of Forum ZFD, a German NGO, implemented a peace education program for teacher education. I facilitated the development of a peace education manual involving faculty members of 14 teacher education colleges in the region. The manual will be pilot tested in 21 teacher colleges in Region XI during the second semester.

REFLECTIONS

Five reflections emerged from our peace education experience in Mindanao.

Conflict affected areas: A rich ground for cultivating peace education. A question often asked in many of the workshops and conferences is “how sure are we that if we do peace education, then there will be peace in Mindanao?” The answer often given is “we plant seeds and by the grace of God, these will grow and bear fruit.” Mindanao, a conflict affected area, is the seat of the first peace education program in the Philippines. The seeds were planted in the post-martial law regime and continued to grow, making the Mindanao project one of the models for successful peace education programs in the country, or in the world, perhaps.

Patience, perseverance, dedication and commitment. The challenges we faced in terms of limited administrative support, inadequate financial assistance, conflicts in the environment to the extent that we were suspected as supportive of the rebels, and apathy among some communities questioning our motives and successes made the road to peace more difficult. Patience and perseverance were needed in the face of all the obstacles and risks to convince people that peace education is the way to peace.

Supportive environment. Peace education in the schools and the community require support of school administrators in the case of private schools, local government executives in the case of community projects, and the Department of Education officials in the case of public schools. The peace education programs in NDU as well as the Notre Dame Educational Association (NDEA) were cases in point. The NDU program proved to be very successful at the time when there was complete support by top administrators. In our engagement with the NDEA program, we conducted a series of workshops for teachers and principals for one year hoping that in the next year the program would take off in all the Notre Dame Schools. Unfortunately, we forgot to include presidents of the colleges and universities in the workshops. The programs were successfully implemented only after we conducted a series of workshops with the top administration. We learned much from this experience, so in succeeding programs we always involved top administrators from the very start of the project. We did this successfully with Assumption College of the Philippines, composed of 16 colleges and schools all over the country. A similar experience happened with the public schools in three provinces of Region XII (formerly known as Central and Western Mindanao). We trained the teachers who responded to our invitation. A number of them were so excited about the program that they started to apply the concepts and principles of peace education in their teaching. These aroused suspicion among the Department of Education officials. But we gained converts when we conducted a workshop with these administrators.

Peace is learned beyond the classroom. Linking academe with the community is a vital component of any peace education program. For the NDU graduate program, the Peace Education Center in partnership with local non-government organizations provided meaningful experiences for the students. The Peace Education Center of ADZU facilitated all the workshops conducted for ZamBaSulTAPs and coordinated the peace education community exposure of graduate students. Immersion in marginalized communities (e.g., informal sectors area), such as the Silsilah Dialogue Movement Interfaith community struggle to prevent mining in the area, or indigenous peoples communities such as the Subanen of Zamboanga del Sur, made peace education courses unforgettable for many students. The exposures and field trips guided students in the identification of their dissertation topics or career choices. “Documenting *Bahay Kalinga* best practices;” “Peace Education of the Mindanao State University system;” and “Civil Society Development Paradigm” were among the dissertation topics that were found to be very useful for both the community and the academe.

Peace education in peace research. In much of the peace research we conducted, peace education pedagogical principles were observed. In dialogue with the participating community, we understood that the projects implemented should benefit the communities. We also ensured that the community is not exploited but rather empowered by the research project. In the “recycling war trash” project, 25 OSY acquired skills to be gainfully employed at the end of the project. In the “Konsult Mindanao” research, avenues for dialogue among the tri-people of Mindanao were opened for them to freely discuss their vision of peace for Mindanao and together explore steps towards peace. Values formation was expressed very clearly in the recycling war trash project, for both the ADZU and the Basilan communities. The ADZU students were made aware of the conflict situation in Basilan, thus promoting the values of compassion and intercultural respect among the ADZU community. On the other hand, among the Basilan OSY and the communities hosting the project, values of non-violence, compassion, forgiveness, and intercultural respect were cultivated.

This is a story of 25 years of peace education in multicultural, multi-faith areas continuously experiencing conflict. Together with fellow peace educators, we climbed mountains and crossed rivers and still often ask among ourselves, what have we accomplished? Why is there no peace yet in Mindanao?

We persevere and continue our journey inspired by small successes and believing that if we continue to light one little candle, as the song goes, we will achieve the goal we have set. We continue to plant seeds of a culture of peace. With the grace of God, these have started to grow and in some ways are bearing fruits.

VIRGINIA FLORESCA-CAWAGAS

My first lessons in peace education came from my parents. From my father: fairness, courage, and integrity. In the community, he had a reputation of “fighting for the underdog.” He had a very strong sense of justice. He always felt that those who have more in life, whether power or wealth or knowledge, have a responsibility to share with those who have less, not as a matter of charity but out of justice. It was through our father’s eyes that we, the children, became aware of the differences and tensions between rich and poor, landowner and laborer, the powerful and the powerless. Our mother complemented our father’s temperament and personality in many ways. It is through her example that we learned to be kind, gentle, and compassionate, never seeking to harm anybody, especially in hurtful and malicious words. Undoubtedly the most remarkable aspect of my years in early schooling was the opportunity to grow up together with young girls and boys whose bonds of friendship are still kept alive today after almost five decades. In school we learned to value relationships more than achievements. School then was much more of an extended family whose members were concerned about learning together rather than competing to excel.

As a schoolteacher and school principal in a small town for almost two decades, I have endeavored to create an inclusive and caring school community that included parents as well as political and traditional leaders of the town. A lesson I learned then was to always have faith in the ability of human communities to overcome difficulties and transcend seemingly insurmountable tensions so long as they are bound by a common vision of peace and commitment to the principle of non-violence.

From the early 1980s to the end of the century, I became involved in national and international organizations actively engaged in education for peace, such as the International Institute on Peace Education (IIPE), founded by the pioneer peace educator, Betty Reardon, the Peace Education Commission (PEC) of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA), and the World Council of Curriculum and Instruction (WCCI). I edited the first WCCI publication documenting the world-acclaimed 1986 people’s power in the Philippines entitled *Active Nonviolence in Action: The Philippine Experience* (Floresca-Cawagas, 1987). This publication was intended not merely to document the events leading to the 1986 people’s power but to provide inspiring lessons on non-violence as a path to lasting peace. In appreciation of this effort, Bro. Rolando Dizon, then president of the Catholic Educational Association of the Philippines, exhorted in his preface,

To my fellow believers and workers in the field of active nonviolence, I salute you for the laudable effort to put together this book. May this serve to remind us of the modern miracle of nonviolence which culminated in EDSA. May it

serve to inspire us to continue to dream, to struggle and to work for a truly human world where justice, freedom and peace will prevail. (Floresca-Cawagas, 1987, p. v)

My contribution to the birth and growth of peace education in formal schools in the Philippines started from my early work in promoting values education through the WCCI, where I was one of the founding directors of the Philippine Chapter in 1983. After the 1986 People Power Revolution, with the support and inspiration of then Secretary of Education, Dr. Lourdes Quisumbing, the WCCI organized a series of national conferences on values education which was almost always attended by hundreds of teachers and school administrators all over the country. Similar efforts at values education were also launched by the Philippine Normal University, Miriam College, the Center for Research and Communication, and the Moral Recovery Program, a product of a study commissioned by the Philippine Senate.

While the educational agenda was then called “values education,” the various models were often

lacking in concreteness and specificity with respect to the value deemed important in the socialization of learners... Values education, then can too easily become an academic exercise in knowing abstract values, instead of critically understanding how these values translate into the ways human beings ought to act as individuals and as members of society. (Toh & Floresca-Cawagas, 1990, p. vii)

In response to the limitations of the prevailing values education models in the Philippines, Swee-Hin Toh and I wrote the first two books in peace education in the Philippines where we offered a holistic framework in peace education. These two books are *Framework for Peace Education in the Philippines* (Toh & Floresca-Cawagas, 1987) and *Peaceful Theory and Practice in Values Education* (Toh & Floresca-Cawagas, 1990). Regrettably, these books never reached the international audience, though our holistic framework had been adopted in various places in the world through our graduate students from Canada, Australia, Southeast Asia, and parts of Africa.

It was also during this time that I became involved with the creation of the Peace Education Program in NDU, Cotabato, in collaboration with Swee-Hin Toh and Ofelia Durante. From then on, most of my work in peace education was closely linked with the work of both colleagues, together with other members of the NDU peace educators core team earlier mentioned by Ofelia Durante, as well as Loreta Navarro-Castro and Jasmin Galace in the Center for Peace Education of Miriam College.

Together or individually we conducted numerous workshops for school teachers, university students and professors, graduate students, community

organizers, civil servants, as well as members of the Philippine military, not only in Mindanao but also in other parts of the Philippines including Northern Luzon, Southern Luzon, the Visayas and Metro Manila. These peace education workshops, which started with the establishment of the NDU Peace Education Center and followed by the Miriam College Center for Peace Education, continue today whenever there is an invitation from schools, universities, government offices or non-government organizations. Sometimes we create the opportunities to penetrate other areas and agencies in the country that may be receptive to the mission of educating for peace. The most recent peace education workshop that Swee-Hin Toh and I conducted was a workshop in 2011, for government officials, employees, and police force including barangay captains in my hometown in the province of La Union, Northern Luzon. Some 30 participants (ages ranging from 25 to 65) were fully engaged in participatory activities on non-violence, social justice, human rights, and environmental security.

Through these workshops, the peace education network in the Philippines grew so that when the Presidential Executive Order 570 came out in 2006, many schools, especially in Mindanao, were already infusing peace education in their educational agenda way ahead of many schools in other parts of the country. The most notable actors in promoting peace education outside Mindanao are Loreta Navarro-Castro and joined later by Jasmín Nario Galace and the CPE associates as earlier revealed in Loreta's journey. Despite resistances, barriers, and skepticism, we remain hopeful that the journey for peace in the Philippines will bear fruits, hopefully within our generation.

JOYFUL AND CHALLENGING MOMENTS IN PEACE EDUCATION

Whether in formal classrooms for students and teachers or in a community setting for community leaders and NGOs, our approach is almost always a good balance of theoretical and conceptual understanding and participatory and empowering strategies.

For example, our activities on the theme *dismantling the culture of war* include a simulation of the arms bazaar, graphical representation of the roots of violence, a talk show on non-violence, creating zones of peace, and building safe and caring schools. Here are some of the significant reflections of participants in the hundreds of workshops we have conducted throughout the country:

I'm shocked at how easily I could assume a General's role and rationalize buying arms for my country (from the exercise, the arms bazaar)

In looking at the roots of violence, my initial response is to cast the blame on the “other” group. (from the exercise, roots of violence)

At first, I was lukewarm to the idea of creating a zone of peace, but my group-mates convinced me it’s possible and they come from war-torn areas. (from the zones of peace exercise)

In discussing the theme on justice and compassion, some of the activities include banana split, songs for justice and development, behind the logo, and walk in my shoes. Here are some of the significant comments shared by participants.

It is so unfair that a back-bent banana picker gets only .01 cent out of a 10 cent banana while the big retailer stores get 5 cents. For peace educators it is so important to raise awareness of structural violence in the very system that produces the food we consume everyday. (from the exercise banana split)

Walking in the shoes of a sacada, a streetkid, or a maquiladora is a powerful conscientizing activity. It challenges us, who live in comfortable homes, to assume some responsibility to work for local and social justice. (from the activity walking in my shoes)

I did not realize that behind the logo of Nike and Hilfiger outfit I was wearing, is a gross violation of the rights of factory workers. I now commit to educating myself and everyone to resist the seduction of attractive brands. (from the exercise behind the logo)

A song composed by participants from the exercise walk in my shoes.

Fisherfolk

On the shore where we were born,
we rely upon the open sea.
But today there are no fish.
Let us tell you how this came to be.
There’s red tide and a big boat
taking all the fish for themselves.
Our family’s hungry, we owe a lot.
No protection for the fish we got.
We all live in a little boat at sea.
Can you work with us for solidarity?
We all live in a little boat at sea.
We all touch each other interdependently.

As peace educators we witnessed the transformation of soldiers who participated in a workshop we (NDU peace education core team) conducted at the height of the 1989 military coup in the Philippines. The soldiers evolved from somber and angry on the first day to relaxed, warm, and cheerful on

the last day. The saddest part of this experience was hearing from all soldiers, young and old, that the meaning of inner peace is to be able to leave the barracks and be with their families forever. This experience heightened our hope that educating for peace is possible and urgent even for battle-hardened and scarred military men (Floresca-Cawagas, 2006).

These stories can go on and fill up a sizable book, and while the experiences and the “eureka” moments are unique and personally nuanced, the human longing for peace and the message of hope is a common thread that runs across the multicolored fabric of peace education in the Philippines.

SWEE-HIN TOH

Many of the most significant moments and signposts in my journey in educating for peace have been found in the Philippines, where I have collaborated with many Filipino colleagues and friends, especially in the southern island of Mindanao. Though named “the island of promise,” as earlier mentioned by Ofelia Durante, Mindanao has tragically suffered from multiple conflicts including internal armed violence, cultural divisions, social injustices, human rights violations, and environmental plunder. Although massively resource-rich, it has remained the poorest region as its wealth flowed to the politically dominant northern and central islands.

I will always remember the first time I set eyes on Dole’s agribusiness plantation in Mindanao, where in every direction towards the distant horizon, there was nothing but pineapples that would end up mostly on North supermarket shelves. I also recall the beaches where at dawn, a huge catch of tuna is brought ashore by fleets controlled by local elites and middlemen, talking on mobile phones to the fish markets overseas to set prices. Yet, ironically, many Filipinos increasingly find fish too costly to eat in a country of more than 7000 islands surrounded by some of the richest marine resource zones in the Pacific. Over the years, the poor majorities of Mindanao also have benefited little from the extraction of vast mineral and forest resources by transnational corporations and local elites, even as they suffer the effects of ecological destruction and displacement.

I was not surprised though, on my first visit, to encounter these realities of rich/poor disparities and the continuing symptoms of militarization, human rights violations, and intercultural conflicts. The Australian priest, Fr. Brian Gore, one of the two famous clergy imprisoned and then deported by the Marcos regime for their grassroots work among poor peasants and landless laborers, had already educated me about the structural violence and other dimensions of conflicts in a South society like the Philippines. But Fr. Gore also encouraged me to be directly involved in the South, to see and to learn for myself the realities of suffering and repression. As he

indicated, “walking with the people” is an indispensable way to strengthen commitment, solidarity, and relevant praxis for transformation.

A Holistic Framework

It was in 1986, shortly after the historic non-violent people’s power “EDSA” revolution ending decades of repression that my participation in Philippine peace education began. The post-martial law era opened up critical democratic spaces for civil society to emerge from years of suppression. Unlike during the time of Fr. Gore or Fr. O’Brien in the Philippines, outsiders like me could participate in solidarity work without necessarily facing harassment or deportation.

In collaboration with Virginia Floresca-Cawagas, we developed a framework for peace education presented at the conference launching of the first Peace Studies Center in the Philippines at a Jesuit school, Xavier University in Iligan. We agreed that peace education has two major goals. First, it seeks to raise critical awareness and understanding of the root causes of all forms of conflicts and violence from micro to macro-levels of life. Second, based on this understanding and on appropriate values, we feel empowered to take action for transformation, to change our realities from a culture of violence to a culture of peace. Furthermore, the framework would need to be holistic and relevant to understanding the complex realities and root causes of violence and conflicts in the Philippines (Toh & Floresca-Cawagas, 1987).

In essence, this framework identified six inter-related dimensions and themes of issues and problems that underpin violence and conflicts. First is *militarization*, whether expressed in wars, armed conflicts, or domestic and community violence, that needs to be dismantled through active non-violence. A second theme is *structural violence* rooted in unjust national/global structures and relationships, which calls for social/economic justice locally, nationally and globally. A third theme is *human rights*, whose continued violations deprive peoples of their freedoms and dignities, and whose promotion remains urgent, more than fifty years after the Universal Declaration. Fourth involves the need for *cultural solidarity* to overcome injustices and conflicts between diverse cultures and build understanding and harmony. Fifth, *environmental care* is necessary to stop the ecological destruction deepened by unsustainable development paradigms. A sixth theme focuses on *personal peace* necessary to recover peaceful values and other dimensions of spirituality in an increasingly competitive and consumer-centered world.

In presenting this multi-thematic holistic framework for peace education, we acknowledged at the outset that each of the six themes or dimensions has a long and rich history of development and advocacy within educational

circles. Thus, especially since the Hiroshima/Nagasaki A-bombing, disarmament education has expanded to include not just education against war, but also education against domestic violence and for non-violent conflict resolution. From the 1960s, the campaigns of people-centered and NGOs to transform local and global economic inequalities and overcome structural violence have led to what is called “development education.” Likewise for the other themes, there is a growing body of teaching, research, and social action in human rights education, multicultural or intercultural education, environmental education, and education for inner peace. As peace educators Burns and Aspeslagh (1996) noted in their anthology of peace education over three decades, the concept is necessarily complex and brings together complementary and overlapping fields of educational approaches and movements.

But education for peace is not just educating *about* these issues. *How* we educate for peace is equally important. Indispensable are teaching-learning processes based on critical thinking, a holistic multi-dimensional concept of peace, understanding alternative perspectives, dialogue, critical empowerment, an explicit formation of values, and a participatory learning environment that rejects passive banking of knowledge (Toh & Floresca-Cawagas, 1990). As the influential Brazilian adult educator, Freire (1998), emphasized, peace education needs to move learners to articulate and nurture their own critical consciousness in the context of wider life realities. In sum, educating for peace requires some key pedagogical principles, namely holism, dialogue, critical empowerment, and values formation.

Growing Roots in Cotabato

My Philippine journey in peace education then took a most significant and long-term turn at NDU in Cotabato City, Mindanao. This is a Catholic university enjoying the trust of many Muslim students in a region that has been the center of longstanding bitter armed conflicts between national/local governments and movements seeking secession or autonomy for the Muslim Moro peoples. Several leaders and members of the major Moro liberation groups have studied in NDU programs. Sharing mostly voluntary resources, my NDU colleagues and I developed the first graduate program in peace and development education in the Philippines, with strong support of the Oblate administrators, President Fr. Ante and Vice President Fr. Carino. Apart from introducing students to the basic peace education framework, the program systematically provided courses on each of the specific issues from disarmament, social justice, and development to human rights, environmental care, and cultural solidarity

Infusing pedagogy with dialogue and critical empowerment, the NDU courses connected the students with grassroots realities through field exposures and most importantly in solidarity activities such as lobbying government and other agencies on issues of human rights violations, and social justice campaigns. We sent petitions to the government when hungry peasants, together with a priest and other justice advocates, were arrested in the midst of a drought for non-violently opening up the locked government warehouses and distributing the grain on a registered loan basis. In one course, we invited two street children to be the guest lecturers on the realities of their daily marginalization and struggle to survive. This interconnecting between formal education and grassroots spaces constitutes a basic signpost for peace education, for the learning can be mutual and the actions for change stronger when the poor and non-poor join hands and hearts.

By the late 1990s, the Commission on Higher Education (CHED) approved a proposal initiated by NDU to expand peace education in Mindanao through the Mindanao Advanced Education Program (MAEP). Several other colleges and universities, both private and state, participated in the consortium, with NDU as the lead university, to offer an MA and PhD specialization in peace education. As the facilitator and visiting professor for the program, I conducted a series of courses focusing on various dimensions of a holistic framework of peace education. The MAEP graduates have subsequently initiated peace education in their universities and other non-formal education contexts via graduate degree programs, undergraduate courses and community extension activities. More recently, Gail de la Rita, a graduate of the University for Peace in Costa Rica, is contributing toward the development of a peace center at Xavier University, a Jesuit University located in Northern Mindanao.

Recognizing the need to provide teachers with textbooks that integrate peace perspectives into the mainstream curricula, Virginia Floresca-Cawagas and I coordinated and published an elementary social studies textbook (Grades 1–6), entitled *Our Nation, Our World* in 2004. Infusing principles, issues, and perspectives for promoting a peaceful Philippines based on principles of non-violence, social justice, human rights, intercultural respect and solidarity, sustainable futures, and inner peace into the official “Civics and Culture” syllabus, the series has been adopted by numerous private schools (Floresca-Cawagas & Toh, 2004).

Spreading the Branches

Together with the first generation of NDU peace educators, we co-established a pioneering Peace Education Center at NDU. Consistent with the pedagogical principle of holism, the vision and mission of peace education

could not be confined to the university. It was crucial to reach out, through the Center, to as many sectors as possible in the wider Philippine society. The NDU program sought partnerships exchanging learning experiences with the growing civil society movement for peace and justice, especially the NGOs and citizen networks in Mindanao. There are many exemplars of peace education and action like the people-centered zones of peace organized in collaboration with the Coalition for Peace led by inspirational peace advocates Ed Garcia, Ging Deles and Risa Hontiveros. Rather than languishing in overcrowded refugee camps, the refugees (internally displaced persons) who had fled from zones of armed conflict decided to courageously negotiate and reconstitute a zone of peace that all armed parties would agree to leave alone. Fr. Ronnie Villanueva, the priest who played a leadership role in forming the zones of peace, noted he was now performing joyful baptisms and marriage ceremonies in the zone instead of funeral rites for victims of crossfire.

There are also numerous inspiring exemplars of community-based efforts in grassroots development that serve the basic needs of the people first. In these projects, ordinary citizens rely on their own energies and commitment and use their own resources in creative and self-reliant ways to improve their livelihood. They also feel empowered to assert their rights and demand that political leaders and civil servants be accountable for implementing equitable economic and social policies. Such grassroots development exemplars provide meaningful lessons for peace education. In my Philippine journey, I have learned much from the contributions of women and indigenous peoples to the building of a culture of peace.

In our peace education work, it was also crucial to develop commitment and skills for a culture of peace among the ranks of government agencies. Hence we worked with civil servants as well as the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP). On a few occasions, we were able to conduct peace education workshops with the Armed Forces of the Philippines. One workshop unexpectedly happened during the seventh attempted coup to overthrow then President Corazon Aquino. The general, who had earlier consented for the workshop to be held in his brigade camp, decided that despite the coup attempt in progress in Manila, the “training” should nevertheless proceed. This experience enabled us to see that soldiers can be moved by a participatory educational process to reflect on the root causes of peacelessness in which their lives are intertwined. Quite a few soldiers visibly expressed empathy upon hearing stories of the centuries of oppression endured by aboriginal and indigenous peoples worldwide. Such Philippine experiences show that as peace educators, we surely need to seek opportunities for peace education in the full spectrum of societal spaces, among the non-poor and powerful as well as the marginalized (Toh, Floresca-Cawagas, & Durante, 1992).

Another essential value in peace education is solidarity. Peace educators care deeply enough for others in suffering so that they are willing to dedicate time, energies, and resources to their struggles for peace, justice, and sustainability. Peace educators in the Philippines are strongly guided by the principles and values of active non-violence upheld by so many spiritual leaders and indigenous traditions, and by modern inspiring advocates such as Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King, and numerous others.

In this regard, there are so many Filipino peace educators whose lives deeply reflect an engaged spirituality. Their stories show the capacities of human beings to develop a deep sense of compassion for the marginalized, to question and transcend their own places of “privilege,” to courageously take risks in the face and midst of conflicts and even war zones, and to be committed to active non-violence in waging peace as an alternative to militarized responses to problems.

Among them is an Italian priest, Fr. Sebastiano D’Ambra, PIME, who decided, early in his stay in Mindanao during the wars between the Marcos military and the Muslim-Moro armed groups fighting for secession, to visit and stay with the Moro community so as to more deeply understand their Islamic faith and the root causes of the conflict. He was then harassed by some intolerant Christians and the military as being “on the side” of the Muslims. Since then, he has dauntlessly started one of the most active Muslim-Christian interfaith dialogue movements (Silsilah Dialogue Movement) in the region despite encountering opposition from both Christians and Muslims with extremist interpretations of their faiths and surviving a number of assassination attempts. On several occasions, I have collaborated with Fr. D’Ambra, himself a MA and PhD graduate of the NDU peace education program, and Silsilah to synergize the vision, principles, and strategies of interfaith dialogue with a holistic framework of peace education.

Then there is Karen Tanada, a woman born in an upper middle class family in Manila, who chose to join the ranks of social activists for peace, human rights, and social justice. A combination of family role models (her grandfather, Lorenzo Tanada, marched for democracy and faced the water cannons of President Marcos’s military, while her father, a representative in the Philippine Congress, is a prominent human rights lawyer defending victims abused under the Marcos dictatorship) and critical educational influences in a Maryknoll Sisters school and college inspired her to take risks in organizing for democracy, human rights, and social justice during the long years of Marcos repression. Her story reminds us that individuals can reach out from their advantaged social background to be in solidarity with the poor and oppressed. In the post-Marcos era, Karen has continued to educate and build a culture of peace through the Gaston Z. Ortigas Peace Institute’s programs to promote peace processes in the Philippines and the

empowerment and mobilization of women and youth for social justice, human rights, and disarmament.

In Mindanao, another respected exemplar of non-formal peace education is Balay Mindanaw Foundation, Inc. (BFMI). Founded in 1996 by Kaloy Manlupig, BFMI has implemented many community-based programs to catalyze democratic participation in local governance based on the sustainable integrated area development (SIAD) approach. In 2005, BFMI commenced its Community-Based Peacebuilding Program in which over 1800 community leaders, local government officials, NGO workers, and military and police personnel have undergone a comprehensive course on conflict management and peacebuilding entitled “Operation Peace Course” (OP Kors!). Stories compiled by BFMI demonstrated how course participants were able to draw on the knowledge and skills gained to resolve family conflicts, domestic violence, and community conflicts over land and other resources, and the course is helping to make local governments more democratic and accountable to citizens (BMFI, 2010).

These stories and those of other Filipino peace educators demonstrate that there is no simple formula for education that cultivates a commitment to peacebuilding. However, in all these grassroots experiences, there is clearly an underpinning sense of engaged spirituality, whether the source comes from a faith or other philosophical and ethical tradition.

My journey in peace education in the Philippines and other regions, including participation in the anti-apartheid movement during the 1970s, has convinced me that the quest is necessarily slow, demanding much patience and perseverance. Education is inevitably a gradual process and often not as spectacular as some actions for peacebuilding. It is a process of sowing seeds not just in the younger generation that hopefully will mature as peaceful human beings, but definitely in today’s adults whose decision-making and actions have decisive impact on shaping the world that our youth will inherit.

CHALLENGES AND HOPES FOR PEACE EDUCATION IN THE PHILIPPINES

As peace educators active in both formal and non-formal contexts, we are mindful of the barriers present in formal educational systems (e.g., schools, universities) toward educational transformation. Hence, although there is now an executive order for integrating peace education in teacher education and various levels of schooling in the Philippines, much work will be needed to implement this policy systematically. Detailed curriculum development infusing peace perspectives in specific learning areas (e.g., social studies, sciences, humanities, etc.), revised or new textbooks, adequate

professional development in-service workshops for teachers and administrators, and a paradigm shift within teacher education institutions to educate for a culture of peace are all indispensable tasks. On the other hand, non-formal educational initiatives and projects in peace education usually have more autonomy in their practices. Nonetheless, despite the institutional, bureaucratic and political challenges, the work to integrate peace education in the vast system of schools and universities in a society like the Philippines, through which millions of children and youth pass, must continue to expand.

As the world moves on to the first quarter of this millennium, there are increasing demonstrations of a paradigm shift in how nations, groups, communities, and individuals relate to each other. From the battlegrounds of large scale wars and armed conflicts to more localized inter-group and interpersonal sites of violence like homes, schools, and communities, a greater understanding of a holistic peace is emerging. Much hope and inspiration have been generated by people's movements that seek non-violent alternatives to the complex challenges of living together in peace and harmony. At the global level, we are witness to these strings of human energies committed to peace education with a vision of creating a world based on principles of non-violence, justice, and sustainability. Today when armed uprisings and military interventions have become very difficult to justify morally, especially in terms of human costs, the short-term and long-term benefits of non-violent forms of struggle need to be recognized. Hence the need for a sustained peace education project in local communities as well as in the global arena.

The processes and strategies in peace education are clearly complex and multi-dimensional, as the reflections by four peace educators working in the Philippines context have shown. Due to space constraints, this chapter has not been able to provide a comprehensive account of all peace education work and initiatives, including those that are not necessarily self-identified as "peace education" but which also contribute to critical education and action for building a peaceful society (e.g., development education, human rights education, education for sustainable development). Nevertheless a holistic paradigm of peace education can be built on the insights, analysis, practices, and role models drawn from diverse expressions of peace education and people's peacebuilding movements. The praxis of peace education necessarily and urgently calls for simultaneous and complementary actions at multiple levels and contexts of life, from the personal to the social, from formal to non-formal schooling, from media and the information superhighway to international non-government coalitions.

APPENDIX—ACRONYMS

ADZU	Ateneo de Zamboanga University
AFP	Armed Forces of the Philippines
APCEIU	Asia-Pacific Center of Education for International Understanding
APNIEVE	Asia-Pacific Network for International Education and Values Education
ARMM	Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao
CBCP	Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines
CEAP	Catholic Educational Association of the Philippines
CPE	Center for Peace Education
CPP	Communist Party of the Philippines
DECS	Department of Education, Culture, and Sports
DepEd	Department of Education
GCPE	Global Campaign for Peace Education
GEA	Global Education Associates
GPPAC	Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflicts
GRP	Government of the Republic of the Philippines
IPE	International Institute on Peace Education
IPRA	International Peace Research Association
MC	Miriam College
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
MNLF	Moro National Liberation Front
MPI	Mindanao Peace Institute
MSN	Mindanao Solidarity Network
NCCP	National Council of Churches in the Philippines
NGOs	Non-Government Organizations
NPA	New People's Army
OPAPP	Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process
OSY	Out of School Youths
PCCM	Philippine Campaign against Cluster Munitions
PCPGE	Philippine Council for Peace and Global Education
PEC	Peace Education Commission
PEN	Peace Education Network
PhilANCA	Philippine Action Network to Control Arms
PNP	Philippine National Police
POs	People's Organizations
RMHS	Rajah Muda High School
ROTC	Reserved Officers Training Corp

Sulong CARHRIHL Advance the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect
for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law
ULP Ulama League of the Philippines
WCCI World Council for Curriculum and Instruction
ZamBaSuITAPS Zamboanga, Basilan, Sulu, Tawi-Tawi Association of
Private Schools

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CHAPTER 4

EMPOWERING THE CHILDREN OF EX-COMBATANTS THROUGH SOCCER AND PEACE EDUCATION IN AN AFTER-SCHOOL PROGRAM IN EL SALVADOR

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El Cantón Las Minas is a small farming town in the lush mountains of Chaltenango, El Salvador where its people own vivid stories of their experiences as guerilla fighters in El Salvador's recent civil war in the 1980s. They fought against the corrupt military-led government and elite land-owning population to win recognition of their human rights after decades of oppression. The ideals of economic, political, and social justice and the organizing capabilities that led to their success in the 12-year civil war continue

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to resonate within the community, especially among the leadership and in the area of educating the younger generation. However, because of dramatic changes in the recent history of the country and the move toward a more democratic political culture, the younger generation faces the challenge of addressing problems that require a different kind of education that supports and guides them towards a peaceful way of being. So in 2006, when the town's school principal Ernesto Efraín Menjivar Alas was approached by soccer coach Roberto Gil with the prospect of starting a weeklong after-school empowerment program for the students, Ernesto readily agreed.

Gil's vision of the program was to use soccer and poetry to cultivate a sense of personal agency and communal cohesiveness among the students to prevent them from choosing to join the violent gangs that have become prevalent throughout the country since the civil war. Since its inception in 2006, the after-school program has grown and developed as volunteers with diverse backgrounds joined the program. In 2010 the academic portion of the program, which consisted of poetry writing, grew to become even more intentional in its efforts to cultivate capacities of peace. The summer of 2012 marked the seventh consecutive year of the program and a turning point as a committed cohort of volunteers returned.

This chapter is a synopsis of how and why this grassroots peace education program began and continues to grow. It includes a brief history of El Salvador's civil war as a preface to the personal stories of the two program founders and as an explanation for the existence of the program. The chapter also includes a description and justification of the two main components of the program: the academic, classroom-based learning and soccer as approaches to peace education. It is believed that soccer, as a form of play, is conducive for children of El Salvador to practice a peaceful way of socially interacting with one another. It has been discovered that soccer, though, by itself is not enough—that in order for students to effectively learn about and for peace, the after-school program must also include a form of education that intentionally nurtures the capacities of peace; these capacities include the knowledge, skills, and dispositions necessary for members of society to live peacefully. It has been found, then, that for this particular after-school program, the combination of both soccer and academic learning is most effective. The chapter then concludes with a vision for the future growth of the program.

EL SALVADOR'S CIVIL WAR

El Salvador is geographically the smallest country in Central America, with one of the largest populations. It neighbors Guatemala to its west, Honduras to its north and east, and the Pacific Ocean to its south. In the early

1990s this small country was absorbed in peace negotiations after a 12-year civil war between the federal government, supported by the land-owning population, and guerrilla forces. The cause of the civil war is complex, with political, economic, and social roots dating back to the mid to late 1800s. It was during this time that coffee became the major export crop of the country, which led to new laws that abolished communal lands by privatizing the agricultural land. "It is estimated that a quarter of the cultivable land in the country, almost one and a half million acres, was affected by these laws. Peasants were forced off their lands and into the cash-crop labor force" (Byrne, 1996, p. 18). These new laws eventually led to a short-lived revolt by the rural population in 1932. The response of the government was to execute thousands among the rural population. This massacre marked a new period of politics where "the [political] system rested on an alliance between the landowning class and the armed forces within which military leaders were guardians of the political order. . . while the landowning class oversaw the economic order and set tight limits on any change in this area" (Byrne, 1996, p. 23). Of the citizens of the country, all but the elite land-owning population were excluded from political participation.

From the land laws of the late 1800s until the civil war in the 1980s, the economic standing of the rural agricultural population decreased significantly. Agricultural workers became laborers for the minority land-owning population or survived on small subsistence plots. The land-owning population was composed of few families who gained political control as they gained economic dominance within the country. The population during this time also multiplied, as workers were now concentrated within plantations (Arnson, 1982, p. 14).

The rise of the guerilla fighters in the 1970s is attributed in part to the activists among the university teachers and students, revolutionary organizations, and especially the Catholic clergy who were steeped in liberation theology. According to Byrne (1996), these activists assisted in the transformation of the consciousness of the oppressed citizens by providing knowledge about the oppressive conditions and by providing a forum for citizens to take action.

Parish structures, as well as the new roles and functions created in the pastoral work, helped provide the initial bases for collective peasant action and support and also provided some defense against repression from the state and landowners who, initially at least, had more reservations about attacking the church than they had in targeting independent organizations. Catholic clergy and lay activists brought to the peasantry another way of viewing religion and its relationship to daily life. They also provided training of lay leaders who could then play organizing and leadership roles in their own communities, so that in a short time much of the country was affected by this transformation. (Byrne, 1996, pp. 27–28)

Although the church provided sanctuary in the beginning, it was not long before Catholic priests and nuns in El Salvador were being targeted as instigators of revolt and so tortured and killed. On March 24, 1980, Archbishop Romero, one of the leading voices against government repression, was assassinated. After this event, opposition forces strengthened as several opposition groups joined forces against the government (Arnson, 1982, p. 54).

It was also during this time that neighboring Nicaragua was engaged in its own internal revolution, which has been shown to have influenced both activism and government repression in El Salvador. The revolution in Nicaragua also assisted in gaining the attention of the United States. Out of fear of communist growth in the world, the United States began supporting the government of El Salvador in its efforts to stop the revolutionary action. Throughout the 1980s, and despite much international disagreement, the United States continued to back the El Salvador government in fighting a civil war against the guerrilla army. In the early 1990s, with no discernible end to the civil war, peace negotiations mediated by the United Nations began. In January of 1992, the Chapultepec Treaty was signed, officially ending the war.

Since the civil war, the country continues to struggle with issues of justice. The economic wealth of the country remains unevenly distributed, and many citizens are unable to take advantage of certain social opportunities such as higher education. However, more citizens are able to participate in politics. The vulnerability of today's younger generation lies in the lack of social and educational opportunities and the constant threat of gang violence and recruitment.

It is believed that the proliferation of gangs in the country is due in large part to the deportation of gang members from the United States. As the younger males of the country fled El Salvador to the United States to escape being recruited into the government army, many were faced with a different kind of war on the streets of the United States, particularly in Los Angeles. It is told that the young new immigrants landed in the middle of territorial wars among rival gangs and were once again targeted for recruitment. The United States eventually began deporting gang members back to their home countries. The result for El Salvador was an influx of gang members who continued their violent practices within a country that was still in a vulnerable state from the long civil war. It is thought that the deportation of gang members from the United States also created a strong international network of gangs that have joined in the Latin America-United States drug trafficking that continues today.

The citizens of El Salvador have been embroiled in over 100 years of political and economic corruption, social discrimination, and overt violence. This is the history of El Salvador that the younger generation has inherited. Their grandparents have experienced oppression, displacement, a

transformation of consciousness, and a violent revolution in their lifetimes. Their parents grew up as refugees and soldiers in a guerilla army without the stability of a home-base or traditional education. The younger generation, though, has also inherited a strong sense of justice and communal agency, which has facilitated the development and success of this grassroots after-school program.

THE CREATION OF THE AFTER-SCHOOL PROGRAM

The after-school program began as the vision of one person: Jose Roberto Gil. Gil was born in El Salvador's capital city of San Salvador and lived there until he was a teenager. At that time, the government's army was forcing teenagers like Gil to fight in the civil war. Some of his older friends had already been recruited off the street. At times he would be riding the bus on his way to school, and soldiers would stop and board the bus to randomly recruit men. Other times, soldiers would appear at his soccer games to recruit people. So in 1986, Gil's mother, to keep him from being forcefully recruited into the Salvadoran army, sent him to the United States to live with his sisters and brother in San Francisco, California. Once there, he continued to play soccer and eventually became a coach and mentor. Gil earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in physical education and became a nationally licensed soccer coach. In 2001, he began working for the nationwide NGO, America Scores, in the Bay Area of San Francisco, first as a coach, then as the director of coaching, and now as program director in the Contra Costa area.

After Gil moved to California, he continued to travel back to El Salvador to visit his mother. He became more conscious of the street kids asking for money or food both day and night, especially in San Salvador. Witnessing the difference soccer makes in the lives of young people in the California Bay Area energized him to start an after-school soccer program in his home country. He began searching in El Salvador for a school that would be interested in collaborating in such a program. His goal was to create an after-school program that could be replicated in other schools. In the small mountain town of El Cantón Las Minas, Gil located a school where he could pilot his after-school program.

Through a friend, Gil was introduced to the principal of a school in a small mountain town of El Cantón Las Minas, Ernesto Efraín Menjivar Alas. Menjivar had moved to Las Minas in 2001, fewer than ten years after the end of the civil war. Menjivar encountered a community that had not developed beyond the lifestyle during the civil war. He explained:

I think that the community has its own cultural patterns, and these patterns have to do with the fact that most of the people from here are war veter-

ans. . . . when there was war here they were evicted. The army was shelling the houses—there were no houses. So, the people had to leave . . . They were there in Honduras, in a place called, “Mesa Grande.” And when they came back, they came back with a war mindset, a culture of war. The kids ran around in the streets; there was licentiousness.

The adults have a different mentality—even when I came here in 2001. The kids used “vos” with me (instead of the more respectful “usted”), they didn’t sing the national anthem. They were apathetic to the national anthem of El Salvador, because it was the culture they had inherited. There was a lack of respect, the way the teachers expressed themselves was very poor, and they made a series of errors in their form of communication.

And what we have been doing here, is that we are beginning to crawl, meaning, the education begins. We are going to start crawling and later we hope that these kids, these young people, when they become adults they will have another way of thinking. (E. Menjivar, personal communication, August 2012)

Menjivar’s tireless dedication to the school and community is well known in the area. He has succeeded in winning grants for school supplies and also materials to build a concrete driveway and bathrooms. In addition to working in the school and community of Las Minas, he is a professor of sociology at a college at the base of the mountain. Each year during the program, Menjivar spends his vacation time assisting the volunteers and playing soccer with the students. He is a remarkable role model for the students of Las Minas and for his daughter, who has started studying to be a medical doctor in order to provide healthcare for the town. It is in great part because of Menjivar that Gil returns to Las Minas every year with supplies and volunteers. He explains, “[Menjivar’s] dedication, honesty and love for what he does has inspired me to keep on going.”

A MODEL OF PEACE EDUCATION

Since 2006, the after-school program in Las Minas has evolved from the unrealized vision of one individual into a team of international educators volunteering to educate the younger generation of El Salvadorans towards a more peaceful way of living within their violent country. This type of education is intentional in that it is grounded in values of peace—that is, values such as innate dignity that promote the flourishing of all living beings worldwide. This type of education is also action-oriented in that students are taught to use knowledge and dispositions of peace in developing and practicing skills to create and maintain peace. Boulding (2000) asserts that “. . . peaceableness is an action concept, involving constant shaping and reshaping of understandings, situations, and behaviors in a constantly

changing lifeworld, to sustain well-being for all” (p. 1). As of the seventh year, the program is based on these ideas of intentional and action-oriented education where the knowledge, skills, and dispositions necessary for peacemaking are incorporated into the two main components of the program: classroom-style learning and playing soccer.

Peace educators Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace (2008) define peace education as the cultivation of “the knowledge base, skills, attitudes and values that seek to transform people’s mindsets, attitudes and behaviors that, in the first place, have either created or exacerbated violent conflicts” (p. 21). It is this type of capacity development that is most needed for the youngest generation of a community of ex-combatants. Menjivar’s vision is to educate the students so that they perceive and participate in the world differently than older generations. To do so requires transformation at the social roots of the community. Nieto (1999) writes, “A culture . . . embodies values that have grown out of historical and social conditions and necessities” (p. 58). El Salvador’s recent history and current social conditions are fraught with violence that needs to be transformed into a culture of peace.

As with any form of education, peace education is values-based, the values being those that promote a culture of peace, such as dignity and respect. According to Betty Reardon (1988), one of the founders of peace education, part of the purpose of peace education is to “. . . transform the present human condition by changing the social structures and the patterns of thought that have created it” (p. x). She asserts that, “. . . in addition to questioning the ways in which values are applied, and the institutional values of the present system, [the transformational approach] also challenges some of the fundamental value assumptions and the very bases of the social order” (p. xii). In the case of Las Minas and of El Salvador as a whole, the present human condition is mired in various forms of violence. As the younger generation grows up in an historical period vastly different from past generations, they need a type of education that constructively addresses this violent past while simultaneously preparing them for transforming the present violent conditions for a nonviolent future. The after-school program, with a curriculum and pedagogy intentionally constructed for peace learning, is attempting to contribute to the transformation of a culture of violence towards a culture of peace.

A GRASSROOTS AFTER-SCHOOL PEACE EDUCATION PROGRAM

The daily program is facilitated by a number of volunteers who consistently return each year and are familiar with the program as well as “visiting” volunteers who are recruited by Gil. Students are chosen by their teachers

each year to participate based on their behavior and their schoolwork throughout the school year. Each day of the weeklong program, students engage in a classroom style of learning the values and principles of peace, followed by soccer skill development and play. The after-school program's classroom style of learning is an attempt to infuse peace curriculum and pedagogy into a learning format already known to the students. Given the short period of time with the students, the classroom format facilitates a more intense learning process. The soccer portion of each day allows the students more free-spirited time to interact socially through an activity they know well and enjoy. The peace learning process continues during this time as the soccer coaches facilitate the behavior of the students towards a peaceful way of interacting with each other.

The Classroom Program

In 2010, the fifth year of the program, the poetry portion of the program was expanded to be more intentionally a form of peace education. The focus of the classroom lessons was on understanding persons as individuals and as belonging to communities. The lesson plans included gaining a broader understanding of the concept of community and the students as socially responsible members of various communities. The students also worked together through a problem-solving process of identifying, understanding, and planning to act on a community-defined problem of pollution in their environment. A highlight of the academic portion of that week was having a mother of one of the students share with the class her experiences as a guerrilla fighter during the civil war. During this lesson students generated their own questions for the mother and practiced voicing their own thoughts and opinions.

By 2011, the sixth year, the number of consistent volunteers had grown to a solid team of seven annual volunteers, which included the principal of the school and a graduate of the school who had participated as a student in the program. Having a larger team allowed the program, which had only served fourth through ninth graders, to expand even more to include a "juniors" class with students ranging from first to third grades. The lessons with the older students focused on nurturing peace within one's self as an individual in order to better participate as a member of a larger community. Students were asked to identify problems in the community and to reflect on why an identified problem is considered a problem. More theatre-based group activities were added to the workshops that challenged students to use their creativity and imaginations to explore community issues. However, at the conclusion of the week, the volunteers realized that the lessons

were still too vague in content and could be even more intentional in capacity development based on the conditions of the students' lives.

The year 2012 marked the seventh year of the program and also a new energy among the volunteers. Two more volunteers joined the team, and the curriculum for both the juniors and the older students became more developed. The theme of the program for the year became human rights in order to introduce the idea that their actions towards justice can be grounded in universally held rights. The lessons included innate human dignity and universality, the human condition, human rights and duties, and the transformation of harmful aspects of a community to a peaceful community. One lesson, for example, introduced the students to the idea that they were part of different "communities" such as a school, a town, a country, and so on. After a discussion, the students worked together to identify peaceful aspects and harmful aspects of the communities to which they belong. The basic idea was to facilitate reflection on and discussion about what might be harmful or peaceful in a community of socially connected human beings. The volunteers asked the students to think specifically about three of their "communities" and to draw a diagram that represented each as nested within another so as to illustrate how the communities are connected. After discussing the peaceful and harmful aspects that the students identified, each student made a type of wheel book with illustrations and labels. This activity was later used to explore the idea of intentionally transforming the harmful aspects of the communities.

A new teaching strategy was also introduced that year. On the first day, the students were divided into groups of four or five each with a diverse range in ages. The subject matter is difficult to grasp, especially within a short period of time, and the idea was that older students could assist the younger students in the work. The division of groups also served to assign responsibilities to students in the way of group roles. At the beginning of each day, each group had to choose one member to be a facilitator, one member to be a recorder, and one member to be a reporter. Although the volunteers could have nurtured these roles further, the student roles proved to be beneficial both logistically in terms of the fluidity of the activities and in the overall participation of the groups. Each student also constructed a portfolio of her or his classwork. Each evening the volunteers went through the portfolios to learn more about the students and whether or not they were grasping the material. For the students, the journals served as way to organize their work and to use as a reference about the topic after the program ended.

The Sports Program

Although the classroom style or more academic aspect of the program is necessary, at the heart of the program since its inception has been addressing the ways the students socialize at a moment when they are most free-spirited: at play. Boulding (2000) states, "Society does not exist apart from the activities and environments that sustain, shape, and reshape it" (p. 1). Boulding's statement is easily demonstrated through the sports played in the community of Las Minas in particular and the country of El Salvador in general. It is for this reason that soccer is at the heart of this after-school program, as it is the most popular sport in the country; it is already played by both males and females, and few resources are needed to play. Ernesto believes that sports in the after-school program "opens space for [the students] to know themselves, and the capacity that they have" (E. Menijivar, personal communication, August 2012). Each day of the weeklong program begins with a physical activity in the school's courtyard involving the program volunteers and all the students in the program, from first through ninth grades. This is a warm-up activity that requires the volunteers and students to interact with each other and work together in teams. The classroom lessons follow and end in a poetry-based writing activity to reflect on the work that day. After that the volunteers and students move to the soccer field to work on soccer skills and to play a game of soccer. For the skill building exercises, the approximately 60 students are divided up into groups and taught by individual volunteers. This time is most conducive to observing the students socially interacting with each other and to intervening with lessons of peace when necessary. Before the students go home in the afternoon, the students and volunteers share a snack of pupusas by the river.

Sport is recognized around the world as an important aspect of societies. The United Nations (UN) promotes sports as fostering peace and development. In UN resolution HRC 18/23, the Human Rights Council recognizes "the potential of sport as a universal language that contributes to educating people on the values of respect, diversity, tolerance and fairness and as a means to combat all forms of discrimination and promote an inclusive society" (UN resolution A/HRC/RES/18/23). The growth of the after-school program is based on this potential of sport as a form of peace education. The potentiality resides in the philosophy of sport, which is in alignment with peace education, and in the practice of and the community of a sport within a given culture. Sandra Spickard Prettyman (2011) explains that "...sport has tremendous potential for good, but... this potential is not always realized, in part due to the way sport is... defined, designed, and implemented" (p. 3). This means that in using soccer as part of this after-school program, the program must be intentionally defined, designed, and implemented as learning a peaceful way of being, or, in educating towards

a culture of peace. This peace education and soccer after-school program, therefore, must be grounded in values of peace.

Sport, it is argued, reflects the values and social forces of the culture or society in which it is played (Hyland, 1990; Nixon, 2008). Peace education is a values-based form of education whereby education for peace "... is intended to be a means to the realization of a set of social values" (Reardon, 1997, p. 21). The after-school program combining soccer and classroom-based peace education, then, allows educators to witness the social interactions of the students through soccer as they act out the social values of their community or culture. The soccer and academic portions of the program are becoming more intertwined as experiences in one influences lessons in the other. This allows the program volunteers multiple ways of reinforcing values of peace and transforming values of intentional harm.

MOVING FORWARD

The volunteers are beginning to informally evaluate and document the program's successes and weaknesses for further growth. By the end of the 2012 program, the volunteers realized that although the idea of human rights had been conveyed and had at least facilitated thinking among the students, there was too much material to adequately cover in a short amount of time. The student portfolios illustrated what the students were grasping of the material and also shared a great deal about the students' inner lives. They will also be used again next year, along with the group work. In addition, the curriculum for next year will be focused on exploring the idea of justice (social, economic, and political) within a human rights framework. By focusing on justice through a human rights lens, students can explore issues they perceive as unfair and learn to apply reason in a way that is grounded in human dignity.

The Las Minas school teachers have observed a change in the students' attention and motivation in the classroom for the better and attribute this change to the sports-based after-school program. Furthermore, Menjivar remarked that he has seen students develop as leaders in the community:

Here, I see that the kids' form of thinking is different. Even, the case of Elmer, and Freddie, and others that are [now] leaders. They have leadership in the community. So, this has been strengthened through [the after-school program]. [It] has been a fundamental support to be able to discover these skills. (E. Menjivar, personal communication, August 2012)

Within seven years, Gil and Menjivar have brought together a team of volunteers who have chosen to dedicate their time and resources each year to the program. This includes volunteers who facilitate the classroom

activities and coach soccer, people from El Salvador who share their time and resources, and the various donors from the United States.

A weeklong program, however, is not enough to create change in the larger community. “Peace can come about only by an intentional, organic process of continuous change, day by day and habit by habit, as well as norm by norm and structure by structure, evolving not as much sequentially and incrementally as simultaneously and constantly” (Reardon, 1988, pp. 56–57). These volunteers are now working to expand the program in Las Minas to a yearlong after-school program. The long-term goal is to bring the program to other towns in Chalatenango and to neighborhoods in the capital city of San Salvador. Menjivar expressed his vision:

...we would like to have this program not just a week, but during the year. . . there would be a specialist, a physical education instructor, a person skilled in the subject matter . . . and in this way, continue to develop other ways of thinking in the children. Then in August [the volunteers] could come and evaluate the work, what has been done, if it has advanced or not, and make an evaluation and correct whatever is poorly done, and in this way the kids have a better expectation and I believe they could do a lot. (E. Menjivar, personal communication, August 2012)

Before extending it, however, the program needs to be even more intentional in teaching towards peace. The goal of this after-school program is to provide students with an alternative to engaging in violent behavior and the knowledge to flourish as individuals within a larger society. The youth of the entire country are growing up in the shadow of the civil war and in the face of gang recruitment and violence. The volunteers are working to gain a better understanding of the current values that guide the social and political interactions and decision-making of the larger community. Menjivar explained:

With the adults, we can't do anything; they have their ways of thinking, because of the war, and it's different to change. We here have looked for ways, but they have their war patterns, a fact that they have lived with 12 years of war, and they have their own mindsets and we can't change them.

So, here our task as teachers is that the boys and girls take away with them another way of thinking, not to have a culture of war, but a culture of peace, a culture of harmony. Even though for them, education was not important, and that there was no expectation that the power of education would, say, improve their living conditions, no. So just the fact of learning to read and write, that's it, that's all there was for them. They didn't have a vision that if they studied up through the ninth grade, if they finished high school and went to college, that that would give a better stability to a person, to the youth, and their families too . . . did not have [this idea]. (E. Menjivar, personal communication, August 2012)

CONCLUSION

The younger generation of El Salvador has inherited a national history fraught with multiple forms of violence. The children of the ex-combatants have also inherited a strong sense of agency grounded in social, political, and economic justice. However, given the historical circumstances, what remains to be nurtured among the younger generation are the capacities of peacemaking in a new historical period. The weeklong after-school program builds on the inherited communal sense of agency by nurturing the capacities necessary to recognize, reason and ethically act against injustice. Soccer, as the most popular nationwide sport, is used to facilitate a peaceful practice of social interaction among the students of Las Minas. Soccer alone, however, is not enough to create a peaceful society, as students first need to intentionally learn about and for peace. For this reason, an intense classroom style of learning is also part of the after-school program.

The vision for the future of the program is to create a yearlong peace education after-school program that is open to all students in the school, continues to intentionally nurture peace capacities through instruction and play, and is interconnected with the school curriculum and pedagogy.

So, our task has really been with the children. From the time they began to study, now many are studying in the university. And some have returned, too, others have finished high school, and others only reached ninth grade, because of their economic situation, but now their way of thinking is different. It's not the same as their parents, now they have another way. So really, its the work that has to be done . . . with the young people. And I believe the good thing here that we have seen is that the best learning takes place through games [play].

Now, our new curriculum plan is we go to school with this purpose of learning through play. There is a program that the kids have, in that they go to class at a certain time, and afterwards they can decide if they want to play soccer, if they want to sing, or dance; this is the Ministry of Education's new objective. Unfortunately, the economic conditions don't permit it yet. But at least we, as a school, have this reinforcement with you [the peace education, poetry and soccer after-school program]. We know it's only a week, one week . . . [it] is not a large amount of time, but it is a week of quality. Because the kids, the youth, are already thinking about the next year—that in August they know that you . . . [are] going to come and the teacher begins to say, "If you behave better and get better grades, then you will be selected for the [after-school] program." (E. Menjivar, personal communication, August 2012)

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CHAPTER 5

PEACE EDUCATION IN FLANDERS, BELGIUM

Grassroots Organizations at Work in Schools

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INTRODUCTION

Although Belgium is not experiencing armed conflict, children and young people are confronted with violence on a regular basis. They experience bullying and fights on the playground, they see violence and wars on television, and they learn about it in history lessons. Peace educators teach younger generations how to address conflicts in a non-violent way and to

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gain insight in (global) politics. It is hoped that peace education will empower them to challenge direct and structural violence and to strive for a fair society. Peace education can take many forms and can be instigated by a range of organizations, from schools to government agencies. In this chapter we present some key findings of a research project we set up to map and analyze peace education projects developed by grassroots organizations in Flanders, Belgium. Belgium is a federal state with a complex state structure. Flanders is in fact a generic name for the Northern, Dutch speaking part of the country. Officially, the country is divided into three regions (Flemish Region, Walloon Region, and Brussels-Capital Region) and three communities (Flemish community, French community, and German-speaking community). Political power is devolved to three levels: the federal level, the regional level, and the community level. Education is a collaboration of the Flemish, French and German speaking community authorities. With close to 6.5 million inhabitants, out of a Belgian total of 11 million, Flanders is the largest segment of the country.

Our research focuses specifically on the initiatives civil society and grassroots organizations offer to the Flemish educational system. We inquire not only into the characteristics of these organizations, but also into the thematic and pedagogical characteristics of their projects. In other words: what types of grassroots organizations are engaged in peace education in Flanders, and what kind of projects do they develop for schools?

Broadly speaking, there are two ways to bring into view grassroots organizations engaged in peace education initiatives. An obvious, *intuitive* point of departure would be to look at the educational activities of the traditional peace movement organizations. Although pacifism in Belgium has roots in the 19th century, the peace movement significantly gained strength in the 20th century, more specifically in the aftermath of the First World War (Van Alstein, 2011) and during the emergence of the Cold War and the nuclear arms race. Most of these organizations have identifiable ideological roots (in all quarters of the ideological spectrum, for that matter, from socialism and liberalism to Christian-democracy and Flemish nationalism). Although these ideological profiles may have faded somewhat over the years, they still have an influence on peace organizations' priorities and actions. Not surprisingly, given the context of the global conflicts in which they originated, these organizations' educational activities have primarily focused on the avoidance of (nuclear) war and violence. Nonetheless, over the years they have broadened their scopes to also include education about a wider range of global, human rights, and environmental topics.

In our research, however, we chose not to opt for this intuitive approach. Instead we decided to start from a *conceptual* reflection, by defining first what can be understood as peace education: what kinds of educational projects can be interpreted as focusing on one or more of the many aspects of

peace? Based on a literature review and on initiatives of United Nations organizations, we defined peace education as a transformative and political pedagogy that is context-dependent and aimed at promoting both a peace culture and active responsibility. More specifically, we operationalized the concept by first taking into account Johan Galtung's (1969) classic definition of the dual nature of peace as negative and positive peace¹ and, second, by adopting Ian Harris's (2004) categorization of peace education in five types: international education, human rights education, development education, environment education, and conflict resolution education. Combining Galtung's negative/positive classification with Harris's five-category classification produced a useful frame that enabled us to get a much broader view on organizations engaged in peace education initiatives than merely looking at the traditional peace movement organizations. Moreover, the frame allowed us to search for differences between organizations and their projects, while at the same time demonstrating these projects' coherence within the overarching peace education concept. Thus we not only gained a better insight into peace education in Flanders, but we were also able to test this broader, conceptually driven interpretation of peace education on an operational level: is it useful, does it make sense, and is it applicable to all the practical initiatives in the field?

We chose to deal with the interfaces of peace education with other forms of education in a pragmatic manner. Our objective was to arrive at a workable and meaningful interpretation of peace education, not to engage in prejudiced and fruitless territorial or "labeling" disputes. In our view it does not really matter, for example, whether global education is part of peace education, or vice versa. Our first and foremost aim was to learn more about initiatives of grassroots organizations that contribute to a culture of peace, irrespective of the labels people use to describe their initiatives.

Taking this conceptually driven approach allowed us to identify a very broad and rich field of peace education projects. In this chapter we will show that important efforts in peace education are carried out by a wide variety of grassroots organizations, including not only the organizations traditionally associated with peace but also organizations that tend to use the label "peace" seldom or not at all in describing their activities. We will show that many of the latter organizations are mainly focused on positive peace (Castryck & Duquet, 2010). We will first clarify some aspects of the methodological framework of our study, then move on to have a closer look at these peace education efforts at the grassroots level in Flanders, and finally will discuss how Flemish schools actually make use of these peace education offerings.

PEACE EDUCATION FOR SCHOOLS IN FLANDERS: AN ANALYSIS OF GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATIONS' PROJECTS

Methodological Framework

Based on our definition of peace education, we mapped out peace education projects in Flanders. We limited ourselves to projects that are aimed at the educational sector. It goes without saying that peace education initiatives are also developed outside school contexts and target not only children and adolescents but also adults. For the sake of the manageability and clarity of this study we decided, however, not to include in our analysis the very broad area of training in youth organizations and adult education or in the media, tourism, culture, and so on. Nonetheless, the choice to map only peace education for schools did not mean that we limit ourselves to initiatives that are exclusively aimed at schools. A museum that explicitly positions itself to provide peace education lessons to schools can also appeal to other target audiences and falls within the range of this research. An educational activity that has been designed solely for adults or (extracurricular) youth movements is not included in our analysis.

After screening projects of over 400 organizations and examining whether their initiatives fall under the operationalization of peace education as outlined above, we arrived at a list of 62 organizations that offer a total of 454 peace education projects for schools. Various sources of information generated data about these peace education projects. Presentations of these organizations' educational work and projects on their websites were used as primary sources to identify not only the organizations but also the individual projects. Brochures, folders, promotional material, and so on were collected to complete the website information. In some cases we had access to the peace education material or were able to take part in a given initiative. The latter, observational approach of course offers the best insight into the material offered, but for practical reasons it was not feasible to directly observe all the initiatives.

We completed this research with interviews conducted with 36 peace education organizations as part of a preliminary study at the end of 2008 and in early 2009. The interviews dealt primarily with the organization's profile, the initiatives and themes with which the organization worked, as well as methods, target audiences, collaborations, and so on. Our data were then entered in a database. Each project was labeled with the qualification negative and/or positive peace and categorized in one or more of Harris's five types of peace education (international, human rights, development, environment, and conflict resolution education). For each project it was then indicated, as far as possible, which audience it targeted. We subdivided the target audiences by level of education, starting with kindergarten

education, then three two-year levels of primary education, followed by three secondary education levels of two years each. We also created a field in the database to indicate whether the project is only intended or developed for schools or whether it is aimed at adults or extracurricular use, too. The database further contains information about whether an activity takes place on location, the price, the duration, the minimum and maximum number of participants, more detailed subdivisions in themes, potential relations with other projects, and the spatial or societal scale on which peace is addressed (micro, meso, or macro).

Next, we selected variables related to the nature of the project and the pedagogical methods used in the projects. We distinguished ten teaching methods: knowledge transfer, performance (passive: to attend), excursion, discussion, group work, role-play, empathy, expression/creation (active), exercise, and (long-term/processual) project. Of course, several methods may occur simultaneously and some methods may be intertwined. We also entered in the database information on what the peace education organizations actually have on offer, such as teaching materials (texts, objects, . . .), lectures and testimonials, performances by an actor or artist, visual and auditory materials, an exhibition, a guided tour, an excursion, a workshop, a game, and so on. Taken together, this set of variables and fields allowed us to gain insight into connections between various types of organizations, types of peace education, target audiences, and pedagogical forms and methods.

Organizations and Their Peace Education Projects

A Wide Variety of Organizations Engaged in Peace Education

Our efforts to get a broad view of organizations engaged in peace education yielded a very wide variety of different organizations. In this section we give an overview of the rich diversity of organizations developing peace education initiatives in Flanders. Although a number of these organizations do not specifically focus their efforts on micro peace, macro peace, or war, our conceptually-driven approach makes it possible to categorize their projects under peace education.

A first category of peace education organizations belongs to what is traditionally known as the *peace movement*. In Flanders a number of peace organizations are active, such as *Pax Christi Vlaanderen* (the Flemish section of Pax Christi International), *Vrede vzw* (established during the early Cold War as a section of the communist World Peace Council), *Verbond VOS* (established immediately after the First World War as the Flemish Association of War Veterans), *Vredesactie* (founded in 1968), *Jeugd & Vrede* (“youth & peace,” the most pure-bred peace education organization of Flanders), and institutions like the *Peace House* in Ghent and the *Peace Centre* in Antwerp,

which were, unlike the other organizations mentioned here, established by or linked to provincial or municipal authorities. These peace organizations are dedicated to education on negative peace, non-violence, and international conflict, as well as on the whole peace spectrum: from conflicts, ecology, to injustice, and inequality worldwide.

A second category of grassroots organizations is made up of those who place *war remembrance* at the center of their activities. A first group of these organizations, situated mainly in the west of the country (internationally known as *Flanders Fields*), focuses on the memory of the First World War, emphasizing the experience of trench warfare and the horror of war. A second group of organizations focuses on the memory of the Second World War. These organizations more often emphasize the theme of racial or political persecution in order to explain the importance of freedom and human rights. Common characteristics of both groups are that they are often located on sites with a historical significance (a former battlefield or a barracks that functioned as a transit camp in WWII), where they built memorial museums and developed a pedagogical service for school groups. Moreover, these organizations often have close links to grassroots communities, veterans' associations, or survivor groups. Examples of these organizations are the *In Flanders Fields Museum* in Ypres, *Talbot House* in Poperinge, and *Yser Tower Museum* in Diksmuide with regards to WWI memories, and the *Jewish Museum of Deportation and Resistance* in Malines, the *National Memorial Fort Breendonk* in Willebroek, and the *Auschwitz Foundation* for WWII. These organizations usually refer to their pedagogical activities as "remembrance education." The interpretation these organizations give to their educational activities usually corresponds to our description of peace education. In Flanders remembrance education is perceived as a pedagogical method to create a culture of peace or to build a responsible and respectful attitude. We will return to this issue at the end of the chapter.

A third category of organizations focuses specifically—and often exclusively—on *micro peace* or peaceful interpersonal relations. Although it is not always easy to distinguish between these organizations and those that work on "conflict resolution," we defined them as a separate category because of their explicit emphasis on non-violence. Examples of organizations with a focus on micro peace are *School zonder Pesten* (School without Bullying) and *Zinloos Geweld* (Meaningless Violence), which focuses on avoiding aggression and has its origins in the response to a number of extreme events of violence by and against adolescents.

A fourth category includes organizations that are not specifically focused on micro peace, macro peace, or war, but nonetheless offer projects we categorized under the broad umbrella of peace education. We can further classify these organizations according to Harris's five types of peace education. Among organizations focusing on *international education*, we find both

organizations that focus specifically on education as well as organizations that have a broader objective but also develop educational projects. We further distinguish between projects centered on global education and projects focusing on interstate relations or conflict. Examples in this category are the *Evens Foundation* (which focuses on European integration and harmonious coexistence), *UNICEF Belgium*, and the *youth chapter of the Belgian Red Cross*. A second group is made up of organizations that focus on *human rights, tolerance, and multiculturalism*, such as *Amnesty International Flanders*, the *Kinder-RechtenHuis* (Childrens' Rights House), and *School Zonder Racisme/Jongeren Tegen Racisme* (School without Racism/Youth against Racism). According to Harris's classification we consider the educational programs of these organizations as components of human rights education in view of the fact that respecting equal rights—and thus the right to difference—entails combating prejudice and stereotypes and respect for other groups. With regards to *development education* we found a number of organizations that focus on North/South relations. It is not always easy to distinguish these organizations from those in the field of global education. In the case of projects on development, we assume that the aim is to change something structurally or to improve relationships. When assigning specific educational projects, however, we noted that both types seamlessly blend into each other. Players in the sphere of development education are *Vredeseilanden* (Peace Islands), *Plan Belgium*, and *Oxfam*. Occasionally, their educational programs make a direct link with conflicts (e.g., landmines). Also interfaces with human rights (e.g., the right to food) or the environment (the water issue) occur frequently. With regards to *environment education* we only selected organizations that in their educational work establish a link with conflict or (sustainable) development. A last group of organizations under the *broad umbrella of peace education* are those active in the field of *conflict resolution management and training*.

A fifth and final category of organizations is *educational organizations with a broad agenda*, while also focusing on peace education. An example here is *Centrum Informatieve Spelen* (Centre Informative Games), who apply their general expertise in plays and games as educational method also in the field of peace education.

Interestingly, we also found that organizations often develop a joint offer and that they affiliate themselves with durable peace education providers or call on the assistance of specialized educational organizations with similar interests or if an opportunity arises. The joint initiative of the *In Flanders Fields Museum*, the *Yser Tower Museum* and *Talbot House* to create an interactive CD-ROM with an accompanying book on The Great War is an illustration of this. There are dozens of examples of associations or organizations, provincial or city governments, schools and universities that have, at one time or another, helped to develop one or more projects in collaboration with an established organization in the peace education field.

Analysis by Type of Organization and Type of Peace Education

Analysis of the collected data allowed us to dig even deeper into the different profiles of organizations and the themes they focus on. Specifically, we looked at the relations among the different categories of organizations we outlined in the section above and the different types of peace education they focus on in their projects. Tables 5.2 and 5.3 show the links between the classification according to type of organization and the type of peace education, first based on the fivefold classification of Harris and subsequently on the basis of Galtung's classification of positive and negative peace. Before we do this, we discuss the findings of Table 5.1 that show the general distribution of peace education projects along the fivefold classification of Harris.

TABLE 5.1 Number of Projects per Type of Peace Education (N = 501^a)

Type of peace education	% of projects
International education	41.3%
Human rights education	37.5%
Development education	25.3%
Environment education	8.8%
Conflict resolution education	27.7%

^a We draw attention to the N value of this table (501) although we have only identified 454 peace education projects. The small number of projects with multiple providers are counted individually in tables "per type or organization" and thus have been counted twice or even three times.

TABLE 5.2 Number of Projects per Type of Peace Education, by Type of Organization (N = 501)

Type of Peace Education	Type of organization							
	Peace movement (n = 93)	War remembrance (n = 35)	International (n = 88)	Human rights (n = 91)	Development (n = 65)	Environment (n = 5)	Micro peace & conflict handling (n = 25)	Educational Organizations (n = 99)
International education	56	35	64	18	21	2	0	11
Human rights education	31	12	27	83	15	1	2	17
Development education	8	0	33	7	53	4	0	22
Environment education	7	0	3	1	14	5	0	14
Conflict resolution education	33	1	4	20	1	0	25	55

TABLE 5.3 Number of Projects for Negative/Positive Peace, According to Type of Organization (N = 501)

Interpretation of Peace	Type of Organization								Total #
	Peace movement (n = 93)	War remembrance (n = 35)	International (n = 88)	Human rights (n = 91)	Development (n = 65)	Environment (n = 5)	Micro peace & conflict handling (n = 25)	Educational Organizations (n = 99)	
Negative	27	31	1	1	2	0	1	3	66
Positive	51	0	84	87	62	5	18	93	400
Both	15	4	3	3	1	0	6	3	35

A first observation in Table 5.1 is that the number of peace education projects that focus on environmental education is relatively small. This is a direct consequence of the choices we made in putting together our definition. Most peace education projects in Flanders focus on international and human rights education, but also projects on development and conflict resolution are offered frequently.

In Table 5.2 we introduce the different types of organizations in our analysis. We found that the *organizations focusing on micro peace and conflict handling*—not surprisingly—mainly focus on conflict resolution education. We have noted, however, that some other types of organizations also devote attention to conflict resolution education, more specifically the categories educational organizations, peace movement, and human rights.

War remembrance organizations have a strong preference for international education, which is not surprising given the link with interstate wars. There are also a striking number of organizations in this category that incorporate an aspect of human rights education in their activities. This combination is especially common in organizations that deal with the Second World War and thus focus mainly on issues of racist and political persecution.

Human rights organizations in turn often tend to limit themselves to human rights themes. They occasionally also focus on global or interpersonal issues, which explains the combinations with international education and conflict resolution education. Conversely, we find that other types of organizations often develop projects on human rights education, usually in combination with their respective global or interpersonal core activities.

The largest variation in the provision of different types of peace education is found in the *peace movement* and—not surprisingly—in the category of *educational organizations with a broad agenda*. Despite a wide range of

initiatives across various types of peace education, it appears that the “educational organizations” rarely combine different types in a single project. In addition, they show a marked preference for conflict resolution education. The peace movements in turn show a preference for international education, and relatively few of them are engaged in development education. This finding is remarkable, not only because the North/South theme is by definition an international or global theme, but also because the organizations in the categories of international and development education tend to focus on both themes. A plausible explanation could be the peace movement’s preference for projects related to international conflicts, which may entail less focus on development aspects. The other two categories, meanwhile, prefer projects focusing on global education, which is clearly at the crossroads of international and development education.

In Table 5.3 we indicate for each type of organization how many projects focus on positive peace, on negative peace or on both. Projects that combine positive and negative peace are not triple counted: “negative” and “positive” must therefore be interpreted as *only* negative or *only* positive peace.

On a general level, we find that the number of positive peace projects (aimed at achieving a culture of peace) appears to be much larger than the number of negative peace projects (to prevent violent behavior). Projects focusing on negative peace are mainly organized by war remembrance organizations, the peace movement, and organizations focusing on micro peace. All the projects of *war remembrance organizations* are (at least partially) focused on negative peace. In practice this means that “no more war,” “this was madness,” “this must never happen again,” or “this must never be forgotten” is always a part of the message and sometimes completed with a positive alternative or a positive peace message. The *peace movement* and the *organizations focusing on micro peace* are also responsible for a considerable share (between a quarter and half) of the initiatives aimed at negative peace or at a combination of positive and negative peace. Nevertheless, there is already a preponderance of positive peace among these organizations. Organizations like *Zinloos Geweld* and *Jeugd & Vrede*, for example, have projects that help preschoolers deal with quarrels by a combination of countering violence (negative peace) and learning to deal with conflict constructively (positive peace).

The predominance of positive peace among the project themes is even more pronounced in all the other types of organizations. There are some projects for negative peace among international-oriented or human rights organizations, although here, too, they are often combined with positive elements regarding human rights, conflict resolution, or resilience. Thus the *youth chapter of the Belgian Red Cross* and *Handicap International* have set up projects that focus on landmines or cluster munitions; *Amnesty International* provides video material with a pedagogical framework on religious, racial

and sexual violence on a global scale; and *Kinderrechtenhuis* offers projects about life after the experience of sexual violence. Almost all the projects of organizations in the international, human rights, development, and environment categories, however, focus at least in part on positive peace.

It seems that the difference between organizations that are spontaneously associated with peace (such as the peace movement and war remembrance organizations) and those that do organize peace education projects but often use another term for it, appears to be in line with the degree to which they do or do not work towards negative peace. In terms of macro or international peace and micro or interpersonal peace, peace organizations appear to combine both negative and positive peace most explicitly. Organizations that focus on the history and remembrance of war or crimes against humanity seek to create a better, peaceful world through focusing on negative peace or by avoiding violence or horror. Peace education dedicated to positive peace is usually known by another name, such as human rights education, development education, or global education.

The scarcity of negative peace projects offered by organizations in the international and development categories is consistent with the hypothesis that the combination of international education and development education can be situated in global education, as distinguished from interstate education (see above). The varied offer of both negative and positive peace in the peace movement, on the other hand, is itself not sufficient to support any conclusion regarding whether or not it is in their international education projects (e.g., those focused on conflicts and wars) that these organizations focus on negative peace. Analysis of our data has shown, however, that of the 56 “international education” projects of the peace movement, 35 are wholly or partly devoted to negative peace and, conversely, that 35 of their 42 negative peace projects can be considered international education. The difference between organizations that are traditionally associated with peace and those that focus on peace education in the broad sense of the term is thus apparent on two levels. First, negative peace in general hardly crops up at all in the second group of organizations. Second, specifically in international education, the peace movement and the war remembrance organizations have a mainly negative peace interpretation focused on interstate relations, whereas international education projects of organizations in the international and development categories are nearly all oriented towards positive peace and global education.

These conclusions are confirmed by the data presented in Table 5.4, which compares the types of peace education with the positive and/or negative interpretation of peace education.

Significantly, negative peace is most prevalent in international education and least prevalent in development education. The combination of international and development education in the many global education

TABLE 5.4 Percentages of Interpretation of (Positive/Negative) Peace by Type of Peace Education

Interpretation of peace	Type of Peace Education					Total (N = 454)
	International education (n = 189)	Human rights education (n = 166)	Development education (n = 114)	Environment education (n = 37)	Conflict resolution education (n = 125)	
Negative	30.2	9.0	0.9	2.7	2.4	13.0
Positive	60.8	83.7	95.6	94.6	85.6	80.2
Both	9.0	7.2	3.5	2.7	12.0	6.8

projects—which thus overwhelmingly are oriented towards positive peace—can therefore be sharply distinguished from the negative peace projects dealing with historical or current international conflicts. No significant conclusions can be drawn on human rights education in this context, perhaps due to the divergence between the negative peace initiatives that deal with persecution during the Second World War and interpersonal intolerance, and the positive peace projects, in particular those focusing on children's rights. In the framework of peace education, far too few projects focus on environment education to enable a proper assessment. Conflict resolution education or micro peace, by contrast, tends to significantly combine negative and positive peace most frequently, with projects on the prevention of bullying and intolerance.

Favorite Topics of Peace Education

Some organizations have adopted a *Leitmotif* that guides all their activities. This applies to most war remembrance organizations whose projects are related to a major historical event, but some development NGOs work with specific campaign themes as well. *Handicap International*, for example, mainly focuses on landmines—at least in their peace education projects. In the case of some other NGOs the campaign theme changes from year to year, but the old material sometimes remains available after the campaign has ended. Our analysis showed that in many instances the topics of the projects are adjusted to accommodate the child audience, such as children's rights, child soldiers, child labor, and so on.

Sometimes organizations team up for broader campaigns. In 2009, a coalition for decent work was formed within the broader cooperation *2015 de tijd loopt* (2015 the clock is ticking) about the UN's Millennium Development Goals. In addition to classic campaign materials, more diverse

educational packages were developed, ranging from online games, role-play and workshops, as well as narrative theatre and ready-made toolkits. What makes this campaign remarkable is the fact that it is a rare example of a project devoted to so-called “social peace,” which in the Belgian context refers to the pacification of employers’ and employees’ relations through intensive dialogue on various levels. Although social peace is a concept that is widely used in Belgian societal debate, it rarely crops up in the context of peace and peace education in Flanders.

Palestine and the Middle East is undoubtedly a region on which Flemish peace education providers often focus. The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC, formerly Belgian Congo), Senegal, Morocco, India, the Philippines, and several Latin American countries are also frequently appearing as subjects of peace education offers. We assume that the colonial past offers an explanation for the prominent focus on the DRC, while Morocco probably garners more than average attention thanks to the presence of a large number of Flemings of Moroccan descent in our cities. We did not further investigate whether an explanation can also be found in relationships with countries as a result of years of preferential development cooperation, or in an accidental interest of certain employees of peace education organizations.

Projects for Different Age Groups

Another interesting variable by which to analyze peace education projects is the target audiences for which these initiatives are developed. This section illustrates the distribution of projects among target audiences and then presents our specific findings regarding the types of organizations and the types of peace education in accordance with the classifications of Galtung and Harris.

With 236 projects aimed at primary education and 280 projects at secondary education, the peace education offered in Flanders appears to be fairly evenly divided between these two main groups. If we look at the numbers per level of two years in which Flemish education is commonly organized, the third level of primary education seems to be the favorite target audience (203), closely followed by the third level of secondary education (192). The first (175) and second (179) levels of secondary education can choose from a similar offering, but there are already considerably fewer opportunities in the second level of primary education (135), and the number continues to drop in line with the age of pupils from 97 projects for the first level and 53 for kindergarten. Most peace education projects in Flanders appear to be aimed at youth 10 to 18 years of age, with peaks in the third level of primary and secondary education. These are also the two target audiences with the greatest number of projects exclusively tailored to this level.

Next, we analyzed the projects developed for level of education in relation to the types of peace education. Table 5.5 shows that in kindergarten conflict resolution is the favored type, such as projects for teaching children to cope with emotions (happy, scared, angry, and sad). Further analysis showed that organizations focusing on *micro peace & conflict resolution* were not the main providers of these projects for kindergarten, but rather the *educational organizations* and the *peace movement*. Another approach to peace education used in kindergarten education is to acquaint preschoolers with foreign cultures. These projects focus on global education and appear in the table under international education.

Table 5.5 also shows that the offering of projects on conflict resolution, for example projects to stop bullying, is strong for primary and secondary education as well, although they are not as dominant as in pre-school education. This reflects a maturation process where smaller children are mostly concerned about conflicts in their own direct environment. As children age they start to form their own more elaborate world views.²

In primary education, international education is the favored theme. Here again, workshops and games are offered in the context of global education, as are projects about war and peace. Secondary education projects focus slightly less on familiarity with other cultures and more on war remembrance and development education. International education in secondary schools focuses more on war, inequality, and injustice, while in primary education the unbiased meeting with the other still takes precedence. Secondary education most often takes up human rights projects, but the numerical difference with primary education is minimal. We conclude that the differences between primary and secondary education are rather small for every type of peace education.

TABLE 5.5 Percentages of Each Type of Peace Education per Target Audiences (N = 454)

Target audience	Type of peace education				
	International education	Human rights education	Development education	Environment education	Conflict resolution education
Pre-school education (n = 53) (younger than 6 years)	47.2	17.0	9.4	7.5	50.9
Primary education (n = 236) (6–12 years)	50.8	37.3	21.2	6.4	28.0
Secondary education (n = 280) (12–18 years)	37.1	40.4	27.1	8.2	27.1

TABLE 5.6 Percentages of Negative/Positive Peace by Intended Audience (N = 454)

Target audiences	Interpretation of peace		
	Negative	Positive	Both
Pre-school education (n = 53)	5.7	86.8	7.5
Primary education (n = 236)	12.3	79.2	8.5
Secondary education (n = 280)	14.3	77.9	7.9
Total	13.0	80.2	6.8

Table 5.6 indicates that the relationship among negative peace, positive peace and both is largely the same for the three target audiences. Again, this does not mean that there are no substantive hidden differences. In younger groups, project content often centers around conflict and emotion in their immediate environment and methodologically around stories and games. In the case of older students, we see more projects about historical and current conflicts in the world that are based on visits, talks, exhibitions and realistic simulation games. Generally speaking, this means that in terms of negative peace, primary education tends to operate more at the micro level and that experience is pursued by means of staged or fictional versions of actual experiences. Secondary education also opts for empathy and experiential education, but at the macro level and with a cognitive approach that is inspired by real events.

A Wide Range of Pedagogical Methods

Peace education organizations make use of a wide variety of pedagogical methods. Table 5.7 links the methods used by organizations to facilitate their projects in the classroom to the five types of peace education. It shows that facilitating empathy is by far the most common method employed, except in conflict resolution education, perhaps because this type of peace education usually emphasizes the pupils themselves and their real situations. And yet even in this type of peace education, empathy is the preferred channel for teaching peace education in one of every four cases. This method includes, for example, learning to imagine the situation or the perspective of the person with whom you communicate, with whom you have a personal conflict, or who is being bullied. It follows that in this type of projects group work is a more commonly used method and the level of knowledge transfer is relatively low. Expressive and creative approaches are very often utilized for this type of projects.

It is remarkable how international education seems to be the pedagogical opposite of conflict resolution. Knowledge is the essential element of projects on global education and international conflicts, empathy is

TABLE 5.7 Percentage of Methods by Type of Peace Education (N = 454)

Pedagogical methods	Type of peace education				
	International education (n = 189)	Human rights education (n = 166)	Development education (n = 114)	Environment education (n = 37)	Conflict resolution education (n = 125)
Teaching—knowledge transfer	41.3	41.6	29.8	18.9	16.8
Performance	19.0	19.9	24.6	21.6	5.6
Excursion	14.8	7.8	6.1	5.4	0.8
Discussion	15.9	30.1	29.8	21.6	31.2
Group work	9.5	17.5	19.3	27.0	32.8
Role-play	24.3	29.5	40.4	40.5	17.6
Empathy	61.4	50.6	41.2	43.2	24.0
Expression—creation	22.8	30.7	10.5	13.5	35.2
Exercises	14.8	13.9	17.5	13.5	8.8
Project	8.5	9.0	7.9	10.8	14.8

ubiquitous, while role-play, creativity, and group work are rarely used. Excursions are frequently used, a significant choice, while they are virtually absent in conflict resolution education. If we review the projects in detail, those on war remembrance are excellent examples of projects with these cognitive, experience-based and less interactive characteristics. These findings imply that, from a pedagogical perspective, micro peace and macro peace, as micro and macro interpretations of negative peace, constitute the two extremes of peace education. All other types are usually situated somewhere in between the two. This observation is of course relative, since even in conflict resolution education we note a share of 17% for knowledge transfer and 24% for empathy, and there is also scope for creativity and group work in international education. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that micro peace and macro peace are at the two extremes of the spectrum in terms of pedagogical method.

Conflict resolution education and war remembrance education constitute two poles of the pedagogical spectrum of peace education. As we have seen, these approaches of non-violence on the interpersonal and interstate level, or what we could call micro and macro peace, are also the odd cases when it comes to the focus on negative peace. In the next section we will visualize this by means of a graphic presentation of peace education in Flanders, which takes into account the five types of peace education as well as the distinction between negative and positive peace.

A Graphic Presentation of the Peace Education Offer in Flanders

Ultimately, the division between projects focused on negative or positive peace seems to be the best way of explaining the difference between projects and organizations. Organizations that are based on remembrance of the two world wars (macro peace) seem to be more explicitly focused on negative peace. Organizations that focus on interpersonal violence (micro peace) tend to frequently combine negative and positive peace. The attention to negative peace constitutes the main difference between organizations that are traditionally associated with peace and those that usually use a different term for their peace education work.

Remarkably enough, the organizations, and even more so the activities that are more traditionally associated with peace—negative peace—are the exceptions in the peace education field. Within the overall offering of projects in Flanders, two approaches based on negative peace—micro peace (against interpersonal violence) and macro peace (against international violence)—seem to be opposites, in terms of both target audience and pedagogical approach. Micro peace projects, which we could sweepingly define as the negative peace interpretation of conflict resolution education, are implemented in schools for all age groups, but most often the youngest groups. Cognitive and experience-oriented approaches are least frequently used in the micro peace context, where interactive methods are preferred. Projects for macro peace, usually in relation to the two world wars, in turn embody the negative peace interpretation of international education and to a lesser extent human rights education. These projects are aimed mainly

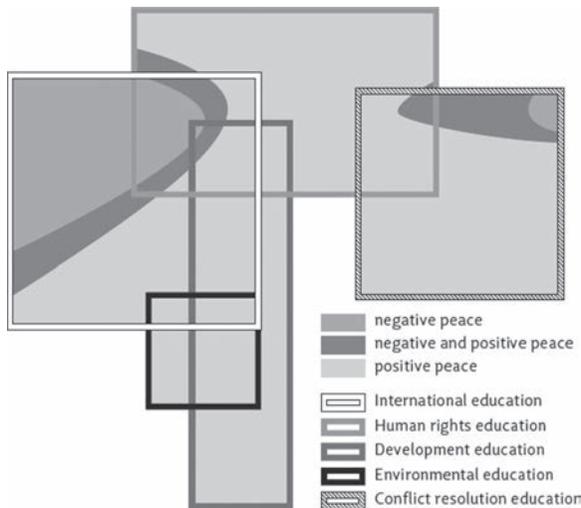


Figure 5.1 Graphic presentation of the peace education offerings in Flanders.

at older groups and attach importance to cognitive and experiential methods. Interactive approaches are used least frequently in these projects. Ultimately, the characteristics of micro and macro peace seem to differ significantly from one another across the board. Projects aimed at positive peace are situated between these two extremes and ensure that the entire peace education available is still a continuum whereby the various types of peace education and the various categories of organizations overlap with one another and become interwoven.

Note that this analysis is applicable to projects, not organizations. Many peace organizations, after all, also offer projects that focus on positive peace, and we have seen that the peace movement covers the entire field of peace education. Nevertheless, peace education is largely carried out in projects with a different heading. Projects that are intuitively and most frequently associated with (negative) peace determine the extremes. We can, therefore, refine our classification of peace education to:

- macro peace, or negative peace in international and human rights education;
- positive peace in international, human rights, development, environment, and conflict resolution education; and
- micro peace, or negative peace within conflict resolution education, whereby macro and micro peace ultimately are farthest apart.

Implementation of Peace Education Projects in Flemish Schools

The question of course remains to what extent Flemish schools make use of the wide variety of projects developed by grassroots organizations. A previous research project of the Flemish Peace Institute provides some answers (Kavadias, Stouthuysen, De Maeyer, Franck, & Segal, 2008). The study showed that Flemish schools organize peace education projects on a regular basis. A survey among representatives of 534 Flemish schools, which recorded information on a total of 767 projects, showed that 80% of secondary schools and 62% of primary schools organized at least one peace education project a year in the period 2005–2007.³ Information from the schools indicated that a substantial proportion of these projects received support from an external organization, particularly those in primary education (58%). Schools worked either directly with the external organization that set up and organized the project (completely) itself, or they used teaching materials supplied by this organization. In secondary education, where more peace education projects were organized, schools tended to rely relatively less on (material from) an external organization. Overall, the

fact remains that an important part of the secondary school projects (40%) was organized with direct or indirect support from external organizations. This support was aimed mainly at providing educational materials or other information that was then used by schools for setting up and organizing their peace education projects. Projects that are fully developed and organized by an external organization are a minority in Flemish education: 12% of the projects in primary schools and 29% of the projects in secondary education. This means that secondary schools, although in general they made less use of external organizations than primary schools, more often outsourced a peace education project completely. In both levels of education, however, the teachers usually worked with material delivered by an external organization to set up a project themselves.

If we take a closer look at peace education projects organized in schools with support from external organizations, we notice a striking difference between primary and secondary schools in terms of the concrete reason for teachers or principals to work together with external organizations. In primary schools projects are usually (66%) carried out in the aftermath of specific events such as the incidence of bullying and quarrels between students and societal events such as acts of senseless violence or campaign activities by civil society organizations. In secondary schools, peace education projects are less often carried out for a specific reason. According to the respondents, most projects had not been triggered by a concrete event or occasion (56%). In the cases where they were triggered, a wide range of events and occasions is cited, from elections, campaign-related actions of civil society organizations, the Flemish Peace Week, and religious holidays and practices (fasting, Ramadan, ...) to very concrete incidences of bullying and aggression at school. It is worth noting that in primary and secondary schools the reasons for carrying out projects with external support are not significantly different from those for projects without external assistance. Although schools quite often rely on (the material of) external organizations, the survey showed that it is not always easy for them to find out which external organizations offer peace education projects. A large group of schools reported that one reason why they do not organize peace education projects is a lack of overview of the offer and/or quality of such projects. If and when schools relied on external organizations, this was usually the result of personal contacts or direct mailings by external organizations. Most schools that undertake peace education with the support of an external organization have indicated that they were very pleased with this collaboration. For primary education specifically, the cooperation was deemed to be excellent, especially for projects that are provided ready-made (i.e., developed and organized by the provider).

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter we have shown that a wide variety of grassroots organizations is active in developing peace education projects for schools in Flanders. Our broad conceptualization of peace education, which combines Galtung's negative/positive classification with Harris's five-category classification, allowed us to find not only organizations that spontaneously associate themselves with the peace theme—such as the traditional peace movement, the organizations that focus on war remembrance (macro peace), and the organizations that focus on interpersonal non-violence (micro peace)—but also to identify a series of organizations that tend to use the label “peace” much less or not at all in defining or describing their activities. We found that these latter organizations also develop initiatives that fall within our definition of peace education.

In total, we identified 62 grassroots organizations that offer altogether 454 peace education initiatives for schools. Furthermore, we found that these organizations have a wide range of projects on offer. We analyzed this diversity in terms of type of peace education, target audience, and pedagogical forms and methods. The greatest variety of types of peace education, target audiences and methodologies can be found among the organizations that define themselves self-consciously as working on peace related themes. It could be expected that these organizations would most explicitly encompass the whole field of peace education. The fact that this assumption proved to be true shows that our definition of peace education corresponds with reality. Overall, we found that peace organizations approach certain types of peace education in a different way than organizations that do not or only indirectly associate their projects with “peace.” More specifically, the division between projects focused on negative or positive peace seems to be the best way of explaining the difference between projects and organizations. The attention to negative peace constitutes the main difference between organizations that are traditionally associated with peace and those that usually use a different term for their peace education work.

An often raised and important question in Flanders is: what is the short-term and long-term impact of these peace education projects? Few studies have been undertaken that can adequately answer this question. Kavadias and colleagues (2008) asked the schools that organize peace education projects to evaluate the general and immediate effectiveness of these projects. The perceived general effectiveness was, with a few exceptions, rated very highly: the schools that organize peace education projects strongly believe in the benefits of these projects with regard to the students' knowledge, skills, and attitudes. Opinions were more divided on the immediate positive consequences of the projects. Nevertheless, in a third of the projects in primary education and in a quarter of the projects in secondary

education, projects were perceived to have an immediate and tangible impact on the students, such as an improved school climate and a more positive attitude of the students when it comes to violence in schools. We can therefore conclude that the schools are convinced, based on their own experience and their own assessment, that a significant proportion of the projects with external support make a concrete contribution to a peaceful attitude in school. Further research on the impact of peace education projects is, however, still needed.

To conclude this chapter, we make a final observation about two apparent “mismatches” that seem to exist in the field of Flemish peace education. Firstly, we observed a paradox between on the one hand the wide range of peace education projects developed by various types of organizations, and on the other hand complaints from the “demand-side,” the schools, that they sometimes have difficulties finding suitable peace education projects. We found that especially the schools that do *not* organize peace education projects often mention this is due to the fact that they find it hard to get a good overview of the offer and quality of available peace education projects. This may indicate that teachers do not always recognize the existing projects as “peace education,” which may boil down to the fact that some teachers interpret peace education in the intuitive way mentioned in the introduction, which limits their engagements with peace education to the projects of traditional peace organizations or to negative peace only. In this respect, combined efforts to make the offer of peace education projects more visible and accessible seem imperative. The Flemish Peace Institute, for its part, has set up an online database (with search engine) that makes the current offer of peace education projects in Flanders publicly accessible.⁴

A second mismatch can be found if we move from the grassroots to the policy level. Although the Flemish government in 2009 has introduced cross-curricular attainment targets for Flemish schools about tolerance and insight in the role of conflicts, thus appearing to give an endorsement to peace education, the government’s efforts in this field have largely focused on remembrance education (Castrick, 2009). More specifically, the government promotes education about (and remembrance of) the two world wars in order for pupils to be able to draw lessons from the past and learn democratic and respectful attitudes. Given the existence of a wide variety of peace education projects, as shown by our research, this policy choice amounts to a significant limitation of the possibilities of peace education. In focusing primarily on war memory and negative peace, and not on a broader conception of positive peace education—which includes education about international/global issues, human rights, developmental and environmental topics, and conflict resolution—the government seems to limit itself to a rather intuitive approach to peace education as well.

NOTES

1. In a nutshell, negative peace can be understood as the absence or prevention of violence, whereas positive peace refers to an attitude or atmosphere conducive to a culture of peace.
2. Within this perspective the high proportion of projects focused on international education in preschool education might look surprising at first sight, but a deeper look into these projects shows that these projects are focused on acquainting preschoolers with other cultures and are thus also directed at their own direct environment given the generally large proportion of classmates from foreign descent.
3. The definition for peace education used in this survey differs from our definition in later research projects. In this survey peace education projects were defined as projects aimed at stimulating non-violence, tolerance, and democratic attitudes.
4. The database can only be consulted in Dutch (www.vredesinstituut.eu/vredesopvoeding).

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CHAPTER 6

TEACHING FORGIVENESS IN UGANDA

On the Road to Reconciliation

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In the last few decades there has been a pervasive trend towards reconciliation and forgiveness in order to forge a sustainable future. Among the best-known exemplifiers is Archbishop Tutu (2000), whose motto is “without forgiveness there can be no future for a relationship between individuals or within and between nations” (p. 53). Forgiveness and reconciliation are difficult and challenging concepts. Enright, Freedman, and Rique (1998) describe forgiveness as a:

willingness to abandon one’s right to resentment, negative judgment, and indifferent behavior toward one who unjustly injured us, while fostering the undeserved qualities of compassion, generosity and even love toward him or her. (p. 151)

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Reconciliation is generally the term used to describe the process of a community or groups of people going through post-conflict resolution; it is when they come to accept and see the humanity of one another and see the possibility of a constructive relationship (Staub, Pearlman, & Bilali, 2010).

Uganda has been struggling internally since its formation as a protectorate under British rule. The most recent ongoing problem facing Uganda stems from clashes between the government and a rebel army force called the Lords Resistance Army (LRA) that started in 1986. The LRA is made up mostly of child soldiers who have been abducted from the local community. As of early 2012, the LRA has fewer than 2,000 soldiers, due to the Juba Peace Accords that grant amnesty to rebels who give up and leave “the bush.” These child soldiers are brain-washed to commit horrible acts such as robbing, raping, killing, and butchering people in front of living family members. Now that peace agreements have been reached, these child soldiers are being returned to the communities that they tortured. The communities do not welcome back these former child soldiers with open arms, but rather with suspicion and fear.

On the Human Development Index (2011), a comparative measure of life expectancy, literacy, education, and standards of living of a country, Uganda ranks 161st out of 187 countries studied in 2011. Expenditure on education has been averaging about 30 percent of annual public expenditure and is significantly higher than that of other pro-poor sectors such as health, transport, water and sanitation, food security, and agriculture (Human Development Index, 2011). The Ugandan Education Sector Strategic Plan (ESSP II), which is part of the government’s broader Poverty Reduction Strategy framework, has paid particular attention to reducing inequalities in public education in order to achieve its aim of providing all children with equal access to education. Even with spending 30 percent of their GDP on education, Uganda lacks the capacity to implement peace education in public school, due to the lack of teachers available after President Museveni declared free universal education. Currently NGOs are the only ones teaching peace in Uganda.

According to Jenkins, Groetzing, Hunter, Kwon, and Reardon (2007), communities are defined by shared resources, borders, and their general surroundings. In order to facilitate transformations with a community, we must learn to engage with ourselves and with others in the community. These processes can assist learning how to be within the community that once was torn apart by war. Jenkins et al. (2007) further argue that there are many ways a community can “share the responsibilities and leadership of the group that take into account the unique capacities and lived realities of its members” (p. 25). Coming together helps communities by reminding members of their shared beliefs and can be a way to provide recognition to the all members of the group who help contribute to society (Jenkins et

al., 2007). From many different cultures there are many learning processes that exist that nurture positive relational and community behaviors. Not all of these processes work for all cultures, and one must take that into consideration when planning programs. Peaceful behaviors can be supported and taught by complementary values such as promoting peaceful living, respect for human life, and rights, acceptability, empathy and justice. These values are reflective of how we relate to and with one another, and they are the indicators of how we negotiate differences, commonalities, and conflicts (Jenkins et al., 2007). We may have been taught these values, but rarely are such values practiced first hand nor are they realistically fostered through learning in a classroom (Jenkins et al., 2007).

Peace education attempts to create citizens who can carry out, through a non-indoctrinating process, practical measures in their everyday lives that can lead to a more peaceful sustainable future (Jenkins et al., 2007). Israeli peace educator Dan Bar-Tal observes that “the nature of peace education is dictated by the issues that preoccupy a specific society, because it has to be perceived as being relevant and functional to the societal needs, goals and concerns. This is an important requirement for the initiation and realization of peace in any society” (Bar-Tal, 2002, p. 29). Like many African cultures, a community approach, rather than individual oriented approaches, is more appropriate (Staub, Pearlman & Bilali, 2012). Group healing can help people reconnect with others within the community, thus functioning as an important solution to the disconnection between former combatants and community members (Staub et al., 2012). Since entertainment appeals to people of diverse backgrounds, community activities make the message of forgiveness accessible to the larger population (Staub et al., 2010).

Research has shown that understanding psychological trauma, the effects of traumatic experiences, perceptions of people and the world, and one’s spirituality can contribute to healing (Staub et al., 2010). It is important that peace educators discern socially relevant ways of framing the various issues of violence and peace within the community they are helping. Community ownership is a vital aspect of community based learning and will play a key role in the overall impact and sustainability of a project. When people experience ownership of a project or an idea, they are more likely to take responsibility, participate fully, and stay involved. Part of the rationale behind the use of learning communities as preferred learning environments is based on the effectiveness of learning in which all parties are recognized as both learners and teachers. When participants understand themselves as vital to the shaping and success of the project in which they are involved, they are likely to engage more profoundly.

In this chapter I will introduce you to Uganda and examine where the problems originate; provide a condensed history of the LRA; describe what child soldiers experience and what communities experience at their hands;

tell what happens when child soldiers return to their communities; and observe how one non-government organization (NGO), the Justice and Reconciliation Project, tries to integrate former child soldiers back into the community by educating both sides through forgiveness programs created and run by the local population using local tradition forgiveness and reconciliation concepts while introducing new forgiveness techniques.

UGANDA

Uganda is made up of a complex and diverse range of over 40 ethnic groups (Byrnes, 1992). The total population is hard to determine precisely because of the inaccessibility of remote regions. The last census, conducted in 2012, estimates that the population is around 35.8 million, with 4.6 million in urban areas and 31.2 million in rural areas (Central Intelligence Agency, 2012). Agriculturists are mainly located in the southern and eastern regions; with its rich soil and fertile lands, coffee and tea have become the country's primary production (Byrnes, 1992). In contrast, the north's economic system is centered on hunting and livestock; the northerners supply much of the national manual labor and came to comprise a majority of the military (Byrnes, 1992). This competing social and economic structure within Uganda was exacerbated while under British rule and after independence (Byrnes, 1992).

In 1962, Uganda gained its independence and for 24 years was besieged by violent coups and military dictators who killed up to 800,000 people (Amnesty International, 2010; Cheney, 2007). Under each new tyrannical takeover, the systematic killing and torture of different ethnic populations was rampant, including dismemberment, child soldiers, raping, demolishing infrastructure, and destroying homes, cattle, and crops (Cheney, 2007). These aggressive coups stemmed from the power imbalances among the different ethnic groups within Uganda. The last coup, in 1986, led by Yoweri Museveni, usurped the power of Acholi lead military and President Tito Okello (Cheney, 2007). Museveni was elected as the president for the fourth time in 2011 in open elections, leaving him the only president in Uganda to confront The Lord's Resistance Army.

LORD'S RESISTANCE ARMY

Being a masculine culture of soldiers and warriors, the Acholis (a tribe located in the north) had gained influence and power by being some of the best soldiers in the army of Uganda (Ofcansky, 1996). An Acholi woman by the name of Alice Auma Lakwena established the Holy Spirit Movement

(HSM), an armed resistance movement said to be inspired by the Holy Spirit of God (Riley, 2008). These “resistance” fighters consisted of local Acholi men and ex-soldiers who wanted their positions back within the army and the government after Museveni took over (Riley, 2008). These soldiers were told by Lakwena that the way to defeat the government of Museveni is by strictly adhering to the Ten Commandments (Riley, 2008).

Meanwhile, Joseph Kony, another spiritual figure, gained a reputation as having been possessed by spirits (Riley, 2008). Kony sought to align himself with Lakwena and in turn garner support from her followers, even falsifying claims that they were cousins (Riley, 2008). In 1988, after the Holy Spirit Movement was defeated by the Ugandan Army, Lakwena fled to Kenya (Riley, 2008). Kony seized the opportunity to recruit the Holy Spirit remnants and members of the disbanded Ugandan People’s Democratic Army (UPDA); together all three factions created the Lord’s Resistance Army (Riley, 2008). Kony adopted conventional guerrilla warfare tactics from the generals of the UPDA and used them against the military while living in “the bush” and being supported by the local population (Riley, 2008).

March 1991 saw the start of Operation North, whose goal was to destroy the LRA by cutting away its roots of support among the population (Riley, 2008). As part of Operation North, “Arrow Groups” were created by the government, consisting of arming local people with bows and arrows (Riley, 2008). This is known as a “peace through strength” tactic in which the government tried to create peace by arming people. In response to the loss of support from the local population, Kony and the LRA mutilated numerous Acholi people whom they believed to be government supporters and began abducting children and forcing them to become soldiers (Riley, 2008). This retaliation caused many Acholi to finally turn against Kony and his insurgency (Riley, 2008). After the failure of Operation North, the government initiated the first face-to-face meeting with representatives of the LRA in order to stem the atrocities committed by the soldiers (Riley, 2008). These soldiers are known to rape, loot, burn down houses, and indulge in acts of brutality before they kill their victims, often with their families looking on (Riley, 2008).

The government finally signed The Amnesty Act in 2000, giving amnesty to anyone but high ranking military personnel. Not all rebels gave up, and the LRA continued its pillaging. After being chased out of Uganda in 2006, the LRA was scattered and posed significant security threats to Sudan and the DRC (Riley, 2008). Between the years of 2006 and 2008 a series of meetings were held in Juba, Sudan, between the government of Uganda and the LRA (Riley, 2008). The Ugandan government and the LRA signed a truce on August 26, 2006 in which they agreed that the LRA forces would leave Uganda and gather in two assembly areas in the remote Garamba National Park area of northern DRC (Riley, 2008).

Between December 2008 and March 2009, the armed forces of Uganda, the DR Congo and South Sudan launched aerial attacks and raids on the LRA camps in Garamba, dismantling them; these strikes, supported by the U.S. military were dubbed Operation Lightning Thunder (Riley, 2008). The military action in the DRC did not result in the capture or killing of Kony, who remained elusive, nor did it formally stop the LRA (Riley, 2008). Moreover, the following months saw a major re-escalation of atrocities and abductions committed by the LRA, particularly in eastern DRC (Riley, 2008). In March 2012, Uganda announced it will head a new four-nation African Union military force to hunt down Kony and the remnants of the LRA and asked for international assistance for the task force (AMICC, 2012). The U.S. military headed the call and has conducted training exercises with the Ugandan army (AMICC, 2012).

Former soldiers of the LRA are now touring Uganda begging for forgiveness from their victims according to traditional ways. As emotional as these sessions are, they are also politically calculated. At the height of the civil war, Uganda called in the International Criminal Court (ICC) for assistance in apprehending and arresting the rebels (Pham, Vinck, Wierda, Stover, & di Giovanni, 2005). The rebels now face penalties for war crimes and crimes against humanity per the ICC (Pham et al., 2005). With peace talks now under way in Uganda, the charges have become stumbling blocks toward an agreement due to the traditional ways of reconciliation and forgiveness (Pham et al., 2005). The government of Uganda cannot simply absolve their enemies of the charges, and the ICC will only consider dropping them if Uganda establishes a competent tribunal to try them (Pham et al., 2005). As a result, the government and its one-time enemy are touring the country to drum up support for what they call an “alternative justice system,” one based on traditional forgiveness rituals (Pham et al., 2005).

CHILD SOLDIERS

Definitions of “a child” are culturally established and vary among societies. Most developed countries define a person fewer than 18 years of age as a child, while many developing countries regard a person as an adult once he or she is doing adult work or has completed cultural rituals that lead to man- or womanhood (Wessells, 2005). Despite the different perceptions of what constitutes a child, most nations think that the existence of child soldiers is considered an offensive occurrence (Wessells, 2005). A child soldier is any child, boy or girl, who is compulsorily, forcibly, or voluntarily recruited or used in hostilities by armed forces, paramilitaries, civil defense units, or other armed groups (Wessells, 2005). Although these standards are widely recognized, the use of children in armed conflicts is still a global

phenomenon. In spite of a near global consensus that children should not be used as soldiers, it is still occurring in more than 30 armed conflicts throughout Africa, the Americas, Asia, Europe, and the Middle East (Wessells, 2005).

The generally accepted perception is that children deserve protection. This perception is recognized in national laws around the world, as well as in international legal documents such as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Optional Protocol on Children and Armed Conflict (OPAC). The OPAC criminalizes the recruitment of children by groups outside official governments and has set the minimum age for participation in combat at 18 years (Wessells, 2005). However, the Child Soldiers Global Report (Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, 2008) claims that when armed conflict exists, children will almost inevitably become involved as soldiers.

According to the United Nations in 2006, 90 percent of the LRA consisted of child soldiers or soldiers who were abducted as children and are now adults. Thorough research has revealed that abduction and the use of force were the main methods of recruitment in Uganda (Blattman, 2007). Abducted children in the LRA often became loyal to the group due to the use of psychological drugs, threats to their lives (as well as their family members'), and promises that the children got to keep whatever they wanted after they raid a village (Blattman, 2007). The LRA used child soldiers for forced sexual services, as combatants, messengers, porters, and cooks (Boydén & de Berry, 2004). Most child soldiers in Uganda were adolescents between the ages of 12 and 15; approximately 60 percent were boys and 40 percent girls (Machel, 2001; Human Rights Watch, 2008).

Denholm (2005) found that almost all former child soldiers who completed post assessment tests were found to have severe cases of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Some of the youth tell stories of being forced to brutally murder their own family members with machetes or watch as others did (Denholm, 2005; Derluyn, Broekaert, Schuyten, & De Temmerman, 2003). A study of 248 former child soldiers showed that 66% of their fathers and 37% of their mothers were dead, leaving many child soldiers as orphans. Of those who had died, 46% of the fathers and 32% of the mothers had been killed (Derluyn et al., 2003). Once a child soldier, they had to loot and destroy the properties of civilians and participate in military training. Many were beaten and sustained serious injuries while fighting. The effects of PTSD on girls who were child soldiers are in some ways more severe than in boys (Derluyn et al., 2003). Girls are taken as wives for the soldiers; many become pregnant and raise these children in the violent environment of the LRA (Human Rights Watch, 2008). The trauma of being raped compounds the other abuses they suffer (Briggs, 2005; Human Rights Watch, 2008).

RETURNING FROM THE BUSH

According to the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), the fighting between the government and the LRA has resulted in the displacement of nearly 95 percent of the Acholi population (Pham et al., 2005). During the height of the conflict, over 1.6 million people were displaced into more than 200 internally displaced persons (IDP) camps (Pham et al., 2005). Roughly 20,000 children were abducted by the LRA to serve as child soldiers, sex slaves, and porters (Pham et al., 2005). In addition, over 300,000 people lost their lives as a result of the instability and chaos that reigned throughout the conflict (Pham et al., 2005).

Thousands of IDPs have now left the IDP camps and returned to their communities along with former child soldiers returning from “the bush.” After the Amnesty Act of 2000, over 11,000 former ex-combatants returned to their communities (Riley, 2008). There is a recognition that these children must be returned to their communities in order to break the cycle of violence. Nevertheless, in some cases in Uganda, communities have not felt able to have child soldiers back among them until they have been disarmed and debriefed by an outside agency. Staub et al. (2010) posit that after the violence is over, segments of the groups involved still have deep feelings of insecurity, hurt, anger, and hostility. In these instances, healing cannot take place in the community until a third party is involved. To this end, some agencies have set up camps where children are counseled and reintegration is attempted.

The reintegration of former LRA rebels back into their original society is turning out to be a highly challenging task. Research shows that rehabilitation programs are often mismatched to the needs of former rebels, resulting in failing reintegration of these individuals (Borzello, 2007). Field research indicates that former child soldiers become outsiders in their communities, which hinders both their individual development as well as the development of the society (Borzello, 2007). The community does not trust the returnees since they were the ones who killed, raped, and looted the community. Staub et al. (2010) argue that people who engage in intense violence against others tend to be psychologically injured by their own actions. In order for ex-combatants to justify their own actions and protect themselves from emotional consequences of their actions, they tend to place the blame on victims, stating that they were the ones who motivated the violence in the first place (Staub et al., 2010).

To enable former child soldiers and community members to live in a sustainable environment, remedy the negative impacts of the conflict, and foster reconciliation between victims and perpetrators, there is an urgent need to implement transitional justice mechanisms in northern Uganda. Reconciliation happens as persons or groups begin to shape their lives in positive relations to one another (Enright, Freedman, & Rique, 1998). It

happens as people learn to deal with what separates them and enables people to live side by side, not in isolation from each other, as they find a bridge to new attitudes and practices towards each other (Enright, Freedman & Rique 1998). The psychological wounds of bystanders, perpetrators, and survivors vary, and healing from these wounds can facilitate reconciliation (Staub, Pearlman & Bilali, 2012).

Forgiveness is the means toward breaking the cycles of hostility and violence that lock people into repetitive patterns of mutual harmful behaviors (Staub, Pearlman, Grubin, & Hagengimana, 2005). A culture of reconciliation is established as persons or groups seek reparative, transformative, or restorative justice (Staub et al., 2005). Mutually building cultures of reconciliation implies a process (Staub et al., 2005). It begins with recognizing the origins of conflict (Staub et al., 2005). It often means learning to see the structural violence that lies just beyond the horizon of our own interests and learning to deal with practices and attitudes that contribute to conflict (Staub et al., 2005). Building cultures of reconciliation means developing proactive attitudes and practices that make community possible (Staub et al., 2005). These kinds of activities fit under the umbrella of peacebuilding. They allow for the kind of reconciliation that can resolve hostilities and lead to lasting peace.

The key characteristics to the process of forgiveness are that it entails the ending of negative affect, attitudes, and behavior and the beginning of positive affect, attitudes, and behavior towards the offender (Enright et al., 1998). The relationship between forgiveness and reconciliation is usually conceptualized as one following the other, with forgiveness constituting a necessary step to achieving reconciliation (Borris & Diehl, 1998). Forgiveness by members of all groups affected by the conflict is often regarded as a necessary prerequisite of reconciliation (Enright et al., 1998).

There is, however, no one acknowledged model of how to integrate and treat child soldiers so dramatically affected by violence or how to work with community members who do not want ex-combatants back into their communities. While Western experts tend to look to therapy and counseling only, some commentators have begun to question whether this is an appropriate response (Wessells, 2005). Indeed, many now prefer to emphasize models of healing and forgiveness rather than counseling or psychological help (Wessells, 2005).

In attempts to resolve post conflict tensions, there have been numerous truth and reconciliation commissions (TRC) around the world. Truth commissions have gone by a variety of names, such as the National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons (Argentina); Truth Commission (Panama); National Reconciliation Commission (Ghana); Commission of Truth (El Salvador); Commission for Reception, Truth, and Reconciliation (Timor-Leste); and Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Peru, Sierra Leone, South Africa) (Amnesty International, 2007). A truth commission can be a powerful tool for

helping the process of reconciliation within a society trying to rebuild after genocide or mass violence and promote healing (Staub et al., 2010). There have been two such commissions in Uganda that took place before the LRA formed. The two commissions' mandates were to examine serious human rights violations committed by Idi Amin's military might on his own people between 1962–1986 which lead to the formation of the LRA. These commissions are open to the public and allow victims—or loved ones of victims—the opportunity to tell their stories, as well as the chance, in some cases, to confront the perpetrators (Amnesty International, 2007). Many overlapping themes come out of these TRCs such as finding the key root to the problem, amnesty, integration between groups, repatriations, and justice. Truth commissions are formal and temporary investigative bodies that are established in an effort to clarify and address an earlier period of repression, conflict, atrocity, or systematic human rights abuse (Amnesty International, 2007). They are non-judicial bodies at the end of which generally produce a report of their findings with conclusions and recommendations for future reforms (Amnesty International, 2007). Many commissions suggest teaching peace and conflict management so that when children grow up they will have the skills to work through problems. These reconciliation projects aim not only at promoting knowledge but also creating experiential understanding, where individuals apply the information to one's own experiences; following these procedure is more likely to lead to changes in overall behavior (Staub et al., 2010).

Christine Onen's analysis on peace education in Uganda shows that the country's slow response to peace education is due to these internal conflicts for the past 36 years (Abebe, Gbesso, & Nyawalo, 2006). On top of internal conflicts, the country had been involved in a number of regional conflicts with Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda. Uganda has been subjected to dealing with huge numbers of both internally and externally displaced persons over long periods of time. Onen's analysis shows four important observations regarding peace education: 1) a reform is currently going on in the education system as a whole, and the Ugandan education system has captured some major broad goals aimed at creating national unity reversing "tribe" affiliation; 2) there are two universities that have modules/departments of conflict studies. Several other initiatives are being conducted by different NGOs such as Save the Children and the Norwegian Refugee Council; 3) though certain NGOs have developed manuals in peace education, the challenge is that these programs are not accredited by the central government, nor are they examinable; 4) other challenges include the lack of reference materials, financial constraints, supply of qualified teachers, and poor working conditions for these teachers in the public sector. However, there are community based peace education projects taking place in Uganda based upon peacebuilding models of restorative justice. One such example is the Justice and Reconciliation Project.

THE JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION PROJECT

The Justice and Reconciliation Project (JRP) was a partnership between the Gulu District NGO Forum and the Liu Institute for Global Issues at the University of British Columbia. In January 2010, they became an independent NGO with support from the Royal Norwegian Embassy in Kampala, Uganda. Noticing a gap in information on traditional justice in Acholiland, JRP launched its flagship report, *Roco Wat I Acoli: Traditional Approaches to Justice and Reintegration*, in September 2005 with assistance from Ker Kwaro Acholi and support from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and the Royal Embassy of the Netherlands in Kampala (Ker Kwaro Acholi and the Northern Uganda Peace Initiative, 2005). This report provided an analysis of traditional justice in northern Uganda, how it is currently practiced, and what value it could add to the justice and accountability processes. They have no government association except that they have to register as an NGO as all NGOs in the country do (Ker Kwaro Acholi and the Northern Uganda Peace Initiative, 2005).

There are currently four board members governing JRP: an activist who works for the International Center for Transitional Justice; a lawyer who is also an executive director for the Center for Reparation and Rehabilitation; a finance manager for the Northern Ugandan Malaria, AIDS, and Tuberculosis Programme; and a local presenter for a radio station. They have two advisory board members, both of whom reside in Canada and teach at the Liu Institute for Global Issues, University of British Columbia, Canada who were a part of the original founders. They have 14 paid positions broken into four departments: the administration, community mobilization teams, documentation and research team, and their gender justice program. The employees bring with them various backgrounds and degrees, or degrees in progress, originating in sociology, law, business, development studies, and nursing. They have five interns/volunteers whose positions last six months. These interns and volunteers are strategically picked and go through an extensive interview process. Three of the volunteers help with the gender justice division, and the two interns are documentation filmmakers who film, edit and post videos of the projects the JRP implements.

The JRP (Justice and Reconciliation Project, 2012) works with these marginalized and war-affected communities to strengthen locally-owned approaches to the reintegration of ex-combatants. The JRP (2012) has played a key role in transitional justice in Uganda since 2005 through seeking to understand and explain the needs, interests, views, and concerns of the communities affected by the LRA conflict. The JRP has designed and implemented ways to maximize its impact in terms of reconciliation, peacebuilding, and accountability. The JRP suggests involving immediate community and families to be part of the reintegration process using their own indigenous or

traditional methods of healing (2012). They feel that you can empower conflict-affected communities by preserving memory, acknowledging loss, and promote healing through participatory research, capacity building, advocacy, and documentation (2012). The JRP facilitates healing and reintegration of the war-affected population through cultural revival and restoration of their human dignity through music, art, drama, media, stakeholder dialogue, and a resource center (2012). They feel that the role of children themselves in this is also crucial. They must not be seen as passive victims who need to be rehabilitated but as active agents who can rebuild their communities and act as peacemakers in the reintegration process (2012).

In its activities the JRP focuses on the active involvement of victim communities as agents in the transitional justice and peacebuilding process (Justice and Reconciliation Project, 2012). Research shows that the reintegration process becomes difficult as the immediate communities find it hard to deal with someone who could have potentially killed their loved ones (Minow, 1999). The issue of rehabilitating child soldiers is a very tense one. Successful rehabilitation depends strongly on the circumstances of the war and the actions of the children (Minow, 1999). Communities that have been caught up in war view children's involvement in violence in ways that are contingent on the nature, length, and ferocity of the conflict; the choice or lack of choice the young had in participating; the actions they carried out; and the consequences for members of the family (Minow, 1999). Clearly attitudes to the young who fight against oppression and for liberation differ profoundly from attitudes to the young who kill and maim as members of warring groups (Minow, 1999).

Another aspect of reintegration deals with formal child soldiers and their captives that are trying to return to their communities after amnesty through the government or by rituals performed by the community. This involves children coming to terms with what happened to them and forgiving those who forced them into becoming child soldiers. In one instance, thirteen-year-old Charles Oranga describes meeting the man who kidnapped him and forced him into becoming a soldier:

I felt like killing my kidnapper when I first met him . . . But then I was told that he had only done it because he was forced to—and I later did the same thing as well. That made me see the other side: it is not hard to forgive someone when they tell you that. We ended up playing football together. He's not a friend, but I have no hatred anymore. (Wazir, 1999, p. 1)

One of the goals of the JRP is to foster forgiveness between these groups as well. There are three different angles to address forgiveness in this situation:

- community/former child soldiers,
- former child soldiers/non-child soldier combatants, and
- community/non-child soldier combatants.

These are being worked on by the JRP through local forgiveness traditions along with education at different centers located in the North.

WORKING WITH TRADITIONS

Acholi traditions embody the principles and practices that have been central to the support for reconciliation and amnesty within that community (Afako, 2002). Forgiveness and reconciliation are said to be at the center of the traditional Acholi culture. The Acholi believe in the world of the “living-dead” and divine spirits. Their belief in this world plays a significant role in shaping how they see justice and reconciliation (Afako, 2002). “Jok” (gods or divine spirits) and ancestors guide the Acholi moral order, and when a wrong is committed, they send misfortune and illness (*cen*) until appropriate actions are taken by elders and the offender (Liu Institute for Global Studies, 2005). *Cen* usually involves having nightmares, flashbacks, and possibly sleepless nights (Liu Institute for Global Studies, 2005). As a result, the Acholi discourage an individual from being a troublemaker since the individual’s actions can have grave consequences for his/her whole clan (Liu Institute for Global Studies, 2005). This phenomenon of *cen* illustrates the centrality of relationships between the natural and the supernatural worlds in Acholi, the living and the dead, the normative continuity between an individual and the community (Liu Institute for Global Studies, 2005). Justice in the traditional Acholi culture is considered as restorative. Former child soldiers who go through the reintegration process are usually rejected and are heavily stigmatized by their immediate community, as they suffer from *cen* caused by the revenge of the spirits of those they have killed (Liu Institute for Global Studies, 2005).

According to Rwot David Onen Acana II, a paramount chief of the Acholi, the traditional guiding principles would heal the wounds of war and set things on a path to forgiveness (Liu Institute for Global Issues, 2005). Such guiding principles that the Acholi live by include “not be a trouble maker,” respect, sincerity, no stealing, reconciliation, harmony, forgiveness, problem solving through discussion, and children, women and the disabled are not to be harmed in war (Liu Institute for Global Studies, 2005). Most of the principles emphasize the need to live in harmony with others and restoring social relations. The Acholi traditional culture encourages individuals to accept their mistakes and take responsibility for their actions. This all must be done voluntarily for actual forgiveness to work (Liu Institute for Global Studies, 2005). Individuals are encouraged to forgive and not to seek revenge (Liu Institute for Global Studies, 2005). One of the traditional mechanisms for forgiveness and reconciliation among the Acholi is the *Mato Oput* or drinking the bitter herb (Liu Institute for Global Studies, 2005; Humanitarian News and Analysis, 2005).

Mato Oput is both a process and ritual ceremony that aims at restoring relationships between the conflicting parties that have been affected by either an intentional or accidental killing (Liu Institute for Global Studies, 2005; Humanitarian News and Analysis, 2005). It helps to bring together the two conflicting parties with the aim of promoting forgiveness and restoration (Liu Institute for Global Studies, 2005; Humanitarian News and Analysis, 2005). The Acholi conduct the *Mato Oput* ceremony because they believe that after the ceremony the hearts of the offender and the offended will be free from holding any grudge between them (Liu Institute for Global Studies, 2005; Humanitarian News and Analysis, 2005). The *Mato Oput* ceremony starts off with slaughtering of a sheep (provided by the offender) and a goat (provided by the victim's relatives). Then the two animals are cut in half and exchanged by the two parties. Then they drink of the bitter herb called Oput, to wash away the bitterness between the conflicting parties (Liu Institute for Global Studies, 2005; Humanitarian News and Analysis, 2005). The drinking of the bitter herb means that the two conflicting parties accept the bitterness of the past and promise never to taste such bitterness again (Liu Institute for Global Studies, 2005; Humanitarian News and Analysis, 2005). Then payment, in the form of cash or livestock, follows the ceremony to compensate for the harm done (Liu Institute for Global Studies, 2005; Humanitarian News and Analysis, 2005). It doesn't aim at establishing whether an individual is guilty or not; rather it seeks to restore social harmony in the affected community (Liu Institute for Global Studies, 2005; Humanitarian News and Analysis, 2005).

Another local forgiveness tradition the JRP reinforces includes stepping on a raw egg placed on top of a opodo branch and a layibi stick with your right foot; this is called *Nyono Tonggweno ki Opobo*. This cleansing ceremony is said to forgive and welcome home the men, women, children, and even babies who had been with the rebels of the LRA (Finnegan, 2005). The egg is a sign of innocence, something which has life but is pure and has not yet been contaminated (Finnegan, 2005). So by stepping on the egg, the former rebels are being forgiven, told they are innocent, and welcomed home (Finnegan, 2005). These rebels must do this ritual in front of the community and in the presence of the chief of the village (Finnegan, 2005).

There is no agreement on the extent to which traditional justice mechanisms can be used to deal with crimes related to the conflict, but all participants in the different sub-regions seem to agree that traditional justice has a role to play in promoting reconciliation within the communities of the tribes involved. They seem unsure as to whether it should be used to handle more serious war crimes or whether these crimes should be left to the formal courts like the ICC. Overall, participants agreed that traditional justice mechanisms were instrumental in promoting community-level reconciliation between victims and perpetrators at the local level. Many participants

pointed out that traditional justice mechanisms are understood by the communities in which they are practiced. In addition to promoting reconciliation, they also foster local participation and ownership of the reconciliation process, unlike formal mechanisms, which are often detached from the people subjected to them. Most of the traditional justice mechanisms take place between clans rather than individuals, thereby fostering reconciliation between whole communities.

The way the JRP builds upon these traditions is by going to the communities and learning from the elders. Researchers try to find out which traditional methods are used in an area, since they vary from location to location, and learn how to help aid in reinvigorating traditions of forgiveness. Many of these people are returning from camps and have been separated from their families and their long held traditions. With the help of the elders and chiefs of the community, program directors at the JRP teach the community about the traditions that they might have lost. These classes are held out in the open, and anyone in the village may participate. They offer a safe place to bring attention to sensitive issues and an open space for discussion (Staub et al., 2010).

Forgiveness Education

On top of practicing these traditional rituals of forgiveness, the JRP argue that education is a key component to forgiveness. Student centered peace activities such as peace drama/role playing, writing/poetry, debates/community dialogue, music, and dance are critical to attaining the goals of the program (Justice and Reconciliation Project, 2012). These types of community activities, used heavily in Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo, are called “engagement with experience” workshops (Staub et al., 2012). These activities give people ways to express their understanding of the problems they face, practice peace through creative expression, and build upon solidarity. These community activities are excellent ways of introducing to people how they might prevent violence as active members in the community and promote reconciliation. Modeling appropriate ways to support and help each other, community activities portray a community-based approach to trauma healing by informing the public about the trauma responses and the complex psychological effects resulting from violence (Staub et al., 2010). To create an environment that encourages positive action, it is important to set rules that stress positive behavior and inhibit aggressive behavior (Staub et al., 2010). Hundreds of these activities, in which thousands of people have participated, have helped transcend peace education from the study of peace to the expression of peace to the practice of peace.

Theater

Community theater performances are one such tool to educate people about forgiveness and are also a tool to help survivors to advocate for issues affecting them. Dramas provide an alternative form of learning by providing knowledge, promoting understanding, and modeling constructive behavior and active participation from audience members. The dramas are usually created by various community members, and videos are made of the performances to highlight key issues. The JRP facilitates survivors and families of those killed, along with ex-combatants, to hold a community performance on transitional justice issues. These performances are designed to generate discussion among the community on how to best seek justice and reconciliation after the conflict in the area. The JRP feels that the audience realizes that there is a need to work together at the end of the performances. People learn to think from different perspectives through these performances. This teaches youth to consider the views of others from an early age, a skill that they can retain throughout life. It is a form of expressing views and opinions in a non-threatening space.

The performers' scripts and themes are entirely drafted by the community participants and actors. In the performances ex-combatants call for traditional reconciliation with the President of Uganda and community members. Victims expressed that some ex-combatants were abducted and forced to do "terrible things," while other performances expressed that some ex-combatants wanted to join willingly. Some ex-combatants expressed that they wanted to talk about what they did publicly but they feared retribution from the community. These plays encouraged participants to examine why people did what they did and to understand how it affected others. While the groups acted out the plays, they encouraged the community members to join in and discuss what is happening. The community members enjoyed these performances; as one member explained, "we like doing theater in this community, but we never realized we could use it to confront such issues" (Justice and Reconciliation Project, 2012).

Role playing, a form of drama, is one of the best ways to get students thinking about forgiveness and reconciliation by sharing a situation that they may have experienced in the past. When first introducing role playing, participants are given a situation, and then volunteers are recruited who would like to act out the situation. This way, students are not being forced to participate in an activity that is uncomfortable for them or to act out a situation they have no prior knowledge of. All this takes place in front of the other children in the classroom or community setting. They try to involve every student so that all can take turns with the activity, even providing small parts for shyer students. Most students will learn something either by participating or watching. The program directors also make sure students

discuss the role plays afterwards as a debriefing, asking questions about what they learned, why they should forgive, and who deserves forgiveness.

Writing

Writing is another activity the JRP uses to facilitate forgiveness. This is where you can get participants to do further thinking and reflecting. The participants can either write about their own lives or the experiences expressed by other members. When the JRP first introduced this program, they found that some participants could not write, so they had them draw instead. They feel that writing is a way to progress through feelings of anger and denial. It is a way to express your feelings without being judged since these are personal letters and drawings. Some people are encouraged to write and recite poems. Here is an example of a poem written by four students:

Forgiveness feels like soft cotton from a plant.
 Forgiveness sounds like a musical drum.
 Forgiveness tastes like fresh honey from the beehive.
 Forgiveness smells like fresh roses in the garden of my house.
 Forgiveness looks like the gold in heaven.
 (Justice and Reconciliation Project, 2012)

Engaging in writing and acting out dramas creates ways to empathically examine the experiences of the characters in the stories and can contribute to healing. Creating a story that describes one's experience and one that makes sense of the experience is part of the healing process (Staub et al., 2010). People can make sense of their experiences in part by understanding the roots of violence and how they themselves can act in ways that make violence less likely and by learning how to create peaceful relations among people more likely (Staub et al., 2010). Reconnecting to other human beings within the community is the essential aspect of the healing process (Staub et al., 2010).

Debates

Debates and community collaborations are another tool that the JRP were involved in facilitating. In collaboration with the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR), they organized a series of consultations with victims of the conflict in northern Uganda. These consultations were entitled "Enhancing grassroots involvement in transitional justice debates" and covered the themes of truth telling, traditional justice, reparations, and gender justice. A community dialogue or debate is a forum that draws participants from as

many parts of the community as possible, both victims and ex-combatants, so that they may exchange information face-to-face, share personal stories and experiences, express perspectives, clarify points of view, and develop solutions to community concerns and opportunities. These community dialogues allow participants to express their own opinions in their own ways. These dialogues are usually conducted in open spaces within IDP camps or villages once people return, and attendance is open to whoever wishes to attend.

Music

According to the JRP, music has the potential to open channels of communication between individuals involved in conflict. Music is described as a universal language. When two people speak, they may not know what the other is trying to say, but when they make music together without using words, they still convey a message to one another. Radio plays a huge part in Uganda and at the JRP, as one of the board members is a local DJ. The style of music in Uganda ranges from local music to hip-hop to reggae. Music is another form of sensitization for many topics that might otherwise be unacceptable to discuss publicly. Many lyrics written discuss local problems such as HIV, returning home from camps, and food issues.

Music is a way to get the community together and socialize. Socializing is a way to bring people together so that they can express themselves to each other and discuss similar challenges that they face, thereby building confidence and camaraderie. They find comfort with peers who understand the similar struggles that they all face such as past conflicts, issues at home, or challenges of being young. Music is just one way in which creativity can be brought out to express inner feelings.

Dance

Traditionally, dance has held an important place in Acholi history. It was mainly used for courtship rituals and used to teach the respective families about one another. As traditional dances are being re-taught, the youth are learning about their traditions and thus building an identity. Learning about one's past builds upon security and unity and gets people once again actively participating in a healthy community building exercise. The JRP is bringing different tribes together to showcase each other's traditional dance, which helps them learn about each other's cultures. This helps break down boundaries as young people learn that Ugandans are more similar than they are different. When these communities then go back to their villages, they teach others about what they learn.

CONCLUSION

Uganda has been besieged by bloody coups and rebel militias since 1971. This has led to hundreds of thousands of deaths and millions of people either internally displaced or as refugees. Now that the government has been stable since 1986 and the LRA has been diminished due to a new constitution, development, and amnesty for combatants, people are finally moving out of camps and back to their villages. Returning with them are thousands of ex-combatants who had either willingly or unwillingly joined the LRA. As these ex-combatants return, communities are hard pressed to accept them back into their communities due to all the atrocious acts they committed. Since these ex-combatants have nowhere else to go but back to their families and the communities they looted, they are hard pressed to find normalcy. This is causing disruptions in communities all over northern Uganda. The Justice and Reconciliation Project is taking local forgiveness traditions that might have been lost due to displacement of communities and re-instilling them into the local population. They are also using new forgiveness programs and infusing them into community projects that teach forgiveness as well. The goal of the project is to build communities that can live in a sustainable peaceful environment.

The JRP has helped facilitate many programs in different villages throughout the North. These programs include things like learning traditional forgiveness rituals and also introduce new ideas that can foster forgiveness such as dramas, writing, and dance. In this way, peace education is not a specific curriculum, rather it manifests in many different forms. One common factor in these programs and activities is the creation of a safe place in which anyone can approach an issue. This allows different issues to be addressed, which if unaddressed could prolong the conflict. Even though some of these activities do not actively involve teaching peace, they create a place for people to come together and build upon community.

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CHAPTER 7

FROM THE BOTTOM UP

Educating for Peace and Justice in America's Nuclear Age

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INTRODUCTION

Nationally the peace education movement is growing—some say surging—because of the continued failure of military solutions in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the belief that alternatives to violence do exist.

—McCarthy, 2011, p. 21

The purpose of this chapter is to trace the historical development of peace education from the Cold War to the present. The development of peace education and peace studies as we know it today actually began after World War II, and its influence and respectability as a serious academic discipline continues to grow. Prior to World War II, private citizens, both on their own

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and through international non-government organizations (INGOs) like the Women's League for International Peace and Freedom, used educational means—speeches, pamphlets, rallies, and books—to educate citizens about the dangers of war (see Howlett, 2003; Howlett & Lieberman, 2008; Howlett & Zeitzer, 1985). Such efforts on the part of citizen activists were the predominant mode of peace education. Toward the end of the twentieth century, some of these activists and professional educators started to initiate the study of how to achieve peace in schools and colleges.

In response to concerns about war and other forms of violence, elementary school teachers infused peace themes into their regular classes and developed curricula for students that would provide them with peacemaking skills, while high school teachers were introducing into their curricula peace concepts such as imperialism in world history, conservation in biology, and texts like *Hiroshima* by John Hersey in literature.

On college campuses professors concerned about the Vietnam war developed peace studies courses and programs that had an anti-colonial focus. In the 1980s the threat of nuclear war stimulated educators all around the world to use various peace education strategies to warn of impending devastation. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, university professors concerned about climate change are using various peace education strategies to teach their students about how to live sustainably on planet Earth.

The development of peace education during the post-World War II ideological struggle between capitalism and communism encountered considerable criticism and skepticism. There were many within and outside the academic community who argued that peace studies had very little to offer in terms of “real scholarship” and were primarily politically motivated. Some went so far as to insist that this new area of study lacked focus and discipline given the complexities associated with war and peace. It also became fashionable to attack those teaching and studying peace issues as anarchists, communists, and pacifists. They were ridiculed as subversives for challenging the hegemony of the U.S. military establishment (Stomfay-Stitz, 1993).

Peace is more than the cessation of war. The interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary nature of this subject incorporates traditional disciplines in the humanities, social sciences, and life sciences. Peace educators aim to educate students about peacemaking and nonviolent strategies to create a more just world. The subject blends academic objectivity with a moral preference for social justice and global awareness. Teaching peace seeks “to provide alternatives to the status quo in personal and social relations, in the conduct of economic and political affairs, and in the nature and structure of international affairs” (Fahey, 2010, p. 491).

In the last fifty years, characterized by debate and evolution, peace education—citizen-based and academically sanctioned—has achieved

intellectual legitimacy. Peace educators have developed a sound pedagogy and methodological approaches to evaluating the effectiveness of peace initiatives (Harris & Morrison, 2003). As a discipline it has a close relationship to peace studies.

PEACE EDUCATION AND PEACE STUDIES

Peace education differs from peace studies in that peace educators focus on ways to teach about the threats of violence and the promises of peace, while peace studies, as an academic discipline, provides insights into why the world is so violent and suggests strategies for managing conflict nonviolently. “Peace studies” implies understanding issues about violence and peace, whereas “peace education” implies teaching about those issues. Peace educators strive to provide insights into how to transform a culture of violence into a culture of peace and justice. They try to build consensus about what peace strategies work best to remedy problems caused by the use of violence.

There exists a Hegelian relationship between peace education efforts and the types of violence they address, kind of a thesis/antithesis. Peace education efforts respond to concerns about violence in different contexts. For example, a concern about the first U.S. invasion of Iraq in 1991 spawned an organization, MoveOn.org, that rose up out of a virtual reality provided by the Internet to urge people to lobby against U.S. military invasion in Iraq. In the 1980s, with widespread fear about the threats posed by nuclear war, many teachers started to search for ways to use their professional training to stop the threat of annihilation posed by the threatened use of nuclear weapons. In the 1990s, there was a spate of school shootings in the United States. A concern about the safety of youth in schools urged members of the Committee for Children, an organization based in Seattle, to develop curricula teachers could use to promote nonviolent communications and conflict resolution strategies. Likewise, concern about environmental devastation led to an Earth Charter initiative in 1995 that aimed “to promote the global dialogue on common values and to clarify the emerging worldwide consensus regarding principles of environmental protection and sustainable living” (Earth Charter International Secretariat, p. 22). The distinguished U.S. peace educator, Betty Reardon, has argued that ecological violence be included in peace education lessons. Peace educators concerned about the destruction caused by armed conflicts should point out how structural violence causes harsh environmental problems for the poor and oppressed (Reardon & Nordland, 1994).

There exists an interdependent relationship among peace activists, peace researchers, and peace educators. The activists put into play various

strategies to promote peace and nonviolence; the researchers evaluate those strategies and propose alternatives; the educators teaching about peaceful strategies help people understand the causes of violence and methods that can be used to reduce violence.

Each peace education effort is embedded in a context, a set of circumstances that give rise to the violence and related strategies used to reduce the violence. Whether an advocacy for peace arises or not depends upon spiritual agency (Howlett & Harris, 2010), where various concerns people have about a form of violence motivate them to become peace educators. A sort of zeitgeist in the culture urges people to get involved in reducing the threat of violence.

In tracing the history of peace education efforts in the United States in the last half of the twentieth century, the Cold War provides an example of spiritual agency. Some people who heard about the devastation caused by nuclear weapons felt frightened by the Cold War rhetoric that threatened a nuclear exchange between the United States and the Soviet Union and decided to organize workshops, classes, college courses, teach-ins, protests, and so on to change the stated policies of the U.S. government. Spiritual agency explains the process of blending inner faith with outer intent to become a change agent. It is a reflexive process for finding deep concern that leads to activism, along the lines of the “Arab spring” of 2011. (Teaching about the problems of violence and proposing solutions to those problems in a public forum, be it a newspaper, a village square, a classroom, a church basement, or a labor hall, is a form of activism.) Spiritual beliefs provide motivation for ordinary people to try to create change together by mobilizing inner resources as well as material resources.

The various peace and social justice organizations that appeared in the last decades of the twentieth century provided a forum for challenging government policies and actions that supported first the war in Vietnam; second, the Cold War; and third, low intensity conflicts in Central America. International non-governmental organizations, like Amnesty International, known as INGOS, grew phenomenally during the twentieth century from under 200 at the beginning of the century to over 25,000 by the end of the century (Boulding, 1988). They created an infrastructure for citizen based peace education and put pressure on teachers to cover topics that held such urgency.

People found that by practicing peace education they could influence others and gain a sense of accomplishment in a scenario that seemed so helpless. Malcolm Gladwell (2002), a popular public intellectual in the first decade of the twenty-first century, explained how these efforts can impact people’s thinking and public policy:

If you wanted to bring about a change in people’s belief and behavior, a change that would persist and serve as an example to others, you needed to

create community around them, where those new beliefs could be practiced, and expressed and nurtured. (p. 173)

In the last half of the twentieth century, there were four waves of peace concern spurring different types of peace and justice education (Wein, 2009). Each one of these periods grew out of a different context and had different strategic goals. The first wave, in the 1950s, consisted mostly of intellectuals, lawyers, and professors who hoped to create through the United Nations and through international law a legal framework to outlaw war. The second wave, in the 1960s and 1970s, was concerned mostly with the Vietnam war and the low intensity conflicts in Central America. The third wave, which began in the 1980s and continued until the end of the century, focused on the threat of nuclear war. The fourth stage, in the 1990s, saw tremendous diversification in the field of peace education. Teachers incorporated the techniques of conflict resolution. Professors from a wide variety of disciplines from history to sociology began to do peace research and teach courses that addressed how to overcome problems of violence (see McElwee, Hall, Liechty, & Garber, 2009). This diversification was reflected in coursework made available to college students majoring or minoring in peace studies, as well as graduate students interested in developing advanced level peacemaking skills.

FIRST WAVE

The first wave, in the 1950s, though short in duration because of its embryonic nature, promoted disarmament and the rule of international law. Interest in international law arose after the Nuremberg Trials, where war criminals from the Third Reich were tried for their crimes against humanity. Included in this surge of interest in the ways of peace were members of the World Federalist Association and supporters of the United Nations, who were inspired by the Declaration of Human Rights passed by the General Assembly in 1948.

This declaration became the springboard for applying the concepts of justice and peace to international order. Various statements pertaining to human rights derive from concepts of natural law, a higher set of laws that apply to all people and supersede governmental laws (Falk, Johansen, & Kim, 1993). The study of human rights is thus the study of treaties, global institutions, and domestic and international courts. This approach to peace, known as “peace through justice,” rests on the notion that humans have certain inalienable rights that governments should protect. The United Nations condemned all violations of human rights:

There can be no genuine peace when the most elementary human rights are violated, or while situations of injustice continue to exist; conversely, human rights for all cannot take root and achieve full growth while latent or open conflicts are rife. . . . Peace is incomplete with malnutrition, extreme poverty and the refusal of rights of people to self determination. . . . The only lasting peace is a just peace based on respect for human rights. Furthermore a just peace calls for the establishment of an equitable international order, which will preserve future generations from the scourge of war. (UNESCO, 1974, p. 62)

People persecuted by their governments for political beliefs can appeal to provisions of international law to gain support for their cause. Abuse of rights and the struggle to eliminate that abuse lie at the heart of many violent conflicts. Human rights institutions champion rights against discrimination based upon gender, religion, disability, and sexual orientation.

The decade of the 1950s was an incipient period for peace research. The field of peace research developed in the 1950s to counteract the science of war that had produced so much mass killing earlier in the twentieth century. An early manifestation of this interest in a “science of peace” was the Pugwash conferences in the village of Pugwash, Nova Scotia, Canada, the birthplace of Cyrus Eaton, who hosted the meeting. The first Pugwash conference was held in 1957. The stimulus for that gathering was a manifesto issued in 1955 by Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein and signed by other distinguished academics. The signators called upon scientists of all political persuasions to assemble to discuss the threat posed to civilization by the advent of thermonuclear weapons (Howlett & Harris, 2010). These conferences are still held annually and deal with topics like nuclear technology, weapons of mass destruction, and strategies for disarmament (pugwash.org).

In 1959 the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) was founded in Norway under the leadership of Bert Roling. Johan Galtung, a Norwegian who has become a leading figure in the field of peace research, was active in PRIO. This organization publishes two academic journals, *Journal of Peace Research* and *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, that have helped develop the field of peace research. In Britain, the Lancaster Peace Research Center, later to become the Richardson Institute, was also formed in 1959. That same year Elise and Kenneth Boulding and others helped found the Center for Research on Conflict Resolution at the University of Michigan. This center championed the notion of an interdisciplinary approach to peace.

Kenneth Boulding (1962) published a theoretical analysis of conflict resolution entitled *Conflict and Defense*. Basically a work of statistical compilation, Boulding’s study was the first of its kind in America to analyze social and international conflicts by means of formal analytical models derived from a large number of disciplines. These inchoate efforts became the founding infants of a new academic field, peace studies, that blossomed

during the 1960s, an era when the world was focused on the atrocities of the U.S. war in Vietnam.

This center reflected three major beliefs of its founder: humanity is good, the war system is evil, and more powerful knowledge is necessary to transform the system; thus it represented an unusual alliance between humanistic wisdom and social science data. The primary purpose of the center was to apply quantitative knowledge to social forces in order to build upon the premise that the national state is obsolete and that reliance on research, statistics, and information represents a way out of reliance on military force. In terms of peace education, Boulding's efforts were significant. What he and the center did was give academic credence to peace education as a research discipline worthy of serious examination. A major effort was underway to transform perceptions regarding justifications for increase expenditures for arms in the name of national security. What the center attempted to explain was that tax dollars for arms meant less money for domestic social development. Thus, the initial thrust in peace education was to utilize social science data in support of economic social reconstruction rather than a military-industrial complex that reinforced mutually assured destruction between the world's two greatest superpowers.

These peace researchers established theories, data, and methodological evaluations of different approaches to peace. Some common themes of early peace research were disarmament, causes of war, conflict theory, international relations, and military spending (Wallenstein, 1998). Their logic was that huge investments had been made in developing the science of war. Why not make similar investments in peace research to advance the science of peace?

Kenneth Boulding's wife, Elise Boulding, was instrumental in founding the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) in 1964 (see Morrison, 2005). This organization, divided into twenty different commissions, holds bi-annual conferences that allow researchers from all over the world to share insights in peace. The largest commission, Peace Education Commission (PEC), has allowed scholars from the United States to learn from peers in Argentina, Australia, Austria, India, Israel, Japan, the Philippines, Spain, Turkey, Uganda and many other countries that were making similar forays into peace education. PEC has been instrumental in promoting discussion and evaluation of peace education projects around the world. It produces a *Journal of Peace Education* published by Routledge that first appeared in 2002.

The first wave was a seedbed for nurturing an interest on the part of teachers in the study of peace. Concerns about nuclear testing and the civil rights movement became issues that would be an important part of the nascent field of peace studies. Commenting on the first wave that was an inchoate period for peace studies, Barbara Wein (2009) has said:

Even though a small number of pacifist colleges such as Manchester College (Church of the Brethren) and Quaker schools included perspectives on racial inequality, nonviolence, and social justice, peace studies in the 1950s was in large measure a top-down, Western, white blueprint for world order. Absent were voices from the Global South, feminist scholars or vast nonviolence movements for revolutionary social change. (p. 2)

SECOND WAVE

The second wave of peace studies grew out of the civil rights movement and opposition to the U.S. war in Vietnam. This wave, during the 1960s and 1970s, included and adopted many aspects of the sixties counterculture that permeated popular culture in the United States. It was cool to be for peace in these decades! During this time professors began to offer peace studies courses in response to students' demands for relevance.

Leaders of the civil rights movement were being trained in nonviolence by pacifists inspired by the victory over British rule achieved by Mahatma Gandhi in India during the 1920s and 1930s. Although African-Americans in general focused their energies on the struggle for racial justice and not peace education in particular, Martin Luther King Jr.'s, philosophy of nonviolence played a seminal role in the crusade for full equality. To this date King's philosophy of nonviolence holds sway in many inner city parishes in violent neighborhoods (Bender, 2011).

In many respects, the legacy of King's philosophy, as expressed in the civil rights movement, served as an important example of how conflict resolution curricula were implemented after his tragic death in 1968. In the 1970s and 1980s educators began to take stock of the strong nonviolent message provided by King. People were seeing that nonviolence might help with inner city violence, gangs, and unruly behavior that plagued urban schools. They began to search for nonviolent solutions to counteract a police state approach to youth violence (Findley, 2011). King observed that peace within societies is not just the absence of overt violence, which he labeled, along with other peace and justice activists of his time, "negative peace." What he counseled in his many sermons, writings, and speeches is that peace must involve constant and sustained efforts to build a harmonious community leading to greater social justice, namely "positive peace." Scholars teaching about the civil rights movement brought to their classes a concern about structural violence, the poverty and economic exploitation of minority groups within the dominant culture of the United States (Harris, 2010).

In the 1960s noted peace educator Betty Reardon worked with Richard Falk of Princeton University at the Institute of World Order (Howlett & Harris, 2010). The organization had its roots in the post World War II

movement of moderate internationalists who hoped to avoid war through legal and social means. Betty Reardon, herself an elementary school teacher, was asked to develop a human rights/peace education curriculum (Reardon, 1978). Reardon saw that war came not just from political and social institutions but also from a way of thinking that could be transformed by education. The Institute for World Order became the World Policy Institute in 1982 to reflect a shift from primarily an education institute to a strong policy thrust. Reardon went on to become the director of a graduate program in peace education at one of the nation's most prestigious schools of education, Teachers College at Columbia University.

By the end of 1970s, several dozen colleges and universities in the United States had peace studies programs. As a response to the Vietnam War, Manhattan College began a peace studies program in 1968, while Colgate University initiated a peace studies program in 1969. At this time, several universities in Sweden also established peace research institutes. In 1973, Bradford University in England established its peace studies program, focusing on peace and security studies, conflict resolution, and social change. That same year the Lutheran college, Gustavus Adolphus, in St. Paul, Minnesota and the Brethren College, Juniata, in Huntington, Pennsylvania, established minors in peace studies (Harris & Schuster, 2006). Many campuses like the University of Wisconsin and Kent State experienced massive antiwar protests, some of which led to violence.

Courses about peace, human rights, and global issues began to proliferate on American campuses in the late 1960s. Some of the courses had the following titles: "Approaches to World Order" at Columbia University; "Towards a Just Society" at Tufts University; "Global Issues: Energy, Food and the Arms Race" at Millersville State College; "Conflict and Violence in American Life" at Catholic University; "The Literature of Nonviolence," at Manchester College; "Conflict Resolution: Theory and Techniques," at Earlham College; and "International Development Education" at the University of Connecticut (Wein, 1984). The professors who taught these courses were pioneers striking out in uncharted waters. Often traditional disciplines did not reward such innovations, so it took courage to become a teacher of peace in the academy.

In addition to formal courses, students on college campuses were staging teach-ins on various campuses to inform people about the latest events, like the bombing of Cambodia in 1970. The first major teach-in was organized by Students for a Democratic Society at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor on March 24–25, 1965. Close to 3,500 people attended the event, which consisted of debates, lectures, movies, and musical events aimed at protesting the war. These teach-ins were spontaneous examples of peace education called for by students skeptical that they were getting the whole truth on the 6:00 p.m. news. More recently environmental educators have

used teach-ins to promote ecological literacy. Such teach-ins try to establish civil discourse about building a culture of peace.

The antiestablishment culture of the 1960s that spread through civic society had its impact upon teachers at the elementary and secondary levels. In 1970, science teachers throughout the United States participated in the first Earth Day, urging their students to live more sustainably on planet Earth. Teachers were looking for ways to apply the theory and practice of nonviolence to raising children. The hope was that children taught the skills of nonviolent conflict resolution at an early age might be less violent later in their lives.

An example of this type of peace education can be credited to the efforts of Priscilla Prutzman. She received a grant from the New York Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends in 1972 that enabled her to develop a peace curriculum and to found a center, the Children's Creative Response to Conflict (CCRC) housed at the Fellowship of Reconciliation offices in Nyack, New York. In the early 1970s, she and others helped create environments in schools where young people would choose cooperation and open communication and share their feelings to explore creative ways to prevent or solve conflicts. In 1974, that center produced a curriculum, *Friendly Classroom for a Small Planet*, which has been translated into nineteen different languages and is used in all the schools in El Salvador. This organization is international in its scope in that its curriculum is followed in many different parts of the world; it is also regional in that its staff conducts many training sessions in schools in the New York City metropolitan area.

In addition, peace at the grassroots level was exhibited in Miami, Florida when Fran Schmidt and her sister Grace Contrino Abrams published in 1972 a curriculum for secondary students, *Learning Peace: Ain't Gonna Study War No More*.

Two years later, these spiritual agents published a second curriculum, *Peace is in our Hands*, for elementary children. In the 1970s, the Dade County School System's Department of Social Studies asked Fran Schmidt and Grace Abrams to write several more curricula for elementary, middle, and high school students. (Abrams, 1974, p. 202)

After Grace Abrams died in 1979, Schmidt, with the help of her friends, set up the Grace Contrino Abrams Peace Education Foundation in 1980 as a nonprofit organization to promote peace education. Schmidt, moreover, describes peace education this way:

... as a process of interaction on all levels of relationships towards a common goal. This process is based on a philosophy that teaches nonviolence, love, compassion, trust, fairness, cooperation, and reverence for the human family and all life on our planet.... Peace education is a celebration of life. It is a

holistic approach to human interaction. It embraces the physical, emotional, intellectual, ethical and social growth deeply rooted in traditional values. (Schmidt as cited in Abrams, 1974, p. 202)

The Peace Foundation, as it later became known, published a series of kid friendly booklets on the topic of “fighting fair.” In the ten years between 1983 and 1994, the Peace Foundation produced curricula such as “Creative Conflict Solving for Kids” and “Peacemaking Skills for Little Kids,” which were translated into Spanish, French, and Creole.

By the end of the second wave of peace studies, teachers in a few elementary and secondary schools were infusing peace and justice themes in their teaching. Peace studies at the college and university came mostly from political science departments, specifically from faculty in international relations concerned about an international order that fostered war. The subject matter dealt with imperialistic exploitation, alliances to provide security, and the role of treaties and international institutions like the World Court in reducing the risk of war.

THIRD WAVE

The third wave of peace studies came in 1980 with the election of Ronald Reagan as president of the United States. This expansive wave lasted until the end of the twentieth century and was marked by the institutionalization of peace studies courses and programs on college campuses. This wave started in response to President Reagan’s ramping up the arms race in the Cold War and ended with highly publicized school shootings.

This section will describe the growth within this era of peace studies programs on college campuses in response to the nuclear threat. Schoolteachers and concerned citizens formed many diverse community based organizations to engage the public in efforts to challenge expensive government policies engaged in Star Wars competitions with the Soviet Union. It will briefly describe how seven of these organizations in diverse parts of the United States developed curricula and lobbied to get a variation of peace education, conflict resolution education, established in schools. Finally, this discussion of the third wave of peace education will close with a discussion of peacemaking reforms adopted in schools to address problems of school violence.

Peace Education for a Nuclear Freeze

When Ronald Reagan stated that the U.S. could win a nuclear war, people in northern industrial countries demonstrated against the production of nuclear

weapons and nuclear power. International teams of scientists showed that a nuclear war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union could produce a “nuclear winter.” The smoke from vast fires started by bombs dropped on cities and industrial areas would envelop the planet and absorb so much sunlight that the earth’s surface could get cold, dark and dry, killing plants worldwide and eliminating food supplies. This became more apparent after Robert McNamara, the Secretary of Defense in the early 1960s, put forth the doctrine of mutually assured destruction (MAD) as the deterrence policy of the United States. In a nuclear war scenario, each superpower continued to build up its first strike capabilities to make sure that the other could not retaliate with a second strike. Local peace organizations organizing against this MADness allowed citizens to share their fears and to take action to address the source of their fears.

In the 1980s, this threat of nuclear war stimulated educators all around the world to warn of impending devastation. Three books were produced by peace educators in the United States that effectively and compellingly highlight an era acutely concerned about the threat of nuclear annihilation: *Building a Global Civic Order* by Elise Boulding (1988), *Comprehensive Peace Education* by Betty Reardon (1988), and *Peace Education* by Ian Harris (1988).¹ At the same time, massive antinuclear demonstrations in the 1980s led to a rapid growth in peace studies programs on college campuses (in June 1982 over 800,000 people demonstrated in New York). In 1986, there were over 100 peace studies programs in the United States and thousands of courses on college campuses and in high school classrooms on the nuclear threat:

Broader support from the mainstream—religious leaders, lawyers, and other professionals—meant that the response to peace education on campuses met with much less resistance than had the teach-ins of the Vietnam War. Momentum grew in 1982, when 400 social scientists gathered at New York City to discuss “The Role of the Academy in Addressing the Threat of Nuclear War” with high-level sponsorship from the Rockefeller Foundation and other establishment organizations. (Wein, 2009, p. 4)

After wide scale protests for a nuclear freeze to stop the Cold War throughout the developed world, professors in different departments as divergent as philosophy, communications, and psychology became peace educators to provide students insight into the multifarious forms of violence and peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding strategies to address those forms of violence.

Grassroots Responses to Violent Events

During the 1980s numerous U.S. citizens became spiritual agents on many different fronts, including a solidarity movement against the U.S. aid

in suppressing peasant movements in Central America, named Pledge of Resistance, and the nuclear freeze movement, which mobilized against the wholesale destruction of life. Most movement organizations take the form of voluntary associations in which citizen actors engage in peace activities as volunteers. Some of these organizations, like SANE/FREEZE: Campaign for Global Security founded in 1957 as the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, had paid staff carry out the work of the organization. In 1987 SANE/FREEZE had over 240 local groups, 24 state organizations, and 170,000 national members. It is now known as Peace Action and conducts education for the public about the three wars in which the United States has been engaged in over the past two decades (Bess, 1993; Holsworth, 1989; Katz, 1997; Kleidman, 1993; Lofland, 1993; Marullo & Lofland, 1990; Howlett & Lieberman, 2008).

Consequently, during the 1980s a wide variety of conflict resolution programs appeared. These ranged from neighborhood centers to resolve marital conflicts, to public hearings for environmental disputes, to university based training and research programs, to peer mediation programs in primary and secondary schools, to the development of national and international organizations promoting conflict resolution. Equally significant, in the late 1970s neighborhood justice centers established by the Jimmy Carter administration had become involved with school systems, offering new strategies for managing conflicts within schools. Community Boards in San Francisco led this effort to help students deal with school violence and neighborhood conflicts.

Community Boards has been a leader in an important aspect of peace education, the training of mediators and conflict resolution experts. In 1982, Community Boards introduced its Conflict Manager Program, one of the oldest peer mediation programs in the United States. It maintains an active pool of 150+ volunteer community mediators drawn from a pool of 400+ long-term mediators, serving 2,000 San Francisco residents, non-profits, and businesses a year. It offers dispute resolution services in English, Spanish, and Cantonese (see www.communityboards.org). Community Boards is credited with bringing peer mediation to schools.

Peer mediation is one peacemaking tool that teachers have been using to establish norms for how conflict in a school can be resolved nonviolently. Peer mediators attempt to get young people to resolve their conflicts without using force or relying upon adults to impose order. Peer mediation allows youth involved in a conflict to work out a solution that is agreeable to the parties in conflict. It depends upon a third party, one or more peer mediators, to sit down with the aggrieved parties, to get them to state their grievances, and to search for an agreeable solution to the conflict. The role of the mediator is to keep the conversation going between the parties who have the conflict. Thus, the mediator attempts to identify positions and interests, to get the parties to listen to each other, to brainstorm possible

solutions to the problem, to eliminate solutions that are unacceptable, to choose a solution that meets the interests of everybody involved, to make a plan of action to resolve the conflict, and, finally, to get the conflicting parties to agree to that plan.

In a culture where so many youth learn dysfunctional, violent ways to solve conflicts, peer mediation empowers young people to resolve their conflicts nonviolently. In most schools, select children are trained to be mediators. However, as Linda Lantieri and Janet Patti point out in *Waging Peace in our Schools* (1996), the process works best when all people in the school, adults and children, are trained in peer mediation. Mediation programs in schools around the United States have been shown to resolve conflicts between parties that may not be overtly violent. Approximately 10% of the 86,000 K–12 schools throughout the country have such programs (Sandy, Bailey, & Sloane-Akwara, 2000).

Research studies show that in schools where peer mediation is administered correctly, fights and suspensions are lowered because mediation provides a means for lowering aggressive behavior (Burrell, Zirbel, & Allen, 2003). These programs are popular with teachers. Less aggressive behavior can improve the learning climate in school.

During the third wave of peace studies, elementary and secondary teachers became interested in the field of conflict resolution. Peacemaking depends upon interpersonal communications. Although it was not called peace education at that time, various advances were being made in the philosophy and practice of conflict resolution in schools by Morton Deutsch, a professor at Teachers College, Columbia University (Coleman & Deutsch, 2001). In the 1950s, he studied the difference between a cooperative classroom where pupils were learning from each other and a competitive classroom where they competed for grades. He found that in the cooperative learning context students took responsibility for mutual problems and worked together to resolve them. Ashley Montague has extolled the value of cooperation in communities:

It must never be forgotten that society is fundamentally, essentially, and in all ways a cooperative enterprise, an enterprise designed to keep men in touch with one another. Without the cooperation of its members, society cannot survive, and the society of man has survived because the cooperativeness of its members made survival possible—it was not an advantageous individual here and there who did so, but the group. (quoted in Johnson & Johnson, 1975, p. 24)

Cooperative learning situations, based on positive interdependence among group members, teaches individuals to care for other group members and provides them with valuable communication skills that can foster good working relationships throughout their lives.

Deutsch's work has been carried forward by two of his students, brothers Roger and David Johnson, professors at the University of Minnesota, who have established a cooperative learning center in Edina, MN that produces and maintains resources for teaching peacemaking techniques. They also have developed training programs at the University of Minnesota, in school districts and colleges, and in summer institutes (Cooperative Learning Center at the University of Minnesota, 2010). Among their other contributions to the field of peace education, the Johnson brothers ran a program, "Teaching Students to be Peacemakers," where students who serve as peer mediators learn the basic skills of conflict resolution. Evaluations showed that the program created a peaceful school culture and resulted in improved academic achievement (Johnson & Johnson, 1991).

This shift of interest in the focus of peace education away from international threats of violence towards interpersonal violence is reflected in the work of Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR), a non-profit organization founded in 1982 in Cambridge, Massachusetts. It developed chapters around the country, trained teachers, and held workshops on various ways to teach young people about the nuclear threat. It has developed community action/education projects to end the arms race, to foster mutual respect among people with diverse opinions and different cultural backgrounds, and to prepare students to be participating citizens in a democracy. In the 1980s, it started to think of itself as a peace education organization, but the ESR board found out to its surprise that funding agencies, foundations, and local school boards would not fund peace education.

Potential funders thought peace education was a holdover from the 1960s and associated it with radical causes. ESR, realizing that its future depended upon a clever marketing campaign, originally did trainings and workshops on what it called "anti-nuclear" education, not "peace education." It used a different name to market their materials, but the content was similar to what other peace educators were doing around the country. It promoted itself as an organization that could help teachers with cultural and interpersonal conflicts—curricula on racism, multiculturalism, and peaceable schools. Staff at ESR offer K–12 violence prevention, social and emotional learning, diversity education, character education, and conflict resolution programming to teachers in schools. ESR works on violence prevention with elementary and secondary educators, early childhood educators, and with staff in after-school programs.

One of ESR's most important chapters was in New York City. That chapter developed a Resolving Conflict Creatively Program (RCCP) that has helped tens of thousands of young people learn better ways to deal with conflict and cultural differences. It teaches children and adults skills in conflict resolution and intercultural understanding, critical thinking, and

social awareness. Two people closely associated with the work of RCCP have said the following about how this program addresses youth violence:

Schools have an essential role to play in preventing this senseless violence and mean spiritedness that is robbing young people of their childhood. Schools must take the responsibility to educate the heart along with the mind. To participate as citizens in today's pluralistic world, to really embrace the notion of world peace, young people need to learn about the diversity of its peoples and cultures—and they need to develop their thinking about how to approach conflict, handle emotions, and solve problems. (Patti & Lantieri, 1999, p. 706)

Another of the leading organizations in the United States that promoted teaching children about peace was the Committee for Children in Seattle, WA. This program originated from research conducted by cultural anthropologist Dr. Jennifer James to identify the risk factors in the lives of children who turn to prostitution. Dr. James's research established that early sexual abuse was linked strongly to later prostitution. As a response, Dr. James founded Judicial Advocates for Women to promote child sexual abuse prevention. In 1981, the group produced the *Talking about Touching* program, a personal safety and sexual abuse prevention curriculum that is still in use today (see <http://www.cfchildren.org>).

The name "Committee for Children" was adopted in 1986, the same year the Second Step curriculum was published. The *Second Step* program expanded on concepts explored in the *Talking about Touching* program by going beyond the explanation and identification of abuse. Second Step provides easy-to-use resource materials to teachers so that they can teach their pupils about emotional intelligence. The name "Second Step" comes from a two-part process observed by those working at Committee for Children. The first step was the sexual abuse prevention curriculum, *Talking about Touching*. The Second Step involved the creation of a program that stressed development of empathy, impulse control, problem solving, and anger management to help children avoid violent behavior. This grassroots nonprofit organization has grown into a peace organization with international scope, reaching with their curricula over nine million children in twenty-six countries and 25,000 schools.

This interest in teaching peace to young children developed a new advocacy, violence prevention. Deborah Prothrow-Stith, who was a professor at Harvard's School of Public Health, developed an anger management curriculum, *Violence Prevention Curriculum for Adolescents* (1987), and wrote a book, *Deadly Consequences* (1991), that discussed the consequences of youth violence and provided steps that could be taken to reduce youth violence. Subsequently, a variety of school-based programs emerged to teach young people constructive ways of managing their anger. Studies have confirmed

that when young people are taught pro-social skills at an early age, they are less likely to commit violent crimes as adults (Hammond & Yung, 1990).

Sadly, despite such noble efforts, the 1990s saw a frightening rise in child-on-child violence, most notably school shootings at places like Heath High School in Paducah, Kentucky (1997), Westside Middle School in Jonesboro, Arkansas (1998), and Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado (1999). These horrifying incidents where one student fired into classrooms at his own school and killed classmates drew attention to school safety and bullying in the United States. Studies revealed that the consequences of bullying were wide-ranging, including psychological harm to bystanders and declines in academic achievement (Gladden, 2002). In response, the Committee for Children developed a third program, the *Steps to Respect* curriculum, designed to reduce bullying. The organization recognized that rather than asking students to shoulder the burden of bullying prevention, all members of a school community should work together to create a safe and respectful school environment.

Another educational initiative working on violence prevention was the Alternatives to Violence Program (AVP). This Quaker inspired initiative was developed in upstate New York. This community-building experience that began in prison settings engages “inside” trainers (inmates who have been trained in AVP) and “outside” trainers (volunteers from the community who have been trained) to address, in a 15-hour format for each workshop, the root causes of violence, oppression, and injustice, seeking to transform oppressive structures, beginning with each individual’s experience with violence. AVP was begun several decades ago and has proved successful, both for inmates and volunteer trainers and participants. AVP is now used internationally in peacebuilding efforts, including workshops in Bolivia, Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda, and Colombia.

Help Increase the Peace Project (HIPP) is the youth version of AVP. Conceived in Syracuse, New York and modeled after AVP, the format of the workshops is essentially identical, although some activities used are different, based on HIPP’s serving a younger population. HIPP is used in schools and in community settings, mostly in the U.S., but there is growing international interest in HIPP (Morrison, Austad, & Cota, 2011). Since it began in 1991, it has expanded to nineteen states. Based in Baltimore, Maryland, staff at this regional organization teach young people and adults non-violent communication skills. It confronts prejudice and teaches positive social change skills. The training introduces alternatives to violence and bullying and allows participants to practice various options by modeling and role-playing. Exercises include self-affirmation and discovery of how insensitivity can magnify problems. Dialogue, a key component of the principles of peace education, is an integral part of the experiential nature

of HIPP. Its workshops emphasize concepts of peacebuilding, including the explicit values of compassion, justice, equity, gender-fairness, and hope.

The community based organizations described here have survived for over twenty years. They have allowed ordinary citizens to work for their deep seated dreams of living in a peaceful world. They represent the tip of the iceberg. Numerous other peace education organizations have folded since the Vietnam era and the height of anti-nuclear organizing in the 1980s. But perhaps more importantly, many peace educators who act as spiritual agents promulgating peace education act independently. Most cities in the United States have peace educators, most of whom are women, who do trainings and in-services for teachers on various aspects of peace education—anti-racist education, multicultural education, conflict resolution education, and anti-bullying education.

The United States has a decentralized educational system with the authority for education lying with each of fifty states, which delegate the task to local school boards. (In contrast, the King of Norway, in his 2007 state of the union speech, endorsed the work of the Committee for Children. Subsequently, the Second Step curriculum was used in all Norwegian schools.) Without any centralized education authority in the United States, there exists a grassroots approach to teaching the concepts of peace education in public and private schools. The CBOs highlighted in this essay have had to repackage their products to keep drawing in teachers as different issues of violence come to the forefront. They do this by providing curricula that provide insights into the violent challenges teachers face in their attempts to educate the nation's youth. These spiritual agents have to produce products that teachers want.

Peace Education Responses to School Violence

Increased interest in peace education at the elementary and secondary levels in the last decade of the twentieth century can be traced to increases in school violence. In addition to school shootings, the United States Department of Education indicated that in 2001 two million students aged 12 through 18 have been the victim of a crime in school. Most of these (62%) have been thefts. During the 2001–2002 school year, there were 32 school-associated violent deaths, of which 24 were homicides and eight were suicides (Sheley, 2002). Six percent of students in the United States have threatened the use of a gun. Three percent of sixth through 12th graders, approximately 800,000, carried a gun to school in the 2002–2003 school year (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2003). In 1998, more than 250,000 students experienced such serious crimes as rape, sexual assault,

or aggravated assault. In that same year, 31 of every 1,000 teachers were victims of violent crimes (Miller, 2003).

These statistics indicate the more serious violent crimes reported to the United States Department of Justice. Other forms of violence in school include bullying that affects over five million elementary and junior high students a year and has played a role in most school shootings (Burlach & Penland, 2003). In a recent national study, 81% of students reported being sexually harassed by a peer (Fineran, 2002). These more subtle forms of violence create a hostile climate in schools that has a severe impact upon students' participation in school activities. On any given day one of twelve students who stays home does so because of fear (National Center for Education Statistics, 1998). As alarming as these statistics are, it should be noted that schools are relatively safe places for youth. More young people are injured or attacked at home or in the streets than in school.

To address these threats, especially since the 1990s, school personnel have adopted a wide variety of measures, strategies delineated in the three categories—peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding. Peacekeeping involves getting tough with kids. Peacekeeping approaches to school violence reflect national defense policies based upon peace through strength. Schools escalate punishment to deter young people from engaging in risky behaviors—assaults, drug abuse, alcohol consumption, gang membership, and promiscuous sexual activity. Getting tough with kids has increased suspensions, added security aids and/or police to patrol the corridors of urban schools, and relies upon technological strategies—metal detectors, X-ray machines to screen book bags, identity cards, surveillance cameras, magnetic door locks, lighting policies, closed circuit television, personal security systems, and telephones in classrooms (Firestone, 1999). Educators employ such peacekeeping efforts to try to protect students from the violent behavior of a few “deviant students.” Estimates are that approximately 40 percent of student discipline referrals are given to five percent of students (Sugai, Sprague, Horner, & Walker, 2000). This is the hard approach to school violence. Schools with tough peacekeeping approaches to violent behavior resemble prisons.

Peacemaking and peacebuilding are softer approaches. Conflict resolution falls into the peacemaking categories of responses to school. Conflict resolution educators try to resolve conflicts in school and do not necessarily probe into out of school sources of conflict. Instead of attempting to redress structural sources of school violence, conflict resolution educators focus on youth behavior in their attempts to make schools safe. By paying attention only to students as the source of violence, schools neglect how the school environment inhibits or exacerbates the chance of violence and leads to “blaming the victim.” Minority youth disproportionately suffer from these policies. They are represented in greater rates of suspension

and expulsions (Browne, Losen, & Wald, 2001; McFadden, Marsh, Price, & Hwang, 1992). Advocates of peacekeeping policies in schools see “deviant” youth as the source of the problem and seek to redress problems of school violence by changing the behavior and attitudes of the most vulnerable sector of the population.

Peace educators use peacebuilding strategies to respond to school violence. They try to figure out why conflicts erupt. They see students as victims in a racist world that glamorizes violent behavior in popular culture. Peace educators take a broader look at a conflict that may exist between two. They realize that there are structural factors, like poverty, that cause young people to be anxious and angry. Thus, a peace educator in a school when confronted with an angry student may try to figure out what happened at that young person’s home the night before, what may have provoked the anger, and hence try to stop the fire before it breaks out. In contrast, a conflict mediator would address the situation by figuratively applying a fire extinguisher to a conflict, trying to put out the fire without probing into its outside of school origins or inside of school origins if systemic inequities are part of the problem. In addition to promoting peacemaking techniques, peace educators teach about non-violence and various alternatives to violent behavior.

FOURTH WAVE

Unfortunately the 21st century began with a bang in the attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, DC on September 11, 2001. Peace educators have written curricula (King, 2004) to promote a less aggressive response to these acts of aggression than the path chosen by the United States government (waging war for twelve years in Afghanistan at this time of writing and eight years in Iraq until its conclusion). Federal Legislation (No Child Left Behind) has put enormous pressure on teachers to teach basic subjects so that their pupils pass standardized tests and they can keep their jobs. Such accountability pressures have made it hard to introduce new subject matter that would allow pupils to speculate about their preferred future and appreciate the power of non-violence. Peace education should be given a primary place in the secondary curricula, but it is not. School administrators prefer to offer advanced placement courses so that their students may become part of the chosen few rather than provide them with a serious understanding of the complications of peace. However, peacemaking strategies have gained acceptability and are being widely used in elementary schools at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

An example is provided by a most recent reform. Teachers have been bringing into classrooms a variation of peace education known as

“forgiveness education” to help relieve enmity that exists in the psyche as a result of various violations experienced by young people growing up in violent cultures (Gassin, Enright, & Knutson, 2005). This reform allows peace educators to help heal wounds that create rage in the psyches of their students and has the potential to improve poor academic performance of students who have been traumatized by personal and structural violence.

At this time it is possible that a young person would be introduced to peacemaking through a non-violent communications exercise done in the first years of schooling. That young person could learn more about peacemaking by participating in a peer mediation program at school. S/he could study various peace topics infused into the high school curriculum and go on to college to major in peace studies. There are even graduate programs in peace studies, so that such a person could become a professor of peace.²

On college campuses the fourth wave of peace studies appeared with the new millennium. This wave further diversified peace studies from a field dominated by political scientists to a multidisciplinary field. The path to peace was no longer seen simply as having the correct international institutions, but rather was seen as having a complex series of peace strategies that would help an individual become aware of factors that cause social oppression and keep members of that society from reaching their full potential. This modern (or should we say “postmodern”) version of peace studies includes peer mediation, multicultural education, conflict resolution, and environmental studies. As Colman McCarthy has pointed out, there are many different problems caused by violence:

...military violence, economic violence, environmental violence, corporate violence, racial violence, structural violence, street violence, religious violence, legal or illegal violence, video game violence, violence towards animals ... (McCarthy, 2011, p. 21)

This is a rich subject for young people to study.

The Consortium for Peace Research, Education, and Development (COPRED) in 2000 published the sixth edition of the *Global Directory of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution Programs* (O’Leary, 2000) that chronicled the growth of peace studies up to that point. Three hundred eighty one colleges and universities in 31 countries had some kind of peace studies program. It indicated that 46% of the 230 peace studies programs in the United States are in church related schools; 32% in large public universities; 21% in non-church related private schools; 1% in community colleges; 76% undergraduate; 14% graduate; 10% both (O’Leary, 2000, pp. 10–14). Most of these programs are interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary. They strive to offer students a combination of theoretical courses and practical,

“hands-on” skills and a fieldwork course where they can put some of what they are learning into practice.

The academic peace education community was once again studying carefully the work of the peace activists striving to build a culture of peace to avert violent catastrophes like what happened in Rwanda in 1992. In secondary schools, teachers were trying to build peaceable school cultures, while diplomats at the United Nations were trying to figure out how to respond to crises in a peacebuilding way that would see conflict as a source for positive change. Diplomats and citizen peace promoters know that cooperation can resolve differences and transform power relationships, whether it be in a family or in a neighborhood. Studies of non-violent revolutions in places like Egypt, the Philippines, Serbia, or South Africa highlight the power of peace paradigms.

The military commands in Iraq and Afghanistan have learned that non-violent methods, like building schools or development projects, are more effective in persuading an adversary to change perceptions than a tactical military strategy that kills innocent victims. Such peace through strength tactics create a blowback effect based upon resentment that prolongs hatreds that degenerate for many centuries as has happened in the Balkan states. Likewise, after a particularly bloody coup, truth and reconciliation commissions have helped build new societies, like what happened in Argentina (1984) and Chile (1991). Violent responses can be more costly and harmful to the parties than non-violent approaches. Did the American invasion of Iraq really help the Iraqi people? It has bankrupted the citizens of the United States. Lessons about the power of peace are there to be learned but are continually ignored in an American culture that worships the power of the gun.

In the fourth wave, faculty members from communications, history, philosophy, psychology, religion, and sociology are seeking new ways to study and teach about peace. They look to their professional associations for support in their peace education endeavors. In the twenty first century many professional academic bodies established special interest groups related to peace awareness (for a more complete description of these professional associations and their activities see Harris & Howlett, 2010, pp. 216–221). The American Sociology Association (ASA) created a section, Peace War and Social Conflict; the American Educational Research Association (AERA) created a Peace Education Special Interest Group; the American Historical Association established the Peace History Society; the American Philosophical Association (APA) organized the Concerned Philosophers for Peace (CPP); the American Psychology Association (APA) founded Division 48 the Division of Peace Psychology; and the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) formed a Peace Education Special Interest Group (SIG). These professional associations produce journals that publish research studies conducted by members, distribute newsletters

that keep their members abreast of the latest developments in their fields, maintain listservs so their members can communicate with each other, and hold special sessions at national conferences where members can network to support peace education.

While over two hundred colleges and universities in the United States have peace studies programs (Harris & Shuster, 2006), only a few teacher-preparation institutions, namely Teachers College at Columbia University and the School of Education at the University of Cincinnati, provide comprehensive peace education. The vast majority of teacher-training programs are so full of requirements meant to prepare teachers to teach in their subject area that there is little room for innovative courses that prepare prospective teachers to respond positively to the challenges of violent behavior exhibited by their students. Peace education is seen as “soft” and is not embraced by frightened citizens who fear imaginary or real enemies.

CONCLUSION

As this chapter has demonstrated, in the past 50 years there has been a steady growth of interest in the field of peace education at all levels of schooling and in community groups dealing with problems of violence. In the second decade of the 21st century, the greatest challenge that peace educators face as we go into the future has to do with demonstrating that peacebuilding approaches to conflict work better than peace through strength approaches to conflict. The American public through television, news reports, and entertainment is constantly bombarded with messages how peace through strength approaches are the correct way to deal with problems: Get tough with the bad guys. We have a problem with illicit drugs; the solution is seen as waging a war on drugs. We have a problem with crime; let's get tough with the criminals, hire more police, and build more jails. A peacebuilding approach to the problem of crime would argue that unarmed neighborhood block watches work better than armed police. Rather than building jails, we should spend that money to provide jobs to rectify the structural violence in society that condemns so many people to poverty where they have to steal in order to survive. Peace educators may point out potential solutions, but activists need to learn how to put pressure on decision makers in order to realize the full potential of nonviolent responses to conflicts.

This description of the origins peace education/peace studies in the United States has shown an evolution from a concern about war to a more holistic view of the problems of violence that includes racism, structural violence, psychological violence, interpersonal violence, and cultural violence. Grassroots peace education initiatives grew out of the actions of spiritual agents motivated by times of intense concern about violence—massive

protests against the Vietnam War and the Cold War with its rhetoric of nuclear annihilation. These people's movements have stimulated millions of U.S. inhabitants to express their desires for peace and think of creative ways to educate others about the promises of peace.

The beauty of peace education is that people can find out that they are not helpless and can make a difference by speaking out, practicing, and supporting peace education—all activities that can help them feel they are contributing to reducing high levels of violence, whether it be nuclear power, street crime, or wars. Hopefully after studying peace, individuals will become as well versed in peace strategies as they are in knowledge about wars and violence. Students can now study peace. The key questions that future generations will have to ask are: Will they become more peaceful as a result? Will their hostile activities and attitudes towards others become more respectful? Will those who have learned the ways of peace join some of the grassroots organizations described here to work for peace? Will they support politics and parties that support peace? Will the world become more peaceful?

NOTES

1. Interestingly, all three works were published in the same year, a reflection of the growing concern in the wake of the renewed arms race during the Reagan years.
2. Here being a “professor of peace” has two meanings: 1) one who speaks positively about peace and hence promotes peace, and 2) having a paid position as a professor of peace studies.

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CHAPTER 8

HOW PEACE EDUCATION HAS TRIED TO OVERCOME THE DIVISION OF KOREA INTO TWO NATIONS

Practicing Peace-Reunification Education in Schools

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INTRODUCTION

Peace is an ethical power-making challenge to social evils like direct violence as well as structural and cultural violence as depicted by Galtung (1996). Peace education empowers people to teach about peace: what it is, why it does not exist, and how to achieve it (Harris, 2004). Peace education in Korea addresses the root causes of the division of our nation: what is needed to overcome our divided country that creates tensions between two Koreas. People need to become aware of what needs to be done in order

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to reunify the peninsula (Baek, 2006). Thus peace education should be extended to include reunification education.

Political parties and civil society in South Korea have polemic approaches to the reunification of the Korean peninsula: one is reunification by military force with ideological ties (peacemaking from above); the other is peaceful coexistence by mutual recognition and respect (peacemaking from below). In accordance with peacemaking from below, peace involves key epistemological themes: reunification from national division and liberation from (neo)colonialism; interdependence from dependence; peace from warfare that includes demilitarization and denuclearization; and social wellbeing from economic developmentalism that strives for democracy, human rights, equity, sustainable development, and social justice.

Currently Koreans face the problem of how to address peace in this conflicted society. Prevention and resolution of conflict and transformation of the status quo in society are the issues of peace education. Addressing the main sources of social conflict, political disturbances, economic disparities, social discontent and educational inequality are issues for peace education. Given that peace education is needed in South Korea, I will explore the peace education approach to reunification that addresses peacemaking from below.

There are several non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that have striven to promote peaceful relationships between North and South Korea. They have tried open dialogue through civil collaboration and exchanges, as well as sending milk and other food as humanitarian aid. In peace education in relation to schooling, the NGOs like Women Making Peace (www.peacewomen.or.kr) or the Korean Anabaptist Centre (www.kac.or.kr) provide conflict resolution programs or restorative justice approaches based on their solidarity to community educators. The South–North Peace Foundation (www.snpeace.or.kr) runs a non-violence dialogue program; and the YMCA (www.ymcakorea.org/peaceon) conducts peace education lessons in elective classes within school hours.

In addition to NGOs, there are active schoolteachers who are interested in fostering the ideas of peace and reunification within the school curricula. Education is the process of coming to share in the social consciousness and a critical place for learning diverse knowledge, attitudes, thinking skills, and values based on democracy (Dewey, 1916/2009). But peace education within schools is difficult to implement in the South Korean curriculum. Peace education activities are not used as much as NGO's activities in the community because of the authoritarian school system. Hence, teachers are not free to discuss controversial issues like reunification or our national division in school hours. Instead of teaching critical thinking skills, high schools mainly prepare students for the university entrance exams (Shim, 2008).

In such circumstances, school classrooms are segregated into groups: boys and girls, rich and poor, the academically gifted and academically

challenged, the distinguished child and ill-favored child, thus polarizing children in school. There is violence among children that sometimes results in suicide. There is no space to think about peace. Nevertheless, peace education teachers have tried to change this situation. An active group, Tongsaenggyo (Teachers Thinking Reunification), incorporates the controversial theme of reunification through peace education into their subject matter. These two groups—peace education and reunification education teachers—were invited to the Peace Education Committee of the Social Education Centre, Christian Academy in 1995. As a coordinator of the committee, I worked with them from 1995 through 1997 and redirected reunification education towards the concept of universal peace education. We called this project “Coexistence in the Classroom” (Kang, 2000). As a result of these activities, Tongsaenggyo teachers have developed peace and reunification lessons in their classes. This organization has focused its activities on youth camps, in-service teacher training, and dissemination of documents. This brings an important dimension to peace education with a focus on reunification in schools.

Tongsaenggyo, born in 1993, is a voluntary organization of teachers interested in reunification education. In explaining and analyzing the experiences and thoughts of those Tongsaenggyo teachers, reunification education seems to be dependent on the government’s policy of inter-Korea relationships. This chapter is a case study of Tongsaenggyo, using interviews and document analysis.

I asked the following questions: What brought you to participate in Tongsaenggyo and why? What made you interested in peace and reunification education? How did you incorporate peace-reunification education with your subject? How did your students respond to your class? Were there any obstacles? If so, what were the obstacles? How would you evaluate peace-reunification education in your class? Have you tried peace-reunification education apart from your subject? How did you plan and prepare the program? What worked well and what were the limitations? Do you still feel the necessity of peace-reunification education in schools? Why?

For document analysis, teachers provided their lesson plans and official documents about teacher training and youth camps. And they provided the students’ performance data. Teachers have all agreed to provide such data for this essay.

THE HISTORY OF THE PEACE PROCESS IN THE KOREAN PENINSULA

Today Korea is an advanced industrial country that has joined OECD. Although it has broken through the harsh history of colonization and political

dictatorship in the 20th century, it is now the only remaining divided country as a result of colonization and Cold War strategy in the world. The division of Korea has created the greatest conflict between the two countries as well as within South Korea.

According to Galtung (1985),

Korea was divided not because it was an enemy but as a part of the Japanese empire, not taking into account the Korean people’s own heroic fight against Japanese Imperialism, headed by Marxist and Christians, by leaders who became president in DPRK (North Korea) and ROK (South Korea), respectively. The division was a superpower convenience and a clear expression of Occidental racism. (p. 14)

As shown in Figure 8.1, this division was decided by superpowers with their own interest of promoting their own ideology and power in the era of Cold War (Ham, 2003).

The two super powers in the Cold War were positioned in the Korean peninsula so that when the Korean War broke out in 1950, sixteen countries sent troops on behalf of the U.S., while the USSR and China fought against them. The war created tremendous damage until the ceasefire agreement was signed between the U.S. and North Korea in 1953. The ceasefire line has become a line of military demarcation between the two Koreas. During the three year Korean War, about three million people were wounded or

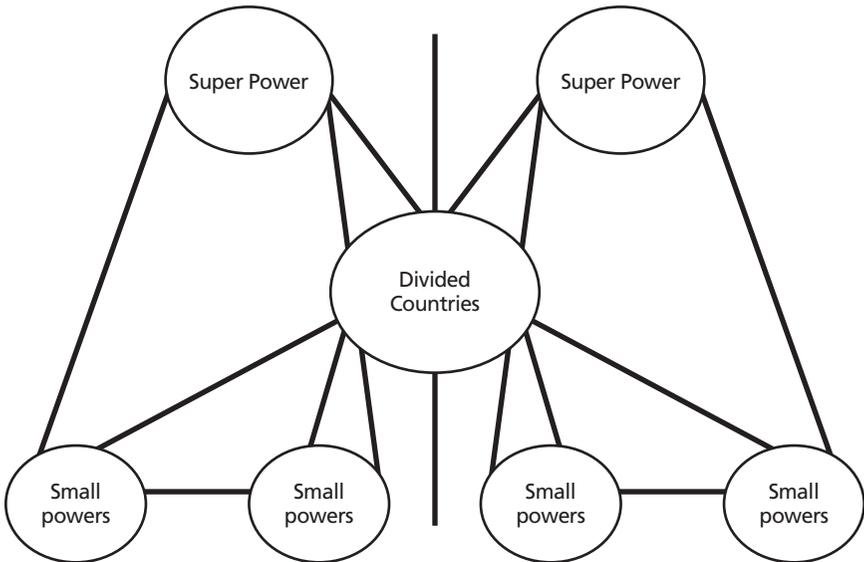


Figure 8.1 A Cold War system (Galtung, 1985).

died. After the establishment of governments in both Koreas, thousands of political prisoners were kept under the harsh laws on emergency measures and national security, especially in the ROK (South Korea). It is said that the ROK is a free democratic country, while the DPRK is a socialist despotic one, but strict limitations against political and civic freedom as well as economic and social rights hamper democracy, peace, and human rights even in the democratic ROK. This leads to severe inner conflicts among people (J. Kim, 2003; Woo, 2009). Thus Korean civil society wrestled to transform itself from militarism based on the division of a nation to an open society of peace, justice, and democracy. Students and workers form “people power” as part of the grassroots peace and human rights movement to achieve a peaceful coexistence in the Korean peninsula. They are also working together for democratization against military dictatorship (Kang, 2002).

For the previous authoritarian rulers in the ROK, the division of the nation is their fundamental rationale for restricting the human rights of individuals in political expression or assembly. The people’s movement for democracy and reunification, however, is different from the political agenda for anti-communist reunification. Grassroots peace education includes reunification education to overcome the contradiction of the national division in schools among school teachers on one hand. On the other hand, it also includes civil society groups (NGOs): the peace and human rights movement, the anti-nuclear and anti-war movements, and peaceful litigation advocacy for national security offenders as well as social minorities

Over the course of many years, some efforts have been made for peace talks between the two Koreas: however the Korean War and the dependent positioning of the two Koreas during the Cold War and lack of mutual trust held back a sincere peace process until 2000 (Lim, 2008). Nevertheless, there have been crucial steps between the two Koreas to continue dialogue to further peace in Korean peninsula.

It is said that the July 4 joint statement was a trick declared in secret to hide the political plot under both despotic Korean governments (Lim, 2008). In fact after the July 4 statement, the DPRK developed Jucheism, a kind of nationalistic socialism, while ROK undertook Yushin, the revitalizing reform. Even though the inter-Korean basic agreement was strictly a government act, the principles of reconciliation, nonaggression and inter-Korean cooperation, regarded as necessary conditions for the peace movement in the ROK, were included. These helped to move the effort toward the next peace process in both Koreas. Thus through reconciliation, both sides could dismantle their images of the “main enemy.” Second, nonaggression as another expression of peaceful disarmament in the Korean peninsula is also important to implement. Third, inter-Korea cooperation opens the door for dialogue and mutual understanding. These principles can become the content of reunification education in schools.

Time	Occasion	Principles
04/07/1972	July 4 Joint Statement	Independence Peace National unity
03/12/1991	Inter-Korean basic agreement	Reconciliation Nonaggression Inter-Korean cooperation
15/06/2000	June 15 Joint Statement	Peaceful and gradual reunification with the strategy of one country two systems Dispersed family reunion Humanitarian Inter-Korean exchange Regular base of top level official talks and summit meeting
04/10/2007	October 4 Declaration	Reconfirmation of 6.15 Joint statement Military detente in Korean peninsula Inter-Korean economic cooperation: railway landing and another plan of establishing Kaesung industrial complex Inter-Korean exchange and cooperation in the socio-cultural area Joint support for the rights of overseas Koreans

Figure 8.2 Peace process in the Korean Peninsula.

Based on the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement, president Kim Dae-Jung visited the DPRK and announced the June 15 Joint Statement together with Kim Jong-Il in order to develop an authentic partnership with humanitarian exchange and substantial support (Kim, 2004). It took 55 years from division in 1945 to June 15 in 2000 to hold the first summit between the two Koreas. Since the 6.15 Joint Statement, there have been tremendous exchanges among athletes, literati, artists, politicians and scholars in the two countries. In sports there were many matches between the North and South. A united team from both North and South entered the main stadium in the Sydney Olympic march-in ceremony with one flag of the Korean peninsula, leaving behind their own national flags. It is obvious that the ROK and the DPRK became closer with frequent socio-economic, cultural, and educational exchange and cooperation; thus the peace in the Korean peninsula seemed stable.

This trend of peaceful coexistence extended to the next government of Roh Moo-Hyun with the October 4 Declaration in 2007. During those 10 years, both countries made progress toward peace. There was also greater engagement with government, civil society, and academics in terms of peace-making. In particular, according to the “Christian Declaration on National

Reunification and Peace” that resulted from the historic North-South Korean inter-church meeting on Glion in Switzerland in 1986, five principles were declared by the Korean National Council of Churches in 1988. These principles include: independence, peace, and national unity (which were the basic spirit of the July 4 Joint Statement), adding civil humanitarian support and the rule of people’s participation. These were the basic guidelines for the peace-reunification movement in civil society (Lee, 2000). Based on these principles, civil societies including religious groups became the real partners for the national policy of peaceful coexistence in ROK.

However, the mood for peaceful coexistence between North and South was abruptly ended because of the Mt. Kumgang accident in 2008 and the right wing strategy of Lee Myung-Bak’s present government in the ROK (2010 Peace committee, 2010). Because of nuclear development in the DPRK and excessive military troops on the northern border of the ROK, hostility against each other increased in both sides. As a result of lack of trust, there has been very little dialogue or practical exchanges between the two Koreas for the last five years. Because of this conflict, there has been a deepening of tensions inside ROK between the two types of peace approaches: peacemaking from above and from below.

REUNIFICATION EDUCATION IN THE DIVIDED SOCIETY

Consequently, peace in this divided context in the Korean peninsula has tended to be equated with the reunification movement in order to eliminate war and reduce tensions between two the Koreas. These conditions for peace are addressed in the reunification education curriculum in the ROK. It emphasizes “learning or understanding the DPRK will be a part of a reunified Korea someday” (Han, 2001). But the direction of reunification education constantly changes according to the government policies towards DPRK (Kim, 2006; Park, 2009). According to Yang (2007), the government has changed the national curriculum for reunification education from *Anti-Communism Education* (1945~1987), and *Education for Reunification and Security* (1988~1991) to *Peace and Reunification Education* (1992~2007). Initially reunification education focused on anti-communism and on the low morals of the DPRK. It raised hatred against the North, focusing on the Korean War, and finally emphasized the power to beat the North. Victory against communism in the North and eliminating red communism used to be taught in schools. Students were urged to attend the government-inspired demonstrations held in the plaza. During the stage of education for reunification and security, the negative emotional push the government made against North Korea in its education and security program was calm compared with the former regime. But the stress was

put on understanding and sympathizing with North Korean people on the grounds of the superiority of the South Korean free democracy. Under the stage of peace and reunification education, peace was interpreted in terms of national co-existence and co-prosperity in the Korean peninsula (Park, 2007) and extended to the geo-political situation of the peace in Northeast Asia (Kang & Kwon, 2011). Thus, the school curriculum introduced the following themes related to peace: no war in the Korean peninsula, peace beyond antagonism, reconciliation between the victims and victimizers, and mutual understanding. But since 2008, when the present Lee Myung-Bak government was inaugurated, the reunification education mood returned to an anti-communism strategy (Kim, 2009). Thus there have been fewer opportunities to teach reunification in relation to peace.

However, under the ex-President Kim Dae-Jung's Sunshine Policy, reunification education did run a parallel course with peace education (1998–2003) and focused on discarding ideas based on the Cold War system (Kihl, 2001; Kim, 2005). This administration prepared the "Act for supporting the reunification education" (Kim, 2000) from the perspective of peace education, but based on so-called free democracy. According to this act, reunification educational activities were encouraged and supported in various educational methods. But in the main subject, morals, teachers were not ready to deal with themes in critical peace pedagogies. Therefore pioneer peace teachers tried to get in-service training on peace education and extend subjects from morals to other subjects such as Korean language and social studies including arts.

According to Kang's model (2000), peace education can be incorporated into various subjects using a holistic approach. As Hicks and Holden (2007) stated, the dimensions of knowledge, attitude, and skills should be considered in peace education that is related to reunification education. Comprehensive peace education activities even in schools need to be expanded to out of school activities in connection with NGOs (Forcey & Harris, 1999). Thus there would be assistance from the Korean Teachers Union (KTU), UNESCO, the Christian Academy, Amnesty International, and local NGOs to promote peace-reunification education that teaches people to cope with their daily lives. It is said that reunification education should focus on building a democratic citizenship and reducing prejudices against the DPRK in schools (Chae & Kim, 2008; Huh, 2000; K. Kim, 2003; Oh, 2001). With the new flow of multiculturalism in the ROK, Park (2008) noted that a multicultural educational approach should be considered in reunification education.

Given the importance of the educational process and its role in reunification education, it is important to emphasize the culture of violence embedded in schools (Kang, 2007). Lee (2005) asserted that the value of militarism has infused the Korean culture, because during the colonial

period, the school was used as a tool to foster the homogenization of Korean people and for the preparation of war. After the Korean War, schools in the ROK promoted the national ideology or propaganda (Lee, 2009). Thus, it is notable to see the role and the approach of schools used to create, transform, and construct (Haavelsrud, 2004) a culture of peace from a culture of violence in terms of reunification education. It educates against extremism in polarized societies (Davies, 2008).

Given that reunification promotes justice and implies the end of war footing (Baek, 2006), reunification education must contemplate the culture of violence and transform it into a culture of peace. The culture of violence in the form of prejudice and animosity must be resolved through peace education (Jeong, 2007, Sim & Ryu, 2004), and peace education has resolved conflicts in divided conflicting zones such as Israel and Northern Ireland (Bekerman, 2007; Smith, 2003). Consequently, reunification education must overcome the distorted consciousness of division. It must thoroughly understand the root cause of national division, which must be overcome through disarmament and through the promotion of peaceful attitudes so that people can live together in the divided peninsula. Lastly, peace education must develop a critical peace pedagogy that accompanies a global peace education agenda (Bajaj & Brantmeier, 2011).

THE PEACE-REUNIFICATION EDUCATION PRACTICES BY TONGSAENGGYO

Background of Tongsaenggyo (Teachers Thinking Reunification)

In 1989, the Korean Teachers Union (KTU), Korea's first, was born. Under the authoritarian government, the union faced excessive oppression. More than 1,000 teachers were fired for joining KTU. The suffering and solidarity among teachers clarified the "genuine education" of democracy, grassroots people (*minjung*), and humanization as a motto to go through schooling. In the process, some anti-government KTU members were imprisoned for violating the National Security Law. This political restraint forced teachers to think critically about national security laws and to practice reunification education to overcome national division in schools. Some teachers in the KTU organized Tongsaenggyo, "Teachers Thinking Reunification," in 1993, which was the teachers' gathering for thinking about reunification issues related to school curriculum. Tongsaenggyo criticized the militaristic focus of the government (peace building from above) and revealed the problems of the contemporary reunification policy from a counter-ideological perspective.

Some KTU teachers thought of an alternative paradigm for reunification education, and in 1995, two teachers from Tongsaenggyo joined the peace education committee of the Christian Academy, composed of academic researchers, NGO activists, and school teachers. The committee represented the voice of civil society combining research, education, and movements to realize peace education in people's daily lives. They linked reunification education to the universal value of peace education. Of all peace issues raised by the group, they considered suicide by school children the greatest problem, precipitated by the highly competitive environment of school and the authoritarian school ethos. Because the curriculum did not cover social issues or live knowledge, school was not a happy place for teachers or students. The committee tried to change the school culture from one that was polarized and hierarchical to one with a culture of friends, calling it "coexistence in the classroom" with voluntary applications to their classes. In the process of developing this project, the committee completed a study tour of Osaka and Hiroshima in Japan, and one to Northern Ireland in order to learn about concrete educational practices from these countries so that they could design a Korean peace-reunification education model.

At the end of this project, the director of the Social Education Centre of Korean Christian Academy, Oh Jae-Sik, developed his vision for reunification for World Vision, one of the NGOs involved in the inter-Korean humanitarian exchange. Academics including myself joined UNESCO, which integrated the concept of education for international understanding into peace, and teachers of Tongsaenggyo developed reunification education into a broader concept called Hwapyungdong, meaning "reconciliation, reunification and peace." It is impossible to attain reunification education becoming universal peace education, unless reunification, reconciliation, and peace should combine. Under the new concept of Hwapyungdong, Tongsaenggyo organized teachers' in-service training for peace and a reunification camp for youth and published peace-reunification guidebooks and resource materials in conjunction with the Ministry of Reunification.

These activities went well from 1998 to 2008, under the government's active peaceful reunification policy; however, since 2008 President Lee Myung Bak's inter-Korean policy has shifted from peace and coexistence to confrontation and a South-superior policy, Tongsaenggyo has never joined in cooperative activities with national governments such as Ministry of Reunification mentioned above. In spite of this situation, Tongsaenggyo teachers still try to connect reunification education to peace education and share reunification education lesson plans in order to develop field-based activities.

Review of Tongsaenggyo Activities

1993–1997: From Resistance to Making Alternatives

The Kim Young-Sam government of this period was more democratic than previous ones, so the inter-Korean policy achieved good relations with North Korea and the U.S. Clinton government until Kim Il-Sung died in 1994.

But his death blew the North wind towards South Korea. Tension between two Koreas increased because of uncertainty and panic after his death in North Korea. The Kim Young-Sam government emphasized its anti-communist bent and the need for a strong military power and national prosperity in order to defeat North Korea, thus securing peace in the Korean Peninsula (Yang, 2007). Therefore reunification education under this political approach to inter-Korean policy returned to anti-communist education, which was strictly controlled by a national curriculum based on one Korean nationality. The South Korean people believed the South was superior to the North because they compared their situation with rich West Germany absorbing poor East Germany in 1989. If Korea followed the German model of absorption, South Korea would not have to respect the North, because the socialist North would be collapsed and absorbed into the rich South Korean system (Lim, 2008). Despite the fact that several democratic movements successfully led South Korean society to a more open society, this reunification stance of absorbing North Korea into South consistently existed.

As a consequence of such a conservative reunification mood, reunification education focused on knowing the present situation of North Korea and sympathizing with poor North Koreans. Thus Korean civil society criticized reunification education because it implied absorbing the North. *Resistance criticism*, as this model came to be known, opposed the current oppressive approach of reunification education. Resistance, thus, can be defined as the root of peaceful transformation in the process of conscientization for the future. However, in peace and reunification education, resistance was not a mere negation of the status quo. Beyond negation of the ruling power, people used resistance criticism as a non-violent means to establish peace literacy (Kang, 2000). The 1988 Christian Declaration on National Reunification and Peace influenced the democratization movement and its five principles: independence, peace, national unity, civil humanitarianism, and the rule of people's participation. These five values were shared by both the reunification movement and peace educators. One of pioneers in this movement, Oh Jae-Sik, recalled,

Returning from Geneva, I had to start a peace movement. I established The Social Education Centre in The Christian Academy. The project on "Coexistence in the Classroom" reflected the 1988 Declaration and it became one alternative to the government based reunification education. (Director Oh, 23/07/2012)

In the process, alternative peace education activities were developed. There were the collective people's painting, project lessons with social issues, small group action, and creative active learning in elective courses. Prior to peace education in schools, teachers learned through Tongsaenggyo and participation in the peace education committee of The Christian Academy. Voluntary experimental teachers were invited by the Academy and trained through modeling and dissemination of information so that a gradual change in the culture of the classroom occurred. Beyond resistance, peace educators looked for alternatives to shift the current situation. Tongsaenggyo, one of the small progressive organizations in the teachers' movement, was founded as an alternative means of teaching peace education in schools.

Before we set up Tongsaenggyo, we only criticized government-led reunification education, which was focused on anti-Communist education and education for national security. But we wanted something constructive. In order to overcome this divided system of two Koreas, we thought there should be a teacher's movement against this system. So, in 1993, Tongsaenggyo was founded to present alternatives. (Teacher J, 31/07/2012)

1998–2007: “Peace” Showed up Formally

At the end of Kim Young-Sam government in 1997, South Korea was faced with an IMF crisis. Even under hard economic conditions, the Kim Dae-Jung government inaugurated a new vision, which included the realization of a human rights based democratic nation, the realization of national unity, a strong knowledge-based economy, a productive welfare state, and the realization of inter-Korean peaceful cooperation (Kang, 2002). With strong support from the U.S. Clinton government, President Kim Dae-Jung brought a transformation of the North-South relationship and visited North Korea for the first time to sign the June 15 Joint Declaration with Kim Jung-Il. The so-called Sunshine Policy opened the North-South relationship and shifted from hostility to coexistence and peace in the Korean Peninsula. Because Kim Dae-Jung, himself, had been put in prison while fighting for democracy and human rights under the dictatorship and had been charged with being a communist, he felt compelled to change the inter-Korean relationship from antagonism to coexistence to achieve a real democracy. It seemed like a national gospel for the people to see the June 15 Joint Declaration and feel prosperity based on peace and reconciliation in the Korean peninsula. This mood of peace brought a number of real exchanges among politicians, business persons, athletes, teachers, and religious persons including school outings to Mt. Kumkang.

After ex-president Kim Dae-Jung, the mood of reunification turned to peace and coexistence. During its formal discussion, people realized there was a

need to change Korean society structurally. To do that meant focusing the new agenda on the issues of peace, ecology and human rights. As we became involved in the peace education committee of the Academy, we expanded our understanding from the resistance against the government's reunification education to peace education, symbiosis, coexistence and reconciliation as such. (Teacher J, 31/07/2012)

But in the Bush administration, September 11 happened in the U.S., and Bush responded by going to war in Iraq and claiming North Korea as an axis of evil. South Korean society divided into sides: pro- and anti-American, pro- and anti-North, Christian and non-Christian. These internal divisions in crisis were directly reflected in reunification education. Even though Tongsaenggyo teachers could teach reunification education in schools and discuss documents like the June 15 Joint Declaration officially, there was much disagreement about what they taught in the classroom. This disagreement not only focused on reunification issues but on anti-war and peace education in Iraq. For example, Tongsaenggyo teachers held an event called "sharing peace candies" for children to understand why the Iraq War was not justified. Groups were divided into pro-American advocates versus anti-American (anti-war) activists. At another event "sharing reconciliation candies" related to the June 15 Declaration, groups were divided into pro-North and anti-North. These led Tongsaenggyo teachers to think of Hwapyungdong, which means reconciliation, peace, and reunification. Hwapyungdong's active peace education movement went beyond school teachers to ordinary citizens in the community. The Tongsaenggyo teachers' Hwapyungdong movement meshed well with the government in terms of peace-reunification education in-service training, in particular. They developed a variety of peace programs including lesson plans, imagery data with cartoons, animation or episodes, which uploaded on to the www.cafe.daum.net/nowarforpeace website, an anti-war peace education promotion in conjunction with KTU, and the youth camp for peace-reunification.

These active peace-reunification education activities continued until 2007. During the Roh Moo-Hyun government based on the broad picture of inter-Korean policy, peace-reunification in the Korean peninsula expanded to building regional peace in Northeast Asia and emphasized the self-reliance of national defense (Kang & Kwon, 2011). Hence, peace-reunification education was officially placed within the peace educational framework. To illustrate, peace education was placed into a chapter in a textbook on morals in which such themes as tolerance and conflict resolution were discussed, and conflict resolution was connected to the issue of school violence. The NGO Women Making Peace initiated its use in the elective curriculum in schools as well as in an independent program outside of school. In case of peace-reunification education, several NGOs cooperated with Tongsaemgyo teachers to integrate story-telling, drama,

fieldwork to DMZ (De-militarized Zone) and a sharing house of residential former comfort women, and project learning into the course of curriculum. Civil society in cooperation with schools was very much activated in terms of peace-reunification education during the last 10 years when Tongsaenggyo with Hwapyungdong were key moderators.

Frankly speaking, Hwapyungdong as a public-friendly organization was incubated from Tongsaenggyo. When we discussed peace education during school classes, we openly revealed ourselves. We used to be really afraid to be open, because we might be labeled “commies” in society. We operated “daum café” on the Internet and we shared our own resources and lesson plans. The site was run not only by teachers but by NGO staff with the spontaneous will of its members. (Teacher J, 31/07/2012)

As the internal division toward the inter-Korean policy intensified at the end of the Roh presidency, peace-reunification education could not go beyond school culture from violence to peace. The culture of violence in society reflected directly on the school culture tied to the tension between two Koreas. There confronted with such a chaotic state in schools, so called “peace education strategies” were introduced by a top-down approach such as school police, ombudsmen, and peer mediation, all irrelevant to peace-reunification education based on reconciliation and coexistence. Peace-reunification education was losing its influence, and Tongsaenggyo teachers’ were becoming intimidated.

Towards the end of his (President Roh Moo-Hyun) presidency, even though the government admitted peace education was a key to transform people’s feelings towards North Korea, the overall negative image toward North Korea badly reflected on peace-reunification education. I could only think of inculcating knowledge into people living in a very divided society. Naturally, peace-reunification education was practiced as content-based in the national curriculum so that it could not change the culture of violence embedded within schools. The prospect for peace education was low. (Teacher K, 31/07/2012)

Post 2008 “Peace” in Separation with Reunification

South Korean society became conservative with Bush in the U.S., Koizumi in Japan and Lee Myung-Bak in South Korea in power. Inter-Korean engaged policy was blamed as unilateral aid for North Korea; at least two progressive policies based on peaceful coexistence and mutual exchange were discarded. The remaining policies stressed the need of a military alliance with the U.S. and Japan for the sake of security in the Korean peninsula. Anti-communism and national security policies emerged as the path to peace and the focus for peace reunification education.

So called South-South conflicts deepened, and thus reunification education assumed a conservative focus. Reunification education follows the “Act for Supporting Reunification Education;” however, the current government emphasizes the perspective of free democracy and security only. (Teacher J, 31/07/2012)

In particular, a South Korean female tourist in Mt. Kumkang was shot to death by a North Korean border patrol member in 2008. In 2010 the South Korean naval vessel Cheonan, with 46 soldiers, was sunk by North Korea. Yeonpyeong in the same year was attacked by North Korean artillery and several residents were killed. Afterward the relationship between the North and South became hostile. South Korea accused North Korea of human rights violations and advocated that North Koreans defect without official inter-Korean exchange or cooperation. At this time peace-reunification education based on reconciliation and mutual respect was ignored; instead conservative reunification education based on free democracy and national security replaced it. As a consequence, peace education as an abstract, universal value was integrated into a class on morals, while reunification education was only included in a small section of modern history as a historical record apart from the practical value of how to live together in the divided Korean peninsula.

As the national curriculum changed in 2009, the chapter on reunification was deleted. In the middle school morals textbook there are a few chapters on universal peace education but little description on reunification. In the high school curriculum, there is no chapter on reunification even in ethics. Moreover, morals now is only an optional course, so in such a competitive environment preparing for entrance exams, students rarely choose to study morals. (Teacher K, 31/07/2012)

There are pros and cons about whether the morals texts should include reunification and peace as themes, but Tongsaenggyo teachers think that it is the only official place to discuss reunification related to the social values such as peace in schools. As a result, it is hard for individual teachers to practice peace-reunification education in schools with enthusiasm.

But people consider that peace education should not only be practiced in the school but in open society. Because many people question ROK-USA FTA (Free Trade Agreement), the establishment of the FTA naval base in Gangjeong on Jeju Island, and persistence of school violence including suicides among the teenagers, many school children and adults congregated on the plaza to protest peacefully with candles. These candlelight vigils demonstrated peace education for the recovery of the inter-Korean relations at its finest. However, peace education in schools is much weaker than that taught by NGOs. Out of school, there are a number of peace education

programs: riding bicycles to the DMZ, volunteering at a sharing house of residential spies from North Korea, camping for peace and reunification, traveling to Gangjeong to protest against the naval base and to keep Jeju as a peace island, and conducting peace-related in-service teacher training by UNESCO, World Vision, and other groups. Tongsaenggyo teachers participated in these NGO activities with their pupils based on Hwapyung-tong ideas. Even though these are not popular programs for the public, the participants, young or old, girls or boys, rural or urban, understand the importance of the inter-Korean relations in Korean peninsula.

Because teachers in South Korea are public servants, they are restricted in what they are allowed to teach. They must follow the national guidelines for teaching and activities in schools. Because reunification is such a divisive social issue, teachers must either maintain the status quo or transform it. Occasionally when teachers try to criticize governmental policies by teaching about North Korea in a friendly way, they are put in prison and charged under the National Security Law. Tongsaenggyo seems progressive and critical of the current inter-Korean policy based on national security, so there might be fear to be suspected somewhere.

Under the National Security Law, the most active teacher who created many different kinds of teaching materials was suspected by National Intelligence Service. (Teacher K, 31/07/2012)

Because people are pessimistic about social change, it is hard to work together with young peace educators who will follow the Tongsaenggyo path for reconciliation, peace and reunification. At the moment, Tongsaenggyo runs in-service training with the official support of Metro Seoul Education Authority; however, there are not many teachers engaged. Active members still try to find ways to change the situations with fun and meaning. For now, South Korea has to wait for new hope in order to foster a change towards peace—not ideologically but through a culture of peace with a strong solidarity with teachers, NGO activists, and peace educators. Tongsaenggyo is still one of the possible agents for change in schools.

CONCLUSION: LIMITATIONS OF ARTICULATING PEACE EDUCATION WITH REUNIFICATION EDUCATION

I have reviewed peace-reunification education, focused on the activities of Tongsaenggyo teachers who practice reunification education relating to peace education in South Korea. Peace education in Korea includes reunification education to overcome the division of a nation whose origin lies in colonialism and the Korean War in the Cold War era. This kind of

peace-reunification education is difficult to comprehend from the general perspective of peace. In spite of that, Tongsaenggyo teachers tried to develop peace-reunification education in connection with the universal values of peace education in the Korean specialized context, but there are several limitations for them to overcome.

First, peace-reunification education is much too dependent on the inter-Korean policies of the current government, because the government has shifted the meaning to suit its position. Reunification education currently represents the government's policy; focus on anti-communism education, education for reunification and security, and education for reunification and peace, which is in opposition to the inter-Korean government policies. Tongsaemggyo originated to counter this form of top down practice. It was designed to promote the participatory practices of NGOs with the value of peacemaking from below; however, school teachers are now silenced, and the only groups that can function are peace NGOs that are located out of schools.

Since peace-reunification education is not currently a pedagogical process but only briefly mentioned in textbooks, it is very hard for individual teachers to alter the contents in the current national curriculum context. Peace education is not only to be taught and learned, but reunification is also the commitment to the way of peace in South Korean society beyond banking educational pedagogy, as Freire (1970) states. In addition, peace education should start from a specific conflict that requires context-based approach. Yet teachers state that it is difficult to link such contents to North Korean issues in their classrooms. What Tongsaemggyo teachers practiced in terms of peace-reunification education during the Kim Dae-Jung and Roh Moo-Hyun governments is no longer sustainable in the current national curriculum. This explains why we need to reset peace-reunification education out of school context.

Well, heretofore, it (Tongsaemggyo) was our will. We did it because we thought peace-reunification education was greatly needed in our schools and in our society as a whole. Perhaps the social atmosphere at that time, under the progressive presidents, had affected our work. But now we have become out of date. The younger generation is not following in our steps. Maybe this is pessimistic? But I guess we need more time to bring people in who enthusiastically want to work on peace-reunification education. And with my experience, I guess if society changes, there will be more people who will follow that flow. I hope to find this possibility in the next presidential election. (Teacher K, 31/07/2012)

Secondly, although we have peace-reunification education, we have not dismantled warfare in the Korean peninsula. As discussed above, reunification in the Korean context means overcoming the distorted consciousness originated from colonization and national division, and eradicating the scars of the Korean War. However, today South Koreans are insensitive

to the fact that we are still living in war conditions (= ceasefire), and this fosters a culture of violence in the society.

Since we are still in a state of armistice, we cannot talk about anti-war or anti-nuclear weapons and so on. If we wish to talk about reunification within peace education, then we should make pupils realize what reunification actually means—the end of the war, disarmament, and so on. But in the present situation, we can only talk about the broad, general meaning about peace education. (Teacher J, 31/07/2012)

Disarmament is very controversial because there are people who believe that military security guarantees peace in South Korea, while others think that coexistence and reconciliation will bring peace to the two Koreas. Furthermore, all South Korean men above the age of 19 still must perform military duty. In addition, because there is still a domestic and international dispute about North Korea's nuclear weapons, the anti-nuclear movement is rarely discussed in public. Disarmament is a core of peace education (Reardon, 1988; Reardon & Cabezudo, 2002), especially where there is a direct war threat like in South Korea, where the issue of disarmament is a key to promote peace. However, even though peace-reunification education implies the same route as peace education, it is not welcomed to link both issues.

This situation has led to the restriction in understanding and practice of holistic peace education in South Korea. Likewise, peace-reunification education is not able to conduct significant discourse about ending the war-footing and developing a peaceful mood between the two Koreas. For now, reunification education needs reorientation under the peace educational framework, specifically in connection to disarmament (Kang & Kwon, 2011). Apart from the governmental will, peace-reunification education requires more grassroots efforts like Tongsaenggyo in order to challenge the status quo and overcome this limitation.

Thirdly, the current view of reunification education distorts the process of comprehensive peace education. According to the 2009 curriculum revision, reunification education was separated from peace education. It seems that both reunification and peace have lost their way. Tongsaenggyo teachers also worry about this process of disarticulation. They were passionate about practicing reunification education expanding to the peace education paradigm in such diverse activities as in-service training for teachers, creative pedagogy in their classes, and enquiring fieldwork with pupils. As explored, their activities were initiated by the KTU as the reunification movement began from the early 1990s under oppression. Nevertheless they resisted and promoted alternative peace-reunification education, and these activities were formally approved and implemented by the progressive government 1998 through 2007. But currently there is a change from the

legalization of peace-reunification education into the separation of peace education and reunification focused on North Korean defectors.

I was teaching morals in a middle school for over 15 years, and I enjoyed doing peace-reunification education within my subject using media and other materials. Last year, as I transferred to a high school, I knew I wouldn't be able to do reunification education in my subject. (Teacher K, 31/07/2012)

Peace education and reunification education each seem to tear into two different themes: peace education as a universal concept, values and pedagogy usually go with the issue of school violence (Gyeonggi Provincial Office Education, n.d.), while reunification as knowing North Korea is content-based. Thus the current national curriculum tries to give official time for peace education in abstract terminology such as tolerance or conflict resolution among friends, instead of providing sensitive issues such as reunification or issues related to North Korea.

This is the time to create alternatives with school teachers, academics, and NGOs to perform comprehensive peace-reunification education in the Korean context. Based on the work of Tongsaenggyo, which redefined reunification education to mean a comprehensive understanding of the root causes of national division, it asks the Korean government and people to enhance the social wellbeing of its people to achieve a real democracy by dismantling warfare through reconciliation in Korean peninsula. And with that, reunification education should become the contextualized concept of peace education in the Korean peninsula.

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CHAPTER 9

BUILDING PEACEFUL SCHOOLS IN CANADA, ONE SCHOOL AT A TIME

Peaceful Schools International

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INTRODUCTION

The idea of a network of schools actively building school cultures of peace grew out of a mother's determination to create something positive out of tragedy. In 1991, Ben, Hetty van Gurp's 14-year-old son, died as a result of bullying at his school (Goldbloom, 2001; Tinker, n.d.). Recalling the moment the seed of Peaceful Schools International (PSI) was planted, Hetty, a kindergarten teacher in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada at the time, remembers looking up at the school flag pole and thinking how great it would be if schools "could earn the right to fly a flag, declaring that they were places of peace" (Tinker, n.d.). Drawing from her classroom teaching experience and adding peer mediation, Hetty created and implemented a program in her classroom called "Hands are for Helping." This program emphasized

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respect, dignity of the students, conflict as a natural part of life, as well as teaching knowledge and skills in non-violent conflict resolution and managing emotions. One important tool was the I-message as a means to communicate feelings without blaming. The successful results of this program were noted by other teachers in Nova Scotia, who asked Hetty to share her program with them. As this initiative attracted attention from teachers and was taken into other schools, Hetty decided to formalize her work into a recognized network of schools building peace. In 1998, The League of Peaceful Schools (LPS) was formed and had support from the Halifax Regional School Board, where Hetty taught, and the Lester B. Pearson Centre for Peacekeeping (PPC). By 1999 over a hundred schools were members and more schools were joining (Tinker, n.d.). LPS was predominantly active in the eastern Canadian province of Nova Scotia.

In 2000 Hetty decided to see how these techniques would work in international contexts. On an internship funded by the Canada-Japan Peacebuilding Fund, she worked with a Japanese non-governmental organization called Association for Aid and Relief. She also worked with educators in Serbia, Cambodia, and Macedonia (Tinker, n.d.). Realizing the global desire for peace education, particularly in countries with limited education resources or with recent experiences of civil conflict and violence, Hetty decided to expand the work of LPS internationally. The PPC offered her an office, along with a formal structure including a board, administrative rules and regulations, and provincial recognition as a society. The League for Peaceful Schools became Peaceful Schools International (PSI)—an organization with the vision “to create a global network of peaceful schools” (Peaceful Schools International, n.d.-a). Initially, Hetty was in charge of administrative duties and training. In 2006 PSI moved out of its office at PPC and into Hetty’s home, where it stayed until 2009 when it moved to Halifax. For her work building peace education around the world, Hetty van Gurp has received several recognitions, including Time magazine’s Canadian Hero for 2006, and Reader’s Digest Education Hero for 2007.

As of July 2012, there are over 350 member schools in PSI’s network in all ten Canadian provinces (currently there are no member schools in the three territories) and 17 countries around the world, including the United States, Northern Ireland, Serbia, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Cameroon, Sri Lanka, Finland, India, the Philippines, New Zealand, and Jamaica. Over two-thirds of the member schools are in North America; most of these are in Canada, and approximately a third are in Ontario. The Lester B. Pearson School Board in Quebec and the Nova Scotia Teachers’ Union are also members of PSI.

THE ORGANIZATION

PSI describes itself as a forum through which schools gain formal recognition as well as informational and resource support for creating a positive school environment (Tinker, n.d.). At its first board meeting in 2001, PSI outlined its goals and membership criteria. PSI's two guiding principles are that membership is voluntary and that PSI's peace education practice is non-prescriptive. These principles acknowledge that peace cannot be imposed but must be a choice. As well, PSI recognizes that there is not one way to do peace education, rather many ways. PSI emphasizes that "each school must be given the freedom to set its own course based on its vision and timetable" (Peaceful Schools International, n.d.-a).

There are four main goals of PSI for all member schools (Peaceful Schools International, n.d.-a):

- Peace education is integrated as a core element of the curriculum, and together schools and PSI lobby the relevant authorities to integrate peace education into the formal curriculum.
- Schools have a safe, welcoming, and respectful climate that does not tolerate violence of any form, which can be demonstrated by a reduction in the reports and incidents of violence and an improvement in their school climate.
- PSI provides practical and effective resources to schools for teachers, students, and others for building their capacity to do peace education. Schools demonstrate and report their implementation of PSI resources, strategies, and events; network with other member schools; and demonstrate their support of PSI by sharing knowledge and resources.
- Awareness of PSI increases, and others are aware of the positive impacts of the organization. More schools continue to become members of PSI. PSI participates in peace and education events to promote and educate on peace education in the community

The organization has identified six key elements of a peaceful school:

- The school develops and practices a collaborative decision-making process and a culture of cooperation, support, and understanding.
- Curricular and extra-curricular peace education initiatives are implemented at the school.
- Pedagogical practices emphasize "participation, cooperation, problem-solving, and respect for differences," as well as being open-minded and accepting of physical, cultural, religious, or ideological differences.

- Schools incorporate student and community oriented conflict resolution practices, such as peer mediation.
- Schools are active in community service.
- Staff have opportunities for professional development in the area of peace education.

For example, member schools have implemented several different initiatives including incorporating peace education into curricular activities in language arts, social studies, and health. Extra-curricular initiatives include peace festivals and assemblies, community service learning, and public speakers.

PSI's website (www.peacefulschoolsinternational.org) is a vital tool in its work for supporting the peace education of its member schools and for raising awareness about peace education among the interested public. The website is a central hub for information on PSI; peace education curricular and extra-curricular activities; and links and resources to other peace education, conflict resolution in schools, and anti-bullying programs and research. PSI literature including past issues of *Peace Signs* (newsletter), books, films, and the *Peace @ Schools Kits*, are available on the organization's website. The website also hosts a discussion forum on peace education where educators and the public can exchange ideas.

Through its collaboration with filmmaker Theresa MacInnes, Triad Films, and the National Film Board of Canada (NFB), three documentaries were produced, including "Learning Peace" and "Waging Peace," each featuring member schools in Nova Scotia. "Teaching Peace in a Time of War" features one of Hetty's trips to Belgrade, Serbia to work with educators. These films are included in the member school package and have been aired on Canadian national television (Tinker, n.d.). As well, the organization has set up a YouTube channel where PSI and member schools post videos. In 2012, PSI organized a peaceful school video contest for its member schools.

Currently, this charitable organization is run by volunteers and is governed by a board of directors and an international advisory board. Volunteer regional coordinators support schools in their geographic areas. Regional coordinators attend an intensive four-day peaceful schools training at the PSI head office in Halifax, NS, Canada (Peaceful Schools International, n.d.-a). Hetty van Gorp has retired as director of PSI but still sits on the board of directors. The current executive director is Emily Anderson. Its dependence on volunteers, a common reality for many social initiatives, raises concerns over the long term sustainability of the organization (Tinker, n.d.). Members make up a key energy in the organization. Regular and Associate membership are the two membership categories. Regular membership is available to schools and educational institutions, while Associate membership includes any individual or non-educational institution who

gives financial support to PSI. Each member receives access to resources; however, Regular members receive more resources, which are specific to schools (Peaceful Schools International, n.d.-b).

A continuous challenge for PSI has been funding. With support of various organizations and individuals at different times, PSI has been able to continue operating. This support comes in various forms, including space, resources, time, and sometimes monies. When its office was in the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, it received a donation space and \$1,000 to cover printing; however most of the organization's monies continue to come in the form of project funding (Tinker, n.d.). A current project in Pakistan is funded through the United States Institute for Peace (PSI website). Although there is an annual membership fee of CDN \$150, these fees only barely cover the costs of what they send to the schools (Tinker, n.d.).

DEFINING AND CREATING PEACE EDUCATION

Peaceful Schools International defines peace education as “learning to live well together” (Peaceful Schools International, n.d.-c). As PSI's network expanded globally, its focus on violence in schools grew from bullying and harassment to also include cultural divides and societal violence (Tinker, n.d.). Their philosophy of learning to live well translates into teaching peace in order to create schools where everyone feels safe and respected. Children and youth can and should be taught the “attitudes, knowledge and skills necessary for the prevention and resolution of conflict” (Peaceful Schools International, n.d.-b, n.p.). A peaceful school is a school where “students, staff and parents work together to ensure that everyone feels safe, valued, and respected” (Peaceful Schools International, n.d.-c, n.p.).

The non-prescriptive model was a deliberate decision by the organization to provide flexibility in response to the diversity of communities, cultural contexts, local experiences, and available resources (Peaceful Schools International, n.d.-c; Tinker, n.d.). Giving schools the freedom to create their own peaceful school encourages a reflexive creativity from school communities, fueling a vast well of ideas and practices that can be shared among member schools through the organization's events, website and publications, including newsletters and books. Considering the complexity and diversity of cultural, socio-economic, and political factors influencing the learning and social environment of schools, there is no single simple panacea for peace education or creating a peaceful school. The following four examples highlight different initiatives schools have taken to become peaceful schools.

St. Mary's University (SMU) in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada is the first of two universities to become members of PSI (Mount Saint Vincent University in Halifax is the other). SMU offers a Certificate in Conflict Resolution

and runs the St. Mary's Northern Ireland Conflict Resolution Project in partnership with PSI. PSI has also hosted regular Art of Peace Summer Camps for youth on the university campus. St. Mary's University has established a Conflict Resolution Office, run by a conflict resolution advisor within the department of human resources. The mandate of this office is to promote "an environment, free from discrimination and harassment, including sexual harassment based on the protected characteristics set out in the Nova Scotia Human Rights Act" (Conflict Resolution Office, n.d., par. 1) for all members of the university community, including students, staff, professors, visitors, and local residents. The conflict resolution advisor assists persons who are the victims of misconduct involving "harassment, violence, discrimination or threats or of a sexual nature" to understand the university's conflict resolution/harassment policy, sexual assault policy, and violence in the workplace policy and the informal and formal processes involved with these policies (Conflict Resolution Office, n.d.). PSI has also signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Gorsebrook Research Institute, a research institute aligned with St. Mary's University.

In 2009, the Lester B. Pearson School Board (LBPSB) in the province of Quebec became the first school board in North America to receive the Peaceful Schools International Flag (Seidman, 2009). Their journey began in 2002 with a three-day workshop for everyone on the school board to learn about PSI and building a culture of peace in their schools and hiring someone to run their Peaceful Schools Initiative. While not all schools in the school board fly a PSI flag, all schools do organize a variety of events around peaceful schools concepts, and there is an annual Peace Symposium for students (Seidman, 2009).

Allion Elementary School is located in the LBPSB. The school is dedicated to providing a safe and caring environment where teachers help students to resolve conflict through non-violence and cooperation (Allion Elementary School, n.d.). The school runs anti-bullying, peer mediation, and school leadership programs that emphasize building leadership, cooperation, conflict resolution, and peer-mediation skills to build a culture of leadership in the children. School leaders are academic and behavior role models who serve as peer mediators (in the school and on the playground), school ambassadors, and organizers of school assemblies and building school spirit (Allion Elementary School, n.d.). Through the office of the guidance counselor, the school runs a Peace Ambassadors program in which older children provide assistance at morning, recess, and lunch for the kindergarten students. At recess they set up games and play with the younger students. Peace Ambassadors serve as peer mediators for small disputes or get an adult to help out (Allion Elementary School, n.d.). The school also has student bus monitors who help the younger children on the buses and serve as peer mediators as needed (Allion Elementary School, n.d.).

Since 2002, Leary's Brook Junior High School in St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada has been a member of PSI. At the time it became a member, the school was shifting from a denominational to neighborhood school. With new students coming into the school from various feeder schools, Leary's Brook identified the importance of building community and saw that PSI fit well with its new vision as a neighborhood school (Peaceful Schools International, 2010). Through collaborative school-based decision-making, curricular and extra-curricular peace education activities—including community service activities such as collecting donations for local food banks, and teaching that focuses on participation, problem-solving, respecting diversity, and peace and character building—the school continues to build its peace culture. The school also has student clubs including peer mediation, a gay/straight alliance, and animal rights clubs. As well the school runs diversity days, which focus on the indigenous people's cultures of Newfoundland and Labrador and a human rights course. Partnerships have been created with the local police, businesses, non-governmental organizations, and municipal and provincial governments. Parents also have opportunities to be involved with the school, through its breakfast program or by attending one of the various parent information or workshop sessions on a variety of topics such as the Internet, bullying, or drug awareness (Peaceful Schools International, 2010).

Through its monthly newsletter, PSI provides suggestions for websites, classroom management, online trainings, and peace education activities. PSI's document "Ideas to Inspire" (available online) provides a variety of activity ideas to celebrate peace. Some activity examples are:

- Put on a Peace Art Contest
- Write a Peace Pledge
- Write and put on a play about bullying or peace.
- Hold a vow of silence for up to 24 hours to support children denied their basic human rights
- Hold a "Kindness and Justice Challenge"

GOING GLOBAL AND HOME AGAIN

PSI's international outreach can be traced back to Hetty's international internship in 2000. Not only does PSI have member schools around the world, the organization has also carried out projects in Serbia, Northern Ireland, Sierra Leone and Pakistan.

Serbia

PSI's influence in Serbia began in 2000 when Hetty made a commitment to help the teachers she met during her year with the Association for Aid and Relief. Through PSI, educators and students from Serbian schools came to Nova Scotia to attend PSI conferences. PSI ran a project called "Peace Education in Serbia" with funding from the Canadian Bureau of International Education (CBIE) and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). Hetty and other PSI colleagues traveled to Serbia to see how their Serbian colleagues were implementing the Peace Education in Serbia knowledge, skills, and activities; meet with educators and government officials; and attend a peace education educator conference. Twelve Serbian students between the ages of 11 and 14 traveled to Nova Scotia to attend a two week "Way to Peace" youth camp with 16 Canadian youth. As well, "Seeds of Peace: Peace Education in Serbia," a school and teachers' peace resource document designed specifically for the Serbian education system was developed (Tinker, n.d.). Hetty's trips to Serbia and the Serbian educators' trip to Nova Scotia were documented by filmmaker Theresa MacInnes for Triad Films and the NFB and made into a documentary film called "Teaching Peace in a Time of War."

Northern Ireland

In 2001 Hetty was touched when she saw images from Belfast, Northern Ireland showing primary school girls being escorted by riot police to their school while protesters demonstrated. She contacted the school and invited representatives to one of PSI's workshops (Tinker, n.d.). Initially skeptical that PSI's approach would work in a context as troubled as Northern Ireland, the visitors eventually became convinced of the transformative potential of peaceful schools. In 2002, PSI hosted a peace education workshop in Belfast for students and teachers. PSI representatives continue to travel to Northern Ireland to offer support, lectures, and workshops on conflict resolution and peace education. While often this is done in individual Catholic or protestant schools, some schools are now inviting representatives from other schools to peace education events at their schools—a significant indication of the development of tolerance and understanding (Tinker, n.d.). With support of a local children's charity in Northern Ireland, PSI was able to hire a regional coordinator (Tinker, n.d.).

The Northern Ireland Conflict Resolution Program, run by Dr. Bridget Brownlow, Conflict Resolution Advisor at St. Mary's University in Halifax, Nova Scotia, began in 2005 to promote conflict resolution practices within schools in Nova Scotia and Northern Ireland. Student participants receive

conflict resolution training and facilitate conflict resolution programs in schools in Halifax before traveling in February to Northern Ireland to facilitate conflict resolution workshops in local schools (Brownlow, 2011). Each year there is a theme for the workshops; previous themes have included anti-bullying, empathy, and communication (Brownlow, 2010). Students must fundraise for their trip. Participants have gained a greater awareness of themselves and the world—in particular the complexity of conflict and how it affects the lives of people, in particular children, as well as the significance of conflict resolution and peace education in the world. Their experiences are often transformative, leading them on new academic and professional paths focused on continuing the important work of conflict resolution in their schools and communities at home and abroad (Brownlow, 2011). Connor McNeil, who participated in the program in 2010, shared this personal reflection on his trip to Belfast:

This experience has given me an opportunity to talk to people who have been affected by this violent past, and enabled me to connect with them through something as simple as conversation and listening to what they have to say. This is exactly where I have learned- something that I don't feel can be exactly "taught." Working with the kids throughout the schools in Belfast allowed me to be someone who I have longed to be, and developed me as a person in an unimaginable way, giving me a sense of confidence and understanding that I have never really felt before. This has in turn made me further evaluate the things that matter the most in my life. Although I admittedly sometimes wonder who really learned the most out of this trip, was it me or the kids? (Brownlow, 2010, p. 7)

Sierra Leone

In 2007, PSI embarked on a new journey into Sierra Leone to support the work of the Centre for Development and Peace (CDPeace), an initiative run by Thomas and Mary Turray. Hetty met Thomas earlier in 1997 after he and his wife, Mary, fled the civil war in Sierra Leone and were living in Nova Scotia. When Thomas told Hetty he wished to someday go back to rebuild the center, which had been destroyed in the war, her response was that she hoped she could help. Nearly ten years later when the Turrays returned, PSI member schools, community organizations, businesses, and individuals, sent infrastructure, teaching resources and funds for eleven schools in the area served by CDPeace (Tinker, n.d.). Carolyn van Gorp, Hetty's sister, who is also an educator, traveled to Sierra Leone to assist in the project by facilitating training and providing support to local schools and teachers. Through CIDA, PSI received funding to support their work with CDPeace for two years. During these years, PSI continued its peace education work

and set up a twinning program between schools in Sierra Leone and some of its member schools in Canada. Through this letter exchange, children across the globe had the opportunity to learn about each other and their similarities and differences (Tinker, n.d.).

Karachi, Pakistan

Nadeem Ghazi, an educator in Pakistan, contacted PSI after reading about the organization online (Tinker, n.d.). Working with limited resources and sometimes resistance from communities in the southern city of Karachi, an area prone to ethnic and sectarian violence, Nadeem implemented PSI's activities in various schools in the Karachi area (Peaceful Schools International, n.d.-c). Through Nadeem's work as volunteer regional coordinator, several local schools became members (Tinker, n.d.). For two years PSI has been working with the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) on developing peace education skills, knowledge, and resources in 25 schools in the Karachi area, as well as with the Sindh government and other regional organizations (Pazhwak, 2012). Through teacher training, presentations, and resource development, including a peace education handbook specific to the Pakistani context, PSI and its local partners are building social infrastructure to enable a change in the attitudes and responses children and youth have to violence and conflict (Pazhwak, 2012). PSI has also set up a school twinning program between member schools in Pakistan and in Canada to provide young people a chance to learn about each other's cultures and everyday lives, including their similarities and differences.

Students for Teaching Peace

After viewing the film "Teaching Peace in a Time of War," a group of high school students in Halifax decided to take Hetty van Gorp up on her invitation to join her on her next trip to Serbia to attend a Youth-to-Youth conference. Inspired by the youth in the film, these Nova Scotian youth wanted to learn more about Serbia, the young people featured in the film, and the work PSI was doing in their country (Peaceful Schools International, n.d.-e; Tinker, n.d.). The students called themselves Students for Teaching Peace (SFTP). In total 32 students and 10 adults went on the trip. Most of the students were taking film courses and decided to create their own documentaries on their experiences in Serbia. The students divided into four smaller groups, each with a specific filming focus. In total they shot over 40 hours of footage, and when they returned to Canada they edited their work into a trailer and a documentary film called "Hope for the Future" (Students

for Teaching Peace, n.d.). The group received assistance from filmmaker Theresa MacInnes and other groups, including the NFB and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Atlantic (Peaceful Schools International, n.d.-e). The film “Hope for the Future” was screened at several international and youth film festivals, winning several awards (Peaceful Schools International, n.d.-e). Upon their return, they continued to visit schools to talk about their trip and different ways to address conflict (Shiers, 2011). Their transformative experience in Serbia led the group, now expanded to 48, to visit Northern Ireland in 2006. This trip was documented in the film “The Troubles Within,” produced by Sea to Sea Productions. Transformed by her experience, Nicole, SFTP member, stated “I never want to be a do-nothing person again” (Peaceful Schools International, n.d.-d). Kathleen Grant, a member of Students for Teaching Peace, attributes her participation in both trips to opening her eyes to social justice and her ongoing work in this area (Shiers, 2011). Grant has gone on to facilitate conflict resolution workshops, work with people who are homeless and at risk youth in Halifax, teach at an orphanage in Honduras, and work on a United Nations report on violations of migrant labor rights (Shiers, 2011).

From its early years in as the “Hands are for Helping” program in kindergarten classroom in Halifax, Nova Scotia, to realization of League for Peaceful Schools, and to its current practice as a catalyst and support for peace education in schools around the world, PSI has focused on the belief that people can learn to live well together. Throughout its work, PSI opens spaces for dialogue across cultures and communities, as well as for schools and students to be the change for the peace they want to see. Along the way, lives have been transformed, whether it be in classrooms that now have better ways of discussing conflict and emotions, schools that have seen drops in incidents of aggression, or students who have realized they “never want to be a do-nothing person again” (Peaceful Schools International, n.d.-d).

PEACE EDUCATION IN CANADIAN SCHOOLS

In Canada education is under the jurisdiction of the ten provincial and three territorial governments. Each Ministry of Education is responsible for establishing a “safe-schools” policy to address bullying, harassment, and intimidation. Within the first six months of 2012, the Education Ministries in New Brunswick (Anti-bullying legislation introduced, 2012), Ontario, and British Columbia (New Anti-Bullying Legislation Step in the Right Direction, 2012) announced new anti-bullying programs. These policies and practices typically focus on behavior, discipline, and the school culture. While a safe schools policy may be mandated from the top, how a school develops and practices being a safe school is often a local initiative. This

flexibility ensures that schools can create a safe school practice that reflects and respects the socio-cultural nature of the school. This practice extends to public and private schools, including religious schools. The result is that there may be discrepancies between schools, in particular religious schools or schools in strong ethno-religious communities, in regards to policies on bullying or harassment targeting gender or sexual-orientation (New Anti-Bullying Legislation, 2012). In addition to whole-school programs, target-group based programs may also be used to work with specific groups of students within a certain demographic, for example students considered at-risk. One successful example, in many Canadian schools, is the Roots of Empathy Program developed by Mary Gordon, which arranges for babies and one of their parents to regularly visit elementary classrooms to engage the children in how babies communicate and develop (Schonert-Reichl, Smith, Zaidman-Zait, Hertzman, 2012). Student initiatives are also important. For example the Pink Shirt Campaign, which started at a rural high school in Nova Scotia, raises awareness about bullying and the role bystanders can play by organizing one day when everyone can wear pink to take a stand against bullying (CKNW Orphans' Fund, n.d.). Another approach has been taken by some communities, such as Cochrane Alberta, Canada, which in 2002 recognized bullying as a societal issue and declared itself a bully-free community, the first in Canada (Campbell, 2005; Tracey, 2004).

CONSIDERING RELEVANT RESEARCH

This section provides an introduction to recent academic research on bullying and peace education in consideration of the philosophy and work of PSI. Bullying research focuses primarily on the Canadian and North American contexts, with consideration for cyber-bullying, girl-bullying and bystanders and bullying. Public concern over bullying has also ensured that there are also many non-academic resources for schools, families, and communities including books and websites.

Research on Bullying

School shootings and bullycide—when a victim of bullying takes his or her own life (Marr & Field, 2001)—are challenging public perceptions on child and youth bullying. Over the past 30 years significant research has been examining bullying (Espelage & Swearer, 2003). Bullying has been normalized into our society and socio-cultural expectations of childhood, in particular school experiences, which has given it a social tolerance that dismisses it as just a part of childhood and going to school (Ma, Stewin, &

Mah, 2010). Olweus (2003) notes that bullying in schools is an “age-old and well-known phenomenon” (p. 12). Buchanan and Winzer (2001, p. 69) state that bullying occurs “approximately once in every seven minutes on the school grounds with each episode lasting about 38 seconds.”

According to Olweus (2003) “a student is being bullied or victimized when he or she, is exposed over a period of time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other students” (p. 12). Buchanan and Winzer (2001) describe bullying as an act of aggressive social interaction “in which a more dominant individual, the bully, exhibits aggressive behaviour intended to cause distress to the less dominant individual, the victim” (p. 68). Three typical traits of bullying include repeated incidents over time, imbalance of strength or power (including perceived power), which results in victims being unable to defend themselves, and the bullying is unprovoked—what Olweus (2003, p. 12) refers to as “proactive aggression” (Bentley & Li, 1996; Buchanan & Winzer, 2001; Ma, Stewin and Mah, 2010; Olweus, 2003). Types of aggression manifested in bullying include the physical and verbal overt (direct) aggression; covert (indirect) aggression through social manipulation; and, relational aggression by damaging friendship networks and sense of inclusion (Espelage & Swearer, 2003). Bullying may take on the form of threatening to injure, requesting tasks performed and threatening negative consequences if the tasks are not performed, and intimidation through “name calling, teasing, pushing, or shoving, and using physical dominance for intimidation” (Buchanan & Winzer, 2001, p. 68). Li (2007) includes “silent treatment, manipulating friendship and ostracising” (p. 436) as forms of bullying. Lodge and Frydenberg (2005) note that bullying is “typically directed at the young person due to ethnicity, resistance to conform to pressure from peers, physical differences, high achievement, being new to the school, sexual orientation, and socioeconomic background” (p. 330). Lodge and Frydenberg (2005) note that verbal bullying is the most common form of aggression. Bullying results in physical, psychological, and emotional harm, which can have long term personal, relational, and social consequences (Lodge and Frydenberg, 2005; Ma, Stewin and Mah, 2010). Research shows that boys participate in bullying more often than girls (Li, 2007; Olweus, 2003), and boys are more likely to be the victims of bullying (Li, 2007; Olweus, 2003). Boys tend to engage more in physical bullying, while girls engage in indirect forms of bullying (Espelage & Swearer, 2003; Olweus, 2003). Many of the assumptions about the causes of bullying have not been validated by research, such as that bullying is the result of “large class or school size, competition for grades and failure in schools, poor self-esteem and insecurity” (Olweus, 2003, p. 14).

Research on gender differences in bullying highlight how girls tend to use indirect aggression via social, verbal, or emotional attacks such as social exclusion, gossip, name-calling, insults (Besag, 2006; Olweus, 2003),

and manipulating friendships (Olweus, 2003). For girls, bullying typically takes place within friendship groups, often dismissed as quarrels, friendship feuds, or conflicts, which makes it harder to detect and identify and challenge (Besag, 2006). Girls will use this type of bullying with both boys and girls. Besag (2006) notes that the instigators usually use an intangible, subjective focus backed by personal opinion as the basis their attacks, such as weight, which makes it hard for victims to comply or challenge. The negative emotional and psychological harm leaves long-term scars (Besag, 2006). Researchers have reported that for young people, this form of bullying is the most distressing (Besag, 2006; Olweus, 2003).

The concept of the bully/victim continuum demonstrates the complexity of social roles and relations in bullying and challenges the bully/victim dyad (Espelage & Swearer, 2003). Recent research on bullying looks at the social context of bullying and the effects of bystanders (peers) (Gini, Albiero, Benelli & Altoè, 2008; Li, 2007; Lodge & Frydenberg, 2005; Nickerson, Mele, & Princiotta, 2008; Pepler & Craig, 2007; Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist, Osterman, & Kaukianen, 1996). Up to 85% of bullying incidents have bystanders present (Lodge & Frydenberg, 2005). Considering that the presence of bystanders emphasizes the significance of children's social relationships and the dynamics within their peer groups (Lodge & Frydenberg; Pepler & Craig), the relational context of bullying is significant in establishing children's understandings and practices of power (Craig & Pepler, 2007; Salmivalli et al., 1996). According to Craig and Pepler, bystanders spend 75% of their time watching the child who is bullying, which reinforces the bully's position of power within the peer group. Alternatively, peers spend only 25% of their time paying attention to the victim (Craig & Pepler, 2007). The lack of attention to the victim further decreases his or her position of power. However, when a member of the peer group intervenes, in 57% of the time the bullying stops within 10 seconds (Craig & Pepler, 2007). Four roles of bystanders have been identified: supporting-cheering, joining in, passively watching, and intervening (Gini et al., 2008; Lodge & Frydenberg, 2005; Nickerson et al., 2008). People who do nothing inadvertently reinforce the bullying (Lodge & Frydenberg, 2005). Espelage and Swearer identified how pro-violence attitudes normalized aggression and bullying for bullies and bystanders. The significance of the bystanders highlights the importance of including peer groups in anti-bullying programs, which teach effective coping and intervention strategies through whole-school programs (Lodge & Frydenberg, 2005; Craig & Pepler, 2007) and also focus on building "prosocial and respectful behaviours among all students" (Espelage & Swearer, 2003, p. 374)

Cyber-bullying involves using technology such as email, websites, and mobile phones to distribute derogatory messages about another student or socially exclude others (Campbell, 2005; Li, 2007; Patchin & Hinduja,

2006). Cyber-bullying may be more common among girls since they tend to communicate more via texts and emails, and it is also more common among students in secondary school, as they are more likely to use technology to communicate with peers (Campbell, 2005). Several differences have been noted between face-to-face bullying and cyber-bullying (Campbell, 2005; Li, 2007; Patchin & Hinduja, 2006). The influence of cyber-bullying is much greater than face-to-face bullying since cyber-bullies can send derogatory information to their entire contact lists, reaching way beyond the schoolyard. While victims of face-to-face bullying may not remember every word, in cyber-bullying the victim can repeatedly read the text or view the image. It is harder to escape from cyber-bullying, as it can happen anytime, anywhere—not just during school hours on school property. The cyber-bully can be anonymous, which can result in children bullying online when they would not dare to bully face-to-face. Brown, Jackson, and Cassidy (2006) noted that many youth will adopt different identities online, which makes it difficult for victims to identify their bullies. Finally, the verbal and psychological nature of cyber-bullying may have longer term effects than physical face-to-face bullying. The minimal supervision in cyber-space make it an open frontier for cyber-harassment behavior (Agaston, Kowalski, & Limber, 2009; Patchin & Hinduja, 2006). Herring (2001) emphasizes that the anonymity and lack of supervision of cyber communication “reduces social accountability, making it easier for users to engage in hostile, aggressive acts” (Herring, 2001, as cited in Li, 2007, pg. 438).

Li (2007) and Patchin and Hinduja (2006) suggest that the causes of bullying are also contributing factors of cyber-bullying. According to Li (2007), “engagement in the traditional form of bullying is a very strong predictor for both cyber-bullying and cyber victimization” (p. 448). What may begin as cyber-bullying can spill over into physical face-to-face bullying when youth move their bullying from online to off-line, for example into the streets and playgrounds (Patchin & Hinduja, 2006). Furthermore, what begins at school as conventional bullying and harassment often moves to cyber-bullying when the victim at the school retaliates through electronic media (Cassidy et al., 2006; Brown, Jackson and Cassidy, 2009).

Rigorous research analysis of bullying intervention programs is sparse and highlights a gap in the field. Of the research that has been done, the results are mixed. Analysis on whole-school violence prevention programs reveals mixed and tentative results. Smith, Schneider, Smith and Ananiadou (2004) conclude with “a cautious recommendation” (p. 558) for whole-school anti-bullying programs. LeBlanc and Cameron (2007) conclude that “school-based interventions for aggressive children work” (p. 895), noting that building relationship skills is considered effective. In their meta-analysis of school-based and group-based programs, Merrell, Gueldner, Ross, and Isava (2008) “tentatively” (p. 38) concluded that bullying intervention

programs in schools are effective. Given the lack of conclusive evidence and the mixed conclusions from rigorous analysis, we should not dismiss the importance of taking action to address bullying in order to make schools safer, building healthy relationships, and building non-violent conflict resolution knowledge and practice.

Further research on the role of peer groups in bullying and anti-bullying behavior and what determines peer intervention has been recommended (Gini et al., 2008; Lodge & Frydenberg, 2005; Nickerson et al., 2008). Focusing on environmental factors that foster pro-violence and empathy attitudes, family environment and school climate are other research areas considering bullying (Espelage & Swearer, 2003). PSI acknowledges that after ten years of building peaceful schools, in order to understand the effectiveness and impact of the practices and knowledge garnered in their member schools, rigorous research must be done (Tinker, n.d.).

Peace Education Research

The growing academic research and literature on peace education provides an extensive and diverse resource for the multiple ways of theorizing and implementing peace education. Peace education is a pedagogical philosophy, process, and content influencing curriculum, pedagogy, skills and relationships within formal, non-formal and informal learning contexts (Fisk, 2000; Harris & Morrison, 2003).

Reardon (1988) distinguishes between education for negative peace and education for positive peace. Negative peace education focuses on violence—including structural and institutional violence, war, armed conflict, the arms race, and nuclear proliferation, as well as conflicts at all levels, emphasizing differences, with the purpose to inform learners of the obstacles to peace and that these obstacles can be removed or addressed through, for example, public action or policy changes (Reardon, 1988). On the other hand, positive peace education emphasizes similarities and understanding, relationships, mutuality, and enhancing people's quality of life by addressing structural violence and building knowledge around social justice, human rights, and the environment (Reardon, 1988).

Fisk's (2000) peace education categories—education for peace, education about peace, and peace through education—are helpful for understanding the myriad of understandings and approaches to peace education. Education *for* peace refers to the goal of the education. Including peace, non-violence, social justice and non-violent conflict resolution, including critical analysis, in the curriculum is education *about* peace. Peace *through* education focuses on the pedagogy and cultural practice of education, in effect implementing problem-posing and humanist pedagogy in the

classroom. Fisk's peace through education reflects Harris and Morrison's (2003) description of peace education as a process that "involves empowering people with the skills, attitudes and knowledge to create a safe world and build a sustainable environment. The philosophy teaches nonviolence, love, compassion and reverence for all life" (p. 9).

Feminist peace and peace education researchers emphasize caring and compassion within the conceptualization, realization, and practice of positive peace in society and classrooms (Boulding, 1995, 2000; Brock-Utne, 1985; Harris & Morrison, 2003; Reardon, 1988; Ruddick, 1995). At the same time they emphasize the importance of considering and analyzing the varied gendered experiences of violence—including structural and cultural violence, safety and security, as well as women's contributions to peacemaking (Boulding, 1995, 2000; Brienes, Gierycz, & Reardon, 1999; Brock-Utne, 1989; Reardon, 1988, 1990).

Inter-connected subjects of peace education in formal education include international education, human rights education, development education, environmental education, and conflict resolution education (Harris, 2004; Harris & Morrison, 2003). Salomon (2004) distinguishes between peace education and conflict resolution education, noting that the latter is focused more on self-awareness and social skills such as listening and negotiation as well as changing behaviors and attitudes. Peace education, according to Salomon, is focused on inter-group relations. There are overlaps between the two, such as understanding one's own contributions, or group's contributions, to a conflict (Salomon, 2004).

Peace education is more than just anti-war education or a school subject; it is also the moral education that can seem so elusive and complex within a formalized education institution and the dynamic intersectionality and multiplicity of our communities and societies (Boulding, 2000; Fisk, 2000; Reardon, 1988). It is the informal learning for peace through relationships, including peer, familial, and mentoring relationships, which encourage moral, humanist, and critical learning (Eisler, 2004; Fisk, 2000) as well as caring (Noddings, 2003) and empathy (Schonert-Reichl et al., 2012; Szalavitz & Perry, 2010)—in other words, character development and our relationships at local, national, and international levels regarding our nations' policies and practices in other countries (Enloe, 2000; Reardon, 1985).

The skills emphasized in peace education are key to our everyday healthy relationships at all levels of society. At the same time, it is important to validate and teach the peace knowledge that exists (Boulding, 2000; Fisk, 2000; Reardon, 1988). Harris and Morrison (2003) summarize: "peace education draws from people their instincts to live peacefully with others and emphasizes peaceful values upon which society should be based. Peace education attempts to help people understand the root causes of violent events in their lives" (p. 29).

DISCUSSION

Reviewing the academic literature on bullying and peace education while considering the philosophy and practice of the Canadian organization Peaceful Schools International highlighted several points. In the growing research on bullying and anti-bullying, there were only a few pieces (Harber & Sakade, 2009; Lodge & Frydenberg, 2005) that specifically used the term “peace education,” despite the apparent connections between these fields in creating safe schools as well as identifying, questioning, and reforming violent and aggressive behavior and culture. This observation raises concerns over our society’s fascination or distraction with violence and lack of consideration for peace, social justice, and peace education. Practice-oriented organizations such as PSI combine knowledge from both fields to equip educators with tools and information to actively work at addressing bullying, incorporate peace education, and create a culture of peace in schools to build peaceful schools. Bridging this gap through collaborative research could potentially enrich both fields for the benefit of children, youth, educators, families, and communities.

Bullying is typically associated with schools, and the school as a socio-cultural microcosm lends itself to a manageable and typically controllable tangible testing ground for anti-bullying programs (Merrell et al., 2008). However, in considering school violence, bullying, and peace education, we cannot palisade our examinations to only what lies inside school boundaries. Schools should not be the scapegoat for larger socio-cultural issues and problems (Reardon, 1994). Children’s early development and experiences before they enter school and other socio-cultural influences and systems in the home place—including family environment and parenting, community, and greater society—including pop culture, media, and religion must be considered to eliminate bullying and violence. The phenomenon of bullying reflects a greater social issue in regards to the normalization of aggression, violence, and power ideologies and practices prevalent in our societies. Therefore, we should not put all responsibility on schools to address the problems of bullying, aggression, and violence, or the teaching of non-violent conflict resolution, healthy relationships, peace and social justice, or building self-esteem and self-efficacy. Yes it should happen in schools *and* it should happen in our communities, through venues such as religious, social, and cultural spaces, and the media. Parents who dismiss bullying as “just part of childhood,” “boys will be boys,” or “girls will be girls” legitimize domination, harassment, and intimidation as acceptable modes of human interaction. This is a bleak, if not utterly depressing, expectation of human relationships and society. Peace education organizations, such as PSI, argue that we are better than this and that there are other, more effective ways of interacting and building relationships that benefit everyone so that we

may all achieve our great potential. Herein, I believe lies the significance of PSI—it provides support and a safe place to challenge old ways of thinking and experimenting with new ideas and practices, as well as providing living examples of collaborative ways of decision-making, non-violent conflict resolution, and pro-social and respectful relationships for creating positive peace in schools, which can influence change in families and communities.

Building peace in schools is a dynamic endeavor that is constantly evolving in response to greater socio-cultural, political, and economic forces. The flexibility of PSI ensures that it is responsive, inclusive, and relevant. Member schools each have their own unique challenges in regards to bullying, violence, and building healthy relationships. This flexibility raises the question, how does PSI (or other similar organizations) ensure that gender equality and social justice is accounted for in schools' peaceful philosophies and practices? Without considering gender, race, class, religion, or ethnicity, "peaceful schools" could inadvertently (or perhaps advertently) perpetuate a status quo of negative peace. Teaching conflict resolution skills and establishing peer-mediation programs can help ensure that in-the-moment inter-personal conflicts within the schools are managed or resolved. However, when these conflicts are informed by discriminatory socio-cultural and gender attitudes and beliefs, we must ask how peace education is integrating an examination of the structural violence within socio-cultural, economic, political local and global structures, as well as advocating for change.

PSI's definition of peace education—"learning to live well together," as manifested in their philosophy and practices—challenges the hegemonic patriarchal culture in our global society that has entrenched ideologies of domination, punishment, discrimination, and violence (Eisler, 2004; Rardon 1985). If the goal of peace education is to create positive peace, then engaging in critical and gender analysis and education is paramount to ensuring the dismantling of the structural and cultural violence imbedded in schools and societies and to creating social justice (Brookfield & Holst, 2011; Freire, 1999; Galtung, 1990). Such education and analysis should include the informal learning contexts of the home and community, which also serve as significant peace learning contexts (Harris & Morrison, 2003).

The complexity of peace education as both a philosophy and practice (Harris & Morrison, 2003) highlights that there are many ways of doing and understanding peace education. PSI focuses extensively, but not exclusively, on specific pieces of the peace education puzzle, including curricular and extra-curricular activities, decision-making, and conflict resolution, as well as intra-school, inter-school and community relationships. These are pieces that can be initiated and managed at the school level without needing to work with higher, more complex levels of the school government system. Further actions, as already noted, must be taken to push for reform at the higher levels of the education system, for example, as PSI is doing in

lobbying the Nova Scotia Ministry of Education to implement peace education in all its schools (Tinker, n.d.).

CONCLUSION

As a mother, Hetty van Gorp knew how tragic bullying can be, and as a teacher she knew there were possibilities to create an environment within her classroom and school to ensure that students learned that conflict is a natural part of life and that there are constructive ways for managing conflict and emotions and building respect and dignity. The organization she founded, Peaceful Schools International, recognizes the short-term, long-term, and potentially tragic consequences of bullying and the complex individual, familial, and socio-cultural factors that influence episodes of bullying and violence within schools. Schools are constructed within and by socio-cultural systems informed by ideologies of violence, as well as human cultural practices and values of caring, cooperation, and empathy. The peace education philosophy and practices supported by PSI emphasize relationships, respect, collaborative decision-making, and non-violent conflict resolution. Cross-cultural initiatives like Students for Teaching Peace, the Northern Ireland Conflict Resolution Program, and school twinning projects have a significant impact in how youth develop understandings of respect, diversity, and the global community. By providing a welcomed venue for support, celebration, and exchange of knowledge and practices of peace education, PSI ensures an open dialogue for people building peace in their schools and communities in Canada and around the globe.

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CHAPTER 10

PEACE EDUCATION IN SPAIN

Present and Future

Antonio Poleo Otero
APDH Spain

Translated by Ian Harris

*You can not prepare your students to build tomorrow the world of your dreams,
if you do not believe in those dreams. . . . You cannot prepare them for life, unless you
believe in it. . . . You cannot show the way, if you have sat tired and discouraged,
at the crossroads of life.*

—Celestin Freinet

BACKGROUND OF PEACE EDUCATION

There are insurmountable problems in describing the history of education for peace in Spain. The first problem is the very definition of the terms “education” and “peace.” They have different meanings: education as a transmission of knowledge, or education as integrated formation of learners? The concept “peace” is also subject to various views and positions: inner balance, absence of war, social justice, and so on. There are many different types of peace: peace as the absence of direct violence; positive peace

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as increased social justice or as synthesis; peace as direct reduced violence, increased social justice and changed attitudes that challenge cultural violence. There also are these different visions of peace: peacekeeping, peace-making, and peacebuilding.

Since this chapter only seeks to make a mere chronology of education for peace in Spain, there are these options, questions, and especially gaps. Secondly, the problem is that peace education has different historical meanings. Plato (427 BC) said it “is to educate the body and the soul all the beauty and perfection of which they are capable” (Sarramona, 1991, pp. 28–31). Overberg (1754–1826) stated that “education is the means to the good” (Sarramona, 1991, pp. 28–31). Kerschensteiner (1854–1932) thought that “education is to distribute the culture, so that men conscientiously organize their values and their way, according to their individuality” (Sarramona, 1991, pp. 28–31). Finally Huxley (1894–1963) defined education in this way: “Education is to train young humans in freedom, justice and peace” (Sarramona, 1991, pp. 28–31). As a final difficulty, which in this case involves Spain, the seeds of peace education were generated in the parentheses of the Franco dictatorship, which began with the military coup in July, 1936 and ended with the establishment of democracy in December, 1978.

PEACE EDUCATION IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In Spain the figure of Ferrer Guardia is key to understanding how the processes of curriculum renewal started early in the 1900s. In August, 1901 in the city of Barcelona, a practical project of libertarian pedagogy was inaugurated as a part of the Modern School, which earned Guardia the enmity of the most conservative sectors of the Catholic Church, who saw secular schools a threat to their interests. On October 13, 1909 he was executed in the prison of Montjuïc (Barcelona).

Peace education in Spain began in the 1920s and 1930s in movements to renew schooling. The first International Education Congress in 1921 in Argentina provided in its documents references to equality and cooperation between the sexes and other references to subjects covered under the heading “Education for peace.” In 1927 in Prague there was an important international conference entitled “Peace for Schools.” The conference was divided into four parts—psychology, teaching, hands on learning, and curriculum—and encouraged those in attendance to share notes from their practice. These efforts called upon teachers and educational centers to contribute to the reconstruction of a new society by teaching about how peace could be achieved.

Maria Montessori (1870–1952) was perhaps the greatest peace educator in the twentieth century. Like John Dewey and the Catalan, Pere Rosselo

(1897–1970), she argued for a positive concept of peace education, not only to demonstrate the horrors of war but to stimulate a spirit of cooperation and understanding. Montessori is a key reference for peace education for her pedagogy and for her travels around Europe in the 1930s lecturing against a traditional education system that supported and even promoted fascism. She considered peace education not only a goal for educational endeavors but also a method for positive peace. She contributed an optimistic approach to teaching that could lead to social amelioration by promoting a concept of human brotherhood to help make war outmoded.

It is easy to see how many teachers and professors would have believed in these emerging new models of freedom and pacifism. These early efforts for peace education in the beginning of the twentieth century were frustrated by Franco seizing power in 1936 and the following repression. Many unknown but important Republican educators went into the army at that time.

At the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, people were discovering Mohandas Gandhi and the nearby presence (in the south of France) of the Arc Community founded by Lanza del Vasto in 1948. The opening of Spanish society to the outside brought to many sectors an awareness of minorities, especially to the young and people related to base communities. At this time the second surge of education for peace occurred in Spain at a time that coincided with demonstrations against the war in Vietnam.

SECOND BIRTH

In 1964 Lorenzo Vidal—poet, educator, and pacifist—founded the “Day School for Nonviolence and Peace” [el Día Escolar de la No-violencia y la Paz (DENIP)] on the thirtieth of January, the anniversary of the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. A proposal developed for the school, which was at first modest, provided a base for the majority of peace initiatives and activities that developed in educational centers throughout Spain. El DENIP, as said its founder, “was a seed for nonviolence and peace deposited in the minds and subconscious hearts of educators and through them into society.”

At this time the Modern School incorporated in its 1965 charter, article two, “we pledge to make our students into conscientious and responsible adults who will build a world that will outlaw war, racism, all forms of discrimination, and human exploitation.” Peace education received a nudge from progressive elements within the Catholic Church.

Justice and Peace is a Christian organization that came into being in Catalunya in the year 1968, and its goal is the promotion and defense of human rights, social justice, disarmament, solidarity, and respect for the environment. In the city of Granada in 1971 the Christian community founded

by Pope Gudoy and Fermina Puesta (who received the “Medal of Andalusia” or “Favorite Daughter” awards for her social and political accomplishments in 1994) developed a commitment with people in labor movements to start thinking of themselves as part of a non-violent movement. This group lived together in a house and worked with the poor. Education for peace started with a group of people interested in non-violence who were social workers concerned about social problems and human rights. Among other activities, they brought non-violence and peace to the schools and other institutions of education. Pax Christie from Barcelona used non-violent methods against fascism in their work for “Amnesty and Freedom,” encouraging education for peace.

Pepe Beunza, an activist in the Democratic Union of Students for at the University of Valencia, was tried by a military tribunal on April 23, 1971 for refusing to do his military service. Within the Spanish military state, his sentence and his testimony as the first conscientious objector popularized conscientious objection among the youth. Likewise, it helped promote non-violence among the antifranco sectors of society. Gonzalo Arias, a writer and UNESCO translator, took some initiatives to oppose the sentence given to Pepe Beunza. He also was outspoken about the necessity of democracy in Spain. He put together a book, *Aprendiz de la Noviolencia*, in which he translated, edited, and made available texts of Gandhi and other non-violent authors.

In the 1970s in Barcelona—Cantabria, Euskadi, and Andalusia—the first nonviolent groups were being formed. The movements for conscientious objection and nonviolence became part of the struggle against the Spanish dictator.

Young people in the Basque region started to meet in 1972 to plan non-violent activities and support Pepe Beunza. This initial objective led them to form *Bakearen Etxea* in 1977. Members from this group formed in 1980 the Community *Lakabe* in an abandoned town in Navarra. One of its activities was to spread peace education in educational circles. They treated peace as a necessary part of life. Twenty-eight years later *Lakabe* stood as an example of non-violent community living.

In the fall and winter of 1973 a group of workers from Malaga gathered regularly to reflect upon the life of Gandhi and non-violent action. After three months of study and reflection, they formed *el Grupo de Accion Voviolenta de Malaga (GANV)*, which lasted for 15 years until 1988. In Malaga in 1973, an affinity group started reading Gandhi and Vinoba. This initiative spread through Andalusia in other cities like Granada and Cordoba. Stimulated by the threatened use of nuclear weapons, they were studying non-violence. Until 1988 this group struggled to interest people in the province of Andalusia in non-violence. In 1981 they started campaigning against war toys for children. In 1982 they protested against war taxes

and lobbied in high schools, colleges, and universities for disarmament education.

The group in Malaga started to recognize thematic groups: workers movements, conscientious objection, opposition to paying war taxes, ecology, and gender equality for peace education. El GANV facilitated summer school courses in 1985 in peace education with the participation of 1,800 teachers and developed a workshop that was described in the press with the following:

To educate for peace is to educate for disobedience to injustices. Don't suppose that it will make your children tranquil but rather children that become capable of looking how to resolve conflicts nonviolently. To educate for peace means in sum to train children to think before reacting and choosing the most suitable solution among many options. (*Diario Sur*, July 1, 1998, p. 3)

In 1976 the Friends of the Arc Community in Tarragona organized a professional training course in non-violence blessed by Lanza del Vasto. In Cantabria young conscientious objectors, volunteers in Peace Brigades International in Latin America, and educators created a group for peace education. One of their most important contributions was the diffusion of games and the dynamics of cooperation.

In 1977, at the end of the year, the first non-violent camp was established in Vitoria. These gatherings became the basis to develop non-violence and conscientious objection in Spain. Participants came from groups all over the country to a meeting where there was an exchange of knowledge and experiences about education for peace. People dedicated themselves to convene on a regular schedule to exchange experiences and develop curriculum for peace education.

In the beginning of the 1980s, John Paul Lederach visited Spain. For several months he interviewed groups and collectives related to the pacifist movement for the whole country. He was working on a research project to study non-violence in Spain. This resulted in a publication "Els anomenats pacifistes: la no-violència a l'Estat espanyol" [Peace Movement: The Non-violence in the Spanish state] (Lederach, 1983)

Through these different contacts and exchanges of experience and information, an assembly for non-violence was convened in 1981 in Andalusia. Groups and individuals from different villages and cities developed projects and protests throughout the whole Andalusian region (in the south of Spain). For seven years these groups focused on the struggle against unemployment, supported rural agricultural workers, demonstrated against mandatory military service and for peace education, equality between the genders, and the environment. During this time the Assembly published a modest newsletter, "Adalusia Noviolenta," to exchange ideas and debates that were taking place throughout the region. This newsletter included tips

and tools to help people practice peace education. From the beginning a principle theme was not buying war toys. With the support of the group from Malaga, they spread to the villages and developed courses and workshops for teachers about peace education, nonviolence, cooperative values, active communication, conflict resolution, and disarmament.

In discussing the development of peace education in Spain, we cannot leave out the collective for non-violence (CAN) in Madrid in 1982. From when they first met, they settled upon a definition of peace that was harmony in human communities and nature. This group dedicated itself exclusively to providing trainings to develop peace education activities for teachers and their pupils. It covered themes like how to educate for peace, disarmament, and disobedience, thus developing an active participative methodology. In 1985 it published the first peace bibliography in Spain for youth and children.

In 1983 in Galicia a collective of professionals, teachers at all levels of educational enterprise, made a commitment to peace education. For many years they published an information newsletter that linked them with the name "Novapaz." In April, 2008 they celebrated the twenty-second meeting of Peace Educators from Galicia and Portugal. A leader of this organization was Xesus Jares, a professor of education at the University of Coruna. He was also president of the Spanish Association to Investigate Peace (AIPAZ). He wrote many books on various peace education topics.

In 1986 the Galego Seminar for Peace Education was created for teachers at all levels, from young children to university students, to address the absence of didactic materials and theoretical presentations on various aspects of peace education—human rights, tolerance, solidarity, ecopacifism, non-violent resolution of conflicts, and interculturalism. Through this seminar many teaching materials have been produced to cover the complex peace education topics.

In 1986 the International Year of Peace dedicated by the United Nations gave important recognition to peace education in Spain. Many public and private initiatives for peace including congresses and seminars were developed throughout the country. School systems through Spain established the thirtieth of January as a day of peace in Spanish schools.

In 1987 in Northern Spain the Basque parliament decided to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the bombing of Guernika during the Spanish civil war by creating a center for peace research, named Gernika Goguratuz. Juan Gutierrez, a leader of this center, dedicated it to building peace through research, training, community intervention, and strengthening networks to share findings about how to construct peace.

Also in 1987, the Association for Human Rights established the Seminar for Peace Education, which brought together people from both the formal and informal education sectors in Spain. They had an understanding of

peace as a kind of education for liberation to promote social action for peace and justice, an education aimed at forming people capable of transcending obstacles received through socialization, like values that emphasize conformity, self centeredness, intolerance, ethnocentrism, and other aspects that contribute to structural violence. From their first meeting they have followed these three objectives:

1. to sensitize teachers to the necessity of teaching for human rights, peace, and development;
2. to train teachers and grow the number of groups for peace education; and
3. to create, adopt, and diffuse teaching materials.

The seminar materials, which have already received two awards from the Ministry of Education and Science, are designed to learn and teach how to think and have a voice, to promote dissent and make transparent the real: we live in one world, unequal, unfair and diverse.

In 1999 The School for Peace Culture was created. The director, Vicenç Fisas, was the holder of the UNESCO Chair on Peace and Human Rights, responsible for the program on peace processes in order to work for a culture of peace, human rights, conflict analysis and peace processes, education for peace, disarmament, and the prevention of armed conflicts.

The objectives of the Culture of Peace School are:

- a) To promote the understanding and practice of the culture of peace;
- b) To investigate and intervene in issues related to conflict, peace processes, post-war rehabilitation, the arms trade, human rights, diplomacy, and peace education; and
- c) To train people to be able to spread the message and practice of the culture of peace.

Since the reform of the education system, after the adoption of the 1978 Constitution, the education in values has been a high priority in the principles and purposes of education. The Organic Law 8/1985 of July 3 on the Right to Education (LODE) listed in Article 2 the purposes of education, understanding that it is beyond mere instruction.

Article 2

The educational activity, guided by the principles and declarations of the Constitution, will, in the teaching centers referred to in this Act, pursue the following purposes:

- a) The full development of the student's personality.
- b) Training in respect of the rights and fundamental freedoms, equality between men and women and in the exercise of tolerance and freedom within the democratic principles of coexistence.
- ...
- f) The preparation for active participation in social and cultural life.
- g) The training for peace, cooperation and solidarity among peoples and for conflict prevention and the peaceful transformation of the same and non-violence in all areas of personal, family and social.

EDUCATION FOR PEACE IN THE BEGINNING OF THE MILLENNIUM

In 2000, at a meeting of the Research Seminar for Peace of Zaragoza, R. Xesús Jares, in a conference that was titled: "Education for Peace in the new century: Challenges and needs" posed four key challenges for peace education in the decade 2001–2010:

1. Conflict, violence and coexistence, both in schools and in the whole social system, and an educational outreach education call for conflict and coexistence.
2. Social exclusion and neoliberalism, which leads to what we call development education and justice.
3. Immigration and diversity, which lead to education for diversity and multiculturalism.
4. Democratic citizenship and human rights, which lead to education for democracy and human rights.

A PROPOSAL FROM ANDALUSIA

On September 18, 2001 in the city of Antequera following the declaration by the General Assembly of the United Nations of the years 2001 to 2010 as the Decade for a Culture of Peace, amid social unrest in the problems of violence among youth, increasing the problems of coexistence in classrooms. Education of the Junta de Andalucía (body decentralized territorial government of Spain) joined the UN appeal and developed the Andalusian Plan for Education Culture of Peace and Nonviolence and established the Andalusian Network "School: Space of Peace." It creates an infrastructure (Office of Culture of Peace and Nonviolence) in the eight provinces of Andalusia. A few years later this initiative was given legal formality by adopting measures to promote the Culture of Peace and Coexistence in Improving

Education Centers supported by public funds in order intended to regulate the following:

- a) The promotion of coexistence in schools through the development, implementation, and evaluation of plans of mediation in conflict resolution and the establishment of protocols for action and intervention in bullying situations in school, child maltreatment, domestic violence situations in education, or attacks on teacher or other staff of educational institutions.
- b) The right of families to participate in the educational process of their children. Teacher Centers, departments of education that serve delegation of support to the work of education professionals through training and providing resources, along with the offices of the Culture of Peace program (animated bodies, coordination and re-courses) endorses the plan and sizes of organizing courses to improve school life, training in conflict resolution, and mediation.

Plan coordinators were clear that the first step was teacher training. This provided an opportunity to reach a large number of teachers.

Thus, the education service of the City of Málaga and the Cabinet of Culture of Peace delegation Málaga Provincial Education of the Government of Andalusia has been working together since 2004–2005. These two institutions have been organizing courses and workshops on Conflict Transformation and Mediation in schools in the city of Málaga training teachers, families, and students in improving school life.

April 8–12, 2002 the Education Service taught the first courses in Andalusia with the title “Young solvers,” organized by youth. This course emphasized that conflict is a natural part of human relationships and that the skill of conflict resolution is constructive in non-violent resolution. Promoting the values of cooperation is one of the skills taught to students.

This hopeful vision should not hide enormous difficulties to a dominant culture based on violence and individuality. The phenomenon of violence and the need to find more peaceful responses to violence in Spanish society created interest in the institution of mediation. Conflict resolution courses are taught as part of mediation programs in universities and workshops. Schools are not strangers to this demand. On September 13–15, 2002 the Hispanic-American Congress of Education and Culture of Peace was held in Granada. The Congress made the following statement: We are immersed into the Decade for a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence for the Children of the World (2001–2010) established by the UN General Assembly. This means a commitment in education and society, both governments, civil society, and the scientific and intellectual community should strive to improve the quality of education by seeking a Culture of Peace. Also economic, social, political or cultural forces have not sufficiently recognized what a precious commodity education is.



Figure 10.1 Adalusia.

This Congress demanded that the Spanish Association for Peace Research (AIPAZ) hold another meeting on Education for Peace, which for several years was not celebrated in Spain. At the Board of the Association it was suggested that the same organization could match the Andalusian Plan for Culture of Peace and Nonviolence.

The Ministry of Education and Science of the Junta de Andalucía, in its Plan Andaluz of Culture of Peace and Nonviolence, decided to support and organize this congress to be an open forum for schools to disseminate the initiatives for peace and coexistence, what is studied and practiced for the understanding of conflict, not only in schools but also social, cultural, identity, forms of violence. On the other hand, this mobile plan presented the growing social concern with school violence. The teachers tried to respond not only to direct prevention of violence but deeper and structural roots of violence (also in accordance with the proposal by UNESCO and the UNESCO Associated Schools: encourage the creation of better conditions of peace).

The Congress was divided into the following three thematic areas:

1. Culture and Research for Peace,
2. Education for Peace, and
3. Culture and education for peace in Latin America.

This Congress responded to the main task of deepening practical ways to develop what is known as “Culture of Peace.” This concept is related to

the need to spread a culture of differences, tolerance, negotiation, and dialogue. There are times when schools are under siege. Social situations with different conflicting phenomena such as bullying or gender violence become of great social impact. The new family and social realities, the incidence of new technologies and media, the diversification of learning methods, and population movements are generating a necessity to rethink renovating educational processes and social oriented responses that address this diversity and encourage coexistence. It should be increasingly obvious to take a global approach, social and educational, to issues affecting “live with” diversity, international and multicultural, socio demands, and confronting disputes constructively.

COURSES ON COEXISTENCE, CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION, AND MEDIATION

The courses taught in Andalusia last 21 hours with 30 students. The contents are divided into four general contents:

Culture of Peace/Peacebuilding: Peace is a situation, an order, a state of affairs, characterized by a high degree of fairness and minimal expression of violence, which can come in three forms:

- Direct violence: direct violence is against the human body;
- Structural Violence: Unequal social organization; or
- Cultural Violence: Myths and generating and legitimating beliefs about those forms of violence above.

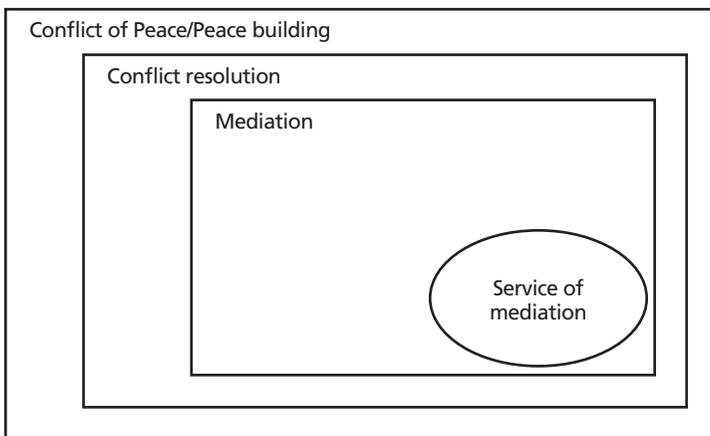


Figure 10.2 Project of conviviality.

Resolution/Conflict transformation: Conflict is an expressed struggle between at least two interdependent individuals or groups who perceive incompatible goals, scarce rewards, and interference from each other in achieving their goals. As Martin Luther King said, “Peace is not the absence of conflict, but the practice of justice.”

Culture of Mediation: Mediation is a method of resolving disputes and conflicts. It is a voluntary process that provides an opportunity for two people in conflict to meet with a neutral third party (mediator) to discuss their problem and try to reach an agreement.

APPRECIATE THE VALUE OF COOPERATION ON SHARED TASKS

Methodology

The methodology requires participation of the participants from the first moment. Transmission of knowledge comes from dynamic, cooperative games and simulation. Theoretical explanations develop as the lessons are processed. The course provides a theoretical treatise on coexistence and transformation of conflicts. We hope that participants will apply their knowledge to real world situations and transformation processes.

It’s what the Education Seminar for Peace Education calls socio-affective. The methodology is practical and has two functions: to provide an opportunity for the participants to experience alternatives to violence, and

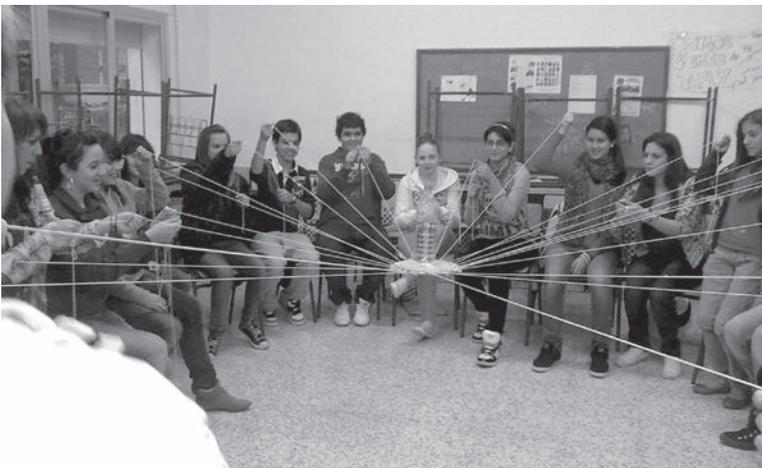


Figure 10.3 Students doing cooperative exercise.

to practice and develop skills for living and transforming conflicts. There are opportunities to build confidence in the working group on self-esteem. There are opportunities to implement an analysis of different aspects of conflict. The exercises on active listening and mediation demonstrate new techniques to improve communication and help in transforming interpersonal problems.

The key of the course is having participants experience knowledge from their daily reality. The best teaching is not telling them what to learn, but to invite them to create the atmosphere, content, and process of learning about social conflict. The courses provide a laboratory of experiences through which people learn. Generally it is thought that the best way to learn is to “listen” to the expert. Of course, people of great experience and study have much to share, but the real learning is not achieved simply “listening, pointing, and memorizing,” but it is also achieved when one endorses it in practice.

The basic principles of a transformative pedagogy must be aimed at eliminating violence factors of education and the traditional educational environment, and promote the following:

- a) *The use of dialogue.* The use of dialogue is rooted in the idea that participants also have something to say, both contributing ideas on the subject under discussion, and in relation to issues concerning their own behavior. It is important that they receive this idea.
- b) *Cooperative learning.* The goal of cooperative learning is that participants get their teammates involved so that they don't fail, but on the contrary, advance their understanding through the group.
- c) *Troubleshooting.* Participants learn to think critically. This basic concept is developed through a series of steps: creating the climate, defining and discussing the problem, exploring alternative solutions, and so on.
- d) *Affirmation.* Acquire people skills to develop socially acceptable behavior without the presence of external monitors; self-esteem and assertiveness are additional benefits result from learning communication skills and problem solving. They state how a human being sets goals.
- e) *Establish rules and boundaries within a framework of participatory democracy.* Attitudes and administrative structures must allow participants to put into practice their rights and to review the decisions that concern them.
- f) *Encourage openness to others,* not just to communicate in their language, but to understand their views.

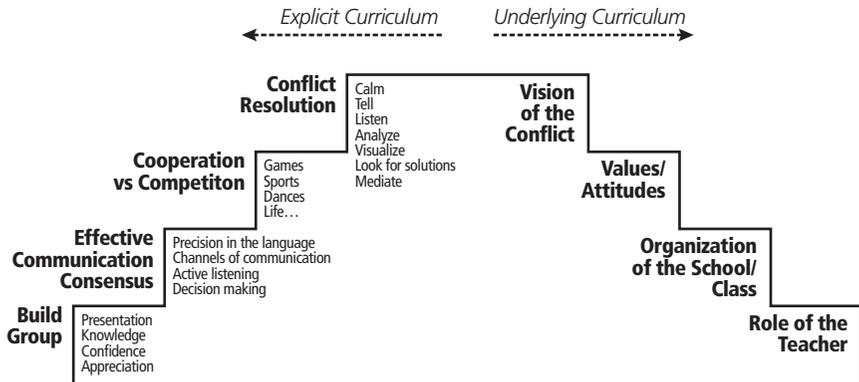


Figure 10.4 Scheme of the process of work of the group/class.

VISION

What is the situation today? Or rather: where do we go from here? This question is full of uncertainties. The economic crisis in Spain with other countries and the approach of the Conservative government, which came to power after winning elections on November 21, 2011, puts the progress in peace education in Spain in a difficult situation. The reasons, as usual, are manifold. On the one hand the policy of economic cuts is causing a drastic drop in sub-projects by the government. Keep in mind that the base is public schools in Spain. Thus, cuts in infrastructure, reducing the number of teachers and the consequent increase in working hours, and an increased number of students per classroom cause peace education to pass into the background. Education becomes the acquisition of knowledge and leaves aside the training of human beings for daily activities. Economic functionalism places a premium on being independent, critical, and obedient.

Furthermore, there is an unprecedented ideological attack. The only Spanish precedent comes from the time of Franco and his national-Catholic vision. The most conservative sectors related to the most fundamentalist of the Catholic Church are those who hold the strings for the ideological state—control of the media, the legislature, public television, and, as is easy to understand, education.

Educational institutions announce counter-reforms of the curriculum that eliminate the gender perspective, conflict resolution, and education for equality, shifting the vision of peace from a culture of peace to negative peace (absence of conflict). These reforms limit human rights that serve only personal life, marginalizing social human rights, second and third generation. These are bad times for ethics. Vulgar pragmatism, language, and formal acts pervade almost everything. Democratic rights are replaced by



Figure 10.5

the decisions of the market. Monetarist greed and financial empire are imposed on human rights and the duty of justice.

By its nature, the neoliberal proposal is an attack on all the conquests of state welfare. The most visible features are the increase in unemployment and the maintenance of a high volume of unemployment, high growth of precarious employment, cutting spending, and social stagnation. At the school level, classroom learning is manifested in the banking concept, as Paulo Freire stated, where the teachers are supposed to fill the heads of their pupils with useless facts. Learning becomes more of a commodity in the marketplace rather than a right. This causes a substantial increase in social inequality, segmentation, and social duality, the increase of large pockets of poverty and new dynamics of marginalization and social exclusion. When people accept their powerlessness, they are no longer autonomous and thus lose their ability to be self-directed. Others lead society. Because schools live the present reality, educating for life should be a redundancy, and yet it has been one of the strongest driving ideas of educational thought conveyed by the New School, Paulo Freire, Celestin Freinet, and others. They have indicated “No separate school of life.” This commits us as educators and as people of all levels to work for change and peace.

Always keep Ithaca on your mind.
To arrive there is your ultimate goal.
But do not hurry the voyage at all.
It is better to let it last for many years;
and to anchor at the island when you are old,
rich with all you have gained on the way,
not expecting that Ithaca will offer you riches.

Ithaca has given you the beautiful voyage.
Without her you would have never set out on the road.
She has nothing more to give you.

And if you find her poor, Ithaca has not deceived you.
Wise as you have become, with so much experience,
you must already have understood what these Ithacas mean.

—*Ithaca* by Konstantínos Kavafis

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CHAPTER 11

PEACE EDUCATION FROM THE GRASSROOTS IN NORTHEAST INDIA

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INTRODUCTION

In Northeast India (NEI), vigorous and concerted efforts to promote peace education began with a series of workshops in the state of Arunachal Pradesh in the year 2000, and two members of League in Friendship Endeavour (LIFE), Tony Pertin and the author, participated in the International Institute for Peace Education (IIPE) 2000 in Pune, supported and funded by the Government of Arunachal Pradesh. The idea of peace education began to grow with the Hague Appeal for Peace (HAP). In 1998 students in Delhi University led by this author formed a team Hague Appeal for Peace—Delhi University (HAP DU) and started promoting the ideals of peace education in preparation for the May 1999 meet in Holland. After returning from the Hague Appeal for Peace international gathering in Holland, in May of 1999, some members began reaching out to different parts of the country. This author continued to develop the peace education program in his home state of Manipur and eventually reached out to the

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Figure 11.1 Peace Education program in Arunachal Pradesh, India. Tony Pertin receiving the first day envelop from the Director of Postal Department.

other Northeastern states of India. Since then, the team started to lobby and campaign with the Human Resource Development (HRD), Government of India, to make peace education a part and parcel of the education system in India. In 2005 the National Curriculum Framework (NCF) gave importance to peace education for schools in India through the National Council for Education Research and Training (NCERT).

BACKGROUND OF CONFLICT IN NEI

The states of Northeast India consist of a population of about 40 million. This area is very diverse in terms of geographical and bio-diversity and consequently fraught with various conflict situations over issues such as caste, ethnicity, influx of migrants, and rising insurgency. The region spreads over an area of 262,179 square kilometers and consists of eight states: Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura, and Sikkim. It is stretched between 89.46 degrees to 97.30 degrees east longitude and 21.57 degrees to 29.30 degrees north latitude. This region has a 4,500-kilometer-long international border with five foreign countries, namely Bangladesh, Bhutan, Myanmar (Burma), China, and Nepal. It is linked with mainland India by a narrow corridor lying in the northern part of West Bengal—a tenuous 22 kilometer land corridor through Siliguri in the eastern state of West Bengal—referred to as the “Chicken’s Neck.”

In India, ethnic and religious differences are likely to be heightened by negative stereotypes, distrust, and intolerance of the other. Social and

economic injustice creates conditions of inhuman exploitation and oppression. Scarcity of natural resources such as land, water, and forests leads to fierce competition over access to and the use and control of these resources. Unfulfilled aspirations for self-determination have the danger of culminating in bitter struggles for sovereignty. Such factors tend to be overlooked until they lead to violence. This is frequently witnessed in the case of caste killings in, for instance, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Haryana; communal riots provoked by local, regional, or national events; ethnic clashes in several Northeastern states; attacks on migrant communities in cities and in villages; resistance to displacement by development projects at several locations; and militancy in Jammu and Kashmir as well as in large tracts of Central, Eastern, and Northeastern India. The tendency is perhaps best illustrated by the Naga conflict, one of the world's least known, longest running, and bloodiest armed struggles, which began in the 1950s and which has since then taken thousands of lives. Clearly, it is the responsibility of the state to guarantee peace and justice to its citizens. However, state structures and government systems are often part of the problem. A delayed, short-sighted, or heavy-handed response inevitably hardens positions on all sides and puts civil liberties at serious risk. In this context, the education system and civil society share the responsibility of preventing the emergence and perpetuation of conflict and of helping the affected people to deal with issues of identity, survival, and quality of life (National Foundation for India [NFI], 2006).

This northeast region remains a challenge to policy planners and education policy to bring communities from the culture of violence to a culture of peace. The NEI is considered the biggest insurgency hotspot in South Asia. The 2.63 lakh square kilometer area has about thirty armed insurgent groups seeking recognition of their distinct identities and rights. Four of the region's eight states (Assam, Manipur, Nagaland, and Tripura) have witnessed conflicts categorized as low intensity wars (where fatalities are more than 100 but less than 1,000). Between 1992 and 2002, there have been more than 12,000 fatalities related to insurgency and ethnic strife in Northeast India (NFI, 2006).

While the center of India is focusing on left-wing extremism, the Northeast continues to simmer with violence, especially in Manipur, which continues to be the one of the most disturbed states. According to a Home Ministry report, Manipur continues to be affected by insurgent activities of a large number of militant outfits divided on ethnic lines; 584 incidents resulting in killing of 39 security personnel and 130 civilians were recorded in 2006–2007. Sustained action by the security forces resulted in killing or arrest of 368 militants the same time period. In 2007, records show 223 militants either killed or arrested by security forces in Manipur. Assam witnessed a slight decrease of violent incidents—152 through March 31, 2008 (Morung Express, 2008). Patricia Mukhim (2008), who is from the

Northeast, categorically stated in her writing that conflicts in the Northeast are not merely linked to political histories as they are perceived, but new and virulent forms of conflict are occurring in areas that suffer developmental backlogs such as hunger, poverty, poor health, and lack of access to education. She further stated that if India continues with the kind of skewed growth process where the fruits of development are not shared equitably, we can expect to have many more discords triggered by the unjust sharing or non-sharing of resources by the state with those who are actual owners of those resources. Integral to any peace initiative is the demand for good, transparent governance, because people's uneasiness about corruption is a strong reason for turmoil. Pertinent to the peace process is the larger involvement of alliances. On this connection she remarked:

Civil society initiatives for peace must, therefore, address the issues of participatory governance, accountability and equitable distribution of resources. Hence the group must comprise a mix of thinkers, intellectuals, strategists, activists, implementers and above all, someone who can best represent the views of the groups coherently and without compromise on some of the laid down principles. The group has to function with utmost transparency. Its members must be seen to have gained nothing from their peace initiatives from either party. This makes peace-building a complex task but not an impossible one. (Mukhim, 2008, p. 1)

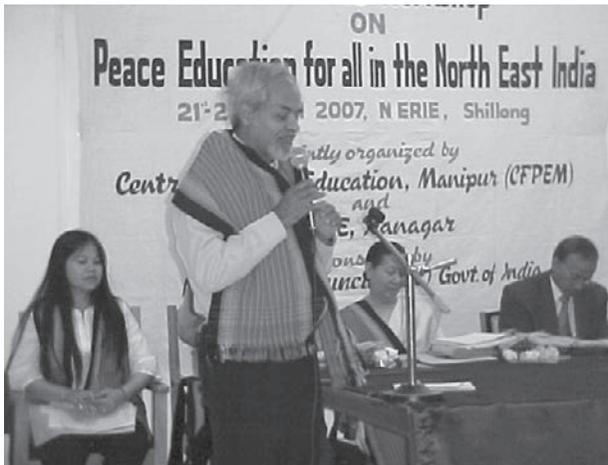


Figure 11.2 Rev. Valson Thampu, the Chairman of the Focus Group of the Peace Education, National Curriculum Framework (NCF2005), was the guest of honor at the Peace Education for All in North East India, April 21, 2007 at Shillong, Meghalaya, India.

HIGHLIGHTS OF SOME CRUCIAL ISSUES CONFRONTING THE COUNTRY

India is the world's largest democracy and home to more than one billion people. The national goals are derived from a magnificent history, strong interaction with western societies, and great heroes like, Aurobindo, Tagore, Gandhi, and others. The country is presently plagued by inter-state or intra-state and community violence. In India one will see two categories of people that form the society. On one side are the rich, and on the other side one hears of farmers committing suicide due to debt and poverty. The poor are becoming poorer, the most illiterate, the most malnourished people die of hunger, including mostly women and children. Tribals, Dalits, and ethnic minorities are the most deprived in the country. Caste and ethnic discrimination promotes conflict and violence in the Indian peninsula. Most government actions are now directed from the top of national and state bureaucracies, and most individuals and communities have little voice. Many government programs are not effective because more often than not the poor and illiterate have no power to deal with their public servants. There is a problem of funding services at optimum levels. The mixture of limited services and the undue authority of officials create an imbalance of power, with corruption and bribery becoming the norms in dealing with official agencies. The educational system, based on an old British model, combined with large numbers of students from deprived communities with major competitions for jobs and government stipends, stifles individual creativity and contributions. There is a long, prevalent history of bribes, payoffs, and kickbacks at every level of government and public administration. These are so prevalent that businesses and individuals often build them into their budgets. The people involved in the private business sectors, individuals, and many in the government feel they have the right to get as much as they can since they have been exploited. Unless a new attitude emerges, people will continue to distrust their government and continue to be exploited. A new thinking, a new attitude, a new morality must emerge in the hearts of individuals in order for them to become honest and fully participating citizens. These attitudes can be taught and applied to life. This larger system needs major modification that will bring about change in the mindsets, behavior, and attitudes of the people.

Dilip Simeon (2002) commented that:

Communal and caste violence has become the preferred mode of governance of the Indian ruling classes, the mode by which they have negotiated their discomforts with democracy. The periodic outbreaks of mass murder that we call "riots" can no longer be explained away as unfortunate tangents in an otherwise steady course of India's development. They are the very face of Indian modernity. Unless we abolish the enemy system, we will transfer its

burden to our children. And that will be a crime which will not wash easily.
(*The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, December 6, 2002)

It is in this context of growing violence that the need for peace education is growing. According to Betty Reardon (1988), peace education deals with the conceptual core of violence: its control, reduction, and elimination. Presently some forms of overt violence prevailing in the country are:

- The Naxalite and Maoist movement is presently growing, and about 165 of the 602 districts in 22 states are affected.
- In Northeast India, there are various armed ethnic outfits aspiring for their own nationalism. Many tribes have their own armed outfits. Militarization is also growing in the region, young people are being recruited in the government armies, and at the same time there is also recruitment among the ethnic armed groups.
- There is a growing militarization of the government army in almost all the tribal belts in India.
- Unemployment among youths is growing in most of the conflict areas and within the country.
- Caste and communal politics are increasing the polarization of the Indian communities.
- Gender discrimination, violence against ethnic minorities, Tribals and Dalits are increasing in institutions and major cities.
- There is increase in HIV/AIDS among young people, especially in the conflict areas.
- Religious fundamentalism is increasing. Education is being defined from the perspectives of the major communities and not necessarily on scientific lines in some aspects. Minor ethnic groups are forced to assimilate and learn the major languages.

SITUATION IN SCHOOLS AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE COUNTRY

The Indian school system is the most complex and multi-layered in the world, marked by diversities, inequalities, and inadequacies. For education for peace to have a realistic chance to deliver within this system, it is important that the likely pitfalls and potholes along the route of implementation be remedially engaged. From a pragmatic standpoint, the preference for the integrative approach is dictated by anxieties about curriculum load. But surely this cannot be a greater priority than enabling education to engage its goals, nor should it be assumed that peace is a “burden,” or at least the only burden, from which students are to be protected. In point of fact, peace is a blessing

rather than a burden. The focus group of the National Curriculum Framework issued “Education for Peace,” in 2006 to make an impassioned plea that education for peace should not be strategized and implemented from an outlook of anxiety about “curriculum burden,” lest this pioneering initiative be foredoomed. Peace, if it is to work at all, has to be prioritized. Nothing less will do (National Curriculum Framework, 2006).

PEACE EDUCATION AND A REVIEW OF SELECTED LITERATURE

The position paper “Education for Peace” provides a brief background on initiatives at national and international levels, highlighting that already we are at a halfway point through the decade for the promotion of a culture of peace approved by the UN General Assembly in 1999. The Tirana Call (Peace and Disarmament Education, 2005), stated that

Peace Education is a participatory holistic process that includes teaching for and about democracy and human rights, non-violence, social and economic justice, gender equality, environmental sustainability, disarmament, traditional peace practices and human security.

Earlier Cora Weiss in her speech in New York City (2000) had also stated that

The story of a unique partnership between civil society and the United Nations, dedicated to sustaining the removal and destruction of small arms and light weapons in four countries and to changing the mindsets of young people so they may learn to seek alternatives and non violent means of resolving disputes. (n.p.)

This story of teacher training and the inclusion of peace and disarmament education into curricula and community represents the result of two and a half years of intensive guided, monitored, evaluated, and measured activity that can now be introduced into and adapted by other communities and cultures. Changing mindsets to reduce violence and sustain the removal of small arms is what the project intended in four countries: Albania, Niger, Peru and Cambodia (UNDDA, 2004). This model is most relevant for the NEI. Harris (1999) and a perusal of publications such as the *Journal of Peace Research*, the *Journal of Peace Education*, *Peace and Change*, the International Peace Research newsletter, and the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* reveal just how many countries now have academic units concerned with peace research and peace education. Similarly, the relevance and development of peace education theory and peace education projects has

been thoroughly reviewed: to cite some recent works—Hague Appeal for Peace (1999); Reardon and Cabezudo (2002); Salomon and Nevo (2002); Harris (2004); Jenkins, Reardon, Gerson, & Brenes (2004); Gerson (2005); and Jenkins, Groetzinger, Hunter, Kwon, & Reardon (2007). Globally, one important step taken by the HAP was the joint project of United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs (UNDDA, 2005) and the publication of the Hague Appeal for Peace lesson plan from all over the world (2006). In effect, peace education mobilizes pupils and teachers to take part in a campaign for change. They are to carry the banner for an alternative vision in society to counteract the beliefs, attitude, and actions that contradict the objective of peace education (Reardon, 1988). The literature on peace education is vast. Important volumes include *Peace Education* by Devi Prasad (1984), Ian Harris (1988), and David Hicks (1988). Cora Weiss (2000), in a speech at the Hague Appeal for Peace, proposed “that Peace Education, or Reconciliation, be the 4th R for the new century.” Tony Jenkins (2007), presently vice president of the National Peace Academy (NPA) and leading the Global Coordinating Council, Community based Institute on Peace Education (GCC-CIPE), is of the opinion that education can and should play a significant role in helping society respond to these events by fostering imagination through critical inquiry. Educators, however, often feel unprepared and helpless in addressing controversial, sensitive, and complex issues. Professor Tricia Jones (2006) introduced a new model of integrating human rights education (HRE) and conflict resolution education (CRE) that could be a suitable model for many of the developing countries. Jones (2006) stated,

Peace education embraces a wide range of program and initiatives. Two of those subfields, human rights education and conflict resolution education, are often considered too different in goals, models and content to be seen as partners in the same educational effort. (p. 187)

Methodologically, peace education must use an elicitive approach, so well described by Lederach (1995, 1997), which draws from local expertise and knowledge while offering broader international knowledge and experiences to be integrated as appropriate. The Hague Agenda for Peace and Justice for the 21st Century a UN Document: Ref A/54/98 (1999), Cabezudo & Reardon (2002) is a significant example of such work. One of the first principles of this document is the necessity of instituting systematic education for peace. The GCPE aims to support the United Nations Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-violence for the Children of the World and introduce peace and human rights education into all educational institutions. People Building Peace has come up with two books, one which was released in the year 1999, titled *People Building Peace—35 Inspiring Stories from around*

the World (State of the World Forum, 1999), a publication of the European Centre for Conflict Prevention, in cooperation with International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR) and the co-existence Initiative of State of the World Forum. The Second one is *People Building Peace II—Successful Stories of Civil Society* (Van Tongeren, Brenk, Hellem, & Verhoeven, 2005). These are very interesting stories, narratives, and case studies on peacebuilding, conflict resolution, and prevention of armed conflict. The website at the Cuhugoya Community College, Cleveland, Ohio (Tri-C), www.creducation.org, which is maintained by the Global Issues Resource Centre (GIRC) under leadership of Jennifer Batton, provides worldwide information and data on the various projects, teaching and learning aids, research, and documentation on conflict resolution and peace education. The conference, convened at the Tri-C in March, 2008, emphasized that the root causes of conflict and the methods to prevent and intervene in conflict situations are interdisciplinary. So too is the need to address them collaboratively in both global and local communities.

CITED LITERATURES FROM THE NORTHEAST INDIA

Some literary works done in the NEI are *Peace Education*, by Leiren Singh (2003); *A Quest for Peace in the Northeast*, compiled by Fr. Dr. L. Jeyaseelan (2003); *Peace Process in Manipur: Armed Conflict, State Repression and Women*, by Lokendro Arambam (2005); *Assam: Portent of Violence and Hope for Peace*, by Nani Gopal Mahanta (2005); and *The Search for Peace in North East*, by Charles Chasie (2005). These last three books are published by Omeo Kumar Das Institute of Social change and development (OKDISCD), Guwahati. Another publication is *Pre-emptive Peace Education: Is Peace Education Necessary in the Present Context?*, which was a collection of writings from a conference organized by the OKDISCD (OKD Institute for Social Change, 2008). *Importance of Peace Education in Universities*, by the author (Serto, 2007), is a paper presented at a workshop at the Martin Luther Christian University (MLCU), organized by Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR), Shillong. *Teaching for Peace and Peace Curriculum in Manipur*, also by the author (Serto, 2011) is a research finding on the need for peace education in Manipur published by the North Eastern Social Research Centre (NESRC).

Fr Jeyaseelan (2004) is of the opinion that a long drawn out conflict contributes negatively to the growth of the state on many fronts. The absence of peace has weakened relationships and societal ties between ethnic communities, all in the name of manmade differences. Pupils should be made to realize that conflict and confrontation have not taken any community, society, or nation to progress and development. Conflict played out in the

open field without any rule and regulation is self-destructive. The curriculum has to enable our youth to produce the positive energy of peace, which can be re-introduced through peace education—adopting alternative ways of solving conflicts; learning skills such as dialogue, mediation, and negotiations; and sitting across the table to become partners in dialogue and move on the path of reconciliation.

EDUCATION AND ISSUE OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION

The education system is seeking ways and means to integrate the country through promoting the culture of peace, stating that the life of a nation is, at all times, in a state of continual evolution. Cultural agents are key players in this process. They share or disfigure the India of our dreams. Of late, the conflict of cultural paradigms has assumed special intensity. A triangular pattern may be noticed in the ongoing confrontation of cultures: cultural homogeneity, cultural plurality, and cultural subalternism. The people of India in their Constitution have expressed themselves, in the language of democracy, against homogenization as altogether alien to the spirit of India. Religious linguistic and cultural pluralities are innate in India's history and heritage. The subaltern segments of our society have for long been invisible in the country's cultural profile. A significant and futuristic development in recent times is the Dalit's awakening. The need to negotiate this new ferment has to be factored into pedagogy for peace in the Indian context. In the light of the above, education must promote an awareness and celebration of cultural variety, diversity, and plurality. It must reflect the reality of an emerging subaltern ferment in the national context, promote a positive attitude towards it, and allocate it due curricular space.

With these goals, integration has become the ideal pedagogy for peace education in India, especially since peace is an integrative and all-embracing concept. But this ideal approach is to be implemented in a system that is far from ideal. The ground realities concerning every constituent of education—from textbook writing to classroom transaction, from teacher motivation to the school setting—leaves much to be desired. Education for peace also reckons with the reality of the alarming increase in violence in school life. The National Curricular Framework examines, in some detail, the two major goals of education: education for personality formation and education to foster responsible citizenship. Citizenship, not religion, is what all Indians share in common. The major frontiers of education for peace are:

- Bringing about peace-orientation in individuals through education;
- Nurturing in students the social skills and outlook needed to live together in harmony;

- Reinforcing social justice, as envisaged in the Constitution;
- The need and duty to propagate a secular culture;
- Education as a catalyst for activating a democratic culture;
- The scope for promoting national integration through education; and
- Education for peace as a lifestyle movement.

An effective implementation of education needs to be engaged that requires teacher education, textbook writing, school setting, evaluation, media literacy, parent-teacher partnership, and the need to address the practical implications of integration as the preferred strategy for implementing education for peace. The position paper on Education for Peace (National Curriculum Framework, 2006) attempts to outline the curriculum contents of education for peace. This is not envisaged as a separate subject that would further augment curriculum load, but a perspective from which all subjects are to be taught. Curriculum contents would be identified with reference to the goals of education for peace. The paper's suggestions with respect to curriculum contents are as follows:

1. The primary school years could focus on laying the value foundations for personality formation and the development of the social skills necessary to live together in harmony. A gradual shift to a perspective on peace would enable students to understand the value-foundation of peace. The idea is to promote skills for the peaceful resolution of conflicts.
2. In the upper primary years, students could be enabled to view the culture of peace from the perspective of Indian history, philosophy, and culture.
3. Thereafter, education for peace could focus more on citizenship education. A brief introduction to the basic features and ethos of the Constitution is what is envisaged here. The emphasis may shift thereafter to "peace as lifestyle movements." Students can be made aware of the need for lifestyles conducive to the integrity of creation and stability of society. The various challenges to national unity can be emphasized. The idea is for promoting an attitude of respect for diversity and difference and creating awareness about the various hindrances to unity.
4. At the plus two level, the foci of education for peace could be: (a) understanding the locale, modes, and expression of violence; (b) skill for an objective understanding of issues; and (c) developing a global perspective on peace (National Curriculum Framework, 2006).

The position paper also makes a set of suggestions for making the implementation of education for peace effective and enjoyable. This paper concludes by identifying some of the basic assumptions that shape the approach to education for peace:

- Schools can be nurseries for peace,
- Teachers can be social healers,
- Education for peace can humanize all of education,
- The skills and orientation of peace promotes life-long excellence, and
- Justice is integral to peace (National Curriculum Framework, 2006).

There is a plea made to turn education for peace into a people's movement. A few notes of caution are also given. The enterprise of education must be cleansed of social and gender injustice; for what is tainted with injustice cannot be a vehicle of peace. Letting the minds of children—the citizens of tomorrow—be warped by violence is a serious problem, and it needs to be acknowledged and addressed with the seriousness and urgency it merits. Peace must be pursued with single-minded vigor and an undeviating sense of purpose. Education for peace as a pioneering movement must be implemented with vision and determination. A casual or half-hearted attempt could trivialize it and aggravate cynicism about its efficacy (NCF, 2005).

PEACE EDUCATION ACTIVITIES IN NORTHEAST INDIA

Volunteers at the Centre for Peace Education Manipur (CFPEM) advocate for promoting peace education in Manipur and beyond. The long term objective is to set up a viable center for peace education in Manipur. Presently Professor Ksh Bimola Devi is the chairperson; Professor Leiren Singh is the general secretary; the author is the honorary coordinator; Ms. Nancy Moirangthem is serving as the program officer and Chungsek Zeite as the computer analyst. In association and communication with the Hague Appeal for Peace (HAP) and the Global Campaign for Peace Education (GCPE) since 2000, the CFPEM has been conducting workshops and activities for the promotion of peace education in the state of Manipur and even reaching out to different states in the Northeast. The author, as a member of the CFPEM, has also participated in some of the international consultations in the field of peace education in places such as the Hague, Kathmandu, New York, Cleveland, the Philippines, Germany, and Japan, and this has enhanced networking and understanding the history of peace education worldwide. The initial association with the Hague Appeal for Peace has been an important contact point that has encouraged and sustained the group. CFPEM's main

goal is to try to make a difference in our own lives and communities in the state of Manipur and the region of NEI. Some of the activities carried out locally included: promoting peace education; training of teachers to teach for peace with the teachers' training institutes in District Institute of Education and Training (DIET); preparing and designing courses for DIET and establishing questions for examinations; commemorating events like August 6th, Hiroshima Day, with the local Japan-Friendship club and the international day of peace on September 21; workshops to promote peace curriculum and skill development; one-month certificate courses in Manipur University on peace and conflict studies; peace education among Muslim women in Manipur; promoting Gandhian ideals with the Diocesan Society Service Society (DSSS) Imphal and the National Council for Rural Institute (NCRI) Hyderabad in Manipur; dialogue for fostering peace in Manipur with the National Foundation for India (NFI); campaigns for human rights education in the year 2008 with Amnesty International India in the NEI; participating in the Education for Peace and Multiculturalism (2008) workshop; and promoting Peace Counts on Tour (PCoT) since 2009.



Figure 11.3 Peace Education for All in North East India held in North East Regional Institute of Education (NERIE) Shillong, April 21–23, 2007, supported by the North East Council (NEC) government of India. Organized by Centre for Peace Education Manipur, CFPEM and RAISE.

The author presented numerous papers in workshops and seminars to highlight promotion of peace education along the Asian highway number 1, peace and sustainability in Northeast India, and peace education strategies for India as a nation. He also delivered a series of lectures during the University Grant Commission (UGC) refreshers courses for teachers during 2011 and 2012.

In the state of Manipur during September, 2000, with the formation of the forum Centre for Peace Education Manipur (CFPEM), a series of awareness workshops, a campaign, and teacher training were conducted. The campaigns highlighted the materials of Global Campaign for Peace Education (GCPE) and advocated for peace education in the institutions and communities affected and afflicted with violence and armed conflicts in NEI. Faith based organizations, like the Baptist and Catholic institutions, were some of the earliest groups attracted to these ideas. An initial pilot project—"orientation of teachers to teach for peace"—was held in the year 2005–2006, reaching out to the government and private institutions supported by the Catholic Relief Services (CRS). A PowerPoint presentation with the title "Peace is" highlighted a speech of Aung San Suu Kyi, which was smuggled out. It was widely presented at the Hague Appeal for Peace and translated and developed for peace education promotion in April, 2007 at a regional workshop and consultation under the caption "Peace Education for All in North East India, in Shillong, funded by the North East Council (NEC)." The government of India was targeted to reach out to the whole of Northeast India. In December, 2007 the same idea and program under a wider caption—"Peace Education for All in India"—was organized in the Gandhi Bhavan, Delhi University in collaboration with NGOs and institutions like Miranda and St. Stephen's College, and a major funding was from the National Foundation for India (NFI). The workshop was modeled along the lines of Community based Institute on Peace Education (CIPE), the first CIPE conference in India, held in 2007. The second CIPE in India was held in Orissa in 2009.

Another group that is actively promoting peace education in NEI is the HAP DU, which has been renamed as the Peace Education Resource Centre (PERC) and is now operating as a trust to disseminate to the young people in India the ideals of peace education. In Meghalaya, Impulse NGO Network (INGON) hosted the first GCPE workshop with UNESCO, HRD in 2001 in Shillong. In Nagaland, The Peace Channel, under the leadership of Fr. Anto Paul, participated in the IIPE 2009 in Hungary, is working and actively promoting peace among the various communities and schools, and conducts regular capacity building. In the state of Arunachal Pradesh, LIFE was actively involved until the year 2007.



Figure 11.4 Traveling with Gandhi—a project to promote Gandhian ideals and Peace Education among students of the Peace Studies Department, Martin Luther Christian University (MLCU), Shillong, Meghalaya India. March 23, 2010, Raighat, New Delhi, India.

INCORPORATING PEACE COUNTS ON TOURS (PCOT) AND TRAVELLING WITH GANDHI PROJECT

The department of peace studies in the Martin Luther Christian University, MLCU, Shillong incorporated peace education as one of its courses. In November, 2010, the department convened a consortium titled “Embracing Peace Education: Empowering the Individual, Institution and Communities” with a special focus on India. Training of Trainers (TOT) by Peace Counts on Tour (PCoT) was held in March, 2009 in New Delhi. After participating in the TOT, the author began to incorporate the ideas of peace education and stories of the PCoT to enhance and broaden the peace education campaign and movement, along with conducting workshops. A series of exhibitions of PCoT, both large and small, has been conducted in the NEI, reaching out to the communities’ youths and public in general. In March, 2010, the author initiated a project in Northeast India—“Travelling with Gandhi”—to teach youth and community leaders the ideals and ethos of Gandhi’s principles and life of non-violence. In December, 2011, a second group made the journey to New Delhi. In March 2012, the department held consultations and assisted the theological institutions in the region, building syllabi for them to encourage teaching the subject of peace. Efforts have

been taken to influence communities, state governments, and private universities in the NEI to incorporate conflict transformation and build a culture of peace in the future for the region. But still much remains to be done.

CONCLUSION

This moment of history is an opportune time for peace researchers and activists, as there are better ways, means of transport, and technology that could definitely be on our side as never before, with so much exchange of ideas and movement of goods and human beings. We must definitely seize this moment. Perhaps this opportunity of building projects for promoting peace education will bring us all together for the peace researchers, activists, and practitioners of the developed and developing countries to share support and collaborate with each other, continue to build a common humanity, and help one another in time of future disaster.

In order to face the challenge of our times, we need to explore all the avenues through which we could combat the growth of intolerance, violence, arm races, environmental exploitation, racism, and so on. Presently in the state of Manipur and the NEI there is a growing fear, skepticism, and



Figure 11.5 “Embracing Peace Education” held at Martin Luther Christian University (MLCU), Shillong organized by the Peace Studies Department and CPPEM. The ethnic students from Burma (Myanmar) presenting a welcome song on inaugural day, November 6, 2010.

ignorance. The present political system has divided people on the basis of caste, religion, and ethnicity, and also the frontal armed groups are organized along ethnic, religious, and territorial lines. Concerned citizens need to act because peacemaking is the continuous task of humanity, a dynamic process, not a static state. It requires a dynamic, continually renewed process of education. The entire NEI also needs to co-exist together to progress in the years ahead. In order to make peace education a reality, a holistic process, equal participation, and contribution from all communities is necessary. People of this region have yet to experience normalcy of existence, as they have to struggle with conflicting issues such as absence of consumer protection; bureaucratic hurdles; ethnic divides; and polarization of society, caste discrimination, gender bias, excessive militarization, aggressive militant outfits, and armed conflicts. Dealing with these complex issues takes away most of their time and energy. In this region, the citizens have to deal with issues of survival. Learning for communal harmony and non-jingoistic ways is important. They have yet to experience human rights and a right to life with dignity. Education must help develop skills of tolerance and communal harmony. Training of teachers to teach for peace is a crucial step for intervention in conflict regions. Prevention of inter-group violence and deadly conflict with emphasis on “super ordinate goals” (Humburg, 1999) must form an important component for the design of conflict study and peace education for the state of Manipur and the NEI. There is an urgent need to introduce peace education into our schools and universities, as this will humanize the present education system and help the young minds to prepare for peace in this 21st century.

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CHAPTER 12

A CASE STUDY OF HOLOCAUST EDUCATION IN GERMANY

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INTRODUCTION

The Israeli national poet Nathan Alterman in the early 1950s wrote about the aftermath of the Holocaust in his newspaper columns. He described the difficulties of even understanding what happened before drawing lessons from it (Stauber, 2007). At that time a debate raged about what to extract from the unimaginable and whether to compare parts of it to other historical contexts. Literature about the Holocaust, whether Israeli, American, or German, does not provide many case studies focusing on how educational materials can be created in an interactive cultural process shared by civic bodies, survivors, and educators. To fill this gap, this chapter will present a case study based on primary sources and empirical research detailing the creation and integration of a Holocaust memorial exhibit presented in schools and in civic archival space in Markkleeberg, Germany.

Peace Education from the Grassroots, pages 233–251
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The case study illustrated the goals of peace education in that information about the victims was collected and presented to the students and civic authorities in a process that enabled their humanization, rendering them more than a statistic (Harris, 2002). The material was then integrated into a German school, the *Rudolf Hildebrand Schule*. The creation of the Holocaust memorial, exhibit, and curriculum provided a formal declaration of knowledge about the suffering that occurred during that period. Collection of the material involved an interactive process among former inmates, educators, and civic authorities. The stories of suffering, death, and survival were collected for the first time regarding the forced labor camp in the town—with an immediate impact on the decades-old community based web of silence. The book *Snowflowers, Hungarian Jewish women in an Airplane Factory, Markkleeberg, Germany*, (Stessel, 2009) detailed historical information about the organizational behavior of the factories and camps and personal oral histories of the women prisoners. The oral histories included accounts of how the women were treated, as well as their efforts of spiritual resistance. The book included the few random acts of kindness that inmates recalled, which stood out brightly in the darkness. Songs sung by the women were collected and translated for the first time in the book. Their use as a means of comfort and spiritual agency was explained to the students at the *Rudolf-Hildebrand Schule*, while translations of the book were made and presented by students at ceremonies to memorialize the Holocaust. The goals of peace education were exemplified in the interactive process, which involved resistance to dehumanization and the presentation of alternatives to violence. Understanding what happened during the Holocaust was the first step towards what has been described as a central goal of peace education in terms of broadening empathy and depth of human feeling through communication and participatory pedagogical models (Harris, 2002).

INCORPORATING HOLOCAUST HISTORY INTO CIVIC EDUCATION

Education has been called a process that involves more than the technical business of information processing, or a way of applying learning theories to the classroom. Rather, it involves fitting a culture to the needs of its members and of fitting its members and *their ways of knowing* to the needs of the culture (Bruner, 1996). This case study examined how a German community incorporated knowledge of the Holocaust into *their ways of knowing*. An emphasis placed on fascism as a common enemy of both the Jewish and non-Jewish world, for example, facilitated an understanding of that history through the constant demarcation made between Nazism and other Germans by local historians and educators.

This case study focused on the subtleties and nuances of language as documented in the speeches of the civic authorities and memorial materials, as well as in private letters to the former inmates, for an understanding of how a small German community incorporated knowledge about their past into their ways of knowing. Other means of communication, such as student responses to meetings with survivors when former inmates of the forced labor camp in Markkleeberg were invited by the city to visit and taken to meet with students, were also analyzed. A recurring theme of the questions asked by the students focused on how the Jewish prisoners had first been forced to leave their home countries (such as Hungary) and brought so far away. How they were deported was a point of departure for student comprehension, which then wrapped around issues of language confusion and displacement, homesickness, and general loss of familiarity with one's surroundings.

Students at student/survivor meetings said that this was the first time they had heard of the existence of a forced labor camp in the area. Family members had not talked about it, and even residents of the apartment building still standing, with windows directly facing the site of the camp, had not mentioned anything. This community silence that was broken following the arrival of and publicity surrounding the former inmates reflected the enormous challenges facing the incorporation of knowledge about the Holocaust into their ways of knowing. The media attention that accompanied the school visits, the establishment of a public exhibit, and the book recording the oral histories and personal accounts of former inmates were all part of the effort to break that silence. This process relied on the determination of various survivors, educators, and civic authorities, including the mayor of Markkleeberg, to collect and present that knowledge as the basis of peace education.

FORMER POLITICAL ACTIVIST FINDS REMNANTS OF ANOTHER CONCENTRATION CAMP WHILE PASSING BY ...

The late Irma Clajus was a teacher who moved to the German town of Markkleeberg in the post-war period. While traveling in the area of Wolfswinkel, a section of Markkleeberg, in 1971, she came across the remnants of barbed wire and barracks. Having been imprisoned for political activities at Ravensbrück during World War II, her attention was attracted to these remnants. Clajus recalled thinking about the fate of those imprisoned at the camp, where they were from, and what treatment they had suffered (Stessel, 2009). She particularly recognized the educational potential of the camp, which was in close proximity to the school. Her actions reflected the

perennial search for opportunities to teach about the threats of violence and the promise of peace in peace education (Howlett & Harris, 2010). As an educator and former prisoner, she realized the educational potential of the site and the need for preservation of the memories of what had happened on that site.

The fact that Clajus just happened to find remnants of what she recognized to have been a former concentration camp points to the importance of preserving such sites. In addition to or in place of the survivors, they provide what has been called *story witnesses*. The former camps are scenes of the crimes, international cemeteries, museums, and places of learning, and they provide evidence against denial. Their importance to both scientific research and educational commitment was emphasized in a petition presented at the International Conference of Holocaust Remembrance at the German Bundestag, Berlin, January 27, 2009. A debate has also raged over the decline of some sites, as not so much places of memory and mourning as waste sites of memory in that they are often abandoned and neglected (Domansky, 1997).

Discovering an authentic site was presented as an important part of the rationale of the methodology of proposals for Holocaust education in Germany. Following the motto, *dig where you are*, schools have been encouraged to confront the recent historical past by visiting memorials and sites and aspects of local history. The Hamburg comprehensive school curriculum of 1991, for example, included proposals to visit specific sites such as the Hamburg memorial for victims of Nazi persecution and other places to enable authentic confrontations.

In West Germany in the 1980s and 1990s, a search for materials that were student oriented included an emphasis placed on learning through projects such as interviewing eye-witnesses and trips to memorial sites over textbook lessons. Students submitted independent local historical research about the history of Jewish communities, forgotten concentration and labor camps, and the experiences of neglected victims. Participatory realization and hands on projects such as genuine encounters were considered more important for changes in attitude than standard measures such as testing and reading textbooks. Hands on projects such as reading newspaper accounts of the era and genuine encounters such as survivors' testimony addressed the need to give students intellectual tools while also looking to engage their moral sensibilities (Welker, 1996). Genuine encounters engaged the emotions as well as the intellect, in that they added needed texture and human depth to the relatively impersonal form of narrative that often characterized the professional discipline of history writing (Hartman, 2004).

The collapse of the Eastern bloc and Germany's reunification presented a new setting for the politics of memory (Domansky, 1997). Dr. Stessel found that unlike in West Germany, the subject of the Holocaust had been rarely dealt with in Markkleeberg after it fell under the Russian zone according to

the Yalta agreement. Most people in the area in the post-war period as well had little exposure to living Jews. When former inmates of the camp began visiting the town, taxi drivers had no knowledge of the camp or memorial. Older residents denied the existence of a camp or a memorial.

By contrast, the overwhelming response by the civic authorities in the 90s to former inmates and the quest to document the camp, particularly in the form of public ceremonies and speeches, was seen as part of a desire to publicize the site as an educational objective. East Germany provided a particular challenge for the integration of memorials and public events, as some students had previously been required to attend compulsory events in East Germany that had blunted their impact (Ehmann & Rathenow, 2000). Involving students in “discovering a site” was therefore considered crucial to their development, with interactions with a former inmate part of that process of discovery.

The growing interest of educators and civic authorities in the stories of former inmates such as Dr. Stessel may also reflect what has been described as a growing interest and even embracing by Germans of “things Jewish” (Schorsch, 2003). This curiosity has been traced to the attempt to deal with “Jewish ghosts” in which the idea of the ghost refers to not simply a dead or missing person, but a social figure as in cultural ghosts, with acknowledging the past seen as a necessary part of the process towards becoming a better German.

CREATING A MEMORIAL OF A SLAVE/FORCED LABOR CAMP WHILE LOOKING FOR MATERIAL FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES

When Irma Clajus began her inquiries regarding the nature of the camp remnants she had found, she found it difficult to get information from older residents. Although the area had not changed much, including the high-rise apartment building that overlooked the camp site before and after the war, residents were not helpful, and denials of any camp were common in the town.

However, former camp inmates, such as the late Hava Hartmann Kleinberg, had already begun to think about preservation of their experience. A memoir about the camp entitled *Lelo Shihrur (Not Liberated)* was published in Hebrew (Porat, 1982).

After Hava Hartmann Kleinberg, a resident of Israel, inquired at the German Consulate regarding the presence of a memorial at the site, her request was passed on to the local municipality. By the mid 1990s when Dr. Stessel, another former inmate, received a letter from Irma Clajus, a bronze plaque had been placed close to the site and a rough history of the camp



Figure 12.1 Hava Ginsburg, sister of Zahava Stessel, at a visit to the Rudolf Hildebrand Schule, 2011.

put together. While the area had included a factory and a concentration camp, as it was now private property the memorial had to be placed on the street outside and mounted on a wall.

The first bronze plaque lacked personal details about the inmates, as well as the correct number of prisoners. However it was a major effort in the peace education process. Former inmates were touched by the civic cooperation in establishing some type of memorial. Dr. Stessel recalled that when she received the original letter looking for information from the teacher, it transported her back to the time when as a frightened, cold, and desperately hungry teenager, she watched the curtains and windows of the apartment building overlooking the camp for some sign that normal life still existed. Having become a librarian and historian after the war, she then decided to write the book describing what had happened to that teenager and the other inmates.

USES OF THE JUNKERS FACTORY IN WORLD WAR II

The Junkers Company had been founded by Hugo Junkers. Between 1932 and 1939, his JU 52 was the most widely used transport airplane in the world. Through multiple transactions, the Nazis changed the private enterprise of Junkers into a government-controlled one, and by 1939 some units were designated Nazi *Model Factories*. The Junkers organization was a

typical example of the forced government monopoly of German factories important for the war (Naumann, 1969). In 1944 plants were competing for workers wherever they could be found, and for the use of prisoners, Junkers was given first choice. Prisoners chosen by the Junkers representatives had come from Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen. To be selected for labor, they were paraded nude before special company representatives, some of whom later visited the factory, as recalled in the oral histories.

Previously used for textiles (the spinning factory Stohr) and chocolate products (Rigvet) the factories that had been appropriated by Junkers included a four-story baroque style structure with a life-size elephant statue and the former company's name in big golden letters that could be seen from a distance. The attractiveness of the castle-like building for children visiting there was known before the war. When the first shipment of inmates arrived and saw the advertisements for coffee, tea, and chocolate they believed they "would be in heaven, imagining that they were tasting the chocolate already" only to be in for a rude awakening when they entered, realizing they were still slave laborers producing engine parts for a futuristic pilot-less airplane (Stessel, 2009, pp. 218–219).

The majority of the laborers incarcerated worked twelve hours per shift, day or night, by dangerous machines at times spitting hot oil. Instructions on the operation of the complex machines were given mostly in German. Women were the preferred forced laborers, as their smaller fingers were considered better for the type of parts produced. Dr. Stessel and her sister, aged thirteen and fourteen, and other young Hungarian women worked at these machines dressed in overalls with no other protective gear or clothing allowed and with little food. At times they could hardly reach the machines much less protect their safety while working. Corporal punishment for mistakes made and time wasted, such as for using the bathroom, was severe and often inflicted by SS overseers after the shift ended.

Prior to her contacting Dr. Stessel, Irma Clajus had traced the remnants on the site to a sub-concentration camp through Buchenwald. She also found the records of an ex-Buchenwald prisoner, Bruno Eisert, who had provided information about the forced labor camp in Markkleeberg for the records of Buchenwald. When Clajus came upon the site in 1974, it still had columns of cement and barbed wire, with pillars at the entrance. Clajus imagined what had occurred at the site, suggesting the marking of a place where so many women suffered unspeakably by a memorial tablet. In response the municipality of Markkleeberg had prepared the first bronze plaque memorial, which was placed on a wall put on the outside street.

Inquiring former inmates were invited by the city of Markkleeberg to visit the memorial. Both Hava Hartmann Kleinberg, a former Hungarian Jewish inmate, and Jacqueline Fleury, a former French inmate, accepted the invitation but upon visiting, found many inaccuracies on the small

plaque. Kleinberg knew that there had been more Jewish prisoners incarcerated than 600, while Fluery saw that the women of the French Resistance who had been brought to the camp in February, 1945 as punishment for a relatively short time were not mentioned at all. Following correspondence with the mayor of Markkleeberg, Dr. Bernd Klose, it was decided that a new memorial would be erected, reflecting what was now believed to have been more than 1,300 Hungarian Jewish women and 250 French political resistance fighters incarcerated there.

Dr. Stessel became involved in the process of documenting the stories of the inmates, beginning oral histories and interviews as well as archival research. In this respect, she entered the unusual position of a historian who must combine deep memory and common memory or the personal and the collective (Arad, 1997). By combining eye witness accounts with her own memories, she undertook the challenge of looking for the meaning of a period to reestablish the coherency of one's own past, with the search for history beginning with the self (Friedlander, 1992).

Text of the Second Memorial Plaque (as translated into English):

From August 31, 1944, until April 13, 1945, here at Wolfswinkel was a sub-camp of the concentration camp Buchenwald, in which more than 1,000 Hungarian Jewish women and 250 captured women of the French Resistance were imprisoned. These inmates were obligated to forced labor and began here, under inhuman conditions, their Death March. We honor the memory of these women who are victims of Nazism.

CIVIC EDUCATION AND THE INTERACTIVE PROCESS OF COMMEMORATION

The image of Hungarian women incarcerated so far from their homes touched many of those noticing the memorial plaque. A Hungarian married to a German professor living in Leipzig found it one day and was moved to inquire at City Hall for more information. After viewing some of the material already collected, which included the story of the two young teen orphaned prisoners (Dr. Stessel and her sister) who could barely reach the machines, she wrote an article in Hungarian that used the imagery of the crucifix to describe their plight. When it was printed in a Hungarian Israeli newspaper, the article generated letters from other former inmates. The mayor of Markkleeberg, Dr. Bernd Klose, upon receipt of the letters, wrote each one a personal response enclosing a gift of a scenic calendar of the area.

The process of communication between former inmates and the civic community of Markkleeberg was facilitated by the work of a local historian, Andreas Hohn, a public relations official, Evelin Muller, and a researcher,

Dr. Seidel at the Buchenwald concentration camp. They helped prepare an exhibit of the history of the camp that included the personal history of some of the inmates. The exhibit was displayed at a branch of City Hall, and part of it reached schools such as the *Rudolf-Hildebrand Schule*. The exhibit included as many visual aids as possible, in the form of maps, architectural blueprints and photos and other documents. Information about the teacher, Imre Clajus, who had passed away, was also shown, including an article written by her daughter.

The exhibit included published information about Dr. Stessel and her sister, including material from a book Stessel (1995) had written about her home town in Hungary. The exhibit provided the history of the factories, concentration camps from which inmates were taken, maps showing the route of the Death March, lists of inmates, and pictures of surviving inmates. When Dr. Stessel visited the school during the exhibit, she was able to answer questions about it and her life from students, some taking an English language class. The visits were highlighted by the media and accompanied by the civic authorities in an active process of communication that provided an excellent example of the potential peace education holds in terms of citizenship, humane relationships, and sensitivity (Howlett & Harris, 2010).

In work about teaching the Holocaust in the United States, it has been observed that the use of just one language, particularly English, seems incongruous to the subject matter. The multilingualism of the Holocaust and the role language played in such critical works as those of Primo Levi render the layer after layer of interpretation necessary (Rosen, 2004). The school, *Rudolf Hildebrand*, embarked on a yet to be completed at the time of press school project that included the translation of Dr. Stessel's book from English into German by students.

Dr. Stessel talked to students about the role of language, with comprehension presented as part of the many difficulties of camp life for the Hungarian inmates that the upper level German students, also learning a language, could imagine. They asked questions about how the teen inmates had managed without speaking German. Questions were also asked about their hometowns in Hungary and how it had felt to leave. The students stayed to accompany them after the bell rang. In her talks at the school, Dr. Stessel emphasized the emotional power language had as well to comfort and protect. During one subsequent visit, she was told that a special surprise was waiting, in which a choir group affiliated with the school performed Hungarian songs in her honor.

Language issues were central to some of the stories regarding abuse by the guards in the camp. Dr. Stessel detailed incidents in which overseers who spoke Hungarian nevertheless asked for translators who were then beaten for not translating fast enough. Adding an extra comment was also

a pretext for abuse, or trying to intervene on the workers' behalf, as a lawyer turned inmate translator tried to do at the beginning of an outdoors work shift designed to produce gravel to improve/beautify a road. The weakened inmates were expected to work with heavy shovels and then pull carriages as if they were horses, and they were cruelly beaten with whips and branches during the process. The forced labor of Jews in stone quarries mirrored a constant quest for architectural improvements such as the use of heavy granite in Nazi era buildings. However, the stone pits became killing grounds, and slave laborers rarely lasted more than a few days before dying (Jaskot, 2000).

Outdoor work in the stone quarry in Markkleeberg was a punishment for many camp/factory infractions, major or minor, such as trading food for cigarettes. It could also be the result of random work assignments. Accidents and deaths in the fields and from the machines did not have to be reported. Camps did not have to submit information on the causes of the deaths of any inmates. Jewish labor was not even worth that of slaves, as they were earmarked for destruction rather than considered property to be preserved (Ferencz, 1979).

A focus on spiritual resistance was presented through the collection of songs composed by the inmates, with an emphasis placed on spiritual agency as a crucial element in the development of peace education (Howlett & Harris, 2010). To relieve their misery while working outside in Markkleeberg, some inmates composed songs in their heads. These songs were in Hungarian. They expressed their hopes of survival and could only be secretly voiced in the few minutes of rest away from the overseers. Sharing poems and songs in the Hungarian language was presented as a reason to endure for the inmates who could escape into a former world in their few private moments. Composers of new songs about the camp had an eager audience and even received bits of food in appreciation. Songs such as this one were collected and translated, some for the first time:

Three girls are up on the ditch pondering a bad shovel
 Hey, it is hard to push that bursting wheelbarrow!
 You should pull and push that jam-packed dump-cart,
 Even if you are weary of dragging the yoke!
 Whoever ordered this, God should strike,
 Hey, with iron nails onto his ugly face! (Stessel, 2009, p. 69)

Another poem about a ferocious camp commander was sung to the melody of a Hungarian hit song:

Everyone who works in the Junkers factory
 Knows well what the old man does.
 We fear him, ah so much.

I must admit it truthfully,
Markkleeberg is a factory,
But we hope it is not a factory of death. (Stessel, 2009, p. 140)

The camp inspections, or *Appel*, were so feared that a special song was composed about them as recorded and translated:

In the morning we wake to the whistle,
And our Blockälteste's screaming "alles brics shon machen."
Then comes the Zahlappel, to line up, aber schnell, so hurry up.
You will get nothing but a slam on the back there.
Then comes the hard work and the smacks on the face,
But we don't care, because we know that it will end. (Stessel, 2009, p. 108)

Another song about the feared inspections:

In Markkleeberg every daybreak, we head for the Appel place.
We stand there for hours, our hands and feet chilled to the bone.
Then the Stuben counts us over, God forbid if you are missing.
The crowd thrusts you left and right. You better stand at attention right away.
Whether it rains or the wind blows.
You are a Jew so don't be disheartened.
Everything will pass one day and
All will come to an end.
Every December holds the promise of a new May. (Stessel, 2009, p. 62)

Another song celebrated a birthday:

My Dear Lenke,
What should I wish for you?
Something endearing, something nice,
So you will feel how I love you with all my heart.
I would have liked that you be at home
And not have to eat thin broth, but the most delicious cake.
All is not lost, it's delayed, and camp life will come to its end.
(Then a group of friends added their collective wishes as a chorus).
Now you are going to promise us
That a year from today you will be a happy bride
And even if you will not invite us for your wedding,
You will think of us with love. . . . (Stessel, 2009, p. 91)

These lines were presented at the 2011 performance by the *Rudolf Hildebrand Schule* at which civic authorities were present.

HOW MUCH TO TELL ABOUT CRUELTY IN THE CAMP TO STUDENTS

Former inmates of the camp differed on how much detail they provided even when talking to upper level schools about their experiences at Markkleeberg. One former inmate, interviewed by Dr. Stessel, who talked to students in Canada as well, told them about an incident in which she was badly beaten by a female overseer, or *Aufseherin*, whom the inmates called Lucifer. During the frequent inspections, if a girl was found to have any extra clothing (underwear) or food on her, it was a pretext for punishment with whips and sticks. When Lucifer found a bit of salt on her, she was badly beaten. The initial punishment was compounded by yet another severe beating after she dared raise her head to look back at Lucifer defiantly. A student told this speaker after hearing that story that he would never bully anyone again. The cruel behavior of Lucifer and the way in which the inmate showed spiritual resistance during the beating illustrate the process of violent behavior while stimulating a respect for life, described as goals of peace education (Harris, 2002).

In her talks with students, Dr. Stessel recalled how cold and hungry she was, as well as frightened of punishment. Pointing to specific elements of their discomfort in a matter of fact way, she talked about the horror of the experience through the problem of *shoes*. Working outside and standing



Figure 12.2 Promotion of the school/music programs.

upright through many long inspections meant that shoes were necessary for survival and a source of constant concern. However, many times your own were taken away, and the wooden clogs of the camp fit so badly. For her, there was an ironic aspect to recalling the condition of shoes, as her mother's family in Hungary had traditionally engaged in shoe retailing and design. Her maternal grandfather had always "measured wealth in terms of shoes" and was proud to be the first Jew in the city of Sátoraljaújhely to receive a permit for boot making, eventually opening a shoe store in the center of the city to which were added other forms of merchandise. A beautiful pair of dressy, wine-colored shoes with a small heel worn by her sister during the deportation was taken away in Auschwitz, and large Dutch-style ill fitting and blister forming wooden clogs were given in return. As the girls were forced to march five in a row and could not avoid the puddles and mud in the road on the way to work in Markkleeberg, many shoes were also lost or damaged that way.

In a speech given on April 16, 2008 welcoming Dr. Stessel, covered by the press and attended by school children, Dr. Bernd Klose, the Mayor of Markkleeberg, mentioned the absence of proper shoes as just part of the inhumane conditions under which the inmates worked. In particular, he said that "while your tormentors celebrated Christmas in 1944, you had to stand motionless for hours in *wooden clogs* on frozen snow and ice. It was a cold winter in 1944/45" (speech by the mayor of Markkleeberg, dated April 16, 2008, at a ceremony presenting Dr. Stessel with an honorary citizenship).



Figure 12.3 Hava with students at school.

The text provided an example of the respect with which the civic authorities and former inmates approached each other in an illustration of the possibility that peace education can give voice to the pain of the other.

HONORARY CITIZENSHIP AWARDED TO A FORMER INMATE OF THE CAMP

On April 16, 2008, Dr. Zahava Szasz Stessel was awarded an honorary citizenship to Markkleeberg. In a document signed by the mayor, Dr. Bernd Klose, it was stated that the citizenship was awarded in appreciation of her achievements concerning the elucidation of the history of the labor camp for women in Markkleeberg, a branch of the concentration camp in Buchenwald, in which from August 1944 until April 1945 more than 1,000 Hungarian Jewish and 250 French Resistance combatants had to do forced labor. The document noted that she described the deportation and the martyrdom and that her writing erected a lasting memorial to the camp residents.

In private correspondence with Dr. Stessel, Andreas Hohn, a local historian of Markkleeberg, wrote of his satisfaction with the interactive process that had culminated in this award. He was particularly involved with generating media coverage and reaching schools, noting in one letter how they had to show the “trouble of fascism in the world and especially in Markkleeberg” (letter from Andreas Hohn to Dr. Stessel, dateline, Leipzig, Monday, Feb. 20, 2006, property of Dr. Stessel).

Dr. Bernd Klose, the Mayor of Markkleeberg, retraced the steps to the murder of six million in his speech (April 16, 2008), given in honor of the former inmate and attended by students. He pointed above all “to the lack of civil courage to stand up against an upcoming system of terror.” He traced the way in which National Socialists rose within the democratic system to later make a parody of it. He emphasized that no one has had to take responsibility for those votes. It would have needed so little, at that time, to change the course of history in 1932 and 1933, he mused, just the casting of one’s vote for a democratic party rather than the National Socialists, an extremist, violence-prone party. The emphasis on veering away from violence provided another echo of peace education. This speech had some typical elements of the German response (when going beyond silence) as focused on the lessons to be learned regarding democracy and the rights of the individual (Lozowick & Millen, 1996). This approach is underscored by the assumption that had those elements been more deeply ingrained in pre-Nazi German society, the whole era might have never happened. This approach, however, leaves out previous centuries of deep German

anti-Semitism, during which the Jewish minority in Germany had been an easy prey (Lorenz, 1996).

THE MARK OF CAIN

However, the speech mentioned the importance of the few examples of resistance such as Schindler, juxtaposed against the rest of the population. Dr. Klose asked the audience at some point, how it could be imagined that when 700,000 Jewish neighbors had disappeared in Germany, nobody asked what had happened to them. A non-Jewish German teaching about the Holocaust observed that while she was told that the synagogue in town was burning when she was a little girl, no one told her that the fire was set by government decree, that the fire fighters were told not to put it out, that the police officers were told to arrest the Jewish shop owners instead of those who had destroyed their properties (Kalau, 1996). Grappling with the moral dimension of German silence, Dr. Klose made spiritual connections between the parents and grandparents who did not speak about the monstrosities and the Biblical story of Cain and Abel. Germans, like Cain, were forever marked by the genocide and therefore must live under “permanent control” regarding fascist tendencies, which would be viewed differently in Germany than anywhere else in the world. The story of Cain and Abel has been used elsewhere as a parable for the ways in which violence is understood (Kaplan, 2000).

RANDOM ACTS OF KINDNESS AND SPIRITUAL RESISTANCE

Even small acts of kindness by some of the civilian workers in the factory provided relief from the behavior of the hardened guards in the closed world of the camp. The almost fairy tale aspect of the impact of such acts when told by Dr. Stessel to students provided a way of integrating information about the Holocaust into their ways of knowing.

One such act was the gift of an apple that one inmate received from one of the civilian workers in the factory. An almost fantastical item as fresh fruit was never distributed; the recipient shared the gift with six other girls from her home town, (Stessel, 2009, p. 197). Although it was forbidden to establish contact with the Jewish prisoners, when some did offer a sign of encouragement it was remembered well after the war. A friendship with a male forced laborer from Holland working across a divider in the factory developed with sign language and encouraging smiles. A ring made from a piece of copper was given to the girl, who kept it through the Death March only to have it

stolen after the war with a suitcase of belongings. The girl never knew the boy's name or had a conversation with him (Stessel, 2009, p. 203).

LAGERSCHEWSTERN OR CAMP-SISTERS/LAGER-SISTERS

One letter from the local historian Andreas Hohn commented on the stories about the camp-sisters or friendships that sustained the young women, most of whom had lost their formal families (letter from Andreas Hohn to Dr. Stessel dated Jan. 8th, 2003). The term camp-sister has appeared in the literature as perhaps the finest experience in a concentration camp (Kogon, 1980).

Dr. Stessel recognized the importance of collecting the details of such friendships. Camp-sisters might have been classmates or had some other social affinity, and in some cases the support provided continued into the post-war period. Camp-sisters stood together on *Appel* and took every precaution they could against being separated, including caring for one another when ill.

Such stories affirmed the concept of spiritual resistance during the Holocaust. These friendships and alliances brought a semblance of continuity with a previous life. Many of the oral interviews conducted by Dr. Stessel, as well as the theme of her book's title, *Snow Flowers*, reflected the power of those friendships.

ISSUES OF GENDER IN THE STORY OF WOMEN FACTORY WORKERS—AND OF STRONG WOMEN RETURNING TO TELL THE TALE

The role of camp-sisters is part of the gender analysis of the Holocaust in terms of their support and group focus as juxtaposed against the ways in which men aggressively competed for survival (Horowitz, 2004). Dr. Stessel, however, presented another dimension to such gender analysis by providing details about the actual work women did in the factory, including the value of specific skills that helped them survive. She presented a nuanced description of the female guards and civilian workers that included random acts of kindness, which sometimes took the form of looking away from the weakness of an exhausted inmate. Women were prominent in the process of creating the memorial and exhibit, from the teacher to the former inmates, to some of the support given from the civic authorities.

CONCLUSION

Concerns have been voiced over the way the Holocaust should be taught (Totten, 2000). These include such problems as watered down concepts

and a tendency to provide simplistic understanding. Peace education as well has been critiqued in terms of such issues. This case study illustrated the complex process involved in preparing material about the Holocaust for presentation at a school and city hall property in Markkleeberg, Germany. Through the interaction of teachers, civic authorities, and former inmates, a memorial was erected and the experiences of more than 1,000 women documented. In Germany, Holocaust education has followed the imperative of never forgetting the murdered or the murderers (Heyl, 1996). Yet turning the Holocaust into a purely textbook analysis of the material, with accomplishing learning goals similar to other classes, has been called counterproductive (Ehmann & Rathenow, 2000). Rather, similar to the goals of peace education, there has been a call to reach the students' selves, through moral and spiritual agency (Haynes, 2000). The challenge is to combine all these elements into an experience both *informative* and *transformative*. It is hoped that this chapter has provided that example by presenting the heartfelt efforts of historians, educators, former inmates, and civic authorities to reach each other.

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CHAPTER 13

THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS EDUCATES THE WORLD ABOUT INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW

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INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines how local individuals and grassroots groups, led by an international non-governmental organization (INGO), are involved in developing a global education effort. Specifically, it examines how the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) for the last two decades has been working with local teachers around the world to implement an “Exploring Humanitarian Law” (EHL) curriculum, and in turn, how local teachers have influenced the development of that curriculum. In particular, it examines the ICRC’s efforts in the Balkans, Senegal, the United States, and more briefly in the Islamic world, specifically in Iran. The ICRC is just one of several INGOs¹ that are promoting peace education globally,

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and their work is complementary to the United Nation's effort to generate a global culture of peace.²

In the Balkans, EHL was introduced at the end of that region's extremely violent civil war that resulted in the creation of several new states, just as international war crimes tribunals were beginning. In Senegal, it was implemented in the south of the country, where there is active fighting between the Jola ethnic separatist Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance (MFDC) and government forces, and in the north, which is peaceful but still in a region that is just emerging from several bloody civil wars (i.e., in Liberia and Sierra Leone). In the United States, implementation of this curriculum gained momentum after the events of September 11, 2001 and in the context of two ongoing wars (i.e., with Afghanistan, and the "preemptive" war on Iraq). It is also a context in which the use of torture, extraordinary rendition, drones strikes, and indefinite detention have all been used and publicly debated.

The EHL project builds upon the ICRC's original educational mandate and commitments. Starting with the First Geneva Convention, each convention contains an article stating that it is the responsibility of state parties:

... in time of peace and in time of war, to disseminate the text of the present Convention as widely as possible in their respective countries, and, in particular, to include the study thereof in their programmes of military and, if possible, civil instruction, so that the principles thereof may become known to the entire population ... (Article 47, Geneva Convention, 1949a)

These words are restated exactly in subsequent Geneva Conventions,³ and over the years they have led the ICRC to develop various educational projects to educate adults about the basic rules of war, which are called "international humanitarian law" (IHL), a term that highlights the humanitarian consequences of violent conflict.

In the 1990s, the ICRC became aware that growing numbers of youth are being directly impacted by war and other forms of violence, both as victims and increasingly as perpetrators. In response, it began developing an IHL curriculum for children, and in 1999 the EHL curriculum was launched to assist states in meeting their treaty obligations. The original EHL curriculum consists of five modules that contain a total of 22 "explorations" (i.e., lessons) that introduce primary and secondary school students to the basics of IHL and the complexities of when and how to apply it. This curriculum also introduces students to some of the principles that guide the work of the whole Red Cross (RC) Movement, especially to the principles of impartiality, neutrality, and humanity.

After providing a brief summary of the ICRC and a discussion of the EHL curriculum, this chapter examines in detail how EHL is used and is being developed further by individual grassroots implementation projects

in the regions mentioned above. This is followed by a discussion of whether EHL should be considered peace education. The chapter concludes with an analysis of what lessons can be learned from examining how a common curriculum gets used in different grassroots contexts (“on the ground”), and a discussion of the usefulness and importance of having INGOs and governments involved in peace education.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW AND THE RED CROSS MOVEMENT

The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement (i.e., “the Movement”) is the largest humanitarian network in the world. Its mission today is to “alleviate human suffering, protect life and health, and uphold human dignity especially during armed conflicts and other emergencies” (ICRC, 2012a, p. 1). It is present in 188 countries and is supported by millions of volunteers (ICRC, 2012a). It also seeks to promote “mutual understanding, friendship, cooperation and lasting peace among all peoples” (ICRC, 1986, para. 1) and to prevent suffering by promoting and strengthening humanitarian law and universal humanitarian principles. It is on the basis of this mandate, in addition to the text of the Geneva Conventions, that it conducts public education campaigns.

The International Committee for Relief to the Wounded (renamed the ICRC in 1876) was established in 1863 and is the oldest organ of the Movement. However, the origin of the Movement dates to 1859, when Henry Dunant witnessed the Battle of Solferino. Appalled by the lack of help for 40,000 wounded soldiers left on the battlefield, he organized local civilians to aid them and to bury the dead. After returning to his native Switzerland and writing up his memory of that event in 1883, Dunant convened a meeting with four other Swiss citizens, who set up the organization that is today called the ICRC, and he lobbied his government to convene a conference to create international rules for providing humane treatment to wounded soldiers irrespective of their affiliation. This meeting produced the first Geneva Convention (1864). Held in 1864, the conference was attended by 12 countries, and it produced the first document by the same name. In that treaty, the ICRC was given a unique legal status among international organizations in that it is regarded as the guardian of the Geneva Conventions.^{4,5}

Over the years, often in response to new atrocities and new weapons, the original Geneva Convention was supplemented by three additional conventions and three protocols.⁶ This family of Geneva conventions, along with the 1899 and 1907 Hague Conventions and other treaties concerning armed conflict, make up the framework of IHL. They are supplemented by various United Nations rules and human rights treaties, the establishment

of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in 2002 (to prosecute the most horrific acts of war criminals in various regional human rights courts), and by a growing body of international jurisprudence that has largely codified the customary laws of war and increasingly is merging human rights law with IHL. Together, these actions have created a comprehensive legal framework that now covers almost all aspects of violent conflict (i.e., the use of uniforms, conventional weapons, chemical weapons, landmines, laser weapons, cluster munitions, and rules for the protection of wounded soldiers, prisoners of war, civilians, and children in armed conflict).

The EHL curriculum teaches the basic rules of IHL and has students grapple with the complexity of applying these rules in various conflict and emergency situations. It also teaches the principles that govern the work of the Movement, a complex subject in its own right, for as humanitarian law has developed, so too has the work of the ICRC and the whole Movement.

To guide its expanding work over the decades, the ICRC has developed a nuanced and sophisticated set of principles. This was needed because although humanitarian law specifies the role of the Red Cross, it does not provide instructions on how it should carry out its legal mandate. Already in 1875, Gustave Moynier (a Swiss jurist and ICRC co-founder and president for 46 years) had articulated four working principles.⁷ In 1921 the ICRC incorporated a somewhat different list of fundamental principles into its revised statutes.⁸ Then, in light of what happened during World War II (i.e., new developments in warfare, the Holocaust, and other mass civilian suffering), it was widely felt that not only did the Geneva Convention need updating, but also that the ICRC's principles needed further development. Therefore, in 1946, at a meeting at Oxford University, the original four principles were supplemented by another 13, plus five rules of application. These came to be known as the "Oxford Principles" (ICRC, 1986, p. 1). In 1956 Jean Pictet⁹ wrote *The Red Cross Principles*, which provided a systematic analysis and justification for these principles. In his exposition Pictet shifted the categories a bit and divided them into two groups: fundamental principles (governing how the Movement is structured); and organic principles (how it does its work) (ICRC, 1996, p. 1). This provided the foundation for the 1965 Proclamation of the Red Cross Fundamental Principles, which resulted in a condensed list of seven "Fundamental Principles" that have governed the work of all entities of the Movement ever since (Gorostizaga and Hoegh, 1984, p. 890). These principles are: humanity, impartiality, neutrality, independence, voluntary service, unity and universality (ICRC, 1986, p. 1).¹⁰ In 1986 they were included in the Preamble to the Movement's statutes, with a provision that it was the "responsibility of the National Societies to respect and disseminate knowledge of the principles . . . while the States were called upon to respect" them at all times as well (ICRC, 1986, p. 1). The latter is recognition of the need for the Movement to do educational work.

Today, there is a growing demand to respond to “cries of distress” by preventing suffering *before* it occurs, and this shift in focus has somewhat changed the nature of the ICRC’s work, causing it to pay more attention to education. Believing as it does that “the greatest enemies may not be weapons or disasters but selfishness, indifference and discouragement” (ICRC, 1986, par. 7), the ICRC in the last two decades has recognized that all segments of the population, including youth, must gain a greater understanding of IHL and the complexities of applying it during times of violent conflict.¹¹

STRUCTURE OF THE RED CROSS MOVEMENT

In addition to the ICRC, the Movement includes national Red Cross and Red Crescent societies (NSs), which act as auxiliaries to their own countries’ governments, providing a range of services including disaster relief as well as health and social programs. During wartime, NSs assist the affected civilian population and support the army’s medical services where appropriate. Typically, NSs have at least some paid staff, but much of their work is done by volunteers.

In order for a particular national society to become part of the Movement, it must first be recognized by the ICRC and meet a set of conditions.¹² Once recognized, an NS may become a member of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC), which is the coordinating body for all NSs. Established in 1919 at the end of World War I, the IFRC helps to facilitate, coordinate, and promote all humanitarian activities carried out by its member NSs, and to oversee international assistance to victims of disasters when the disaster is beyond the capacity of the local NS to respond. The IFRC also is the official representative of the NSs at the international level and has its own paid staff, which, like the ICRC, are headquartered in Geneva.¹³

As for the ICRC, its paid professional staff presently numbers about 11,000. They are located either in the organization’s extensive network of missions and delegations, which currently are operating in about 80 countries,¹⁴ or they are at the ICRC’s headquarters in Geneva. It is from Geneva that the ICRC coordinates all its operations, runs funding appeals, and fulfills its various statutory roles as specified in the Geneva Conventions.

The supreme governing body of the ICRC is the Assembly, comprised of 25 Swiss citizens who oversee all activities and define the organization’s objectives and policies. The ICRC’s daily operations are under the supervision of a five-member subsidiary body of the Assembly and the ICRC’s director-general (DG). The DG, in turn, leads a team of five directors, who each oversee one department. For example, the Operations Department

analyzes trends in armed conflict and ensures that the ICRC is capable of responding effectively.

Most relevant for our purposes is the Department for International Law and Cooperation (DILC), which, among other work, is charged with fulfilling the ICRC's role of advocating for the development of and respect for IHL. As such, its work includes education, training, and the promotion of IHL. Thus, it was tasked with running IHL trainings for adults (primarily for lawyers and those serving in the armed forces), developing the EHL curriculum, and training teachers in EHL (ICRC, 2012b).

When EHL started, it was almost exclusively a project of the ICRC without much involvement from any other part of the Movement. Today, however, this is starting to change because the ICRC now believes that in order for this project to be sustainable globally for the long term, it must become a project of the NSs. Therefore, in 2012 the ICRC began working with the IFCR to create a web-based EHL resource that NSs can consult to access EHL curriculum materials and EHL teacher training materials, and exchange new units developed by teachers working in various countries (D. Jordanov, personal communication, August 7, 2012).¹⁵

BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE DEVELOP OF THE EHL CURRICULUM

In the early 1990s a study was published that discussed how the nature of armed conflict had changed to include many children, who were involved not only as victims, but increasingly also as fighters or violence perpetrators. Since then, it is estimated that about 1.5 billion children live in conflict-affected countries (UNICEF, 2007), and hundreds of thousands under the age of 18 are active in both the armed forces and militias controlled by governments and in armed opposition groups. Presently, this is the case in 16 countries (UN, 2011), and many other youth are at risk of becoming involved. People between the ages 10 and 29 also account for 41 percent of all homicides (rough 250,000 a year worldwide), and youth comprise roughly half of all the refugees and internally displaced people (WHO, 2011, quoted in Martins-Maag, 2012, p. 2). In addition, young people on a daily basis witness a tremendous amount of violence through media coverage, video and computer games, and social networks. The ICRC argues this “growing exposure to actual or virtual violence can have a dangerous influence on their behaviour towards their peers, their families and the community at large” (Martins-Maag, 2012, p. 2).

In 1994 a discussion began within the ICRC about how to respond, with the result that in 1995, the ICRC directors unanimously decided to develop a new IHL curriculum aimed at children.¹⁶ The initial thought was simply

to adapt some IHL lessons for use in literature and history classes. Darko Jordanov, who currently is the ICRC's International Education Advisor at ICRC's headquarters, was then one of the people at the grass roots whom the ICRC contacted to begin working on this curriculum in Eastern Europe, where he was a secondary school literature teacher. In 1997 he was given access to everything the ICRC had done before, which consisted mainly of an earlier ICRC educational initiative called "MinEduc" that had been implemented in the seven former Soviet Republics.¹⁷ He experimented with this curriculum but quickly realized it was too tied to its original post-Soviet context (for MinEduc was a series of individualized curricula that had been developed to address the unique issues of each post-Soviet country). Recognizing the problem, the ICRC contracted with the Educational Development Center (EDC) in Boston to develop a completely new curriculum that was less context specific. The curriculum that EDC developed was piloted in 1999, initially in five countries, and then in a total of 16. Created as a stand-alone course, it consists of five modules with a total of 22 lessons (called "explorations") that use very student-centered and engaged pedagogies, including open-ended discussions, role playing, and other simulations (D. Jordanov, personal communication, August 7, 2012).

After learning how EHL was, in fact, being used around the world by local teachers, the ICRC in 2009 published a condensed second version of the curriculum. This was based on the original work done by EDC, specifically on the work of Marilyn Felt;¹⁸ however, it addressed the issues that had been identified as problematic by those using the curriculum in various contexts. The second version of EHL has only nine explorations, but it follows the same sequence of instruction and includes the same core skills and concepts. It was presented in a three-ring binder instead of a bound volume, so teachers had more freedom in how to use the materials, including supplementing EHL with materials developed locally that fit their subject area and/or physical location (D. Jordanov, personal communication, August 7, 2012). In 2012 Jordanov created an even shorter, "Mini-ELH" that consists of only five explorations. This version includes updated information about new developments in international jurisprudence. Unlike the original curriculum, it can easily be used in informal as well as formal educational settings and can be completed in either one half-day session, or five 45-minute lessons. An additional component that is now available is a separate, two-day simulation called "Raid Cross" (Ytre, 2012). It was developed by scouting groups and the Red Cross in Belgium and France; and in 2012, the ICRC introduced it in the Balkans. The American Red Cross has utilized the Raid Cross simulation materials with adults and youth audiences. In short, while this was created initially as a standard curriculum promoted by an INGO, at every step of the way the views of local educators have been essential to its further development and innovation.

Since 2002 some teachers and/or ministries of education in about 90 countries have experimented with some version of EHL, and 15 countries have incorporated it into their formal educational systems,¹⁹ either by offering it as a stand-alone course, as a unit within another course, or as an optional extra-curricular activity. In the next section, a few of the most dynamic and innovative grassroots programs are discussed in more detail.

CASE STUDIES

Although teachers all over the world receive the same materials and have the opportunity to learn the curriculum and pedagogy from an EHL Master Teacher, the length of the training workshops varies, typically lasting from one to two days.²⁰ In addition, the engaged nature of the pedagogy means the curriculum generates very different types of classroom encounters in different settings as each country needs to tailor EHL to the vagaries of their own context. For example, in Peru teachers do not talk about some of the things that happened, because they want to protect their students from the earlier violence that occurred in their country. Serbia did the same thing. Teachers there picked certain lessons and not others, because there was a worry about exposing students to certain concepts (C. Ashton, personal communication, July 30, 2012). Interestingly, however, Serbia did not shy away from other painful material, such as discussing the time when the country was perpetrating violence on others. Typically the initial response from most students—and even many teachers in Serbia—is to say that while atrocities were committed by all parties, only Serbia was assigned blame, and that is why they question the value of IHL (G. Milenkovic, personal communications, August 16, 2012). They also usually claim they didn't know what Milošević was doing. However, after going through the curriculum, their views change; and, as a result, the EHL lessons often produce a profound experience for both teachers and students (C. Ashton, personal communication, July 30, 2012).

It is in such contexts that the Movement's principles take on special significance. For example, according to Gordano Milenkovic, the Communications Officer for the Balkans, who oversees the EHL program in that region:

In countries not affected by real war (e.g., Albania) teachers cover basic principles and rules but without much elaboration, and little controversy arises, because in the absence of personal experience with war the material is less existential for both teacher and students. However in Serbia, Bosnia, and Croatia teaching the Movement's principles is very important and people understand them as being key to understanding the rules and principles upon which IHL is built, for they address the very sensitive questions of who

is responsible and whether to punish those who commit war crimes. It is a big theme and it is very important for post-war populations to understand it. Using case studies and role plays, and inviting local experts in to explain the law in concrete detail helps a lot with this. (personal communication, August 16, 2012)

Another finding is teachers consistently say they would not use EHL if its goals didn't fit with the other goals they have for their classes. According to Paul Frankmann, a junior high school history teacher from Aurora Ohio, "You can't just teach EHL, instead you have to figure out a way to use EHL to teach the mandated curriculum" (personal communication August 3, 2012). That view is echoed by Dana Specht, another junior high social studies teacher in the Chicago area.

The biggest thing in eighth grade social studies classes is to help children develop as global citizens. This means not just having an opinion, but one that is based on facts, and is well developed and sound. The EHL curriculum gives students a framework within which to make decisions, which is just what citizens do. In the U.S. we have the Constitution and your opinions need to fall within that framework to be considered legitimate. Developing citizens is really my job as a teacher. (personal communication, August 6, 2012)

Given this variability in the way EHL is implemented, and the needs that different teachers have, the best way to understand the impact of EHL is to examine specific cases from very different contexts.

The Balkans

One of the regions where the EHL curriculum has been most widely and successfully embraced is in the Balkans. As in the United States, but unlike many other regions, from the very beginning the ICRC involved the local NSs, and this has made an important difference.

Serious EHL work in this region began in Serbia in 2000. When the political regime of Slobodan Milošević came to an end, there was an opportunity to start large-scale prevention programs. So, in 2003, the ICRC organized a worldwide conference on EHL in Budapest. Since the curriculum was a good fit with the changes that were occurring within Serbia's ministry of education and it's NS, the ICRC expanded its communications department staff there and engaged many former teachers in its program. Starting with Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia, followed by Macedonia in 2004, this region was one of the first to implement the EHL curriculum. Albania and Montenegro joined in 2006–2007. And in 2012, the Raid Cross simulations exercise was introduced at summer camps that the NSs run for youth.²¹

One of the appeals of the EHL curriculum in the Balkans is its interactive pedagogy, which was very innovative when EHL started. Both teachers and students appreciated that it was participatory, because they felt listened to and consulted, and the opportunity to openly exchange ideas was new and exciting. In particular, they like the simulation and role playing exercises:

For example when you are confronted with a prisoner and you are asked to say what you would do with that guy if you were his brother, his enemy, a prison guard, etc., you must evaluate the situation from different angles and this is very good to relax attitudes, which is very important because we have so much prejudice against IHL. (G. Milenkovic, personal communication, August 16, 2012)

Today, EHL programs differ in size depending upon the choices of individual ministries of education and the degree to which the country's educational system is centralized. In Albania and Macedonia, where there are very centralized systems of education, the authorities have mandated that 10 EHL lessons must be integrated into their obligatory citizenship education curriculum at the primary school level (G. Milenkovic, personal communication, August 16, 2012). In contrast, Montenegro has a very decentralized system; and there, some schools allow EHL to be an optional, independent subject in which the original curriculum is covered. Elsewhere, the smaller, nine-module version is used within courses that also cover other issues. In Serbia, also, EHL is not required.

Another thing that differs by country is whether teachers must do in-service training after they are hired. In Serbia such training is required, and teachers understand that it builds their professional capacities, and so they do it. To cater to that demand, since about 2003 Serbia's NS, working with the Danish Red Cross, has developed a huge teacher training program for both teachers and local Red Cross volunteers (G. Milenkovic, personal communication, August 16, 2012).

What is common across the region is that EHL trainings are conducted locally, because it is more readily accepted when local people introduce it. In Serbia this approach has resulted in about 30 teacher trainings, at which an estimated 1,000 teachers have been trained. Albania has run about 48 trainings and trained 1,250 teachers. Bosnia also has a very large training program, but the number of teachers trained is not available. Programs in Macedonia and Montenegro are much smaller, with 12 trainings reaching 150 teachers, and about five trainings reaching 100 teachers, respectively (G. Milenkovic, personal communication, August 16, 2012).

What is harder to gauge is the degree to which training translates into widespread implementation. In Albania and Macedonia, the EHL curriculum is mandatory in primary school. That is not the case, however, in Serbia (G. Milenkovic, personal communication, August 16, 2012). But

the robustness of EHL implementation in this region isn't limited to the number of teachers trained. They also have developed a lot of materials and exercises locally to supplement the standard EHL package. This was necessary in order to adapt the program to local needs and cultures. For example, a few years ago the issue of war crimes trials was explosive because of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. Citizens in each Balkan country see these proceedings as being directed against them, and as such, the very concept of IHL is questioned. To deal with this, the ICRC engaged local experts to develop a TV-style debate in which a class is divided into two groups, the defense and the prosecution. Then the participants switch roles, so they come to see the war crimes tribunals from both sides (G. Milenkovic, personal communication, August 16, 2012). They also hired local historians to develop new lessons drawn from the World War I era, a time when Serbia did observe IHL. This was done to counter the common feeling among Serbs that IHL is something that is only used against them. In all, six short films and written stories on this issue were produced. "The point is to find the best way to reach people and get them to accept the program as their own and this approach is what has worked in our context" (G. Milenkovic, personal communication, August 16, 2012). Another innovation was implemented after consultations with teachers in Bosnia and Serbia uncovered that when they teach EHL material, often strong emotions come to the surface, which they felt unprepared to deal with. So, the ICRC's regional communications department engaged a group of psychologists at a local university to create a manual called *Coping with Strong Emotions*.

One interesting observation from the person who has been overseeing the implementation of EHL in this region for the last 10 years was that, unlike a truth and reconciliation process, which can address the past by looking into what happened, the EHL curriculum is aimed at the future: "It looks at the past through the needs of the future, in order to create an atmosphere in which young people hopefully will not do what their fathers did." It is an approach that seems to be working, because young people are now able to be friends with their peers from other ethnic communities (G. Milenkovic, personal communication, August 16, 2012).

Senegal

As in the Balkans, in Senegal they have tailored EHL to their own context. In this case the curriculum is typically used in combination with a civic education curriculum created by Civitas, a California-based organization that since 1995 has been hired by the U.S.'s Agency for International Development (AID) to develop a network of world educational leaders in

60 countries, especially in new democracies. Civitas doesn't have its own content; rather, it teaches a six-step process for changing public policy: identify public policy issues; select one issue; do research on that issue; design a portfolio that proposes a solution; make an oral presentation of that portfolio to the community; and reflect upon the process and the outcome of the work. To prepare teachers to implement the combined EHL-Civitas curriculum, Boubacar Tall, who until recently was employed by the ministry of education to implement both programs, would first give teachers EHL training. Then he would train the teachers in how to conduct the Civitas process, because EHL informs the classroom portion of this process. But then Civitas replaces the EHL role plays with a real-world public policy problem to solve. Thus, while teaching Civitas' six-step process, he would introduce EHL's first module, which focuses on the role of bystanders, to help students understand the concept of a humanitarian act and the responsibility of a citizen (B. Tall, personal communication, August 7, 2012).

To explain the powerful impact of this combined curriculum, Tall gave an example of a village in a peaceful part of the country where there was a problem with garbage. Students made a portfolio on how to solve this problem. The village council accepted it. Then, the following year, the next group of students did the same project because nothing had changed. The head of the village said he had tried to make the change but couldn't, because several villages were linked together in refuse removal, and the chiefs said in order to ameliorate the problem they would have to collect a tax. But they didn't want to do that because then the people would not reelect them.

In this case, the students' presentation did not solve the problem, but it opened up a discussion on a deeper-level problem in that community, and the larger outcome was that the parents and village leaders were very impressed to see their young people present the issue so well.

The parents like this way of educating their children. To see 14-year-old children speaking before their parents, teachers and classmates, and seeing them able to discuss an issue and propose a solution is very unusual and the parents think it is very good. They say, "My child has changed." Unfortunately for the government to change its methods of education isn't as easy! (B. Tall, personal communication, August 7, 2012)

Tall offered another example from the south of Senegal where violent conflict is still occurring, and where the injection of the EHL curriculum into the Civitas process is even more relevant. Because violence is still happening there, students often pick a policy issue that is related to the violence (e.g., the use of mines and how that leads to deaths and the loss of limbs). The EHL training helps teachers know how to discuss war-related issues that come up when implementing the Civitas project; and, in this case, EHL's focus on the principle of humanity and its use of role-switching

exercises to sensitize students to what their injured peers experience. In addition, it educates the youth not to go into the bush or to touch a landmine (B. Tall, personal communication, August 7, 2012).

Because of the very public, presentation-focused model that Civitas uses, Tall estimated that from 2005 to 2011 (when EHL was being promoted), each year roughly 30,000 students were exposed to the curriculum, either by being in a class that used the combined EHL-Civitas curriculum, or by attending an oral portfolio presentation conducted by their peers. In short, in any school where a teacher did the combination of EHL and Civitas, everyone in that community was exposed. Unfortunately, in 2012 EHL was no longer being implemented because the ICRC stopped funding the project. Similarly, Civitas funding (which comes from the U.S. government) is also scheduled to end in December, 2012; and if that happens, all of this work will likely be discontinued (B. Tall, personal communication, August 7, 2012).

What this case demonstrates is that in poor countries financial issues are extremely important, because new content is often implemented only when outside funding is available. Thus, when the ICRC pulled out, even though Senegal's minister of education gave instructions to continue implementing the EHL curriculum, a lack of funding ended the program. To attempt to stop this vicious cycle, Tall is now involved in producing a book to train West African teachers in methods of democracy education. This project of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is sponsored by UNESCO, and the book will be coming out soon. Tall has chosen to work on this since leaving the ministry of education (after the funding for EHL ended), because he is convinced that another way this type of education will become sustainable is if teachers are trained to use it while still at university. For although there is a requirement in Senegal that teachers do in-service training after being hired, because of insufficient funding from the central government, they often are only able to complete such training when it is provided free by an NGO (B. Tall, personal communication, August 7, 2012).

EHL in Islamic Countries

EHL is also being used in Jordan, Iran and Turkey. In Iran, for the past seven years, the ICRC has worked closely with a group of clerics, who began examining the relationship between IHL and Islamic law after the ICRC ran its first EHL training there in 2005. At first, it was a very controversial question as to whether the two were compatible. But in 2012, when Darko Jordanov, the original ICRC trainer, was invited back to lead another EHL meeting for the Non-Aligned Movement countries (while Iran held the presidency of the organization), he found that attitudes had changed.

“Now IHL is considered to be rooted in Islamic teachings” (D. Jordanov, personal communication, August 7, 2012).

That, however, is not the case with human rights law, which is still seen as needing to be adjusted to fit the cultural realities of each country. In Iran this is complicated by the fact that the concept of civil society is still a foreign one that the government is still struggling to understand and figuring out how to work with. In fact, international jurisprudence increasingly is bringing these two bodies of law together when addressing situations of armed conflict. “That was not the case 15 years ago. Then the ICRC never mentioned human rights law but now when we work with police forces we talk about human rights law rather than IHL... so things have definitely changed” (D. Jordanov, personal communication, August 7, 2012).

The United States

Although the EHL curriculum was developed by an American company for the ICRC, the United States, as a national society, only began implementing EHL in 2002 (though it was involved in the piloting of EHL during its development phase in the late 1990s).²² The Greater Chicago Chapter of the Red Cross was one of the first regions to embrace this new approach, and it now runs EHL and IHL education as two of four projects with this new focus.²³ In 2012, this chapter has two people who work on these four international programs, with EHL work comprising roughly 15 percent of the time of one staff person, Carrie Wall. She trains volunteers, sets up educator workshops, and speaks with school administrators and at educational conferences to get people involved with EHL. According to Alicia Guajardo, a senior associate in the national office of the American Red Cross in Washington DC, in 2012, 35 chapters in 18 states have received mini grants to support this work. In addition, other chapters beyond these 35 have also been involved in various implementation efforts.

The Chicago region has one “EHL Master Teacher” (i.e., Dana Specht), who both teaches the curriculum in her own class and does trainings for other teachers in the area. Between 2009 and 2012, in this region there were eight free educator workshops and trainings, which trained about 50 teachers²⁴ (C. Wall, personal communication, August 3, 2012). Offering free workshops to teachers works well in the United States, because in most states, teachers are required to continually update themselves by doing continuing education courses; and in some states, including Illinois, EHL training counts toward these credits.

Another exciting development in the U.S. is that in 2002–2003, the American RC aligned the EHL curriculum to the standards developed by the National Council for the Social Studies; and then in 2011 it completed

a curriculum correlation project that connects EHL resources to state and common core standards for social studies and English language arts. This is available for grades seven through 12. (A. Guajardo, personal communication, October 2012). The next year the national office of the American RC hired a consultant to review all of the state standards and to help them get EHL counted for various state standards as well. This was recently accomplished for Illinois. Such state approval is extremely important in the U.S. today because one of the main challenges teachers face since the introduction of “No Child Left Behind” is “outcomes-based education,” which means the only thing that matters are results on standardized tests. Getting EHL into the standards means it becomes part of the testable curriculum.

In 2012, the national office has also turned its attention to getting their proactive international curriculum into universities—for instance, getting IHL taught in law schools, the EHL curriculum promoted to pre-service teachers in schools of education, and innovative events adapting interactive explorations from EHL combined with speakers and other IHL resources to reach undergraduate students. They are also experimenting with the use of exercises from the Raid Cross simulation at the undergraduate level. One weekend workshop run at the University of Chicago in spring 2012 was attended by about 65 students. On the first day, this program included speakers who do humanitarian work around the world. The second day was devoted to an activity adapted from EHL to address communication issues in a refugee camp situation that was based on current events, as well as a role play military headquarters simulation adapted from one of the Raid Cross “posts” (C. Wall, personal communication, August 3, 2012).

The American RC has also funded the training of EHL Master Teachers, who then run educator trainings in their own regions. Since 2008, it has also run annual summer institutes in Washington DC to provide training to both new and experienced EHL teachers. One of the first people to become a Master Teacher is Paul Frankmann, an eighth grade social studies teacher from Aurora Ohio. Right after the events of September 11, 2001, Paul got involved with his local RC chapter and began using the Red Cross’s “Facing Fear” materials developed in response to the events of September 11 to help his students deal with the attack. Working together with another teacher, Dennis Cadell, he quickly developed a conference simulation exercise related to the Israeli/Palestinian conflict in which students were introduced to IHL. This was when the ICRC was just rolling out the EHL curriculum; so, then Dennis and Paul created a case study using this curriculum in order to engage their students more deeply in critical thinking, which is one of EHL’s objectives. Dennis and Paul then attended an EHL training in Wisconsin and returned home to pilot EHL in a serious way. Gradually, the American RC and the ICRC engaged Paul to run trainings around the world because he had figured out how to make EHL work well

(P. Frankmann, personal communication August 3, 2012). Between 2005 and 2007 he ran trainings for the ICRC in South Africa, Mauritius, Trinidad and Tobago, and Canada; and since 2004 he has also done about 20 trainings in his local region, each time getting somewhere between 15–50 junior-high and high school teachers in each session. In the last couple of years he has also been training community college teachers, because the government has placed new emphasis on community colleges, which is being driven by the economics of the U.S.’s war economy—in other words, as veterans return home President Obama has provided a lot of new money to community colleges to retrain this group, who mainly are seeking to become directly employable. Both the national American Red Cross and the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) have seen this as an opportunity to inject peace education into the curriculum of community colleges (P. Frankmann, personal communication, August 3, 2012). Paul also is involved with Raid Cross, and developing the pilot online, real time, virtual campus model of the EHL curriculum that the ICRC is working on with the IF to develop. He is doing this in order to find a more cost effective way to deliver EHL curriculum materials and trainings worldwide.

One of the keys to Paul’s success was making the EHL curriculum fit his needs as a history teacher, which he did by mixing EHL with other materials, often from the *Facing History* curriculum.²⁵ For example, when teaching the EHL explorations on refugees and refugee camps, instead of using the contemporary simulation exercise provided in the EHL curriculum, Paul had his students study Andersonville and the Lieber Code from the American Civil War. He then had them redesign the Andersonville camp to save more prisoners and had his students write a Red Cross message about camp conditions (P. Frankmann, personal communication, August 3, 2012). Paul went on to say, “. . . we just use the short path, and I typically modified even this. So when I do the unit on child soldiers I don’t show the video about West Africa. Instead, I discuss how child soldiers were used in the American Revolution and Civil Wars. We take what helps our curriculum and mostly that means taking the methodology, such as role playing, reflected writing, and using original source materials” (P. Frankmann, personal communication, August 3, 2012). In summary, therefore, we see that in the United States, like elsewhere, EHL works best when teachers creatively use the curriculum to meet their other teaching goals, which are related to the needs of their context.

GOALS OF THE EHL CURRICULUM

The EHL curriculum does not aim to create a new generation of IHL experts. While it does teach some aspects of IHL and the complexities of its application, it mainly seeks to develop in young people an understanding of

the need to respect life and human dignity, especially in times of violence and armed conflict. EHL also is designed to stimulate students' interest in current events, and develop their capacity to view conflicts at home and abroad from a humanitarian perspective. Ultimately, it is hoped that students will become more involved in community service and other activities that help the most vulnerable members of society (Martins-Maag, 2012, p. 2). In other words, "EHL contributes to developing social awareness in young people and sharpens their sense of civic responsibility. The teaching materials emphasize the importance of protecting life and human dignity during armed conflict and, by extension, at all times. By doing so, the program makes a distinctive contribution to citizenship education" (Martins-Maag, 2012, p. 3).

The EHL curriculum accomplishes these goals using very interactive and engaged pedagogies. "Through dilemma pedagogy, young people come to appreciate some of the challenges of upholding IHL during armed conflict, especially when the distinction between combatants and civilians is blurred" (D. Jordanov, personal communication, August 7, 2012). Students are invited first to look at the issues that arise in times of war and violence and to examine: Who is suffering? What are the consequences of violence? How are people's lives and human dignity affected by violence?

Once they have grasped the human dimension of armed conflict, students are instructed to propose ways to address these problems in the form of developing their own rules to govern the conduct of hostilities (N. Martins-Maag, personal communication, June 19, 2012). "It is only after they have created such rules themselves that they are invited to compare these to the actual rules and principles of IHL" (Martins-Maag, 2012, p. 3). In other words, EHL engages students in analyzing and reflecting upon the complexities of applying IHL; for, as with all rules, the mere fact that they exist does not ensure they will always be respected. By putting themselves in the shoes of other people, students explore why some people violate IHL and who bears the responsibility for ensuring that the rules are upheld. In this way youth come to see the need for rules. As such, it "can be said that they do not simply acquire knowledge; they construct it" (Martins-Maag, 2012, p. 3).

IS EHL A FORM OF PEACE EDUCATION?

In light of the theme of this volume, we should discuss whether EHL is a form of peace education. Interestingly, people involved in EHL disagree on this point. According to Dana Specht, EHL is *not* a form of peace education: "I think it isn't because a basic assumption of the curriculum is that there will be wars. Many students quickly grasp this and argue if we do away with war we don't need the Geneva Conventions." Specht said she also does "some straight peace education too," but she likely "couldn't get away with

only doing that” because “just having a peace stance wouldn’t fly with the parents. They would consider that indoctrination.” By contrast, she likes EHL “because there is room for different opinions and to discuss these, and parents are more OK with a curriculum that does this” (D. Specht, personal communication, August 6, 2012). Also, they trust the Red Cross and her because she doesn’t tell her students what to think.

Mostly I talk about following rules and I encourage the students to think for themselves . . . Students have to get there on their own. They have to see for themselves that if we all followed the Geneva Conventions fully there would be less violent conflict, and the long-term effects of conflicts would be less negative and hence, there would be less need for rebuilding. So it can make a more peaceful world learning this stuff. (D. Specht, personal communication, August 6, 2012)

Carrie Wall repeated Specht’s objection that peace education is seen as indoctrination, and said EHL is viewed differently, and for that reason it is rarely opposed. “Almost everyone is very open to the material. Teachers like it a lot because it helps with anti-bullying by addressing the issue of bystanders. Plus it builds skills in this area and it helps teachers talk about war, which many students are experiencing through deployed family members or as refugees themselves. Further, it covers history as well” (C. Wall, personal communication, August 3, 2012). Wall went on to say that the RC is a neutral organization. Continuing, she added,

EHL does not say “war is bad,” it simply starts from the fact that war exists and then argues even during wartime the dignity of people must be respected. That is one of the reasons the laws were created, and we talk about that. EHL is talking about these hard questions. Further, thinking critically is a big part of the EHL curriculum. That, and taking multiple perspectives. The curriculum doesn’t tell people *what* to think but it encourages them *to* think. The material generates more questions than it answers. (C. Wall, personal communication, August 3, 2012)

Paul Frankmann, the other American junior high teacher, answered in a slightly different way: “It’s a ‘what if’ . . . What if U.S. citizens weren’t taught their rights, how would the country be different? What if everyone knew IHL, would it be a more peaceful world with more dignity?” That is how he discusses EHL with those who initially oppose it. He then went on to say “‘might doesn’t make right’” and if people understood that, the world would change for the better. “People think I’m antiwar, but I’m not. It’s about everyone—civilians and soldiers—always respecting humanity at all times.” Paul added that at a recent EHL training in Switzerland he learned that “‘teaching is lighting a fire, not filling a vase.’ That is my job

as a teacher—to light a fire around protecting human dignity” (P. Frankmann, personal communication, August 3, 2012).

Interestingly, the two people who live in areas that have experienced civil war both responded that EHL is a form of peace education. According to Gordana Milenkovic, “It is peace education because of the values it promotes, such as tolerance and acceptance of others. So in that sense, it is a form of peace education even though it is paradoxical because the curriculum discusses the rules of war” (personal communication, August 16, 2012). Boubacar Tall also answered yes, “Because it shows the consequences of war, and the very fact that laws are enforced even during war shows that peace always has the last word.” He elaborated by saying, “Humanity, impartiality or neutrality are easy to teach in a context of peace, but it isn’t easy in areas where violent conflict is still a reality.” For example, when doing the EHL role play about a prisoner in custody, students in south Senegal say they want to retaliate; however, after talking about it, they often conclude that having laws, even in war time, is important, and they go on to make comparisons between human beings and animals: IHL aims at impeding humans from acting like wild animals. They also come to understand that there are questions without answers (personal communication, August 7, 2012).

Finally, Darko Jordanov answered “Yes and no,” mainly because he rejects the notion that peace education or humanitarian education (as EHL is often defined) should be used as an overarching concept to frame a curriculum. “There are over a hundred concepts like this and many projects being promoted by different groups. They go by the names of civic education, morals or value education, or education for development, etc. EHL is just one such program.” Instead of using different labels and arranging curricula around one concept, Jordanov contends that when creating a curriculum, only two criteria really matter: 1) relevance, and (2) manageability. Formal systems of education need to include civic education somewhere; and depending upon the context, EHL could meet those criteria. But in all cases, neither EHL nor peace education should be the dominant element. “Each country needs to create a curriculum that is relevant and manageable for its own context” (D. Jordanov, personal communication, August 7, 2012).

To help put these views in context, consider how peace education is understood by Johan Galtung, one of the field’s founding theorists. Briefly, Galtung argues that a very important thread in peace research and education is historical. It is important to understand how things changed and whether it was as a result of peaceful action or not. In other words, we need to know “how anti-colonization movements came into being and ultimately were somewhat successful, how feminist movements improved the lot of women,” and so on, for history teaches us how mobilization against structural violence is possible (Galtung, 2008, p. 1).

However, if peace research and education are to have any real value they must ultimately lead to peace action, and for this to happen the *form* of the education is as important as the content. Thus, Galtung frequently discusses form before content for the simple reason that “form may open some new possibilities that should also be reflected in the content” (Galtung, 2008, p. 2). Further, the form needs to be compatible with the idea of peace. That is, peace education must be carried out in a way that avoids direct and structural violence. Although today most institutions of formal education no longer use direct violence, structural violence remains very present, in the highly vertical division of labor and the one-way communication that are used in most classrooms. A strong tie also remains between traditional schooling and sorting youth into categories that impact their futures. Peace education should attempt to do away with all of this; and to do so the following questions should always be asked:

Does it permit feedback? Does it bring people together in a joint endeavor rather than keeping them apart? Does it permit general participation, and is the total form of education capable of self-generating change? In short is there dialogue that engages learners, rather than simply a message conveyed? (Galtung, 2008, p. 2)

Galtung goes on to discuss the content of peace education by referring to the five phases of peace research projects. First is the need to analyze the facts of the present situation and major trends. Second is goal formation (i.e., there must be an explicit idea of the peace we wish to create). Third is critique, which means diagnosing the problem and establishing images of different possible future worlds. Fourth, proposal-making, which deals with how to get from the present situation to our preferred future. Finally there is action. Not every lesson will incorporate actual action, but it should articulate what actions could or should be taken. Finally, Galtung concludes with the argument that when we teach about peace heroes (e.g., Gandhi) we should focus more on analyzing their actions rather than hagiographical stories of them or their beliefs (Galtung, 2008, p. 5).

Given everything that has been stated above about the original goals for EHL, the nature of its pedagogy, and the way teachers are actually implementing EHL in their own local contexts, I would argue EHL does meet many of Galtung’s standards for peace education, even though it does not advertise itself as such; and in fact, it likely derives benefits from not doing so.

CONCLUSION

Although EHL is “paradoxical”—or maybe because it is—this curriculum has been able to gain widespread acceptance in the school systems of

various countries in a way that more overt peace education programs have been unable to do. What this study shows is that given resource constraints in many parts of the world, it is very helpful to have a major INGO develop good materials and offer solid training for teachers. Further, by having a link to an INGO that is actively involved in war zones, the curriculum is concrete, which increases its relevance and reality. This is perhaps best demonstrated by EHL programs being run in post-war countries, where the need to restore and relearn peaceful modes of interaction is most pressing, and where the need to engage critically with the horrors of the past is most urgent in order to create a more peaceful future. Encouragingly, new governments in such contexts are eager to embrace such curricula, especially if it has already been developed and proven elsewhere. It is for this reason that having a major INGO involved can be helpful, and why other INGOs in addition to the Red Cross have also moved into the fields of citizenship education, peace education, and education for development.

However, the experience of Senegal is a cautionary note: it is difficult to have any such programs be sustainable without funding. Further, what all countries are realizing is that without getting such training integrated into the universities where new teachers are formed, it is unlikely that such programs can be sustained for the long term or make inroads into what children learn across a whole country. Thus, although it is states that develop and purchase the weapons, train the soldiers, and even engage in using children as soldiers, it is also only states and other large entities that have the power to make peace education the norm.

But having an INGO with the resources to provide curriculum and training is only the beginning. For the best programs, teachers innovate and make the standard EHL curriculum fit the needs of their own context. In Serbia, that innovation has included developing their own curriculum materials. In Senegal, it meant marrying EHL to another INGO's curriculum. And in the United States, it means finding ways to make sure the EHL curriculum is used in such a way that it can fulfill national and state standards, as well as using it alongside other curricular materials. In each instance, it was local teachers and program staff who took initiative to use and develop the standard curriculum in ways that made it relevant and important for their own students and their own community's challenges. And these innovations by grassroots actors have, in turn, changed the standard EHL curriculum thrice already—to shorten it and to generate new simulation exercises. This dialectic of the local and the global has thus strengthened education in many communities, and at the same time it has made young people aware of the Movement that is responding to global problems. This, in turn, has gotten some of them involved with the Movement in their own communities. Common to all of this is a growth at the grassroots level of a practical commitment to advancing and protecting the principle of

humanity and protecting human dignity in all times and places, two necessary preconditions to advancing peace at all levels.

NOTES

1. The term INGO is used loosely here because, in fact, the ICRC is a unique hybrid organization. Like an NGO, it is a private association formed under the Swiss Civil Code, and its existence is not mandated by any government. Like *Médécins Sans Frontières* and *Amnesty International*, its activities cross borders, and hence it is like an INGO. On the other hand, however, its functions and activities are mandated by the international community as stipulated in the Geneva Conventions. In that respect it is more of an international organization such as the United Nations and has an “international legal personality,” which provides it with privileges such as the inviolability of its premises and documents, and immunity from judicial process (Roma, 2004).
2. The field of peace education has evolved as a result of decades of international discussion, which began in the 1960s among educators affiliated with the Peace Education Commission (PEC) of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) and with UNESCO’s intergovernmental Associated Schools Project. Grassroots efforts such as PEC were bolstered by normative statements issued by UNESCO to guide state policy in this area. The first of these was UNESCO’s 1974 *Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*. In 1994 this was updated by a second report, *Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy*. While these reports have largely been ignored by states once signed, they have animated several international civil society initiatives undertaken by educators affiliated with PEC (Reardon, 2012, p. 328). Since 1972 this network and others have become active champions of developing a global civil society animated by the ethics and vision espoused by peace educators, most notably in recent decades through the International Institute on Peace Education (IIPE), the Global Campaign for Peace Education (GCPE), and the U.S.-based ecumenical United Ministries in Education (UME) (Reardon, 2012). Since 1999, GCPE, which was launched by an international group of peace educators at the Hague Agenda for Peace World Conference, has undertaken a global effort to disseminate the practices of peace education and to persuade UNESCO’s member states to enact policies that will fulfill their obligations to introduce peace education as enunciated in the 1994 UNESCO report noted above, which was affirmed at a 1994 General Conference of member states (i.e., at UNESCO’s policy making body) (Reardon, 2012, p. 328). Other important international efforts promoting peace education today include various other efforts of the United Nations. In addition to the work of UNESCO, there are the works of UNDP and UNICEF, as well as the UN’s 2001–2010 International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-violence for the Children of the World. There is also the work of the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GP-

PAC) and the education work that is done by human rights organizations such as Amnesty International.

3. These are: Article 48, Second Geneva Convention; Article 127, Third Geneva Convention; and Article 144, Fourth Geneva Convention. In the last treaty, the following additional paragraph is also included: "...Any civilian, military, police or other authorities, who in time of war assume responsibilities in respect of protected persons, must possess the text of the Convention and be especially instructed as to its provisions" (Geneva Convention, 1949b, n.p.) As of 2012, 194 countries are parties to the 1949 Geneva Conventions (International Committee of the Red Cross, 2009). In 1993 the United Nations Security Council adopted a report from the Secretary-General and a Commission of Experts, which concluded that the Geneva Conventions had passed into the body of customary international law, thus making them binding also on non-signatories whenever they engage in armed conflicts (Pocar, 1993, p. 1).
4. However, the ICRC cannot act as either policeman or judge. These functions belong to governments, which are the parties to the international treaties. And it is governments that have the obligation to punish those who are responsible for war crimes, which are the gravest breaches of IHL (ICRC, 2010).
5. Today global institutions can at times seem further removed from the grassroots than many national governments, but this ignores their origins. The emergence of the Red Cross "Movement" took place in the context of burgeoning European and American peace movements, in which ordinary citizens were demanding that their governments set up alternative institutions (and methods) of conflict resolution to replace war. It was the era in which the Permanent Court of Arbitration and the League of Nations were being advocated. After WWII this impulse was taken seriously by governments, that updated the Geneva Convention and also created the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and eventually the International Criminal Court, and also promoted the development of international jurisprudence in many areas, including war and human rights. This history highlights an important insight at the heart of social movement theory: one of the reasons social movements are important is they can open up new cultural spaces and political terrain that then can be used by future movements to further advance the agendas of those working at the grassroots, because the needs of ordinary people sometimes are not well represented in the official agendas of governments. Seen against this history, the ICRC and the whole Red Cross "Movement" are but the highly successful and mature versions of former grassroots efforts. It is an insight from which we can derive hope and inspiration for more fledgling grassroots peace education efforts today. In addition, the success of democratic governments and INGOs hinges on the necessary dialectic between their legal power and the ever-changing needs of shifting populations. This is to say that in all institutional regimes there is an inevitable gap between justice and law, such that law is not capable of fully articulating justice (Capeheart & Milovanovic, 2007, pp. 127–130). Nevertheless, law is a necessary tool of all modern regimes and the central alternative to raw force, so it will always exist. Thus it will always be the work of social movements and grassroots activists to keep an eye on this powerful

tool (even as they also promote it as a means to create more peace and justice). Precisely because grassroots initiatives and social movements are not routinized, they provide a necessary corrective to the deadening effects of the very institutions they help to create. This, not incidentally, is related to an understanding of power that resides in consent—not force or weapons. As societies become increasingly complex, as Durkheim theorized, solidarity comes to be grounded in a division of labor that makes social cohesion more a function of organization than force.

6. In 1906 and 1929 it was extended to improve the conditions of sick and wounded soldiers and to articulate rules for protecting prisoners of war. 1949 the previous conventions were standardized in format and expanded to protect civilians, a response to the terrible experiences of civilians in World War II and the changing nature of warfare, which now harms many more civilians than combatants. Most recently, in 1977 and 2005, three additional protocols were added to expand protections in international as well as non-international armed conflicts and to add the red crystal (a symbol without religious connotations) as the third distinctive emblem in addition to the red cross and red crescent for protection.
7. Moynier's four principles were: (1) foresight—to prepare in peacetime for the need to aid in wartime; (2) solidarity—societies establish mutual ties to help each other during times of crisis; (3) centralization—there is only one society in each country; and (4) mutuality—care is given to all wounded and sick irrespective of nationality (ICRC, 1986, par. 3).
8. These were: (1) impartiality; (2) political, religious, and economic independence; (3) universality; and (4) equality of all member societies.
9. Jean Pictet was a Swiss jurist and an IHL expert. During and after WWII he worked very closely with ICRC President Max Huber, and was the main architect of the 1949 Geneva Convention, which completely overhauled earlier Geneva Conventions by, among other things, including the protection of civilians. He also chaired the conference of experts who prepared the two additional 1977 Protocols. In the late 1960s, he served as the ICRC's director general, its highest administrative office, and later as its vice president. He also authored numerous books and taught at both The Hague Academy of International Law and in the law school at the University of Geneva. From 1975 to 1981 he was director and president of the Henry Dunant Institute. Pictet believed that the "widest possible dissemination of the Geneva Conventions would not only facilitate their application in time of war, but would also promote the principle of humanity and thereby the development of a spirit of peace between peoples" (Gorostizaga & Hoegh, 1984, p. 890).
10. Pictet attached the most importance to the principle of humanity, "which he regarded as the basis of the Red Cross, embodying at once the Movement's idea, motivation and aim." Elaborating further, it was Pictet's belief that the "universality of the Red Cross and Red Crescent movement has its roots in the universality of suffering, and it is thus that the *principle of humanity* must be understood . . . [i.e., as being] attentive to human misery" (emphasis in the original, ICRC, 1986, par. 4). For Pictet, this principle was merely an assertion of the Golden Rule "Do unto others as you would have them do unto

you.” That, he argued, is the most “pertinent description of the humanitarian ethic” (Gorostizaga & Hoegh, 1984, p. 891), for the “cries of distress heard throughout the modern world cannot—and must not—be met with indifference; they must instead foster activity. To hear one’s fellow man, to recognize his suffering, is to feel the call to service” (ICRC, 1986, par. 4).

11. Relatedly, during this same period, humanitarian agencies in general have become more aware of the role business plays in causing and prolonging violent conflict, as well as helping to prevent and ameliorate it. The ICRC is also becoming more aware of how it also is involved in “complex interaction with local war economies, not only for operational reasons, but also conceptually and strategically” (ICRC, 2012b, p. 1). Further, in recent decades there has been a growth in the number of multinational military operations and in their mandates, such that today the “scope of peacekeeping operations . . . goes well beyond classic activities such as supervising and maintaining cease-fires, observing borders, or acting as a buffer between belligerents” (ICRC, 2012a, p. 1). Finally, it is not uncommon today to find military and humanitarian organizations working side by side during complex emergencies. But this can be problematic.
12. There are 10 conditions for recognition listed in the statutes of the Movement. They include such requirements as autonomous status, recognized under national legislation, the use of a recognized emblem, and adherence to the Movement’s Fundamental Principles. There can only be one society in each country, and it must be constituted on the territory of an independent state. This last condition was waived by a resolution of the 30th International Conference in 2007 in the case of the Palestine Red Crescent Society.
13. The IFRC holds a General Assembly of all NSs every two years. Immediately afterwards, the ICRC joins them in the Council of Delegates, a body that exists to discuss issues of strategic importance to the whole movement. Every four years, all the various entities that comprise the Movement meet with all states who are parties to the Geneva Conventions. This gathering is known as the International Conference of the Red Cross and Red Crescent (i.e., the IC) (ICRC, 2011, p. 2). The IC is the Movement’s supreme deliberative body, which decides what measures should be taken to deal with issues of shared humanitarian concern. It fosters unity within the Movement and helps to carry out the Movement’s mission in full accordance with the Fundamental Principles and the Geneva Conventions. The IC also contributes to respect for and development of IHL and its related treaties.
14. The ICRC’s 10 largest missions in 2012 were in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, Sudan, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Israel and the Occupied Territories, Columbia, Yemen, and Mali/Niger.
15. This EHL Virtual Campus on line contains the entire EHL curriculum in multiple languages.
16. According to Darko Jordanov, data from 1999 shows officially 300,000 child soldiers below age 15 were mobilized worldwide; however, the real number was likely much higher. So it was estimated that the ICRC must address this population, which is different from the regular armed forces (which was the original focus of ICRC programming) (personal communication, August 7, 2012).

17. The countries that used MinEduc were: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Russia, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan.
18. From the late 1960s, Felt worked for EDC on developing innovative pedagogies that emphasized interactivity between students and teachers and used primarily source materials. In particular, she experimented with how to use these pedagogies to teach about humanitarian law, social justice, and human development.
19. These countries include: Peru, Malaysia, Jordan, Croatia, Senegal, Denmark and England.
20. EHL Master Teachers are people who have experience teaching EHL in their own classes, have attended one of the original ICRC-run trainings or an NS-led training, and likely also attend updating seminars that are run either by the ICRC or their country's NS.
21. ICRC staff in the Balkans have been working together for over a decade and have launched a number of regional activities, such as annual meetings of education authorities, youth camps, meetings of EHL trainers, and so on. Perhaps even more importantly, this staff shares expertise and human resources across borders such that Croatian trainers were involved in EHL in Serbia, Serbians in Bosnia, Bosnians and Macedonians in Kosovo and Albania, and so on.
22. The American Red Cross has supported a nationwide IHL dissemination program targeting adults since the early 1990s, after receiving a grant from the United States Institute of Peace to develop educational materials. Today, approximately 275 IHL instructors working in local Red Cross chapters provide introductory IHL courses and presentations.
23. Originally when the Chicago chapter got involved, the national office was looking for strong RC chapters in certain markets. They requested that Chicago consider it because it covers a very large region of 13 counties in Illinois and northern Indiana, which together have a population of over 9.6 million people. Carrie Wall, the only international services-designated staff person in Chicago at the time, was put in a working group with other chapters who regularly had mentoring calls with the national office designed to grow the whole international program, including the EHL component (C. Wall, personal communication, August 3, 2012).
24. These teachers came from 35 schools and other places, such as juvenile detention and community centers. However, Wall did not know how many of them actually are teaching EHL as a result, because even though the EHL toolkit contains an evaluation, no one has ever submitted one, even though her office does follow up with calls and visits. Wall went on to say that “follow up is the most difficult piece—it is very hard to find out what is actually happening in the classroom. I don't know who has really integrated it” (C. Wall, personal communication, August 3, 2012).
25. *Facing History and Ourselves* started in 1976 in Brookline, Massachusetts as a course taught in a single school district. Today, it is an international organization with more than 150 staff members around the U.S., and with partners in Canada, Northern Ireland, Israel, Rwanda, China, and South Africa. A network of more than 29,000 teachers, who reach nearly two million young people annually, use materials provided by this organization to improve their

effectiveness in teaching about the events that led to the Holocaust and other recent genocides and instances of mass violence. Facing History curriculum materials educate students on how to “combat prejudice with compassion, indifference with participation, and myth and misinformation with knowledge” (Facing History, 2008, p. 1).

APPENDIX

Information about interviewees (listed as personal communication in text)

Carolyn Ashton, Senior Research Associate, Search for Common Ground). As a private consultant she and Tony Morris were contracted by the ICRC to produce an official Global EHL Evaluation in 2012 to look at the implementation process and the NSs and ministries of education. She was interviewed for this piece on July 30, 2012.

Paul Frankmann is a secondary school teacher in Aurora Ohio. He also serves as an EHL Master teacher, who has done numerous trainings in the United States and around the world. He was interviewed for this piece on August 3, 2012.

Alicia G. Guajardo is a Senior Associate for International Humanitarian, Law Dissemination and International Services In the national office of the American Red Cross in Washington D.C. She helps to promote the EHL curriculum across the Unit

Darko Jordanov was interviewed on August 7th, 2012. For the last 15 years he has been an Educational Advisor at the ICRC headquarters in their Civil Society Relations unit. In that role he has been involved with various ICRC educational projects, including taking a leading role on the development of the third version of the EHL curriculum. He was one of the first teachers to get involved with EHL in 1999 when it was still in a very experimental phase.

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CHAPTER 14

PEACE EDUCATION IN “LIFE IS TREASURE” HOUSE IN JAPAN

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There are over sixty peace museums in Japan, and Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum and Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum are well known in the world. One of the unique private peace museums is called “Life is Treasure” House, where peace education is promoted from the grassroots in Okinawa, which is in the far south of Japan. It was founded in 1984, and its purpose, according to its brochure, is “to learn the importance of life and to pass the horror of war and the preciousness of peace down to the next generation.” The founder is the late Shoko Ahagon (1901–2002), who protested against the U.S. occupation of Iejima Island in Okinawa Prefecture in 1955 and promoted peace education through the peace museum. Why did he found the peace museum to promote peace education? What can we learn about peace education methodologies from his story? First, it is necessary to make clear the battle of Okinawa in World War II in order to understand the history of “Life is Treasure” House.

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THE BATTLE OF OKINAWA IN WORLD WAR II AND THE HISTORY OF “LIFE IS TREASURE” HOUSE

The battle in Okinawa between Japan and the United States started on March 26th in 1945. It is said that about 200,000 were killed, including 14,000 American soldiers. (Hein & Selden, 2003, p. 46). The purpose of the U.S. military operation was to get hold of military bases to conquer the Japanese mainland (Ishihara, Arashiro, Ohshiro, & Yoshihama, 2006, p. 16). Farmers' lands were taken by force, and their houses were burnt in order to make U.S. military bases after the end of the war. As a result, people have been suffering from poor life without their own lands, which had been used for agriculture.

In this chapter an emphasis is put on “Life is Treasure” House on Iejima Island, which is in the northwest of Okinawa Prefecture in Japan. The size of the land is 22 kilometers square, and people used to grow sugar cane. The population was 5,600 in 1992 when Ahagon wrote his book *Life is Treasure* (Ahagon, 2000, p. 4). However, the population has decreased since then, and it was 4,831 on July 31, 2012 according to the website of Ieson village (<http://www.iejima.org/ieson/>). Iejima Island became a battlefield in April, 1945, and over 1,000 houses were completely destroyed. People had to hide in natural caves for six days after the U.S. and Japanese armies started fighting on April 16th. It is said that 4,300 people were killed, including 1,500 islanders on Iejima Island. The battle continued in other parts of Okinawa for two more months, and it is said that over 200,000 people were killed, including 120,000 people of Okinawa (Ahagon, 2000, p. 5).

Life was not considered precious during World War II, and it was believed that it would be a great honor if a person died in the war, and one would be a traitor to Japan if he or she was not willing to die for Japan. It was also believed that it would be disgrace if one was captured alive by the enemy. As a result, Okinawans chose suicide instead of surrender. It was tragic that mothers were forced to kill their babies if they cried when they were hiding in caves because American soldiers might find them. It was also believed that American soldiers would be brutal, and Okinawans' ears and noses would be cut by them and finally killed at the end. Therefore, many parents killed their children because they thought that it would be better for their children to be killed by their parents instead of American soldiers. It is recorded in a history book of Iejima village that 150 people committed a suicide on April 22 in 1945, a day after the battle between Japan and the U.S. was over. Many people threw themselves off a cliff in Waji, which is a beautiful sightseeing spot today. The Japanese military ordered them to die instead of surrender, and some Okinawans were killed by the Japanese military because they were regarded as American spies. Ahagon reflected that it was wrong for them to treat life carelessly at that time.

No one was killed by the U.S. military after the battle of Okinawa ended. Ahagon was impressed to see American soldiers who gave milk to babies whose mothers were killed. Iejima Island was occupied by the U.S. military, and Okinawans were put into simple tents at a concentration camp on Kera-ma Island. They could go back home in March of 1947, but it had been planned to build U.S. military bases in Okinawa. In 1955 after the Korean War had stopped, Okinawan land was taken by U.S. military by force. In March of 1955, 300 American soldiers went to Iejima island and tied up farmers who had begged them not to take their lands because it would be impossible for them to live without their land. But they were told that "This land was seized by the American military from Japan shedding blood. You have no right to use it and there is no yes or no" (Ahagon, 2000, p. 10). Ahagon and other farmers were shocked, and they did not know what to do to regain their land. They contacted Japanese politicians, professors, churches, and temples asking for help, but the problem remained unsettled.

Ahagon had to think what to do in order to survive. He had an experience of living in Cuba and Peru from 1925 to 1934 to save money to study in order to become a teacher. He went to Kono Gakuen in Shizuoka Prefecture where teachers and students worked and studied hard together. The education there was influenced by Nikolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783–1872), a Danish educator who insisted that education should be not only for elites but also for ordinary people. Grundtvig also insisted that students should be able to learn the joy of work as well as history and sociology (Takaiwa, 1998, p. 33). Ahagon wanted to have a big farm with a school for farmers after he returned to Japan, where they would be able to study for free just like Danish school. He thought that it was necessary for farmers to study history, politics, philosophy, religion, and so forth because they had been deceived and oppressed by rulers (Takaiwa, 1998, p. 26). He worked very hard and bought land little by little to realize his dream on Iejima Island, where his wife, Kiyo, is from. His school for farmers was almost constructed, but the battle of Okinawa started, and his land was taken by force by U.S. military. He went to see Akio Uebaru in Oroku village, who had been fighting against the U.S. seizure of his land, to ask for his advice. Uebaru told Ahagon that there had been countries that perished using weapons, and there were no countries that prospered using weapons (Ahagon, 2000, p. 11). Ahagon was inspired by listening to Uebaru, and this led to his non-violent struggle against the U.S. military.

After losing their houses and lands, Ahagon and other farmers went to Naha City Office to look for help in 1955. They were almost removed by Japanese policemen, but Ahagon told the police that it is American rulers who should be arrested because they stole their lands and houses, not Ahagon and other farmers. The Japanese head of police apologized to Ahagon for using violence against the farmers. Since no one in the mainland of

Okinawa knew what happened to Iejima Island, Ahagon marched the mainland of Okinawa with other farmers to inform people of what happened to them on Iejima Island, using music played by a musical instrument called *kankara sanshin*. The song telling the story of Iejima Island was so powerful that it later led to protesting against the U.S. rule of Okinawa by the people of Okinawa. Therefore, Ahagon played an important role in the peace movement not only in Iejima Island, but also in whole Okinawa. He later began to be called “Gandhi in Okinawa.”

In 1959 Roger Boldwin went to Okinawa to investigate human rights that might have been abused at that time. He founded the International League for Human Rights in New York City in 1942 with others. It is a non-governmental organization accredited to the United Nations that is dedicated to the promotion and protection of human rights as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international covenants (<http://legacy.www.nypl.org/research/chss/spe/rbk/faids/ilhr.pdf>).

Ahagon went to see Roger Boldwin, who gave a lecture in Naha City of Okinawa. Ahagon submitted a petition that said, “Our houses were burnt and farmers’ lands were taken by force by the government of the U.S.A. and Japan. The United States is preparing for a nuclear war. Please tell us what we can do to stop this” (Ahagon, 2000, p. 12). Boldwin’s answer to Ahagon was simple: if all the people protest against it, it can be stopped. Ahagon and other people were convinced, and they started to promote anti-war movement for peace non-violently. The U.S. military occupied 63% of Iejima Island for their military bases, but it was reduced to 32% because of Ahagon’s patient struggle against the U.S. military with other farmers. When their land was taken by the U.S. military using wire fences, farmers got rid of them, and such an act was repeated until the U.S. military gave up.

THE CONTENT OF “LIFE IS TREASURE” HOUSE

The emphasis of the exhibition is on the reality of Iejima Island in Okinawa and people’s non-violent protest against the U.S. military. Japan’s aggression of other countries in World War II is also criticized at the museum, which is rare in Japanese peace museums. This is because nationalists who glorify Japan’s invasion of other countries have been criticizing exhibitions on Japan’s aggression. It is also rare that controversial issues of U.S. military bases are exhibited there while they tend to be ignored in other peace museums, especially at public peace museums in Japan.

Shoko Ahagon lost his only son during the battle in Okinawa in 1945. He thought that life was the most important thing and there should not be war anymore. He thought that since men make war, it is men who should make peace. He also thought that a peace museum would be a good and useful

place to promote peace education so that young people would be able to think about why the war broke out, what happened as a result of the war, and what they can do for peace. He had to build the peace museum hiding the real purpose because he knew that his plan would be obstructed by the authorities. He founded a place called "Village of Forgiveness" on June 23 in 1984. He believed that peaceful life would be possible by forgiveness at home, in a society, and in a country. He aimed at creating the "village for peace and welfare" (Association of History Educators, 2000, p. 18) where handicapped people can work and ordinary people can live being close to mother earth so that all of them would be able to have exchanges with one another. He made "House for Peace of Mind" for handicapped people as well as the peace museum called "Life is Treasure" House. This is because he thought that peace and welfare are deeply related.

The Exhibitions

He made exhibitions on the battle of Okinawa and also peacemaking. For example, he exhibited U.S. bombs that were used to take land by force, a dummy atomic bomb, iron wires, photographs that he took, banners of the Association for Protecting Land, and so forth. Visitors can also see the exhibitions on the battle in Okinawa and learn people's non-violent efforts for peace. In 1954 when people's lands were taken by U.S. military using bayonets and bulldozers, people in Okinawa did not use force when they talked with U.S. authorities. They made some rules in making an appeal to the U.S. military such as "When you talk with the U.S. military officials, try to sit down without having anything in your hands," "We should not raise our hands above our ears," "Don't lose your temper and speak ill of your opponent," and so forth. Such rules were written properly in 1960, and they are exhibited at the peace museum. It is written on the wall of the peace museum: "Put your sword back into its place; for all those who take up the sword shall perish by the sword." He actually practiced his idea of non-violence and thinking of other people's positions. In 1992 he wrote that no American soldier lifted a hand against him. American soldiers spoke to him with anger when Ahagon and his friends had built a house on the U.S. military base in Iejima Island. Ahagon quietly told them that the land belonged to him, not the United States, and they had no right to keep him from building a house. The American soldier told Ahagon that he had to obey his senior officer's order. Then Ahagon told him to tell his senior officer that the officer would not be quiet if the same thing should happen in the United States. When Ahagon was told to remove "obstacles" such as houses Okinawans had built in U.S. military bases, he told the U.S. military officer that the buildings are precious houses in which to live, whereas the

U.S. watch house and wire nets are the dangerous obstacles, and Americans should take them back to the United States. The U.S. military officers were persuaded not to use their land as military bases. Thus there was no fighting after talking with angry American soldiers, and Ahagon and his friends could take back their own land from the U.S. military to some extent (Ahagon, 2000, p. 184).

Ahagon became a Christian when he was seventeen years old and stressed the importance of love and generosity. He also respected other religions such as Buddhism because a spirit of compassion is important: living creatures should not be killed, not to mention that humans should not kill one another. Ahagon also thought that the teachings of Confucius, as well as consistency between speech and action, are important in terms of humanity and justice. He also studied social science, especially Marxism when he was 63 years old in 1966 at Central Labor Educational Institute for workers in Tokyo. He thought that farmers should study hard because they tend to be oppressed by rulers. His conclusion of studying various religions and social science was that they should be for peace, and peace should be created at home. When there were visitors at the peace museum, he mentioned that he had only graduated from elementary school and would like to know if he was wrong. Since he kept studying and learning lessons from his war experiences and anti-war activities, he made great efforts to show his ideas at “Life is Treasure” House. Visitors have been learning from his ideas even after he passed away. Thus a peace museum plays important roles in educating citizens and younger generations for peace.

Ahagon (2000) explained some exhibits in his book of *Life is Treasure: Anti-War Heart in Okinawa*. How did he collect exhibits such as spent shell casings, unexploded shells, mock bullets, one-ton bombs, mock atomic bombs, military parachutes, barbed wire, military uniforms, tools, a missile and so forth? Many of them were dropped on his farm land and he collected them. Villagers also collected them and donated them to the peace museum. Ahagon collected things that villagers almost threw away such as old school textbooks and newspaper and exhibited them at the peace museum. He was an excellent recorder: he collected petitions to the Okinawa government, letters, records of meetings, newspaper articles, books, magazines, photographs, and so forth.

A message was written by Ahagon at the entrance of “Life is Treasure” House:

All those who take up the sword shall perish by the sword. Countries which have military bases shall perish by military bases. Countries which have nuclear weapons shall perish by nuclear weapons. (Ahagon, 2000, p. 119)

Ahagon wrote his explanation near a photograph of atomic bombing, which cannot be seen at Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum and Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum: "The responsibility of the country that made the atomic bombs be dropped is heavier than the one that dropped the atomic bombs" (Ahagon, 2000, p. 120). Visitors asked him its meaning to him, and he answered, "It was Japan that started the war. This is why the U.S. military occupied Okinawa and Iejima and dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. We should not forget this." Some visitors agreed with him and told him that such an explanation should be written at Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum and Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum.

Ahagon also made other different explanations near the photo of the atomic bombing. One is "A soldier must drop an atomic bomb even today if he is ordered to do so by his superior officer. Therefore, war should not be waged (told by the former American soldier who dropped the atomic bomb.)" The other is a question that was asked to Tadashi Kayama, who was the former Japanese commander who killed residents of Kume Island thinking that they became spies of the U.S. military: "Doesn't your conscience prick you killing (innocent) residents?" His answer was "I did my best as a soldier. My conscience does not prick me. I am proud of myself as a Japanese soldier" (Ahagon, 2000, p. 122). The reason why Ahagon made the two explanations is that he wanted visitors to compare the two answers. The American soldier thought that war should not be waged again because soldiers kill people obeying orders in war. On the other hand, the Japanese soldier did not think so at all, so Ahagon added the following explanation: "Such an idea without any reflection and conscience could lead to human annihilation. Such a horrible and regrettable idea could lead to nuclear war." His exhibits aim at making visitors think of the meaning of war and peace.

He also made an exhibition that would make visitors think of reducing arms. A basket woven from bamboo to put potatoes, a perforated basket made of bamboo, and a pan made of U.S. spent shell casings were exhibited, which means that iron was taken away by the government to make warships and fighters. The military expenditure in 1992 was 6.3% of the budget, whereas it was 85% in 1941, and people had a hard life because of the lack of food and many other things during World War II. He gave an explanation that "our life got better after we were defeated and lost colonies. Why is it so? Let's study why" (Ahagon, 2000, p. 123).

Ahagon also exhibited soldiers' uniforms with an explanation: "Let's make efforts for peace so that our children and grandchildren would not have to put them on in the future" and "If a gentle father, brother and dutiful son have to put on a soldier's uniform, they would not be able to be human anymore." He also exhibited a tattered cloth that was made of a sand bag of the U.S. military with an explanation that "War mongers should wear this."

He also made an exhibition of photographs such as farmers who went on a sit-down in front of Ryukyu (Okinawa) government with a caption that reads, "The U.S. main man should be arrested for robbing our land and arson." He made a memorial not only for Japanese soldiers but also American soldiers to console their spirits because Americans were also victims of the war.

Before Ahagon passed away, archivists started to keep the exhibits carefully. They went to the peace museums not only from Okinawa but also from other parts of Japan in March in 2002. The record of the exhibits has been made by them, and the process of the preservation of the exhibits is available in a DVD called "Shoko Ahagon and the Board of Investigation" (2008). According to the DVD, Ahagon bought a camera and took many photographs as the evidence of unknown injustice done by the U.S. military in their struggles against the military. They became a kind of "weapon" to fight against the U.S. military in their non-violent struggles.

Talks to Visitors including Children

Shoko Awagon used to give a talk to visitors including children when he was alive. One day in 1992 a man who had lost his father in World War II visited Ahagon and talked with him. The man told Ahagon that it would be important to give up thinking of war because many years had already passed. Ahagon answered,

It would be better to give up thinking of the war if World War II would be the last war in history. But Okinawan people are still suffering from the U.S. military exercises. If war breaks out again, it would be nuclear war, which would destroy the earth. Nothing is more precious than life. There should be no more war. (Ahagon, 2000, p. 67)

Ahagon thought that it would be necessary to disseminate the misery of war and act for peace until killing is over. This is why he founded the peace museum.

His concept of the peace movement was not just getting rid of U.S. military bases in Okinawa. He thought that it is necessary to make "a society in which all the people in the world can share resources and wealth on the earth equally and they should be able to work based on their ability and receive what is necessary" (Endo, Sato & Yokote, 1998, p. 4). This is because his parents were poor farmers, and he thought that he would be exploited by his employer in Peru no matter how hard he worked. He began to hope to live with others helping one another in the future. He also thought that Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution that renounces war and the possession of the military should be disseminated in the world so that all the weapons and war could be abolished. He also thought that it would be possible



Figure 14.1

for all the people to care for one another and live equally, thanking one another. This is why Ahagon is well respected in Okinawa today.

Children and citizens visit “Life is Treasure” House and listen to Ms. Etsuko Jahana, who is the director and a handicapped woman, after Mr. Ahagon passed away in 2002. When some members of a peace museum, including the author, called Grassroots House in Kochi City visited “Life is Treasure” House on March 29, 2009, Ms. Jahana welcomed them because there were common topics related to peace education that have been promoted at both peace museums.

Study Meetings

A study meeting is organized to commemorate Mr. Ahagon every March, the month when he passed away. A visitor wrote his/her impression that he/she was very inspired by Ahagon’s efforts for peace and thought that he/she would like to believe in human beings and make efforts for peace without giving up the better future. Themes of the study meetings are different each year, and a topic of the study meeting held on March 5 and 6 in 2011 was “A legal framework for military operations and Okinawa.” Six graders put on a play on three local poets on Iejima Island, and a film on the attack on Iejima Island by U.S. military during World War II was shown.

There are about 34,000 American soldiers in Japan and 132 U.S. military bases in Japan. In Okinawa there are about 25,000 American soldiers and 32 military bases: 74% of all the U.S. bases in Japan are located in Okinawa Prefecture, which occupies about 18% of the mainland according to Asahi Newspaper dated March 6, 2012. It would not have been possible for the U.S. to wage war against Korea, Vietnam, Iraq, and Afghanistan without these military bases in Okinawa. People have been suffering from American

soldiers' crimes, noises, accidents, and so forth. Visitors of the "Life is Treasure" House learn about the horrors of war, preciousness of peace, and current issues on U.S. military bases so that they can think what they can do for peace. Unfortunately the battle in Okinawa and the current issues in Okinawa are not reported critically in the media, and they are not taught at school in the mainland of Japan. Therefore, the role of peace education through the "Life is Treasure" House is very important for citizens and the young generation not only in Okinawa but also other parts of Japan.

According to Etsuko Jahana, the director of the peace museum, visitors are not only from Japan but also from other countries such as Taiwan, the Republic of Korea, China, the U.S., France, England, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, the Philippines, New Zealand, India, and so forth. Ahagon wrote about foreigners' visits of "Life is Treasure" House that all of them were surprised to listen to his story on the struggle against the U.S. military over thirty years. They were impressed to know about Ahagon's way of dealing with his conflicting party reasonably, peacefully, and non-violently. When a Native American visited him, he told her,

America used to be yours. But it is not right to think that America is all yours just because you lived first there. The earth belongs to all the people on the earth. Get along well with the Caucasian generously without fighting. (Ahagon, 2000, p. 132)

There is a notebook near the entrance of the peace museum so that visitors can write their impressions. Ahagon was very happy to know that visitors, especially young people and children, could really understand his messages for peace. A teacher wrote that "It is usually prohibited for children to touch exhibits at various peace museums. But it is nice that children can touch them here." Some teachers of elementary and secondary school have been eager to promote peace education using the peace museum. They recorded a TV program about Ahagon in 1988 and showed it to their students. Students saw the video and wrote a letter to Ahagon, and he answered each letter, and after a week, their teachers took the students to the peace museum. Some junior high school students made a play on his life and sent the slides to him in 1986. There are also children who sent a letter to Ahagon. He was very happy to read a girl's letter in which she wrote that "I found that bullying is also a kind of war. We should not wage such a small war again" (Ahagon, 2000, p. 141). These responses show that a peace museum can play an important role in peace education and shed insight into the practice of peace education at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

On the other hand, a young man living in Okinawa wrote that there were some people who would suffer if the U.S. military bases were removed. Ahagon regarded him as one of the victims of the U.S. rule of Okinawa and

thought that he should deal with such young people who felt powerless and apathetic.

A Japanese visitor wrote an impression as

Nobody became happy by war. Why do people wage war? Why don't they try to see a warning sign of war? What I can do now is to perceive a warning sign of war and live protesting against it. I would not be able to do a big thing, but I want to do what I can do locally little by little.

This shows a certain effect of peace education there. There were 3,491 visitors in 2011, which is not a small number considering that the island is very far from the mainland of Japan and also far from Naha City, the main city of Okinawa Prefecture.

It is possible to know some influence of such study meetings on citizens by reading visitors' essays. For example, some people wrote their impressions after they attended a study meeting held on March 18 and 19 in 2006 at Ieson Center for Improving the Environment of the Village as follows:

I came to Iejima without knowing anything about Mr. Ahagon. He is a great hero in history and he does not exist in the world any more. I really appreciate that I could get to know about him. I really hope that I will be able to learn more from him. I would like to trust human beings and live without giving up the better future. (By a male college student)

I learned many lessons from this study meeting. They were practical ways of peace movement and hints for honest way of life. Now I am able to imagine what to think and how to act for peace. This is because I learned Okinawans' great efforts for peace and honest way of life here. This is the first time for me to visit Okinawa and I feel that Okinawa is close to me after getting to know people in Okinawa at this study meeting. I also learned about Mr. Ahagon who lives deeply in Okinawans' hearts. I'd like to work for peace when I go back to Kanagawa. (Written by a man)

Their impressions of the study meeting show some positive effects of peace education by "Life is Treasure" House.

HOW DO THEY ORGANIZE THEMSELVES?

The peace museum of "Life is Treasure" House is a part of "Village of Forgiveness," which is a foundation. The director of the "Village of Forgiveness" is Mr. Tokushin Yamauchi, the former Mayor of Yomitanson village and now a member of the House of Councilors. He is a representative of Okinawa Prefectural Congress against relocating the U.S. military bases within Okinawa. The managing director of the "Village of Forgiveness" is

Ms. Etsuko Jahana, who founded Iejima Island Livelihood Cooperative with Shoko Ahagon and also “Life is Treasure” House where she is the director. The Village also includes Ms. Hiroko Yamashiro as the secretary general and three board members.

Professor Masaie Ishihara of Okinawa International University plays a role of a supervisor. It is interesting that he published a booklet called *A Peace Guide Map of Iejima* with his students in 2005. It is a guidebook on war remains, U.S. military bases, citizens’ testimony on the battle in Iejima where 4,706 people were killed, and their protest against the U.S. military bases on Iejima Island. It also shows 35 caves where people used to hide during World War II, a map of Iejima Island where 63% of the land was occupied by the U.S. military in 1957, and the present map where 35% of the land is used as U.S. military bases. The process of making the booklet itself was good peace education because the students had interviews on the war with citizens on Iejima Island. It must have been shocking for the students to know that people in Iejima had to even eat mice because there was no food after the U.S. military took their lands and houses using bayonets and bulldozers. The booklet can be used as good teaching material for peace education.

There are two paid staffs who play the role of the director and the secretariat of the “Village of Forgiveness.” Others are all volunteers not only from Okinawa but also the mainland of Japan.

CHARACTERISTICS OF “LIFE IS TREASURE” HOUSE AND OTHER PEACE MUSEUMS IN OKINAWA

What is the history of peace education in Okinawa? Peace education has been promoted at schools and peace museums in Okinawa, but an emphasis is put on education through peace museums.

In Okinawa there are other museums for peace such as the Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum, Himeyuri Peace Museum, Tsushimamaru Memorial Museum and Sakima Art Museum besides “Life is Treasure” House. Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum was founded in 1975. The purpose of the peace museum is “to pass historical lessons of Okinawa to the next generation and to contribute to peace” according to the returned questionnaire that the author sent.

Himeyuri Peace Museum was founded in 1989. In the battle of Okinawa the Japanese army trained high school female students as nurses and organized them into student nurse corps when the U.S. forces landed on Okinawa. As a result 226 girls and teachers were killed. The purpose of the Himeyuri Peace Museum is “to tell the stories of war by exposing the brutality and insanity of war in order not to allow it to happen again in the future” (Himeyuri Peace Museum, 1990, p. 6).

Tsushima Maru Memorial Museum was founded in 2004. Tsushima Maru, an evacuation ship, was torpedoed and sank by a U.S. submarine off the coast of Akuseki Island, situated north of Amami Island, while transporting school children and teachers from Okinawa to mainland Japan. Of the 1,661 passengers, 1,484 lives were lost including 767 children. The Tsushima Maru Memorial Museum was opened "not to forget the tragedy and create a base for the peace education where the children of the next generation can learn the preciousness of peace and life and realize the importance of their own lives" according to *Muse Newsletter 9* published in September, 2003. It was constructed by the Japanese government, but it is run privately.

Sakima Art Museum was founded in 1993, and the purpose of the museum is "to convey the truth of war using the power of art" according to *Exhibition of Peace-related Museums in Japan* (Kyoto Museum for World Peace, 1998, p. 6). The themes of the art works are "life and death," "agony and salvation," and "humans and war" and some exhibited works were painted by Iri and Toshi Maruki, well-known Japanese artists, and Käthe Kollwitz, a German artist.

Among peace museums in Okinawa, one of the characteristics of "Life is Treasure" House is an emphasis on non-violence. When the author sent a questionnaire to forty-eight peace museums to investigate the content of exhibitions in Japan in 2001, the result showed that it was rare to have an exhibition on non-violence at peace museums in Japan; 67% of exhibitions showed Japan's victim side of World War II such as the atomic bombing and the U.S. air raids of Japanese cities.

Ahagon also showed the clear attitude of anti-U.S. military bases, which is so sensitive that it is not dealt with in other peace museums in Okinawa and the mainland of Japan. Ahagon had visited various peace museums before he founded the "Life is Treasure" House (Ahagon, 2000, p. 72). This is because he wanted to know what kind of peace museum he could make. He found that most of the peace museums showed that "war is cruel and it should never be repeated," but the reason why cruel war broke out was not shown. Ahagon thought that he should make an exhibition on causes of the war. He blamed Japan for having invading China, Korea and other Asian nations and attacking Pearl Harbor. Then he made exhibitions on Japan's aggression of other countries as one of the causes of World War II and the battle in Okinawa.

He also found that there were no exhibitions on the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and U.S. military bases when he visited other peace museums in Okinawa. He thought that no exhibition on the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and U.S. military bases would not lead to peace because Japan's budget for welfare had been reduced and the military budget had been increased as the result of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and U.S. military bases. He decided

to make the “Life is Treasure” House focusing on Iejima Island where he lived. This is why it is different from other peace museums in Okinawa.

The reason why the United States made its military bases in Okinawa and has kept using them is pointed out by Moriteru Arasaki, the emeritus professor of Okinawa University. The Treaty of San Francisco in 1951, which ended the U.S.-led Allied Occupation of mainland Japan, made it possible for the United States to continue to control Okinawa until it was returned to Japan in 1972. One reason given why Okinawa was ruled by the U.S. military is that “the United States wanted to use Okinawa as a strong foothold of military strategy to rule the world after World War II” (Endo et al., 1998, p. 12). It is also pointed out by Joseph Garson that “in the post-war era, U.S. bases have played a critical role in maintaining U.S. dominance in much of the Third World” (Garson & Birchard, 1991, p. 13). Okinawa was used as an island with useful military bases where “nuclear weapons could be carried in freely and fly a mission freely” (Endo et al., 1998, p. 13). The United States actually carried nuclear weapons into Okinawa in 1962, but it was done secretly because the Japanese peace movement against nuclear weapons was getting stronger and stronger. According to an article called “Okinawa’s first nuclear missile men break silence” in the *Japan Times* dated July 8, 2012, the first of four Mace nuclear missile sites became operational at Bolo Point, Okinawa in 1962. In 1969 Japan and the U.S. concluded a secret agreement—allegedly still in operation—which allows the U.S. to reintroduce nuclear weapons to Japan during times of crisis. In 1971 Washington demanded Tokyo help to pay for the removal of nuclear arms from Okinawa—the first official U.S. admission of the presence of nuclear weapons on the island according to the *Japan Times* dated on July 8, 2012.

It should be noted that Iejima Island residents successfully blocked the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in 1966. When three U.S. landing crafts brought ashore two Hawk missiles, citizens opposed construction of a Hawk missile base and began a sit-in demonstration. On July 15 about 600 citizens conducted the sit-in, and the U.S. military began withdrawal of missiles, and the landing craft carrying Hawk missiles left Iejima harbor (Ahagon, 1973, p. 200). The U.S. military gave up setting nuclear missiles there (Ahagon, 1973, p. 197).

Ahagon made a voluntary association called “Association of Anti-War Landholders in Heart” with others in 1999. This is because the U.S. military bases continue to exist in Iejima island in Okinawa. He played the central role in protesting against the military bases in Iejima, appealing “A country will be destroyed by military bases. Strengthening the military bases in Okinawa would destroy the world.” The aim of the association was to inspire peace philosophy and disseminate it to promote the peace movement. Ahagon’s peace museum is unique in Okinawa because peace education is based on his peace movement in which his ideas and actions were unified for peace.

RELEVANT PEACE EDUCATION RESEARCH

What have others said about the roles of peace museums in peace education? The author asked this question of Tony Jenkins, the Global Coordinator of the International Institute on Peace Education (IIPE) and the Global Campaign for Peace Education. He mentioned that "peace education at museum spaces for multi-generational learning is really powerful and this is what we don't do so much in formal traditional peace education." It is certainly true that peace education can be promoted not only at schools but also in communities for multi-generations. It is possible for children to learn from their grandparents if they go to a peace museum together.

The peace education through peace museums has been promoted at various places in the world. The International Museum of War and Peace was founded by Jean de Bloch in 1902 in Luzern, Switzerland. This is said to be the oldest peace museum in the world. In Japan Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum was founded in 1955 by Hiroshima City, and it is the oldest peace museum in Japan. The first International Conference of Peace Museums was held at the University of Bradford, England in 1992, and the International Network of Peace Museums was made then. The Japanese Citizens' Network of Museums for Peace was made when the third International Conference of Peace Museums was held at Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University and the Osaka International Peace Center in 1999. Most of the conference papers are not available. However, *Museums for Peace: Transforming Cultures* (Barrett & Apsel) was published in 2012. This is the collection of papers based on the seventh conference of the International Network of Museums for Peace held in Barcelona in 2011. The theme was "The Role of Museums in the Transformation of a Culture of War and Violence to a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence." There is one more book that is available to learn about peace education through peace museums called *Grassroots Museums for Peace in Japan: Unknown Efforts for Peace and Reconciliation* (Yamane, 2009) by the author. There are not books available in public besides these books. This chapter on "Life is Treasure" House adds to the existing literature new knowledge on grassroots efforts for peace education through peace museums.

Although the existing literature on peace museums available to the public is limited, the website of the International Network of Museums for Peace is useful to get information on peace education through peace museums in the world (<http://inmp.net/>). It is also possible to learn peace education not only in Japan but also in other countries in *Muse*, the newsletter of the Japanese Citizens' Network of Museums for Peace edited by Ikuro Anzai, Masahiko Yamabe and the author (Yamane, Yamabe, & Anzai, 2003). It is available both in English and Japanese on the website of the Center for Tokyo Air Raids and War Damage (<http://sakima.art.museum/>).

CONCLUSION

The “Life is Treasure” House was founded by Shoko Ahagon in order for visitors to learn the importance of life and to pass the horror of war and the preciousness of peace down to the next generation. It also addresses the U.S. military bases in Iejima of Okinawa that were made after the end of World War II and continue to exist today in order for the United States to rule the world. The educational goals of the peace museum are to learn lessons from the past history, such as non-violent struggle, and cultivate visitors’ minds and attitudes to contribute to peace at home and in the world.

Peace museum use exhibits, lectures, meetings, and art to teach about peace. An additional educational practice is that visitors, including children, can touch exhibits and learn about the battle of Okinawa and think what they can do for the better future. It is possible to learn about peace education through the peace museum, and this is why there are visitors not only from Japan but also other countries.

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Peace education is an umbrella term for education about problems of violence and strategies for peace. This bibliography provides references for books about the following aspects of peace education—conflict resolution, conflict resolution education, nonviolence, peace, peace education, sustainability education, and war and violence. This bibliography does not contain references to peace education efforts in regions of intractable sustained conflict like the Middle East, the Balkans, Northern Ireland, the Great Lakes Area in Africa, the Philippines, and Central America. There are other aspects of peace education—education about gender violence, domestic violence, multicultural education, international education (also known as global studies), race relations, security studies, development education, and human rights education—not included in this bibliography. This is a selected bibliography of books pertaining to peace education and not an exhaustive bibliography on the topic.

* Earlier versions of this bibliography have appeared in the following: Harris, I. (1988). *Peace Education*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland Inc.; Harris, I., & Morrison, M. L. (2003). *Peace Education* (2nd ed.). Jefferson, NC: McFarland Inc.; Harris, I. (2009). A select bibliography for peace education. *Peace & Change*, 34(4), 571–576; and Harris, I., & Morrison, M. L. (2013). *Peace Education* (3rd ed.). Jefferson, NC: McFarland Inc.

CONFLICT RESOLUTION

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PEACE

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PEACE EDUCATION

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SUSTAINABILITY EDUCATION

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WAR AND PROBLEMS OF VIOLENCE

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