PEACE EDUCATION IN PRACTICE?

A CASE STUDY OF PEACE EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

By

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Abstract

In the contemporary world, wars, violence and injustice never seem to end. In an attempt to replace this culture of violence with a culture of peace, peace education attempts to raise awareness of non-violent and constructive means of dealing with conflicts, and to promote necessary skills, knowledge, attitudes and values.

This research aims to gain insight into the reality of the current practice of peace education in schools in relatively stable countries. While a school is one of the places where children learn values, attitudes and behaviour, schooling is often criticised for maintaining and reinforcing different forms of violence, including physical violence and inequality. This study explores theoretical and practical aspects of peace education and key issues relevant to these aspects, including its place in schooling.

The empirical study investigates a peace education organisation in the UK, West Midlands Quaker Peace Education Project (WMQPEP) and one of its projects in a primary school. WMQPEP particularly focuses on interpersonal skills to build peaceful relationships and raise self-esteem. The overall research provides understanding of the principles and practice of peace education as well as its impact, and identifies some factors which can either promote or undermine effective peace education in schools.
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<td>Children’s Creative Response to Conflict Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>DfCSF</td>
<td>Department for Children, Schools and Families</td>
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<tr>
<td>DfES</td>
<td>Department for Education and Skills</td>
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<tr>
<td>EMU</td>
<td>Education for Mutual Understanding</td>
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<td>ICT</td>
<td>Information and Communication Technology</td>
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<td>INSET</td>
<td>In-Service Training</td>
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<td>NQT</td>
<td>Newly Qualified Teacher</td>
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<td>OFSTED</td>
<td>Office for Standards in Education</td>
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<td>Qualification and Curriculum Authority</td>
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<td>Religious Education</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation</td>
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<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children’s Fund</td>
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<td>WMQPEP</td>
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CHAPTER 1

Introduction
1.1 Introduction

Throughout the world we see wars rather than negotiation, exploitation rather than fair distribution of wealth, oppression rather than equal treatment and respect, and competition rather than co-operation. In particular, wars and violence never seem to end and can even be justified in the name of justice or democracy. There has been a tendency towards ‘a cultural violence, making violence seem natural/normal, lowering the threshold’ (Galtung, 2002: 5). This culture of violence inevitably has a great influence on children, causing them fear and anxiety, often through their daily lives in inner-city communities and the media (Alexander and Hargreaves, 2007: 12).

Therefore, education for peace can be seen as a possible way of transforming a currently dominant ‘culture of violence’ to a ‘culture of peace,’ by developing children’s peaceful attitudes and skills and by stimulating a change in their consciousness (Harris and Morrison, 2003: 178). Since recent evidence suggests that violence is a learned behaviour rather than intrinsic to human nature (see the ‘Seville Statement on Violence’ 1986 in Adams, 1995: 30), peaceful behaviour can be promoted through education. This idea is reflected in the statement of UNESCO’s Constitution: “since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed” (in Wilson, 1946).

1.2 The Importance of Peace Education

The importance of peace education has been addressed by international organisations such as the United Nations. In particular, UNESCO has been promoting the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-violence for the Children of the World (2001-2010) through the Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace. The relevant UN resolution emphasises actions to foster a culture of peace through education, while it expresses ‘deep concern about the persistence and proliferation of violence and conflict in various parts of the world’ (UN General Assembly Resolution 53/243, 1999).
Recognising the importance of peace education, there have been debates on why peace education is not introduced into the curriculum of formal education at all levels (Galtung, 1975: 319). Many educators have supported the idea that there is the potential power in education for building a more peaceful and just society. For example, Maria Montessori (1949/1992) believed that education can contribute to peace by developing moral values based on common humanity. On the other hand, as noted by Bush and Saltarelli (2000), education has two contrasting faces: negative (destructive) or positive (constructive) education, that is that education is often used as a weapon of producing and perpetuating repression, intolerance or hatred between people and in societies, while education can also play an important role in building peace.

1.3 The Role of Peace Education

Considering these contrasting possibilities for education in undermining or promoting peace, the study requires an understanding of the aims and roles of peace education in both social and personal development, as well as of the practice of achieving peace on both social and individual levels. Moreover, there has been criticism of the current practice of peace education which, it has been said, ‘relies on making people be nicer to each other’ (Fisher et al., 2000: 146). From this view, the goal of peace education and the research on effective practice should be directed not only to transforming a currently dominant ‘culture of violence’ to a ‘culture of peace’, but also to constructing a ‘culture of resistance,’ which implies a political dimension. Therefore, the role of peace education is not only to teach knowledge about war and peace, non-violent and co-operative attitudes, and communication skills (for a ‘culture of peace’), but also to support children in developing the critical and reflective thinking needed to perceive the reality behind the distortions created by the media and other influential groups (for a ‘culture of resistance’) (Fisher et al., 2000: 146).
Chapter 1: Introduction

This approach to peace education is based on a belief that education not only reproduces society as it is now, but can influence and change the shape of the society in the future, considering educational practice as a force for social change from the view of critical pedagogy. This critical understanding of education in relation to power and its impact on the construction of knowledge has been developed by Gramsci and Foucault, who recognise that the process of producing and reproducing power and knowledge not only sustains existing cultural and economic domination in society but also creates ‘the seeds for resistance’ to domination (Darder, Baltodano and Torres, 2003: 6-7).

1.4 Research Aims and Objectives

The main purpose of the research is to gain insight into the reality of the current practice of peace education, and to explore its possible improvement, particularly in the context of schooling in relatively stable countries. For this purpose, the research aims to investigate theoretical and practical aspects of peace education, and to explore key issues and themes regarding peace education. As the context for peace education, the study is also largely concerned with education systems and schooling which can also be obstacles to peace.

The empirical study aims to portray and investigate an existing peace education organisation in the UK and one of its projects in a primary school with a view to understanding the principles and practice of peace education in the context of schooling. The study also examines the effects of the project on participants in order to explore some factors which can have a potentially long-term positive impact on the development of children.

Main Purpose of the Research:
To gain insight into the reality of the current practice of peace education

Overall Research Questions:
- How is peace education practised by one organisation in the UK?
- What methods and practice are used, under what principles, and why?
Sub-Questions: A case study of peace education carried out by one organisation

1. How does one particular organisation carry out peace education?
   - What are its aims?
   - What are its principles?
   - What are its stated practices?
   - How do they practise peace education?
   - What are the problems and issues?

2. How does the organisation carry out its work in one case study school?
   - What are its aims in this particular school?
   - What methods and materials does it use?
   - What impact does it have?
   - What are the problems and issues?

1.5 Rationale for the Research

While the importance of peace education has been emphasised internationally, peace education is not commonly practised in the UK and ‘peace education is a term rarely used in British schools’ (Hicks, 1996: 168). Thus, the research on principles and practice of peace education can be useful in promoting peace education in more schools in the UK. The study of theoretical aspects of peace education can also contribute to establishing conceptual frameworks for peace education and can lead to the development of programmes, since many peace education programmes are implemented without theories underpinning the practice or a research rationale (Johnson and Johnson, 2005: 276).

Furthermore, recent research has found a lack of systematic evaluation of the effectiveness of peace education programmes (Fountain, 1999: 32; Nevo and Brem, 2002: 275). The reason for this attitude may be rooted in ‘the low level of awareness regarding the importance and usefulness of that [evaluation] phase; a lack of expertise in evaluation methodology;
budgetary considerations; and avoidance tactics’ (Nevo and Brem, 2002: 275). Therefore, it is important to pay more attention to the evaluation of the impact and effectiveness of programmes. Considering this issue, the research explores possible approaches to the evaluation of peace education programmes. Providing evidence of positive effects could also support the introduction of more peace education in schools.

1.6 The Research Context

Peace education can be implemented both in conflict societies and stable societies with the aim of changing attitudes and behaviour in order to achieve peaceful problem-solving. Some previous experience shows that programmes are ‘most successful when content and methods are developed locally, in response to commonly identified problems’ (Fisher et al., 2000: 143).

There are major differences between peace education in relatively stable societies and peace education in conflict societies, particularly with regard to its purposes. Peace education in conflict societies often promotes understanding, respect and tolerance towards enemies at a collective level by emphasising conflict prevention, greater equality, and practical coexistence with real enemies (Salomon, 2002: 5). On the other hand, peace education in stable societies mostly emphasises co-operation and harmony by developing individual skills in dealing with local or interpersonal conflicts (ibid: 5-6). The long-term and broad-based programmes, which often focus on social problems and promote peaceful attitudes and social justice, are mostly undertaken in schools (Fisher et al., 2000: 142). This study is concerned with peace education in a stable society, particularly in the context of formal schooling in the UK, considering the important role of schools in promoting peace.

On the other hand, in the study of education in relation to conflict from the viewpoint of complexity theory, Davies (2004) perceives the paradox that:

…formal education in peacetime is more likely to add to conflict than is non-formal education in time of conflict. This is because much formal education is about damaging
connectivity - between the wealthy and the poor, between males and females, between different ethnic or religious groups, between the “able” and the “less able.” (Davies, 2004: 204)

In contrast, post-conflict education can be more about inclusion, co-operation and encounters through ‘trying to heal and reintegrate the traumatised, the child soldiers, the refugees, and trying to build cohesive political and public cultures’ rather than selection and “standards” (Davies, 2004: 204). These social and political aspects of formal education are also taken into account in the context of this research on peace education.

1.7 A Focus on Peace Education in Schools

Currently, formal schooling is often criticised for its competitive characteristics and authoritarian role which can reproduce and reinforce violence (Davies, 2004: 111-14; Harber, 2004). It can also be seen as a means of social control and social differentiation to reproduce socio-economic inequality (Apple, 1982). These characteristics of schooling are seen as obstacles to peace, being in many ways contrary to the idea of education for peace. On the other hand, there is the potential for bringing changes into schools by empowering pupils and teachers through educational practice (Apple, 1982; McLaren, 2003). This means that it is possible for peace education to contribute to this process by nurturing the necessary skills and capacity of children to promote peace. With the aim of exploring appropriate educational practice which can contribute to building a more just and peaceful society, this research focuses on peace education in the context of schooling.

Note:
Originally, given the qualitative nature of the study, the thesis was a longer document. However, in order to conform to the University of Birmingham’s regulations, it is now 88,000 words. Some sections have been cut and some have been moved to the Appendices.

In this thesis, there are a number of references to old quotes using the male gender (i.e. man, he), which are inappropriate but are left as the original rather than constantly repeating [sic].
CHAPTER 2

The Nature of Peace, Violence and Conflict
2.1 Introduction

Peace education has been largely influenced by the development of peace research (Hicks, 1996: 167) alongside peace movements and other educational and religious initiatives. In particular, the concepts of peace, violence and conflict, and other related ideas have arisen from peace studies, and have contributed to forming the principles and practice of current peace education to a great extent, while philosophies, religions and cultures also influence the ideas of ‘peace’ underpinning peace education. This section explores a range of concepts of peace, violence and conflict developed in the field of peace and conflict studies as well as in sociology and philosophy, with a view to identifying the particular ideas of peace, violence and conflict which support the principles and practice of peace education and underpin its values and philosophies.

2.2. Peace and Violence

Generally, peace is seen as the absence of war. However, this is only one aspect of peace. While the absence of war and violence is vital, it can be ‘only a first step towards a fuller ideal’ of peace (Fisher et al., 2000: 12). Since the concept of peace becomes clearer by contrast with the concept of violence as noted by Jeong (2000: 19), this section begins by exploring the concept of violence.

2.2.1 The Concept of Violence

The term, ‘violence’ is defined as ‘the exercise of physical force so as to inflict injury on, or cause damage to, persons or property; action or conduct characterized by this; treatment or usage tending to cause bodily injury or forcibly interfering with personal freedom’ in the Oxford English Dictionary (1971: 3635). Violence is generally seen in behaviours such as killing, beating, torture, maiming and other forms of physical violence. There is another aspect of violence relating to mental processes: feelings, attitudes and values that people hold
such as hatred, fear, mistrust and intolerance (Fisher et al., 2000: 9). These can become the sources of violence or allow violent behaviours and violent structures to operate. Galtung (1975: 112) distinguishes between these two as physical and psychological violence; basically, physical violence works on the body while psychological violence works on the mind. This psychological violence includes verbal abuse (Leeds, 1987: 18), lies, brainwashing, indoctrination and threats, which lead to a decrease in mental potentialities (Galtung, 1975: 112) or diminish ‘a person’s sense of worth and security’ (Harris, 2002: 16). Violence also exists in systems and structures in the form of discrimination, or as the imposition of suffering on others (Fisher et al., 2000: 9). Moreover, some also consider violence towards nature as environmental violence (Leeds, 1987: 18), which damages wildlife habitat or the livelihoods and health of people, including the over-exploitation of natural resources (e.g. deforestation, over-fishing), pollution (of air, water or soil), harmful development (e.g. the construction of dams) which may cause displacement of people or lead to social conflict (see Porritt, 1991).

Considering these various aspects of violence, Galtung (1975: 110-11) proposes a broad definition of violence: ‘violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic [physical] and mental realizations are below their potential realizations.’ The key words, ‘actual’ and ‘potential’, define violence as the cause of the difference between ‘what is’ and ‘what could have been’. Therefore, when the potential is higher than the actual realisations, violence is present. Violence involves physical violence which hurts people or restricts their movement, and psychological violence which decreases mental potentialities (Galtung, 1975: 112). In this sense, manipulation by means of rewards and punishment is also seen as psychological violence since it restricts potential realisation (ibid: 112-3).

Based on his broad definition of violence, Galtung (1975: 113) distinguishes two main forms of violence: personal (direct) violence ‘where there is an actor that commits the violence,’ and structural (indirect) violence ‘where there is no such actor.’ In structural violence, ‘the violence is built into the structure and shows up as unequal power and
consequently as unequal life chances’ (Galtung, 1975: 114) so that violence existing in the system prevents people from realising their full potentialities due to unevenly distributed resources, income, education or medical services. Structural violence is also referred to as social injustice, and often involves the monopoly of power by a small group, which presides over an uneven distribution of resources (ibid: 114). Thus, the general condition of structural violence is inequality, in particular through the unequal distribution of power (ibid: 119). Regarding this type of violence, Freire (1972: 31) claims that the problem of violence is ‘the duality of the oppressed’, since the oppressed are shaped by and exist in the situation of oppression and violence, in which their pursuit of self-affirmation is exploited by their oppressors. Thus, in accordance with the concept of structural violence defined by Galtung (1975), Freire (1972: 31) finds some form of violence in the relationship between the oppressed and the oppressors, perceiving that violence has already begun with the establishment of this oppressive relationship which prevents the oppressed from becoming fully human.

Moreover, regarding the relationship between personal violence and structural violence, it is important to understand the existing social structures since personal violence is often rooted in structural violence (Galtung, 1975: 123). This is because individuals’ violent actions are often based on expectations of their behaviour according to an accepted role or position within society. In this case, even though personal violence can be reduced or controlled (e.g. by law and order), violence is still built into the system. On the other hand, a repressive structure can be used as an excuse for personal violence (Galtung, 1975: 123). For example, negative feelings (e.g. fear, anger) caused by structural violence (e.g. oppression, discrimination) can lead to direct violent action (Leeds, 1987: 18).
Based on the definitions of direct and indirect violence by Galtung (1975), Salmi (1993: 16-23) uses four different categories of violence\(^1\): direct violence, indirect violence, repressive violence, and alienating violence, with a particular emphasis on the violation of human rights. The definitions are based on the principle that there should be a corresponding human right entitled to legal protection for each fundamental human need. While Salmi (1993: 17) defines direct violence as ‘acts of deliberate violence resulting in a direct attack on a person’s physical or psychological integrity’ in a similar way to Galtung, the other three are all associated with structural violence (as defined by Galtung: 1975) in relation to human rights. Indirect violence includes ‘violence by omission’ and ‘mediated violence’ (Salmi, 1993: 17-20): violence by omission is defined as non-assistance to human beings in danger and non-satisfaction of vital material needs. Violence by omission occurs when a person is refused protection against social violence (hunger, disease and poverty), aggression, accidents and natural catastrophes. Mediated violence is ‘the result of deliberate human interventions in the natural or social environment whose consequences to other human beings are felt in an indirect way’ and ‘the potential harmful effects are not immediate, but come from mediating factors’ (ibid: 19). Mediated violence includes destruction, disturbance or damage to the natural environment, and modification of the socio-economic environment, which causes a serious deterioration of living and health conditions (ibid: 19).

The other two types of violence identified by Salmi (1993: 20-21) are ‘repressive violence’ and ‘alienating violence’. Repressive violence is referred to as ‘the deprivation of basic human rights’ concerning freedom, dignity and equality, particularly in the three areas of fundamental rights: civil, political and social rights (ibid: 20-21). Alienating violence involves ‘the deprivation of a person’s higher rights, such as the right to emotional, cultural or

\(^1\) Salmi’s approach is based on the typology developed by Johann Galtung (see ‘The Specific Contribution of Peace Research Typologies’ in Violence and its Causes, 1981, Paris: Unesco). The main difference is the definition of ‘structural violence’ by Galtung, under which Salmi’s three categories of indirect, repressive and alienating violence are subsumed.
intellectual growth’, including alienating living conditions, social exclusion, and ethnic oppression (Salmi, 1993: 21-23). As an example of cultural alienation in the educational context, children’s access to their own culture is restricted when they are taught in an official language rather than in their mother tongue, when the educational curriculum systematically reduces or ignores their cultural background, or when the official history books deliberately leave out events that are important to a particular cultural group (ibid: 21).

These definitions of violence by Galtung (1975) and Salmi (1993) highlight elements of non-peace such as harm, damage, inequality, injustice, discrimination, deprivation, exclusion and suppression, in contrast with elements of peace such as equality, participation, freedom, inclusion, justice and the full development of potential. Concepts of peace are explored next.

2.2.2 The Concept of Peace

By contrast with the two main forms of violence: personal violence and structural violence introduced by Galtung (1975) above, peace also has two sides: ‘absence of personal violence’ and ‘absence of structural violence,’ which are referred to as ‘negative peace’ and ‘positive peace,’ since the absence of personal violence is not a positively defined condition, while the absence of structural violence is a positively defined condition of social justice with equal distribution of power and resources (Galtung, 1975: 130). Negative peace is defined as ‘the absence of organized violence between such major human groups as nations, but also between racial and ethnic groups because of the magnitude that can be reached by internal wars’ (Galtung, 1975: 29). Negative peace generally means the absence of direct or physical violence, but also includes the situation ‘where there is no violence but no other form of interaction either and where the best characterization is “peaceful coexistence”’ (ibid: 29).

Similarly, for Curle (1971: 15) negative peace includes the absence of conflict or the absence of association, because people live without much contact with one another and are never in a position where their interests or personalities clash. Another form of negative peace
involves ‘relationships in which violence has been avoided or reduced, without the removal of the conflict of interest, or in which the conflict has been mystified, that is to say, concealed or disguised’ (ibid: 15). Leeds (1987: 108) states that negative peace reflects the conventional view of peace in accordance with ‘the meaning of the Latin word pax, an agreement not to fight’. Therefore, in the situation of conflict, this negative peace implies physical separation in a conflict, for example, represented by the efforts of the United Nation’s Peacekeeping Force, or the situation during Cold War in which the USA and the Soviet Union were not actually fighting each other but had a hostile relationship (Wehmeier, 2000: 231), while positive peace implies the removal of the causes of violence or the resolution of conflict.

On the other hand, positive peace is defined as ‘a pattern of cooperation and integration between major human groups’ (Galtung, 1975: 29) with the absence of structural violence. Therefore, the conception of peace as non-war is only one aspect of peace, while co-operation and integration are also considered as important elements of peace in addition to non-violence, equality and justice. Similar to Galtung’s idea of ‘positive peace’, Curle (1984: 8) describes peace as ‘a state of human living together, whether the scale be large or small, characterised by conditions that make for the realisation of human potential’. Thus, peace should be supported by ‘a condition from which the individuals or groups concerned gain more advantage than disadvantage’ (Curle, 1971: 1). Moreover, for Curle (1971: 15), peaceful relationships mean friendship and the understanding of differences on a personal level, while, on a larger scale, peaceful relationships involve ‘active association, planned cooperation, [and] an intelligent effort to forestall or resolve potential conflicts’. In contrast to Curle’s idea of peace as ‘a state’, for Fisher et al. (2000: 11-12), ‘Peace is a process: a many-sided, never-ending struggle to transform violence’ while the absence of war is seen as a first step towards a fuller ideal of peace, which can be defined as ‘an interweaving of relationships between individuals, groups and institutions that value diversity and foster the full development of human potential.’ Although there is a difference between the two in terms of
peace as a state or a process, they both agree with the idea of ‘positive peace’ as a relationship which can lead to the realisation of human potential.

The above conditions of peace can be established through a consensus of people. This idea of a consensus on peace is suggested by Immanuel Kant, who proposes that the establishment of peace requires the ‘freedom’ and ‘equality’ of members of society, and ‘common laws’ consented to by the members. Kant (1795/1917) states, in his essay Perpetual Peace, that:

A state of peace among men who live side by side is not the natural state (status naturalis), which is rather to be described as a state of war: that is to say, although there is not perhaps always actual open hostility, yet there is a constant threatening that an outbreak may occur. Thus the state of peace must be established. For the mere cessation of hostilities is no guarantee of continued peaceful relations, and unless this guarantee is given by every individual to his neighbour—which can only be done in a state of society regulated by law—one man is at liberty to challenge another and treat him as an enemy. (Kant, 1795/1917: 117-9)

Moreover, as a necessary condition of establishing peace through consensus among members of society, Kant (1795/1917: 120-1) suggests that the constitution of each state should be made in accordance with three principles as follows: the freedom of the members of society; the interdependence of all, as subjects of common legislation; and the equality of the members as citizens. These conditions seem to be rooted in the Kantian tradition of morality based on reason and reciprocity, which are expressed as ‘the person never [to] be used as a means except when he is at the same time an end’ (Kant, 1788/1983: 90).

Kant’s idea of peace above, which involves equality, freedom and common laws, seems to be close to the idea of justice proposed by John Rawls, in his book A Theory of Justice. For the conception of justice as fairness, Rawls (1973) emphasises equality as the important

2 Freedom is not defined as the right ‘to do whatever one likes, so long as this does not wrong anyone else.’ Kant’s view of lawful (external) freedom is defined as ‘the right through which I require not to obey any external laws except those to which I could have given my consent.’ In the same way, ‘external (legal) equality in a state is that relation of the subjects in consequence of which no individual can legally bind or oblige another to anything, without at the same time submitting himself to the law which ensures that he can, in his turn, be bound and obliged in like manner by this other’ (Kant, 1975/1917: 120).
principle of justice. For Rawls (1973: 7), ‘the primary subject of justice is the basic structure of society … the way in which the major social institutions distribute fundamental rights and duties and determine the division of advantages from social cooperation.’ The principle of justice is represented in the condition of what he introduces as ‘an original position’ under a ‘veil of ignorance.’ In this hypothetical situation, ‘the original position of equality corresponds to the state of nature in the traditional theory of the social contract,’ in which no one knows each other’s position in the society such as class, social status, wealth, strength, abilities and intelligence so that no one is advantaged or disadvantaged as a result of natural chance or possible social conditions (Rawls, 1973: 12). In this condition, ‘Since all are similarly situated and no one is able to design principles to favor his particular condition, the principles of justice are the result of a fair agreement or bargain’ (ibid: 12).

To ensure the idea of justice under the condition of an original position, Rawls (1973: 60) also proposes two principles of justice: ‘First: each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive basic liberty compatible with a similar liberty for others. Second: social and economic inequalities are to be arranged.’ Kohlberg et al. (1987: 293-4) recognise the importance of ‘reversibility’ in Rawls’ principles of justice as ‘the maximum liberty compatible with the like liberty of others,’ and ‘the elimination of all inequalities in income and respect.’ Therefore, justice from the viewpoint of Rawls means just structures of reciprocity and equality based on the systems of role-taking, and the liberty and socio-economic equality of the members in a society. Therefore, when equality, fairness, reciprocity and liberty are emphasised as important aspects of peace, these concepts of peace are also relevant to the idea of justice and moral judgements.

The concepts of peace and their underlying values discussed above (i.e. ‘negative peace,’ ‘positive peace’, consensus, liberty or freedom, common law, justice, equality, respect, reciprocity or reversibility) have influenced the principles and practice of peace education in many ways, which will be discussed later in this thesis.
2.2.3 Is Violence Natural, Social or Cultural?

In contrast with the belief that peace can be realised by relying on the moral sense and moral judgements of human beings, some argue that violent human behaviour and aggression are rooted in human nature. While the former viewpoint can provide the rationale of promoting peace education based on social and moral development, the latter viewpoint may deny the potential for peace education as a means of achieving peace. This section aims to identify different viewpoints on violent human behaviour with a view to exploring the rationale of peace education.

The biological approach to aggression perceives that humans genetically inherit a violent nature from animals. In this approach, the explanation of social behaviour is applied to Darwin’s evolutionary theory of ‘the origin of species’, which is based on the idea that ‘behaviours are adaptive to the extent that they enhance the chances of survival of the species as a whole and of individual members within the species’ (Krahé, 2001: 30). This position is represented by Konrad Lorenz’s On Aggression (1973), in which animal and human aggressive behaviour is studied and compared. Lorenz (1973: 40) states that aggression is a ‘species-preserving instinct’ to deal with threats, and that ‘it is the spontaneity of the instinct that makes it so dangerous’. Similar to Lorenz’s view, Storr (1968: 14) explains that every animal, including the human, sometimes responds aggressively because of the experience of threat to its survival, and that the physiological mechanism of aggression, aggressive emotions and behaviour is ‘instinctive’ for the sake of self-preservation.

In contrast to this notion of spontaneous human instincts as an inner force, others take the view that aggression is always caused by external forces. Some (e.g. Scott, 1958) argue that ‘fighting behavior is an adaptive response to certain environmental conditions rather than an internal requirement’ (Scott, 1975: 168-9). This is because there is no “instinct for fighting,” hence ‘there is no need for fighting, either aggressive or defensive, apart from what happens in the external environment’ (Scott, 1958: 62). Krahé (2001: 33) also refers to the study of
genetic behaviour, which shows that genetic factors may partly influence aggressive human nature and individual character, but that ‘environmental factors play a crucial role in determining whether that disposition will be reinforced or counteracted’. A similar perspective is found in the study, *Violence in America* (Graham and Gurr, 1969: 802 quoted in Klineberg, 1981: 114), which concludes that ‘nature provides us only with the capacity for violence; it is social circumstance that determines whether and how we exercise that capacity’.

Moreover, as an early psychological explanation of aggression, Freud’s psychoanalysis sees aggressive behaviour as a psychological mechanism for releasing destructive energy which is rooted in a death instinct directed at self-destruction (Krahé, 2001: 33-4). Although empirical evidence provides little support for Freud’s theory, his view inspired the frustration-aggression hypothesis, in which aggression is seen as a drive to overcome frustration. For instance, Dollard et al. (1939), in *Frustration and Aggression*, note that human aggression is caused by frustration as a ‘reactive’ response to external environment rather than being instinctive (in Midgley, 1984: 15). However, since not all frustration leads to aggressive behaviour, this oversimplified view has been replaced by the recent, widely agreed view, that frustration increases the chance of aggression although many other factors are involved in determining whether violent behaviour actually occurs (Klineberg, 1981: 116).

While the question of whether aggressive behaviour is biologically inherited or socially produced has always been the subject of controversy, some possibility of reducing or preventing aggressive behaviour can be found from the above perspectives. The biological approach suggests that the provision of suitable outlets for aggression can reduce internal accumulation of aggressive tension. Both biological and psychological approaches suggest that the external environment can control the internal physiological mechanism of aggression as well as the level of frustration.
Furthermore, recent evidence suggests that violent behaviour is not necessarily intrinsic to human nature, and that violent action may in fact be the product of being ‘conditioned and socialized’ (see ‘The Seville Statement on Violence’ 1986 in Adams, 1995: 30). The Seville Statement on Violence states that:

It is scientifically incorrect to say that humans have a ‘violent brain’. While we do have the neural apparatus to act violently, it is not automatically activated by internal or external stimuli. Like higher primates and unlike other animals, our higher neural processes filter such stimuli before they can be acted upon. How we act is shaped by how we have been conditioned and socialized. There is nothing in our neurophysiology that compels us to react violently. (Adams, 1991: 26)

Overall, violent human behaviour seems more likely to be produced socially rather than biologically, which supports the rationale of promoting peace through education. The Seville Statement on Violence also emphasises the importance of co-operation for the survival of human beings, stating that, ‘In all well-studied species, status within the group is achieved by the ability to cooperate and to fulfil social functions relevant to the structure of that group’ (Adams, 1991: 24).

On the other hand, there is another currently dominant viewpoint that perceives violence as normal or acceptable: ‘cultural violence.’ Galtung (1990: 291) recognises some aspects of culture as ‘cultural violence’ that is used to justify or legitimise direct or structural violence, which is represented by religion, ideology, language, arts and science. While cultural violence legitimises or justifies violence as ‘normal’, ‘acceptable’ or ‘macho’ ways of responding to conflict, the concept of cultural violence also implies the perception of how people view themselves in relation to ‘others’ or society, and how the perception influences the way they respond to conflict (Brand-Jacobsen, 2002: 18). Others argue that in certain conditions violence is a necessary evil. For Frantz Fanon, for example, whose ideology influenced the Algerian revolution, violence is the only way to bring social change into a colonised society.
and create the possibility of a new social structure. Perceiving violence as the only way of achieving justice, Fanon (1970: 57) states that ‘it is the intuition of the colonized masses that their liberation must, and can only, be achieved by force.’ From this viewpoint, organised violence is regarded as necessary for the oppressed to unify and liberate their mentality distorted by colonialism, by replacing their inferiority complex, despair and inaction with fearlessness and self-respect (Fanon, 1970: 74). To end the struggle of the oppressed for equality and self-realisation, Fanon believes that changes in social structure can lead to personal changes in the oppressed, which with their increased self-awareness and self-consciousness, would enhance the possibilities of political action.

However, if cultural violence is one aspect of culture, there are also aspects of cultural peace in any culture, which should be encouraged for the sake of peace. As one alternative to cultural violence, Galtung (1990: 302) proposes the idea promoted by Gandhi, which involves ‘unity-of-life’ and ‘unity-of-means-and-ends.’ The idea is that no life should be used as a means to an end, and ‘if the end is livelihood, then the means has to be life-enhancing.’ Here, ‘unity’ is interpreted as ‘closeness’ between self and others, based on respect for all life.

2.3 Conflict and Conflict Resolution

While violence is opposite to peace, conflict should not be confused with violence. Recognising that violent conflict is only one aspect of conflict, many peace educators believe that conflict can be solved or managed, not by hurting one another but by working together closely. This idea of non-violent conflict resolution is based on a positive view on conflict as a force for change by promoting a constructive and creative means of resolving conflict without violence. This section explores the concept of conflict and approaches to conflict resolution, which have influenced some aspects of peace education.
2.3.1 The Concept of Conflict

The situation of conflict can be described in many terms. Violent conflict includes ‘war, battle, strife, feud, collision, a fight, a struggle, a skirmish, a contest, an engagement, and combat,’ while ‘discord, protest, debate, dispute, disagreement, dissension, argument, confrontation, a quarrel or a difference of opinion’ involve non-physical conflict, which can potentially escalate into violent conflict (Stewart, 1998: 9). The word ‘conflict’ is described in a dictionary as ‘a situation in which people, groups or countries are involved in a serious disagreement or argument’, ‘a violent situation or period of fighting between two countries’, ‘a situation in which there are opposing ideas, opinions, feelings or wishes; a situation in which it is difficult to choose’ (Wehmeier, 2000: 259). While conflict often refers to violent actions noted above, there is a distinction between violence and conflict. According to Fisher et al. (2000: 4), ‘violence consists of actions, words, attitudes, structures or systems that cause physical, psychological, social or environmental damage and/or prevent people from reaching their full human potential.’ On the other hand, while conflict is a relationship between individuals or groups who pursue incompatible goals, disagreements and conflicts can be resolved without violence and ‘often lead to an improved situation for most or all of those involved’ (ibid: 4). In this definition of conflict, two key elements can be identified: a relationship and incompatible goals.

Firstly, as stated by Fisher et al. (2000: 4), conflicts generally arise from imbalances in all human relationships from the interpersonal level to groups, organisations, communities and nations. The imbalances in social, economic and power relations, such as ‘unequal social status, unequal wealth and access to resources and unequal power,’ often lead to problems of ‘discrimination, unemployment, poverty, oppression and crime’, but also ‘each level connects to the others, forming a potentially powerful chain of forces either for constructive change or for destructive violence’ (ibid: 4).
Regarding incompatible goals, the goals can relate to values or interests, which indicate two basic forms of conflict; conflict of interests and conflict of different values (Leeds, 1987: 2). Conflict of interest occurs when two or more people or groups want the same things (e.g. land, resources, jobs, power), which are in short supply, and conflict of different values arises between people or groups with different political, religious, cultural or social values (ibid: 2-4). Moreover, incompatible goals can be held by the same person, which is referred to ‘as a “dilemma”, as a problem of individual choice’ (Galtung, 1975: 78). In terms of relationships and incompatibility in conflict, Deutsch (1973: 10) has a similar point of view, stating that ‘a conflict exists whenever incompatible activities occur’ on various levels such as intra-personal (one person), intra-group (one group) and intra-national (one nation) as well as inter-personal (two or more persons), inter-group (two or more groups) and international (two or more nations). The incompatible activities can occur around one or several types of issue, including control over resources, preferences and dislikes, values, beliefs, and the nature of relationships between parties (Deutsch, 1973: 15-7).

It is also important to identify the situation of each conflict since different types of conflict require different kinds of intervention, as emphasised by Fisher et al. (2000: 5-6): latent conflict is below the surface and not noticeable, so that it needs to be brought into the open before it can be effectively addressed. In the process, conflict can be intensified by making a hidden conflict more visible for purposeful and non-violent ends; open conflict, which is both deep-rooted and highly visible, requires actions that address both the root causes and the visible effects; surface conflict has shallow or no roots and may be only a misunderstanding of goals that can be addressed by means of improved communication.

Furthermore, according to Galtung (1975: 79), there is a distinction between symmetric and asymmetric conflicts. A symmetric conflict is between agents (individuals, groups, nations, regions and globes) of the same rank and of the same kind (e.g. both are nations), owning comparable properties and equal resources. An asymmetric conflict is between agents of
different ranks (with different amount of resources), or of different kinds (e.g. the dichotomy between slaves and their owners). The rank dimension can be related to a balance of power, ownership, income, education or degree of autonomy, and ‘all these values that constitute the basis of the rank dimensions can be used as resources in a conflict and hence can become determinants of the outcome.’ Galtung (1975: 79-81) argues that it is important to distinguish asymmetric conflicts from symmetric conflicts in relation to a distinction between personal (direct) violence and structural (indirect) violence, because the idea of symmetric conflicts can explain violence between equals but not violence between unequal parties, and the idea of absence of violence based only on relationships between equal groups gives a biased approach to violence, conflict and peace.

While different types and causes of conflict can be identified as seen above, there are contrasting sociological perspectives on conflict: consensus theory, with a negative view on conflict, and conflict theory, underlying the inevitability of conflict (Meighan and Siraj-Blatchford, 1997: 271; Stewart, 1998: 7-9). From the viewpoint of consensus theory, which is represented by the functionalists such as Emile Durkheim and Talcott Parsons, who emphasise interdependence of each functional part of social practice and its contribution to the wholeness of society as a result of agreement of different interests and values, conflict is regarded as a negative factor, which disturbs harmony in society (Stewart, 1998: 8-9). In contrast, from the viewpoint of Marxist conflict theory, social order is based on a continual process of interaction between conflicting power and the interests of different groups (Meighan and Siraj-Blatchford, 1997: 271). While Marxist theory has been developed by Gramsci with the term ‘hegemony’ as domination, subordination and exploitation by the ruling class as causes of social conflict (Stewart, 1998: 8), the notion of power highlighted in Marxist analysis of social conflict (Meighan and Siraj-Blatchford, 1997: 271) is useful for the analysis of conflict between individuals or groups in general.
Moreover, like Marxist conflict theory, the inevitability of conflict is also perceived by another sociological viewpoint based on *symbolic interactionism*, as G. H. Mead (1934/1967: 303-4) states that social antagonism is one of two main basic human behaviour tendencies, as well as social co-operation, which lead individuals to constitute and organise societies. According to Mead (1934/1967: 307), in a highly developed and organised society, the individual members are interrelated by sharing common social interests as well as by being in conflict with other interests possessed individually or collectively in small groups. Therefore, while it is natural for a society to have conflicts among different personalities, social aspects and attitudes, which constitute social structure, these conflicts can be settled or ended by reconstructing particular social situations and by modifying existing social relationships, which is carried out by the minds of the individuals (Mead, 1934/1967: 307-8).

2.3.2 Conflict Resolution

As seen above, conflict is inevitable and it occurs with or without violence. However, from the viewpoint of peace, it is important to deal with conflict without resorting to violence or aggression. Tyrrell (2002: 29-30) notes three main methods of resolving disputes: negotiation, arbitration and mediation: ‘Negotiation is conducted directly between the disputants, without a third party,’ while in arbitration ‘the arbitrator decides on the solution for the disputants.’ Mediation is broadly defined by Galtung (1975: 346) as ‘any non-violent effort by a third party to bring the two parties to resolve a conflict without recourse to violence.’ Moreover, conflict can be used in constructive ways, as Fisher et al. (2000: 6) state that ‘conflict itself can be as much a part of the solution as it is of the problem.’ This section explores ideas and ways of managing conflict positively, which underlie the principles of peace education.

Galtung (1975) has developed a tool for analysing these processes of conflict as ‘the Conflict Triangle’ (see Figure 1.1), in which elements of conflict and the processes of escalation and de-escalation of conflict are indicated. As this triangle shows, conflict is an
abstract characteristic of an action system, in which the actors have attitudes towards themselves or towards others, and each attitude may result in the behavioural patterns. The three should be kept analytically apart and they are empirically independent. For Brand-Jacobsen (2002: 20-1), while modifying the original triangle into: A (attitudes), B (behaviour) and C (contradiction), attitudes involve how people feel and think about a conflict and how they perceive ‘the other’ and their goals, behaviour involves how they act in the conflict, and contradiction involves the actual issues and what the conflict is about.

Figure 1.1 The Conflict Triangle

Based on the Conflict Triangle, Galtung’s theory (1975: 81) emphasises the importance of understanding of conflict for the study of peace in relation to personal (direct) violence and structural (indirect) violence. While the Conflict Triangle can be used to show how structural violence within unequal relationships leads to conflict as described by Fisher et al. (2000: 4) above, it can also be used to explain direct violence which ‘enters conflict in the B corner, as a behavioral manifestation of the conflict’ (Galtung, 1975: 82). On the other hand, the Conflict Triangle also suggests that conflict may lead to constructive behaviour, while positive behaviour may lead to conflict (Galtung, 1975: 82). For example, oppressive relationships may lead to confrontation by raising awareness of the oppressed (Curle, 1971: 194-5).
While there are various processes by which conflict may be manifested, conflict escalates in a situation in which levels of tension and violence are increasing. Fisher et al. (2000: 6) explain that conflict becomes violent when ‘there are inadequate channels for dialogue and disagreement’, when ‘dissenting voices and deeply held grievances cannot be heard and addressed’, or when ‘there is instability, injustice and fear in the wider community and society.’ While efforts should be made to prevent escalation of the conflict, conflict should not be suppressed, as this leads to future problems. According to Fisher et al. (2000: 7-8), there are various approaches to respond to violent conflict situations, and these approaches can also be seen as steps in a process, and each step taken includes the previous one: conflict prevention involves strategies to address potential conflict with a view to preventing the outbreak of or an escalation into violent conflict; ‘conflict settlement aims to end violent behaviour by reaching a peace agreement’; ‘conflict management aims to limit and avoid future violence by promoting positive behavioural change in the parties involved’; conflict resolution involves strategies to address open conflict by finding the causes of conflict, and ‘seeks to build new and lasting relationships between hostile groups’; and ‘conflict transformation addresses the wider social and political sources of a conflict and seeks to transform the negative energy of war into positive social and political change.’

Among these approaches, conflict prevention, conflict settlement and conflict management are more likely to lead only to ‘negative peace’ (the absence of physical violence as defined by Galtung, 1975) rather than ‘positive peace’ (co-operation and integration of people, with the absence of injustice). This is because conflict management can mean ‘to decrease or at worst to maintain the conflict level’ (Galtung, 1975: 83), and conflict prevention focuses on the avoidance of disturbance without any confrontation and changes of the oppressive or exclusive condition (Francis, 2002: 28). While conflict resolution, based on impartiality and diplomacy, aims to resolve conflict through dialogue and problem-solving, by addressing the needs of the people involved (Francis, 2002: 6), it is also criticised by some. This is because
conflict resolution, often used as a similar meaning to mediation, sometimes only means maintaining the status quo of injustice without reaching positive peace, when used as ‘an instrument of pacification’, as pointed out by Francis (2002: 27-8).

To distinguish this limited meaning of conflict resolution from the more positive process of conflict resolution, Francis (2002: 6-7) uses the term ‘conflict transformation,’ which addresses ‘the need to address underlying structural and cultural violence’ and ‘the inevitability of conflict in the process of change.’ The process of conflict transformation may involve confrontation (without violence) rather than avoiding it, with a view to making relationships more just by ‘meeting the needs of all, allowing for the full participation and dignity of all.’ (Francis, 2002: 7). This positive view of conflict, with the idea of transforming conflict into better relationships, is shared by many others, including Lederach (1995).

Overall, conflict transformation aims to resolve or manage conflict as a means of constructive rather than destructive force. Therefore, although conflict is often seen as a negative phenomenon, it can be used in a positive way. Leeds (1987: 1) states that conflict can be ‘a vital part of a free society,’ where all individuals have different opinions and where disagreements can lead to positive changes in society.

2.3.3 The Important Elements of Constructive Conflict Resolution

So what are the essential elements of constructive conflict resolution? As an important element required in the process of conflict transformation, Francis (2002: 30) suggests that ‘dialogue is at the heart of conflict resolution,’ which contributes to ‘the development of trust, understanding and a co-operative relationship,’ and the process of negotiation in search of agreement. The importance of dialogue is also stressed by Freire (1972: 64), who promotes dialogue between the oppressed and the oppressors towards equal relationships and mutual trust, since ‘dialogue is the encounter between men, mediated by the world’ (ibid: 61) and generates critical thinking which ‘perceives reality as process and transformation, rather than
as a static entity’ (ibid: 64). Freire (1972: 61) argues that the oppressed need to claim their right to speak their minds, since dialogue cannot take place between those who deny others’ right to speak their own minds and those whose right to speak has been denied them.

Another important element of constructive conflict resolution could be seen as co-operation. For Francis (2002: 30), the purpose of conflict resolution is ‘to discover or develop common ground and reach a mutually acceptable agreement, through a co-operative process rather than a contest.’ Similarly, Deutsch (1973) emphasises the importance of a co-operative process as the necessary condition for resolving conflict constructively rather than generating its destructive consequences. In his study of co-operative and competitive approaches to the resolution of conflicting interests from a socio-psychological viewpoint, Deutsch (1973: 20-32) found that a co-operative approach is more effective in the constructive process than a competitive approach. This is because, in a co-operative situation, participants increase one another’s chances to attain their goals, while in a competitive situation a participant’s increased chances of goal attainment mean the decreased chances of others (ibid: 22).

As other important elements of constructive conflict resolution, Francis (2002: 37-8) proposes empowerment, participation and equal relationships with a view to creating a ‘balance of power’ through dialogue. In particular, Francis (2002: 37-8) criticises common forms of conflict resolution, which often neglect the need for justice and the realities of power by emphasising the role of mediators and impartiality without moral judgement or assessment of the effect of unequal power relationships. Similarly, Freire (1972) promotes empowerment and participation of the oppressed in the process of constructing a more just society, believing that ‘only power that springs from the weakness of the oppressed will be sufficiently strong to free both’ the oppressed and the oppressors (Freire, 1972: 21). Power in this context does not mean physical force but involves personal changes as well as social changes through ‘conscientization’ (ibid: 81) - the process in which people ‘emerge from their submersion’ through critical thinking and reflection on the situation, become fully conscious of reality, and
intervene to transform it through the praxis - reflection and action (Freire, 1972: 73).

The idea of empowerment of the less powerful in the process of conflict resolution towards more equal relationships is supported by many others. For example, Curle (1971: 194-5) believes that in oppressive relationships education can raise awareness leading to confrontation to change the relationships. Since peace cannot be achieved by turning the oppressors into the oppressed, Curle (1971: 23) emphasises the importance of changing the structure of society, which also means the transformation of those who are involved into friends instead of enemies. Agreeing with Curle (1971), Lederach (1995: 12-3) also emphasises the need for raising the awareness of those who are in unequal and unjust relationships in order to restructure and balance power relationships, recognise mutual dependence, increase the voice of the less powerful and legitimise their concerns about increased equality and justice. According to Lederach (1995: 13), the success of the confrontation, including an increased awareness of interdependence and balanced power, makes negotiation possible by working together to achieve goals.

Moreover, in the process of dealing with conflict, Francis (2002: 40) stresses the value of active non-violence, which aims ‘to engage in conflict in order to resolve it’. The idea of non-violent conflict resolution is influenced by Gandhi’s philosophy of non-violence with the idea of ahima (‘non-violence’). Opposing harm towards, or killing of, any living things, Gandhi (1961: 59: 41) argues that ‘any violence done to the rulers would be violence done to ourselves’. Gandhi’s philosophy of non-violence is based on the idea of satyagraha (clinging to truth; civil or non-violent disobedience or resistance). Satyagraha is described by Gandhi (1961: 29: 92) as ‘the Force which is born of Truth and Love or non-violence.’ For Gandhi, the practice of satyagraha is ‘a weapon of the strongest and excludes the use of violence in any shape or form’ (Gandhi, 1951: 6). Gandhi (1961: 59: 42) notes that ‘violence may destroy one or more bad rulers, but … others will pop up in their places, for, the root lies elsewhere. It lies in us. If we reform ourselves, the rulers will automatically do so.’ Therefore, the practice
of satyagraha is seen as a means of transforming personal relationships, which would lead to non-violent conflict resolution and bring changes on the political level.

Thus, to overcome injustice by non-violent means, the value of non-violence needs to challenge ‘cultural violence’ (Galtung: 1990). While violence is often justified as a means of bringing about social justice, cultural violence is reflected in a form of militarism in the world today, which is often used ‘in defence of democracy,’ although militarism is a contradiction of democracy (Francis, 2002: 7). Therefore, for Francis (2002: 7), ‘conflict transformation’ is not only the shift from military or violent approaches to a democratic approach to conflict, but also requires ‘the transformation of cultural assumptions about the exercise of power: the substitution of power with for power over, and the assumption of responsibility by “ordinary people”, individually and collectively, for the things that affect their own lives and those of others’. The importance of ‘people power’ (Francis, 2002: 10) has been promoted by many leaders including Freire, Gandhi and Martin Luther King, who opposed the violent means of achieving social change.

Overall, conflict transformation involves the process of non-violent conflict resolution towards more equal and just relationships, underpinned by the principles of ‘empowerment’ represented by Freire’s idea of ‘conscientization’, dialogue as a means of the active non-violence promoted by Gandhi, and the participation of ordinary people. These elements of constructive conflict resolution: dialogue, empowerment, participation, equal relationships, co-operation and non-violence are relevant to peace education, and are an integral part of the principles and practice of peace education. Moreover, the emphasis on the transformation of personal relationships, alongside the resolution of conflict, through the improvement of self-awareness, self-realisation and self-esteem supports the idea that conflict transformation is also an educational process for all the people involved.
2.4 Peace Education and the Concepts of Peace, Violence and Conflict

The concepts of peace, violence and conflict discussed above have had a great influence on the current principles and practice of peace education. In particular, the concepts of direct (personal) violence and indirect (structural) violence, as well as negative peace and positive peace, which have been developed in the field of peace studies, have contributed to establishing some important principles in current peace education (Galtung, 1975; Hicks, 1996). Peace research initially focused on direct or physical violence (such as war), but has been shifted to other less obvious forms, indirect or structural violence (social injustice) – namely, ‘violence that is built into social, political and economic structures’, including ‘apartheid, economic oppression, discrimination against minorities and denial of human rights’ (Hicks, 1996: 167). Burns and Aspeslagh (1996: 10) also note that the use of the ideas of ‘structural violence’ (or injustice) and ‘positive peace’ as conceptual tools to analyse war, disarmament, peace, justice and human rights have had a major influence on current peace education. Therefore, current principles and practice of peace education imply not only the concept of ‘negative peace’ (absence of physical violence) but also the concept of ‘positive peace’ (co-operation and integration among people with absence of structural violence, as defined by Galtung, 1975: 29), and aims to ensure freedom and equality in a relationship of mutual consent with a view to supporting the full development of human potential (Kant, 1795/1917: 117-9; Fisher et al., 2000: 12).

Moreover, different strategies that have emerged in peace research have influenced certain responses to violence, peace and conflict in the context of education. In a study of the problems facing formal education in the USA and possible urban educational reform through peace education, Berlowitz (1994: 88-92) considers that there are three main strategies for peace: peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding (e.g. Galtung, 1975; Fisher et al., 2000: 14) and that these can provide useful categories for different approaches to violence and
peace in schools. Harris (2001: 13-17) also finds this classification useful in distinguishing the different approaches to violence adopted in schools.

The goal of peacekeeping is basically ‘negative peace’ (absence of violence), by controlling physical violence through armed force and strong security (Galtung, 1975: 343). Based on the concept of ‘peace through strength’, which is rooted in ‘the Roman Empire: si vis parem, para bellum (if you desire peace, prepare for war)’, this strategy dominates the policies of most states in which strong military force is seen as necessary to provide security in a threatening world and the use of force is justified as an inevitable means of suppressing opposition and building peace (Harris and Morrison, 2003: 17-18).

However, its weaknesses are that, while the enforcement of security or the use of strict law and order may stop or reduce direct violence, the underlying problems or conflicts leading to violence may still not be addressed, while structural violence (or injustice) can be maintained (Galtung, 1975: 343-5), by securing the structural power of the privileged in a society or globally (Harris and Morrison, 2003: 18). In the context of education, peacekeeping responses to the problem of violence in schools involve the use of punishments, exclusion, metal detectors, weapon searches, security guards and police (Harris, 2001: 13-4). A peacekeeping approach in the UK is represented by the government’s ‘Safer Schools’ scheme, which has deployed police officers in more than 400 schools to tackle violence (Brettingham, 2006). While the scheme seems to bring a greater feeling of security and to reduce truancy in schools, it has been criticised for arresting children for minor misdemeanours, leaving them with criminal records which make it difficult for them to find jobs. Moreover, violence prevention activities are used to create an orderly learning atmosphere in schools, reflecting national policies for peace-through-strength, in which defence and prisons are expanded to provide security for citizens (Harris and Morrison, 2003: 11).

In contrast to peacekeeping, peacemaking aims to create suitable conditions for peaceful conflict resolution by finding the causes of and helping to end disputes (Leeds, 1987: 162).
This strategy often involves mediation, which is defined as ‘any non-violent effort by a third party to bring the two parties to resolve a conflict without recourse to violence’ (Galtung, 1975: 346). Although many conflicts can be resolved through this approach, some (Sharp, 1984 in Hicks, 1988: 7) point out that there is a danger of reproducing inequality within existing unequal balances of power. In the context of education, this approach is often associated with conflict resolution education and peer mediation programmes, in which non-violent and constructive ways of resolving interpersonal conflicts are taught (Harris, 2002: 18; Harris and Morrison, 2003: 11). Peer mediation involves a mediator to help disputants reach a mutually agreed solution to their conflict, and provides children with skills such as mediation, empathy and alternative dispute resolution methods needed to prevent escalating violent behaviour in schools (Harris, 2002: 18). The peacemaking skills also include communication, co-operation, affirmation, conflict management and bias awareness, based on Prutzman’s (1978) Children’s Creative Response to Conflict Program in New York, which has also been adopted in the UK (Stacey and Robinson, 1997: 9). On the other hand, mediation programmes, which are widely used, have been criticised for not addressing unequal power relationships between parties involved and for using prescriptive and standardised processes without considering cultural sensitivity towards minority groups (Berlowitz, 1994: 88).

In contrast to peacekeeping and peacemaking, both of which may have immediate effects on reducing violence, peacebuilding, with less focus on conflict behaviour, addresses the underlying context and attitudes that cause violence, such as inequality, discrimination, prejudice, unjustifiable responsibility for past crimes, mistrust, fear and hostility (Fisher et al., 2000: 14). Fisher et al. (2000: 14) note that peacebuilding is low-profile continuous work but can have strong effects on long-term stability and justice. According to Harris (2002: 18-19), this approach to the problem of violence can be seen as controversial, since it addresses injustice and seeks ways to replace existing unequal structures in society with more equal
structures based on more balanced power relationships. In the context of education, a peacebuilding approach aims to raise an awareness of structural violence (or social injustice) with a view to promoting equality and ‘positive peace,’ rather than only controlling visible violence and achieving ‘negative peace’ (Harris, 2002: 18). Since this approach considers that ‘the problems of violence reside in the culture surrounding youth,’ ‘the goal is to give young people insights into the sources of this violence and empower them to avoid and transform it’ (Harris, 2001: 14). According to Harris and Morrison (2003: 11), in a peacebuilding approach, ‘children who learn about nonviolence can promote positive peace, which is proactive and seeks to avoid violence and conflict, as opposed to peacekeeping and peacemaking which react to violent situations trying to stop them’. On the other hand, this approach to peace education can be controversial, as it challenges existing practice in society and ‘traditional curricula where history is a series of violent events’ (Harris, 2001: 15). From the same viewpoint, Berlowitz (1994: 90) argues that, in a peacebuilding approach, educators should develop an understanding of structural violence in the context of education, in view of the situation that the education system has failed to promote equality.

As seen above, different strategies for peace are reflected in approaches to violence in schools. While all strategies necessarily depend on different situations, not all of the approaches are mutually compatible or mutually exclusive (Harris, 2001: 16; Harris and Morrison, 2003: 17). In terms of practice in schools, violence prevention and conflict resolution based on peacekeeping and peacemaking approaches have been widely accepted in schools, but much less attention is given to peacebuilding in schools (Harris and Morrison, 2003: 11). Harris (2001: 16), in particular, criticises schools’ emphasis on a peacekeeping approach with punitive measures, which alienate disturbed children from school. Moreover, some disciplinary measures used in schools such as punishments, exclusion (by removing the opportunity for education) can themselves be part of a broader understanding of violence (e.g. Galtung, 1975; Salmi, 1993). Considering these conditions in schools, peace education places
the emphasis on ‘positive peace’ (defined by Galtung, 1975, as co-operation and integration among people), alongside ‘negative peace’ (defined as the absence of violence), by reducing structural violence, and making particular use of peacemaking and peacebuilding approaches.

2.5 Conclusion

Among the various concepts of peace, violence and conflict arising from the areas of peace studies, philosophy or sociology, the study above has identified some ideas relevant to peace education. These ideas, in contrast with the general idea that peace is only the absence of war, include the concepts of physical violence and structural violence (or injustice). Moreover, the concepts of peace imply not only ‘negative peace’ (the absence of violence) but also ‘positive peace’ (co-operation and integration among people with absence of structural violence) in the field of peace research (e.g. Galtung, 1975). In the field of philosophy, Kant’s (1795/1917) idea of peace is established through consensus of people, based on freedom, equality and common laws accepted by members of society. Similarly, Rawls’ (1973) concept of justice, as a certain aspect of peace, is based on equality, fairness, reciprocity and liberty.

While these ideas support the principles and practice of peace education, the emphasis in peace education has shifted from physical violence (such as war) and ‘negative peace,’ to structural violence (or injustice) and ‘positive peace,’ largely influenced by peace research (Hicks, 1996: 167). Therefore, the goals of peace, which are reflected in peace education, are not only to decrease wars or physical violence but also to promote co-operation and integration, based on justice, equality and liberty in order to create a more equal and just society, as a necessary condition to support the full development of human potential. These goals of peace are underpinned by the assumption that peace is possible and that a peaceful society can be constructed by learning peaceful behaviour, because war and violent behaviour are more likely to be produced socially rather than biologically (e.g. the ‘Seville Statement on Violence’ 1986). This assumption also supports the rationale of promoting peace education.
Furthermore, in contrast to the generally accepted idea that conflict is equivalent to violence and thus always negative, a broader concept of conflict includes conflict without violence or conflict used as a positive force for change. As well as this wider concept of conflict, some approaches to conflict resolution underpin the principles and practice of peace education, especially constructive conflict resolution, which transforms conflict into positive relationships through co-operation, dialogue, participation and empowerment (e.g. Freire, 1972; Deutsch, 1973; Francis, 2002), considering that conflicts are often rooted in imbalances in different levels of relations (from personal to social, economic and power relations), and in incompatible goals or interests (Leeds, 1987; Fisher et al., 2000).

Moreover, while some strategies for peace have arisen from peace research, such as peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding (e.g. Galtung, 1975; Fisher et al., 2000; Harris, 2001) and have influenced current approaches to violence and peace practised in the context of education, it seems that current approaches to violence in schools are often reactive rather than preventative. Therefore, as suggested by Harris (2001), it is important to promote a peacebuilding approach (based on raising awareness of structural violence and efforts to bring positive peace), along with a peacemaking approach (based on conflict resolution, mediation and peacemaking skills), as opposed to a peacekeeping approach with the use of tight control and punitive measures. The details of how these ideas about, and approaches to, peace, violence and conflict can be adopted and translated into the principles and practice of peace education will be discussed later in the thesis.
CHAPTER 3

The Need for Peace in Formal Schooling
3.1 Introduction

Whilst schools are seen as places where students can learn non-violent behaviour, the education system is often criticised since its functions and characteristics involve various forms of structural violence, such as inequality, hierarchical structures, authoritarianism and control. Galtung (1975: 332) states that, ‘In the concrete school situation…there are many examples of structural violence…’ From his viewpoint of supporting peace, Galtung (1975: 319) perceives that traditional education is often contrary to the idea of peace education, so that it can be ‘harmful.’

Taking account of these contrasting possibilities within the formal school setting, this chapter explores the current characteristics and conditions of formal schooling, which is the context of this research on peace education, with a view to identifying the possible need for peace education in schools. In particular, the study aims to investigate some aspects of formal education, which seem to be contrary to ideas of peace. At the same time, it will also present the perception that schools have great potential for correcting and changing these conditions.

3.2 Reproduction of Inequality and Social Control in the Education System

The UK government has introduced a ‘Safer Schools’ scheme, which aims to stem violence and misdemeanours in schools by allocating police officers to more than 400 primary and secondary schools from 2002 (Brettingham, 2006). Referring to similar situations in the USA, Noguera (1995: 189) argues that ‘the problem of violence in schools, which is part of the overall problem of violence in society, has become one of the most pressing educational issues in the United States.’ Noguera (1995) also recognises that:

In their desire to demonstrate toughness and reassure the public that they are in control, school officials have become increasingly rigid and inflexible when meting out punishment upon students who violate rules, even when the infractions are not of a violent nature. (Noguera, 1995: 190)
Consequently, the dominant measures to reduce violence in schools include metal detectors, ‘zero-tolerance’ policies using punishments (e.g. suspension, exclusion, transfer) and involvement of police officers or security guards, although other approaches (e.g. conflict resolution programmes, mentoring programmes, counselling programmes) have proven relatively successful in particular schools (Noguera, 1995: 190). Criticising these disciplinary measures, Noguera (1995) argues that:

Current efforts aimed at combating violence may, in fact, have the opposite effect, particularly given the weakening of the moral authority schools once enjoyed.

(Noguera, 1995: 189-90)

For Noguera (1995: 205-6), the reason why schools have become susceptible to violence is related to the structure and culture of schools which are influenced by the continuing social control exercised in formal education.

This viewpoint on schooling, according to which the structure and culture of schools are under the influence of continuous social control, has been expressed in particular sociological perspectives as a mechanism to reproduce inequality of existing social, economic and political structures of society. In this sense, Marxist conflict theory, discussed previously, is relevant to the relations between peace education and its contexts, such as the education system and schooling, since Marxist idea of ‘hegemony’ and power exercised over a subordinate class in the social structure is reflected in the education system (Meighan and Siraj-Blatchford, 1997: 281-86). Marxist analysis of education in relation to the distribution of power and control in society can be useful for investigating the influence of dominant interests and ideologies upon educational practice in schooling. In particular, for the study of peace education, it is important to examine these critical perspectives on schooling, and to identify the effects of power and control in the education system, since some of the effects can be perceived as structural violence (or injustice) exercised in and by education in the light of a broad
definition of violence (e.g. Galtung, 1975; Salmi, 1993; Fisher et al., 2000). This definition includes the perpetuation of inequality, control and discipline by means of rewards and punishment based on competition, suppression of potential personal growth, imposition (or indoctrination) of certain knowledge and values, and conditions of schooling which can cause negative feelings and low self-esteem.

Perhaps the dominant current view of education is based on ‘human capital theory,’ which regards formal education as an investment to stimulate economic growth and social mobility (World Bank, 1990). While efficiency and effectiveness in education are prioritised to ensure a high return from the investment and to expand the economy, education is seen as an instrument for promoting national prosperity by providing individuals with cognitive knowledge and technical skills, which enable them to become more productive in an economic sense and provide them with better job opportunities. Another major view stresses the role of education as the socialisation of children. For example, Durkheim (1956) perceives the main role of education as being to socialise children by transmitting ‘religious beliefs, moral beliefs and practices, national or occupational traditions, collective opinions of every kind’ (Durkheim, 1956: 124). With the emphasis on the function of the education system as part of the social system, Durkheim’s view of the relationship between education and society is that education is ‘the means by which society perpetually recreates the conditions of its very existence,’ since ‘Education perpetuates and reinforces this homogeneity by fixing in advance, in the mind of the child, the essential similarities that collective life presupposes’ (ibid: 123-4). In order to reproduce homogeneity in society, Durkheim (1956: 87) believes that ‘education must be essentially a matter of authority,’ while pupils are considered as only passive learners under the influence of a teacher who is naturally over them (ibid: 85-6).

However, from the viewpoint of allocation theory, Sharp and Green (1978: 224) point out that ‘Durkheim, in stressing the integrative role of education, failed to appreciate the implications of education’s involvement in role allocation in the division of labour’.
Allocation theory considers schooling as ‘the initial stages of the institutionalization of social selection for the stratification system’ and ‘early success and failure in the classroom is of crucial importance for entry into the occupational structure, and hence the class structure at different levels’ (Sharp and Green, 1978: 221). For this function of schooling, the content of education is selected and transmitted, and social control over pupils and teachers is practised and maintained within schools to ensure their ‘appropriate attitudes and modes of action’ (ibid: 221-2).

Similarly, Bowles and Gintis (1976) argue that, based on a study of U.S. education, the current education system helps maintain and expand the capitalist order. Schooling is perceived as a mechanism for reproducing hierarchical relations in society, providing pupils with the necessary skills for their jobs and appropriate attitudes for taking different positions in society (Bowles and Gintis, 1976: 129-30), whilst disciplining them to become adults who are obedient to authority (ibid: 37). As a consequence, the education system seems to contribute not only ‘to reproduce economic inequality’ but also ‘to distort personal development’ since schools are unable to respond to the needs of individuals for their personal development (Bowles and Gintis, 1976: 48). Therefore, from the critical viewpoint of education, the education system (which is based on ‘human capital theory’ and Durkheim’s idea of socialising children) in reality functions as a means of social control and as a mechanism to maintain unequal power relationships in existing social structures.

On the other hand, some criticise Bowles and Gintis (1976) for only highlighting the effects of education in terms of the reproduction of economic systems by seeing a school as an instrument for transmitting economically useful norms, disciplines and values, as well as a mechanism for distributing the labour force, whereas the reproduction of culture within schools is neglected (Apple, 1982: 21). From the viewpoint which recognises education as the reproduction of culture alongside the reproduction of economic systems, the role of schools is regarded as transmitting dominant knowledge and values, which reproduce and maintain the
dominant culture and stratified social classes. Based on the idea of the reproduction of culture, in which each individual as ‘cultural capital’ accumulates dominant knowledge and values, Bourdieu and Passeron (1977/1990: 4) perceive schooling as ‘symbolic violence’ (defined as ‘every power which manages to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force, adds its own specifically symbolic force to those power relations’) in the way that the culture of dominant social groups is imposed and inculcated within the power relations legitimatised in the education system.

From a similar viewpoint that considers schooling as an instrument of social control and stratification, Foucault (1977) perceives schools as surveillance facilities, where a controlling power enforces discipline and training. Foucault (1977: 181-2) recognises that, under the hierarchical and punitive disciplinary system with constant surveillance, pupils are allocated to their roles in society according to their capabilities and conduct, which leads them to different positions in the hierarchical system in society, whilst being put under constant pressure to fit into the same model in which they are all forced to be subordinate, obedient and devoted to their studies and duties. In this way, schooling differentiates, stratifies, homogenises or ‘normalises’ pupils (Foucault, 1977: 183), while at the same time training them to internalise attitudes and values associated with hierarchical society. In this process of differentiating and stratifying pupils in schools, Foucault (1977: 184) points out the role of the examination in normalising judgement and ‘a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish’. Thus, schooling becomes the machinery of continuous examination to impose certain knowledge and to exercise certain power (ibid: 186-7). In this way, schools not only transmit certain knowledge and skills that enable individuals to function as an economic force in society, but they also reproduce values, ideas and attitudes which help maintain the interests of dominant groups of society under the conditions of constant surveillance and control.

On the other hand, Apple (1982: 29-30) argues that the process of reproducing hegemonic
control through the education system as part of the state is not a simple process but a constant process of involving compromise, conflict and struggle among different classes, gender and racial groups to generate consensus among opposing groups and their different interests. Therefore, in the same way, schools not only reproduce dominant knowledge and values which contribute to the hegemony of dominant groups, but also help to legitimate new knowledge and new social classes that emerge from conflicts and contradictions between different cultures of classes and groups regarding the school curriculum (Apple, 1982: 41-42).

Based on this view, Apple (1982) points out that one of weaknesses of theories of reproduction is that ‘they appear to have little place for that capacity for resistance which may be exercised by children and teachers in schools’ (Finn, Grant, Johnson and the C.C.C.S. Education Group, 1978: 4 quoted in Apple, 1982: 166), as schools also reproduce particular forms of resistance. This means that there is the potential for bringing changes into schools by enhancing this capacity of pupils and teachers through educational practice. Overall, according to the analysis above, the current education system largely reflects the social and economic interests of powerful groups in society. But also, it may be possible to change the nature of society through education since ‘education can influence the future shape and direction of society in a number of ways’ (Todaro, 2000: 342):

By reflecting the socioeconomic structures of the societies in which they function (whether egalitarian or not), education systems tend to perpetuate, reinforce, and reproduce those economic and social structures. Conversely, educational reform, whether introduced from within or outside the system, has the great potential for inducing corresponding social and economic reform in the nation as a whole. (Todaro, 2000: 342)

In summary, it seems that the current education system is not primarily focused on the ideas of peace, such as equality, co-operation and personal development. Instead, as a result of the transmission of dominant knowledge and values controlled through differentiation, stratification and competition in schooling, the education system contributes to reproducing
and perpetuating socio-economic inequality and social control as ‘structural violence’ (or social injustice as defined by Galtung, 1975: 114), which helps dominant groups of the society to stay in powerful positions. As Giddens (1997) notes:

The development of education has always been closely linked to ideals of mass democracy. Reformers value education, of course, for its own sake – for the opportunity it provides for individuals to develop their abilities and aptitudes. Yet education has also consistently been seen as a means of equalization. Universal education, it has been argued, will help reduce disparities of wealth and power by providing able young people with skills to enable them to find a valued place in society. How far has this happened? Much sociological research has been devoted to answering this question. Its results are clear: education tends to express and reaffirm existing inequalities far more than it acts to change them. (Giddens, 1997: 419-20)

3.3 Authoritarian Schooling and Alternative Practices

As discussed in the previous section, the conditions of the current education system and schooling seem to contribute to reproduction of social control, inequality and social differentiation (Apple, 1982), which are at odds with the principles of peace such as freedom and equality. In an attempt to identify some negative effects as a consequence of these conditions of formal education at a classroom level, this section explores common educational practice in schools, including teaching and learning practices, disciplinary measures and the relationships between teachers and pupils, as well as possible alternative approaches to educational practice, which can underpin the principles and practices of peace education.

3.3.1 ‘Indoctrination’ of Knowledge or Critical Thinking?

As seen above, the educational practice of schooling is often recognised as the process of categorising students and fitting them into existing social structures by transmitting knowledge, values and attitudes predetermined by those who have power in society. This notion of the education system has challenged the conventional viewpoint of schooling with
the underlying assumption that the curriculum is ‘socially and politically neutral’ (Giroux, 1983: 45). One problem of the educational process in schooling under this assumption can often be seen as ‘indoctrination’ of knowledge, since ‘subjective viewpoints are disguised as objective truth’ (Haavelsrud, 1996: 101).

The ‘indoctrination’ of knowledge is criticised by many other educators, including Galtung (1975: 112), who considers it as mental violence, and Freire (1972), who describes it as a ‘banking’ concept of education, in which people accept knowledge passively and uncritically through vertical and one-way communication. In the banking concept of education, the role of teacher is to ‘fill’ the students (who are turned into ‘containers’) with the contents, which are not connected with reality, and to direct the students to memorise automatically the content narrated by the teacher (Freire, 1972: 45). Therefore, education ‘becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor’ (Freire, 1972: 45). Freire (1972: 48) criticises this ‘banking’ concept of education because it limits the students’ capacity to think critically.

This practice seems, however, to reflect current schooling in general in which the necessity of authority in education is emphasised. For example, Durkheim (1956: 85-7) believes that a teacher should have a great power over pupils and to be in a superior position within the relationship with the pupils who are to be only passive under the influence of the teacher. However, criticising this type of education as contrary to the idea of peace, Galtung (1975: 339) believes that education for peace should liberate the mind, and not direct it to predetermined ideas. Freire (1972: 58) also criticises any condition where people are alienated from their own decision-making, arguing that ‘any situation in which some people prevent others from engaging in the process of inquiry is one of violence’. Freire (1972: 48) advocates that the solution is not to ‘integrate’ the oppressed into the structure of oppression, but to transform that structure so that the oppressed can become ‘beings for themselves’.

In direct opposition to the ‘banking’ concept of education, Freire (1972) suggests more
interactive learning methods under the assumption that education is a mutual process in which all learn together through dialogue and reflection within a horizontal relationship. Freire (1972) considers educational practice as a force for social change, aiming to develop the ability to perceive reality critically and deal with it creatively, based on the experience of learners. Thus, Freire’s (1972: 54) idea of liberating (or problem-posing) education attempts to achieve ‘the emergence of consciousness and critical intervention in reality’ by enabling the learners to face up to problems relating to themselves and respond to that challenge. In Freire’s idea of education for liberation, both teachers and student are simultaneously teachers and students (ibid: 46), whom he sees as critical co-investigators who teach each other for their reflection and consideration (ibid: 54). This idea is based on the belief that knowledge arises from the continuing inquiry that people pursue ‘in the world, with the world, and with each other’ (ibid: 46) to become more fully human in a process of learning from each other (ibid: 48). Freire (1972: 53) argues that liberating education consists of ‘acts of cognition,’ not transmission of information, since those who are involved in education such as teachers and students are the focus, not the learning content. Thus, as opposed to ‘indoctrination’ of knowledge based on unequal power relationships, Freire’s idea of education promotes dialogue among learners (including teachers), based on equal relationships.

In accordance with Freire’s idea, the critical understanding of formal education in relation to power and its impact on the construction of knowledge (developed by Gramsci and Foucault) recognises that the process of producing and reproducing power and knowledge not only sustains existing cultural and economic domination in society, but can also create ‘the seeds for resistance’ to domination (Darder, Baltodano and Torres, 2003: 6-7). In this way, peace education is seen as one way of empowering individuals by raising their consciousness of peace-related issues and by convincing themselves of their own ability to make a difference (Williamson, 1988: 144). It means that the power of individuals can provide an alternative source of power to challenge and change the existing unequal relationships in society.
3.3.2 Obedience to Authority or Moral Autonomy?

Currently, as argued above, schools often rely on adult control and external discipline with imposed rules and punitive measures. Since this approach to the discipline of children seems to be common in schools, it has been argued that the major model of schooling internationally is an authoritarian one, in which the dominant values and beliefs in the society are imparted through the process of indoctrination and socialisation, based on authoritarian relationships between teachers and pupils (Harber, 2004: 24-5).

Considering that the authoritarian role of schooling reproduces and perpetuates violence, Harber (2004: 42-3) points out that two causes of violent behaviour stem from the ‘socialisation’ of children in schools. The first is the role modelling of adults who are authoritarian towards them, whilst children are expected to respect, imitate and obey the adults. The second is ‘authoritarianism and its emphasis on automatic obedience to orders.’ There is the danger that obedience to orders can be used as a justification of violent actions carried out within authoritarian relationships, especially when students only have experience of resorting to violence for dealing with disagreements or differences, with little awareness of social justice (Harber, 2004: 43). This aspect of education accords with the viewpoint of Maria Montessori (1949/1992), who criticises authoritarian pedagogies as they can shape attitudes to follow dictatorship which can lead to wars. In the world today, there are still unquestioning attitudes towards authority in militarism, where people are trained to obey the order to harm or kill others unthinkingly, and to accept the decisions and commands of others unreflectively (Shapiro, 2002a: 65-66). Moreover, unquestioning obedience to authority can be found in fundamentalism since ‘dependence on authoritarian structures’ is seen as its major feature, and ‘a faith based on obedience to an external code or belief and conduct’ leads to automatic refusal to consider alternative perspectives (Davies, 2008: 44).

Opposing the imposition of external discipline, automatic obedience to orders and the implanting of majority values, Kohlberg (1980a: 74) promotes children’s moral development
by emphasising their autonomy in moral reasoning. Following the ideas of Dewey and Piaget, Kohlberg (1980a: 72) states that ‘the goal of moral education is the stimulation of the “natural” development of the individual child’s own moral judgement and capacities, thus allowing him to use his own moral judgement to control his behavior’. Based on his own research on moral development, Kohlberg (1980b: 455) suggests that a high level of morality (e.g. justice, equity, respect for human personality) can be stimulated by asking questions and pointing the way, not by giving answers. From Kohlberg’s viewpoint, schooling has an important potential role in enhancing the capacity for moral development and in stimulating the motivation for people to participate in their political communities.

3.3.3 Examinations and the Experience of Failure

As seen above, modern education systems seem to be directed to the needs of a capitalist society, and its educational process of socialising individuals is often based on competition, reflecting market rules (Bowles and Gintis, 1976). From a critical view of education, equal educational opportunity results in creating inequality in society as a result of the learning process emphasising acquisition of standardised knowledge and competition for higher academic achievement (Fuller, 1991: 39-40). This characteristic of the education system is supported by the examination system, in which education is used as an instrument to sort people into social categories and classes (Galtung, 1975: 320). This mechanism of schooling is problematic from the viewpoint of peace education, since peace itself is contrary to ‘vertical social relations and hierarchies in any form’ (ibid).

These characteristics of schooling can have negative consequences. Alexander and Hargreaves (2007: 1) report that in England ‘children are under intense and perhaps excessive pressure from the policy-driven demands of their schools and the commercially-driven values of the wider society.’ According to the same report on primary schools in England, children felt that ‘SATs were “scary”, made them nervous and anxious, and put them under pressure’
(ibid: 15). Furthermore, this situation can become the cause of potential violence in school, when the pressure for higher achievement and competition, causing students stress, depression, lack of self-confidence and low self-esteem, leads to personal violence such as aggression, bullying and self-harm (e.g. Davies, 2004: 121-3; Harber, 2004: 47, 70).

Thus, some aspects of current educational conditions seem to ‘constrain and disempower’ children rather than ‘enable’ them (Alexander and Hargreaves, 2007: 2), despite government initiatives that attempt to promote policies of caring for all children in school such as Every Child Matters. Moreover, the negative psychological effects on children can become more serious from their experience of failure in school, as children often learn to fail in school and have low self-esteem (Holt, 1965/1984). Bruner (1999: 36) states that, ‘success and failure are principal nutrients in the development of selfhood,’ while schooling has a crucial role in forming selfhood and self-esteem of children (ibid: 35), which is important from the viewpoint of peace promoting full personal development (e.g. Galtung, 1975; Curle, 1984). However, it seems that schools do not always treat children’s vulnerable self-esteem with great care, by judging children’s performance continuously, thus in turn affecting children’s own evaluation of themselves (Bruner, 1999: 37). Bruner (1999: 39) claims that ‘we have become so preoccupied with the more formal criteria of “performance” and with the bureaucratic demands of education as an institution that we have neglected this personal side of education’. Since low self-esteem often causes young people to have negative feelings such as guilt, shame, depression and anger, part of the consequence can be youth crime in which they often show street smartness or defiance to compensate for their ‘sensed failure’ (or their experience of failure) in school (ibid: 37-38). Thus, if school cannot help these young people, ‘there are alienated countercultures that can,’ as Bruner (1999: 41) fears. In view of these conditions of schooling, Bruner (1999) claims that:

Any system of education, any theory of pedagogy, any “grand national policy” that diminishes the school’s role in nurturing its pupils’ self-esteem fails at one of its primary
functions. The deeper problem... is how to cope with the erosion of this function under modern urban conditions... Schools do not simply equip kids with skills and self-esteem or not. They are in competition with other parts of society that can do this, but with deplorable consequences for the society. (Bruner, 1999: 38)

Addressing the need for more consideration of the effects of schooling on children in terms of their conception of their own power to take initiatives, to take responsibility for their actions and to have confidence to cope with real-life issues in and outside school, Bruner (1999: 37) argues that, ‘Ideally, ...school is supposed to provide a setting where our performance has fewer esteem-threatening consequences than in the “real world,” presumably in the interest of encouraging the learner to “try things out.”

3.4 Conclusion

There are many challenges that peace education faces in school, under the conditions of the education system and schooling discussed above, such as different forms of structural violence (i.e. inequality, authoritarian relationships), mental violence (i.e. indoctrination) and negative feelings (i.e. anxiety, pressure, anger, low self-esteem), which may cause violent behaviour and actions. At the same time, there is also the possibility of bringing positive changes into schools and society through educational initiatives. As Bruner (1999: 19-20) states, from the viewpoint of constructivism, education should help young people learn ‘to use the tools of meaning making and reality construction,’ not only to adjust to society but also to contribute to the process of changing the existing society when it is necessary. McLaren (2003: 70) also states that, based on critical theory, a school can be seen ‘not only simply as an arena of indoctrination or socialization or a site of instruction, but also as a cultural terrain that promotes student empowerment and self-transformation.’ This means that it is possible for peace education to contribute to this process by promoting peace and counteracting certain forms of violence. The details of how peace education can be implemented in schools, and the principles and practice of peace education, will be discussed later in the thesis.
CHAPTER 4

The Nature of Peace Education
4.1 Introduction

As seen in the previous section, there is a perceived need for peace in today’s schools and society. Vriens (2003: 74) perceives the increasing problem of ‘senseless’ violence in today’s youth culture as ‘a signal that education has failed to raise young people with essential values and norms to control their violent instincts’. Peace education is underpinned by the assumption that war and violent human behaviour are more likely to be produced socially, rather than biologically, hence peaceful behaviour can be learned and a more peaceful society can be constructed (e.g. the ‘Seville Statement on Violence’ 1986) as discussed previously. Vriens (2003: 77) suggests that all education should include the responsibility for peace and the future for everyone in the world, based on the idea that ‘peace education cannot create or guarantee peace’ but it ‘can equip people for their contribution to the peace process’ (ibid: 79).

This chapter first explores the nature of peace education, including its principles and practice and, secondly investigates issues of peace education, including problems and challenges that current peace education faces.

4.2 The Nature of Peace Education

This section is intended to identify the nature of peace education, including the concepts, definitions and aims of peace education, important elements in the principles and practice of peace education, kinds of capacities that need to be nurtured, as well as relevant theories underpinning the ideas, principles and practice of peace education.

4.2.1 The Concepts, Definitions and Aims of Peace Education

In order to promote peace through education, a range of peace education programmes have been practised in different historical, socio-political, economic, cultural and educational contexts, with various ideas, values, objectives, approaches, contents and methods (Bjerstedt, 1990; Vriens, 1990; Burns and Aspeslagh, 1996; Salomon and Nevo, 2002; Wintersteiner,
Spajić-Vrkaš and Teutsch, 2003). At the same time, some common objectives and characteristics can be found across many programmes (Bar-Tal, 2002; Hicks, 1988a). A broad definition of peace education is provided by UNICEF:

The process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behaviour changes that will enable children, youth[s] and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive to peace, whether at an intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, national or international level. (Fountain, 1999: 1)

Some common areas of learning include knowledge, skills, attitudes, behaviour and values, which are necessary for non-violent conflict resolution and peace-building (Hicks, 1988a; Johnson and Johnson, 2005: 276). This means that peace education is not only ‘education about peace’ (gaining knowledge), but also ‘education for peace’ (nurturing skills, attitudes, behaviour and values), as argued by Bjerstedt (1990: 46) and others (e.g. Hicks, 1988a; 1996) since it requires a close relationship between ends and means, content and form (Hicks, 1988a: 17). As Reardon (1996: 155-6) states, the important task for peace education is ‘teaching the skills and capacities necessary to create and pursue alternatives to the present order,’ considering the current situation in which wars and militarism have been legitimised by formal education.

In the light of these ideas, the broader aims of peace education, stated by Hicks (1988a: 8 original italics) are: to explore the concepts of peace both as a state of being and as an active process; to enquire into the obstacles to peace and the causes of ‘peacelessness,’ both in individuals, institutions, and societies; to resolve conflicts in ways that will lead toward a less violent and a more just world; and to explore a range of different alternative futures, in particular ways of building a more just and sustainable society. With a similar emphasis on being future-oriented and action-oriented (e.g. Galtung, 1975: 330-1; Hicks, 1996: 168), Bjerstedt (1990: 45-6) notes that peace education aims to give students opportunities: to
express their feelings, to gain knowledge of and insights into today’s reality and necessary skills and values, to prepare them to build peaceful relationships with other people and to work for peaceful solutions without resorting to violence at all levels (personal, inter-group, international) as future citizens. This aspect of peace at all levels is also emphasised by Johnson and Johnson (2005: 276), stating that ‘the ultimate goal of peace education is for individuals to be able to maintain peace among aspects of themselves (intrapersonal peace), individuals (interpersonal peace), groups (intergroup peace), and countries, societies, and cultures (international peace)’. With the emphasis on the connection between these different levels of peace, Hicks (1988b) states that:

Education for peace is initially about individual actors on the world stage. That is to say it is about people, individually and in groups, and the way in which they interact … It is, of course, about individual pupils, teachers, and schools, about how they too interact and how they relate to each other. It is about peace, conflict, and violence in our daily lives and immediate experience. (Hicks, 1988b: 248)

Therefore, considering that peace is about people and their relationships at different levels, Hicks (1988b) argues that,

One focus in school thus needs to be very specifically on personal growth and development but, unlike many programmes in personal and social education, set in the broader contexts of both political and planetary awareness. (Hicks, 1988b: 248)

Similarly, Bjerstedt (1990: 46 original italics) considers that peace education is ‘not only preparation for actions in the personal arena, but also preparation for actions in a wider, political arena,’ stressing the importance of peace education in the long run, in terms of preparedness for non-violence, world citizen responsibility, egalitarian attitudes, and readiness to search critically for alternatives (ibid: 49, 52).

With these definitions and aims, the principles and practices of peace education utilise a range of approaches according to the preferred view of peace in different contexts. Just as
peace education reflects social reality and social goals, current issues and discoveries in the present world constantly contribute to peace education itself. According to Vriens (1990: 13), ‘concepts of peace education are not isolated systems of ideas’ but each concept can be ‘an answer to the political and cultural problems as perceived by people’ (ibid: 10).

There have been a range of concepts of peace education, coming from different viewpoints and different contexts. Vriens (1990: 10-14) has identified six different concepts of peace education in their historical context after World War II in the Netherlands: first, international understanding, as a reaction to the war between the European states (in the early fifties); second, building peace in the minds of people, such as UNESCO’s idea of peace (in the sixties); third, raising awareness of structural violence and providing the necessary skills to transform the society based on more peaceful structures (in the late sixties and early seventies); fourth, teaching children peace-related values through educational activities in their real world, which is based on theories of pedagogy and developmental psychology about possibilities of influencing children’s value systems before the age of twelve; fifth, encouraging children to take responsibility for life in the future and for decisions about a better world (in the late seventies); sixth, giving information about peace-related issues and emotions (e.g. fears) associated with the information. Among these concepts, it seems that Vriens (1990: 15) supports the idea expressed in the third concept (awareness-raising of social injustice and the provision of the necessary skills to transform society) and that of non-violent conflict resolution over structural violence, based on an analysis of the political structure with the emphasis on respect for the right of people and of future generations to fulfil their lives. Moreover, the fourth concept involves important aspects of children’s development of values and their understanding of peace-related issues, and the search for appropriate pedagogy underpinned by theoretical approaches (Raviv, Oppenheimer and Bar-Tal, 1999), which will be explored later in this chapter.
With a similar attempt to identify different concepts of peace education, Burns and Aspeslagh (1983: 323) notice that ‘peace education… in a historical perspective does not produce unique categories but is rather connected with a range of significant human issues operative at any particular point in time’. In contrast to Vriens’ (1990) classification in the historical context above, Burns and Aspeslagh (1983: 320-22; Aspeslagh and Burns, 1996: 52-53) employ concepts of peace education based on different perspectives, which is adopted from Haavelsrud’s (1981) four different approaches to disarmament education as follows:

1. The **idealistic** concept proposes the ‘conversion’ of the new generation to construct a positive future, based on UNESCO’s idea of peace and harmony through tolerance and mutual acceptance to eliminate conflicts, as equivalent to Vriens’ (1990) second concept. This approach is criticised for its lack of sociological analysis and the potential danger of preserving the interests of the oppressor.

2. The **scientific** concept suggests objective and neutral education based on the results of scientific research on the arms race by presenting different theories. This academic-oriented approach is criticised for its lack of concrete ideas and for downplaying the role of subjectivity and political values.

3. The **ideological** concept perceives formal education as an instrument for reproducing the interests of the powerful, rather than as a force for social change, while education can be used to legitimise the policies of armament for defence.

4. **Politicisation**, in contrast to the third approach, stresses the empowerment of the oppressed by raising their consciousness through the learning process. This approach addresses the need of changes in the form of educational practice in the process of social change.

   (Haavelsrud, 1981: 100-109)

The fourth concept, which is equivalent to Vriens’ (1990) third concept, claims that the education system and the form of education reflect the structure of society, which often involves structural violence. This idea is largely influenced by critical peace research developed by Galtung (1975), and political education promoted by Freire (1972), which have contributed to developing theories of peace education. Burns and Aspeslagh (1983: 323), in
particular, support the fourth approach identified by Haavelsrud (1981) among others, considering it as most relevant to the development of peace education.

As seen above, the important aspects of peace education are regarded as empowerment of learners by raising their consciousness of reality and awareness of structural violence in society while nurturing their capacity to transform existing structures into more peaceful structures. This idea of education reflects one of the two contrasting possibilities for formal education: whether education reproduces and maintains the unequal structures of present society by transmitting knowledge and values controlled by dominant groups, or whether it influences and changes the future towards a more peaceful and just society, by empowering students based on some analysis of the mechanisms of power and a critique of unequal structures and processes in society (Burns and Aspeslagh, 1996: 4-5).

Education in the first possibility would expect children to be ‘fit for the world’ (Freire, 1972: 50), while the second possibility directs education to the development of critical consciousness which enables children to become ‘transformers of that world’ (ibid: 47). The first possibility seems largely to reflect current education systems in many societies, which are criticised by reproduction theorists for the influence of the powerful within the education system which reproduces unequal power relationships existing in society (e.g. Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977/1990). On the other hand, within the second possibility, education aims to abolish unequal power relationships in society by developing the capacity of individuals to perceive reality (e.g. Freire, 1972). Based on this idea of critical pedagogy, peace education has the potential to replace a ‘culture of violence’ in present-day society with not only a ‘culture of peace’ but also a ‘culture of resistance’ against distorted reality imposed by the media and authority, and against manipulation by powerful groups, through raising students’ awareness of reality (Fisher et al., 2000: 146). This aspect of peace education is important as a response to a criticism that current peace education simply ‘relies on making people be nicer to each other’ (ibid: 146).
Moreover, since peace education promotes not only ‘negative peace’ (the absence of violence) but also ‘positive peace’ (co-operation and integration among people under the conditions of equality and full development of their potential, as defined by Galtung, 1975; Curle, 1984; Fisher et al., 2000), it is important to include the elements of positive peace in the principles and practice of peace education. The elements of co-operation, interaction, inclusion, equality, and personal development as well as justice and non-violent conflict resolution are emphasised in some influential peace education programmes (e.g. Children’s Creative Response to Conflict Program by Prutzman et al., 1978), and some theories underpinning certain approaches to peace education, such as ‘inter-group contact theory’ (Allport, 1954: 281; Pettigrew, 1998: 66) which is based on the hypothesis that positive effects on inter-group contact such as decreased prejudice and discrimination only occur under the conditions of equal group status, common goals, inter-group co-operation and institutional support (i.e. by law, custom or local atmosphere). There have also been applications of the elements of ‘conflict transformation theory’ (e.g. Curle, 1971; Galtung, 1975; Lederach, 1995) to peace education, while a transformation perspective of conflict resolution searches for ‘more fundamental transformations of underlying causes’ than ‘quick “solutions” to conflicts,’ and emphasises the process of empowering people and of transforming their relationships, society and its structure (Fetherston and Kelly, 2007: 264). Since these elements of conflict transformation are intended to change people’s understanding and perspectives of reality through personal and social transformations, the same idea is shared by critical pedagogy (e.g Freire, 1972) which aims to empower people and transform their relationships based on dialogical communication.

These aims and concepts of peace education share common grounds with other similar streams of education, such as world studies, human rights education, environmental education, international education, conflict resolution education (also peer mediation training, restorative justice approach etc.), development education, gender education, multicultural education,
anti-racist education (e.g. Hicks, 1988c; Fountain, 1999; Harris, 2004) and citizenship education, while some elements of these types of education can be incorporated into peace education depending on the emphasis.

However, an important principle is that peace education should reflect local or national concerns about current issues or social problems which students may experience in schools and in communities. In the UK (and elsewhere), there have been issues of religion and ethnic tensions or conflict, which can lead not only to divisions in communities but also to violence, extremism or terrorism (Davies, 2008). Segregation in a country or in a community also creates segregation of schools (e.g. Northern Ireland) or divisions among children within schools (e.g. Phillips, 2005). There have been many cases and discussions concerning these issues in the UK, including conflict between different racial or ethnic groups, religious or ethnic segregation of and in schools, tensions between new migrants (or refugees or asylum seekers) and the neighbourhood, Islamophobia in the aftermath of the September 11th, 2001 attacks on the USA (and the Iraq war followed) and the July 7th, 2005 attacks in London (see Ouseley, 2001; Richardson, 2004; Phillips, 2005; Gereluk and Race, 2007; Davies, 2008). Davies (2008) also points out potential negative consequences that schools segregated by religion or ethnicity (whether as faith schools or state schools) have on children and communities in terms of the undermining of community cohesion, increased religious or ethnic tensions, and concerns about extremism, if in these schools exclusive attitudes are not challenged with autonomous judgement, and students do not learn to respect and interact with people from different backgrounds (see Chapter 3 in Davies, 2008). Considering the issue of religious or ethnic divide in the community, the UK government has taken initiatives to promote community cohesion through schooling and has provided guidance on how schools can meet this new duty (DfCSF, 2007). Thus, in the contemporary context of peace education, educators and teachers need to be aware of and take account of these current issues of
religion and ethnic conflict, and concerns about extremism, along with some possible educational approaches in dealing with these issues (see Nelles, 2003; Davies, 2008).

Overall, peace education emphasises and gives priority to knowledge, understanding, skills, attitudes, behaviour and values, which are necessary for the reduction of violence and injustice, non-violent and constructive conflict resolution and problem-solving, and positive peace (co-operation and integration), while building equal and co-operative relationships, nurturing critical and reflective thinking, raising moral and social awareness, and increasing self-esteem. The next section investigates how these aims, concepts and ideas of peace education can be translated into some of the principles and practices of peace education.

4.2.2 The Principles and Practices of Peace Education: Key Elements and Capacities

In the light of the definitions, ideas and aims of peace education discussed above, this section will explore some important principles and practices of peace education, alongside the theories and philosophies underpinning education, child development, peace, justice and conflict. The section also aims to identify the kinds of capacities to be nurtured through peace education, and the methods of so doing, in order to develop the full potential of children.

Galtung (1975: 318-9) argues that the form or nature of peace education should be ‘compatible with the idea of peace’ by excluding not only physical violence but also structural violence (or injustice), considering that although teacher-imposed physical violence (e.g. corporal punishment) is not common in current education in many societies (e.g. England), there is structural violence existing in much of education, such as one-way communication, its negative effect on the development of horizontal interaction, vertical relations, hierarchies in various forms, and the examination used to sort out people into social categories and classes, as discussed in the previous section. For this reason, Galtung (1975: 319) believes that the form of peace education can be more important than the content.
Therefore, peace education should not involve methods characterised as physical, psychological and structural violence, which restrict people’s potential, such as one-way communication, hierarchical relationships, inequality, exclusion, discrimination, alienation, indoctrination of knowledge, manipulation by means of rewards and punishment and the examination system (as identified by Galtung, 1975; Salmi, 1993 in the previous chapter). Instead, peace education should employ methods that represent the idea of peace such as non-violence, equality, justice, co-operation, inclusion, integration, freedom, and the enhancement of people’s potential (as identified by Kant, 1795/1917; Galtung, 1975; Curle, 1984). Hicks (1996: 168) also notes that peace education is especially ‘concerned with creating learning situations which involve participation, co-operation and dialogue, leading to increased self-reliance’. For this reason, Curle (1984: 8) thinks that teachers have an important role in peacemaking in which they not only teach students peacemaking skills, but also create a peaceful environment in which the students can experience those skills ‘as genuine and consistent with what is taught’. Moreover, in the context of schooling, consistency is also required between conflict resolution (and peace education) programmes and daily practice in the whole school, for example in school policy on discipline, in a consistent approach to difficulties, understanding of conflicts, and the provision of conflict resolution training for all staff and pupils (Kingston Friends Workshop Group, 1996: 25).

Overall, to be consistent with the idea of peace and principles of peace education, the practice of peace education should be based on child-centred learning and co-operative relationships. Considering this aspect of congruence between the principles and practice of peace education, the following elements can be identified as important, in the light of the review of relevant literature: critical and reflective thinking, moral autonomy and co-operation, experience-based learning, emotional or social aspects of learning and self-esteem, understanding and solving conflict, and knowledge about peace-related issues. These will be now discussed in turn.
4.2.2.1 Critical and Reflective Thinking

The importance of promoting critical thinking or critical consciousness has been emphasised by many peace educators (e.g. Haavelsrud, 1981; Hicks, 1988; Vriens, 1990; Reardon, 1996; Harris and Morrison, 2003; Ben-Porath, 2006). As discussed above, important concepts of peace education include raising people’s awareness of structural violence, such as inequality and injustice in society, while at the same time empowering people to transform a society (Haavelsrud, 1981; Vriens, 1990). Furthermore, in the context of schooling in England, some (e.g. Griffith, 2000) consider that didactic methods used to teach the current ‘knowledge-based, assessment-driven curriculum’ suppress the development of critical thinking, and propose the need for promoting critical and reflective thinking. Hicks (1988a: 12-14) regards the development of critical thinking skills as one of the important objectives of peace education, so that students can approach issues with open and critical attitudes and ‘weigh up various arguments in order to make informed choices’ while being able to recognise and challenge indoctrination, propaganda from a government or a pressure group, and hidden bias (e.g. racism, sexism, militarism) in the media or in teaching materials.

As regards the significant influence of militarism on US formal education in terms of perceptions and values, such as discipline, physical strength, respect for authority and patriotism, as well as imposed authoritarianism, reinforcement of competition and differences among people, and a lack of emphasis on self-reliance and creativity, Reardon (1996: 147) argues that ‘peace education has a very special responsibility to emphasize the development of the reflective and analytical capacities which will be required to bring about changes in these belief systems and the institutions which they perpetuate’.

Peace education has been criticised for its uncritical approach, relying on ‘making people be nicer to each other’ (Fisher et al., 2000: 146), and thus for its apolitical approach, focusing on practical skills and personal relations with a reluctance to treat peace and war as political issues (Ben-Porath, 2006: 63-4). The response to this criticism of peace education can be seen
in a greater emphasis on ‘building a “culture of resistance” – against negative propaganda from the media and governments, against the overt presence of violence in society, and against being manipulated by more powerful groups’ (Fisher et al., 2000: 146). It means that peace education needs to pay more attention to civic and political aspects of peace and conflicts, in relation to moral realities and problems in society (Ben-Porath, 2006: 63-4). From this viewpoint, it is important to raise people’s consciousness of reality and nurture critical and reflective thinking through appropriate methods of peace education. This is particularly so, considering that ‘indoctrination’ of knowledge in educational contexts is criticised by many, including Galtung (1975: 112), who regards it as psychological violence.

To develop critical and reflective thinking, interactive learning methods based on dialogical communication should be adopted, rather than mere acceptance of knowledge without questioning, as suggested by Freire (1972). Freire (1972) realises that ignorance of the oppressed is created by a situation of economic, social and political domination which is intended to sustain ‘the submersion of consciousness’ (ibid: 54 original italics), so that their critical awareness is reduced. As a result, their humanity would be stolen and their potential for becoming fully human would be distorted (‘dehumanised’) through injustice, exploitation, oppression, and violence of the oppressors (ibid: 20-21). The viewpoint of Freire supports the idea of peace being needed to promote the full development of potential, as opposed to any conditions which limit the realisation of potential (Galtung, 1975; Curle, 1984; Fisher et al., 2000). Freire’s (1972: 80-81) pedagogy aims to enhance people’s ability to perceive reality critically and to change the power relationship, based on a belief that if education can develop an individual’s potential by eliminating obstacles to limit their potential, their collective power can transform reality through reflection and action. Therefore, Freire’s pedagogy, as well as his idea of education and its role in transforming society, can contribute to raising critical consciousness in the context of peace education.
In practice, the promotion of critical thinking in peace education should use a dialectical approach to encourage students to share ideas, and explore different viewpoints, by taking account of ambiguity existing within the real world and problems arising from ‘opposing points of view, contradictory lines of reasoning, the realities of power, and value-laden assumptions,’ as suggested by Harris and Morrison (2003: 221). An example of promoting critical and reflective thinking through exploring and investigating relevant ideas and experiences can be seen in the programmed teaching proposed by Galtung (1975: 320-1): In the process, learners discuss and write about concepts relating to peace, and then the concepts are applied to empirical examples (from family conflicts to the problems in the world), in order to practise the theory, diagnose a concrete situation and propose action. To exclude structural violence within peace education, learners are encouraged to criticise the content of the programme with a view to improving it and are given plenty of opportunity for horizontal learning, collective feedback and general participation, based on dialogue through asking questions and promoting discussions to explore various alternatives, rather than ‘correct’ answers (Galtung, 1975: 320-1). Overall, the programme reflects the elements of inquiry, dialogue, discussion, critique, horizontal relationships, reflection and participation, which are important for empowering individuals towards the full development of their potential.

On the other hand, one weakness of this approach is that these tools, which give individuals power, might be used ‘to reinforce existing social structures by confirming the range of choices and freedoms of the elite, both within and between schools, while reminding the others of their limited potential effectiveness,’ according to Williamson (1988: 150). A further criticism might be that there is a predetermined outcome, that is, students might become critical of existing power structures, rather than supportive of them. This would be another form of indoctrination. However, peace education actually aims to raise issues and perspectives not normally encountered in formal education and thus to provide learners with genuine choice amongst a range of possibilities, which is not necessarily the current situation.
As this approach to peace education relies on a collective awareness of the injustice of certain individuals as a vehicle for social transformation, raising the level of moral consciousness would be an essential element of peace education. For this reason, critical thinking should be applied, utilising a high level of ‘moral consciousness,’ enabling children to question indoctrination by using their own judgement rather than by accepting the majority consensus uncritically. The next section will therefore discuss moral principles and possible methods to develop moral consciousness in the context of peace education.

4.2.2.2 Moral Autonomy and Co-operation

Opposing the teaching of fixed rules and the imposition of majority values, Kohlberg (1980a: 74) advocates the promotion of children’s moral development by respecting autonomy in their moral reasoning, while claiming that ‘the content of moral education must be defined in terms of justice, rather than in terms of majority consensus’. To achieve social justice and the absence of violence based on moral autonomy, the development of moral consciousness should be an essential part of peace education. This viewpoint is expressed by Harris and Morrison (2003: 218-9), who regard the development of moral sensitivity as one of the important elements of peace education, achieved by considering dilemmas and the moral reasoning involved in personal or social problems, or political decisions such as wars and the arms race. Vriens (2003: 77) also suggests that peace education should include an awareness of values. This involves the idea of non-violence (both physical and structural), human rights, social justice, the development of personal creativity, critical solidarity with other people, and tolerance and openness to other cultures. According to Kohlberg (1981), there are two important moral principles:

The first principle is that “people are of unconditional value,” translatable into the Kantian principle “act so as to treat each person as an end, not as a means.” The second related principle is individual justice, “the right of every person to an equal consideration of his claims in every situation, not just those codified into law”. (Kohlberg, 1981: 164)
Based on this idea of morality as a sense of justice underpinned by the ideas of Kant (1788/1983) and Rawls (1973), Kohlberg (1981: 143) thinks that justice, or reciprocity and equality, is part of the initial experience of role-taking in social interaction, following Piaget (1932/1977), Mead (1934) and others. In particular, the resolution of a moral conflict between the competing claims of individuals requires the capacity for role-taking, based on the principles of justice or of fairness, including ‘the principles for making rules and distributing roles (rights and duties)’, as well as the principle of equality: ‘treat every person’s claim equally, regardless of the person’ (Kohlberg, 1981: 143-4). Thus, moral aspects of peace education involve the principles and practice of justice as forms of equality and reciprocity, which can be learned through experience of role-taking, rule-making, and interaction with others. This concept of justice can also support the cognitive-developmental assumption that moral principles emerge through social interaction rather than through imposed external rules or natural tendencies (Kohlberg, 1981: 145), as Piaget (1932/1977) states:

In contrast to a given rule, which from the first has been imposed upon the child from outside…., the rule of justice is a sort of immanent condition of social relationships or a law governing their equilibrium. (Piaget, 1932/1977: 191)

According to Piaget’s theory, which Kohlberg (1981: 145) follows, opportunities for role-taking give children experience of conflict or a discrepancy between their own actions and evaluation, and the actions and evaluation of others. This experience promotes their development in integrating the conflict or discrepancy into the principles of justice, according to the level of ability of the children.

Moreover, based on Piaget’s idea, there are two types of morality involving two types of social relations, based on either hierarchical authority or egalitarian co-operation (Kohlberg et al., 1987: 275): The first type of social relation is ‘that of unilateral respect for parents or other authorities and the rules and laws they prescribe,’ which corresponds to authoritarian
relationships in schooling and at home. The second type is ‘that of mutual respect among peers and equals; it includes respect for the rules that guide the interaction of equals,’ which corresponds to equal relationships promoted by peace education. While mutual respect accords with the autonomous types of morality, which involve ‘fairness in the sense of reciprocity and equality (as opposed to conformity and obedience to authority and to authority-made rules)’ (Kohlberg et al., 1987: 275), Piaget (1932/1977: 103) concludes that the norm of reciprocity ‘can only develop in and through cooperation’ by ‘situating oneself’.

Mutual respect, co-operation, equality and reciprocity are therefore seen as essential elements for developing the moral autonomy of children and for promoting sympathy, by replacing ‘the norms of authority’ with the norms of independent action and self-consciousness, and through freeing children from imposed ideas (Piaget, 1932/1977: 103). This viewpoint of moral autonomy can provide the principles which underpin the practice of peace education to develop the autonomy of children, in contrast to authoritarian types of educational practice. The principles are mainly based on the ideas that, ‘Mutual respect between adult and child frees the child to exercise and develop autonomy’ (DeVries and Kohlberg, 1987: 38), while a teacher ‘acts as a companion who minimizes the exercise of adult authority and control over children and as a guiding mentor stimulating initiative, play, experimentation, reasoning, and social collaboration’ (ibid: 20). In practice, the experience of co-operation and interaction is emphasised by minimising the authority of adults over children and by providing opportunities to practise controlling their behaviour based on their interests and judgments, so that their ability to rule their own beliefs and actions ‘gradually constructs internally coherent knowledge, morality, and personality’ (DeVries and Kohlberg, 1987: 37).

Whilst children’s autonomy can be developed through the practice of co-operation, as seen above, cooperative learning itself is also essential to the practice of peace education, since students can gain the experience of getting to know each other better, and the affection for each other through working together, based on positive interdependence in a group (Harris
In particular, co-operation is seen as important in the process of constructive conflict resolution, rather than competition (Deutsch, 1973; Johnson and Johnson, 1989). Deutsch (1973) regards a co-operative process as the necessary condition for resolving conflict constructively rather than generating its destructive consequences. In his study of co-operative and competitive approaches to the resolution of conflicting interests from a socio-psychological viewpoint, Deutsch (1973: 20-32) has found that a co-operative approach is more effective in a constructive process than a competitive approach, since in a co-operative situation, participants increase one another’s chances to attain their goals, while in a competitive situation a participant’s increased chances of goal attainment mean the decreased chances of others (ibid: 22). Therefore, building co-operative relationships is seen as essential for constructive conflict resolution.

Moreover, co-operative learning also contributes to the development of children’s inclusive and caring attitudes towards people in their group and others outside their group, especially when children from different groups or backgrounds are encouraged to work together (Staub, 2002: 81-3). Similar positive effects of co-operation within and between groups are also noted by Deutsch (1973: 29-30) in his study, which compares the former with the effect of competition, as the study shows that co-operation increases awareness of similarities, common interests, and shared beliefs and values, whilst competition tends to increase sensitivity to differences, contrasts and threats. With regard to attitudes, co-operation enhances the degree of trust, friendliness and responsiveness to other’s needs and requests, whilst competition aggravates suspicion, hostility and tendencies to exploit other’s needs or to respond negatively to their requests.

Co-operation is therefore an essential element in peace education, with a view to developing positive relationships, resolving conflict constructively and nurturing a sense of justice, equality, reciprocity and moral autonomy against imposed authority.
4.2.2.3 Experience-based Learning

In peace education programmes for children, it is particularly important to consider children’s own experiences and knowledge about peace-related issues. Hägglund (2004) claims that current peace education under-represents some aspects of children’s perceptions, values and knowledge, including:

…the view of children as subjects and actors; the dynamic and strength in children’s collective construction of knowledge and value systems; the experience-based and situated analyses of what change is needed; the here and now perspectives of young human beings.

(Hägglund, 2004: 124)

The reason why these aspects are under-represented seems to be that adults and authorities find it difficult to put together children’s views, voices and stories into ‘systems of knowledge and values that make sense “from within” a particular childhood culture’ through understanding their social experiences which are part of their continuous acquisition of knowledge regarding peace (Hägglund, 2004: 125).

According to Oppenheimer, Bar-Tal and Raviv (1999: 5-6), there are several theoretical perspectives on children’s understanding of peace, conflict and war, and the development of their understanding, including cognitive-developmental, social learning, socialisation and ecological approaches. Each approach derives from a different conception of children’s learning processes (ibid: 6-7). According to the cognitive-developmental approach, children’s knowledge and understanding are developed through interaction with others and the environment, while ‘actively seeking information and new experiences’ (e.g. Piaget, 1932/1977). The social learning approach perceives children as relatively passive, being largely influenced by environmental factors which modify behaviour, along with some cognitive factors in learning (e.g. Bandura, 1977). The socialisation approach emphasises ‘the intergenerational transfer of particular values and norms’ from parents, schools and the media to children. The ecological approach stresses ‘children’s subjective experience and
understanding of the environment’ (e.g. Vygotsky, 1978) within their changing relationships with social (ecological) systems such as the family, school, community and culture.

On the other hand, all approaches share the belief that children’s knowledge, understanding and behaviour are directly related to the experience of individuals and their level of operational thinking. These approaches are therefore basically underpinned by personal development as a result of interaction between individual experience and socio-cultural environment. In this sense, peace education can influence individuals by providing them with opportunities to experience and explore different strategies of peace and to formulate their understanding, knowledge and attitudes, underpinned by the values of peace (Oppenheimer, Bar-Tal and Raviv, 1999: 8). Thus, considering the importance of children’s experience and knowledge in the process of learning, the method of experience-based learning is often adopted in peace education programmes.

In particular, Piaget’s cognitive-developmental theory mentioned above has influenced the method of active experience-based learning to promote children’s social and moral development, and has provided understanding of the process of learning and the importance of an adequate learning environment (Johnson and Johnson, 1996: 463-4; Harris and Morrison, 2003: 146). From the viewpoint of cognitive constructivism, Piaget considers that children’s perception and their understanding of society are built up through their interaction with the environment, and their capacities are developed towards more logical or internally consistent ways of understanding and adapting to society (Barrett and Buchana-Barrow, 2005: 181). This perspective has its underlying assumption that ‘what individuals think and believe, about social arrangements as well as about natural phenomena, is a function of the capacities they have developed to reason about and make sense of available evidence’ (ibid: 181).

While the importance of experience-based learning for children’s understanding of peace, conflict and war is supported by the theories above, Bar-Tal (2002: 33) states that experience-based learning is the key method for acquiring values, attitudes, perceptions, skills,
and behaviour in peace education, because this ‘internalization cannot be achieved by merely preaching’ but by practising these aspects of peace, while suggesting that the process of learning should reflect the objectives of peace education, such as tolerance, co-operation, peaceful conflict resolution, multiculturalism, non-violence and respect for human rights.

Similarly, Staub (2002: 80-1) promotes ‘learning by doing’ as an important element of peace education, in order that children develop caring and helpful attitudes through engaging in action on others’ behalf. A study by Pettigrew (1998: 76), based on inter-group contact theory, has also found that people’s experience of close and long-term inter-group contact has positive effects on their relationships and the reduction of prejudice, in particular, when the contact situation provides people with ‘the opportunity to become friends’. Therefore, ‘the opportunity to become friends’ can be seen as an important element, in addition to the four key conditions for ensuring positive effects of inter-group contact: equal group status, common goals, inter-group co-operation and institutional support (Allport, 1954: 281; Pettigrew, 1998: 66). Agreeing with the viewpoint of Pettigrew (1998), Kadushin and Livert (2002: 122) consider the formation of cross-group friendships a major consequence of experiencing inter-group contact, based on an opportunity of getting acquainted with each other. While children’s friendships or school lives are often divided by race, class, ability and gender in the current conditions in schools, Kadushin and Livert (2002: 120, 122) believe that cross-group friendships can contribute towards creating conditions for peace.

Moreover, from a general educational viewpoint, the importance of using methods based on experience, participation and sharing in the process of active learning is addressed by Dewey (1916/2005: 95), who states that students can only learn to think when dealing with problems and seeking solutions at first hand, rather than through listening to ready-made subject matter. Dewey (1916/2005: 53) promotes experience-based learning, especially in the context of education for democracy, based on his belief that only education can create an alternative to the principle of external authority, which is rejected by a democratic society. Dewey
(1916/2005: 47) states that education is ‘reconstruction or reorganization of experience which adds to the meaning of experience, and which increases ability to direct the course of subsequent experience.’ According to Dewey (1916/2005: 83-4), the nature of experience consists of an active element of ‘trying’ and a passive element of ‘undergoing’ the consequences, and the combination of activities of trying and undergoing leads to the recognition of meaning in experience. The experience of connecting an action and its consequences enables people to refer their own actions to those of others, and consider the actions of others to give direction to their own actions (ibid: 53). This ability to make a connection between an action and its consequences can be significantly important in the process of acquiring behaviour, attitudes and values in peace education, since it allows students to consider possible consequences of their violent behaviour or conflicts.

In the process of experience-based learning, Dewey (1916/2005: 86) also addresses the need for reflection, which is the recognition of ‘the relation between what we try to do and what happens in consequence,’ because experience is only meaningful when the causes of our actions are consciously connected with their consequences of activity and are reflected back into changes of interpretation of these actions (ibid: 83). Reflection also allows people to accept responsibility for the consequences caused by present action (ibid: 87). The importance of continuous action and reflection is also emphasised by Freire (1972: 72-3), as the source of knowledge and creation, to raise critical consciousness, overcome the limitation and transform reality. With these educational effects, the use of experience-based learning in peace education can help people recognise and take responsibility for the consequence of their actions, while developing the skills and attitudes to handle difficult situations without resorting to violence.

Possible forms of peace education using experience-based learning include games, audio-visual methods and drama (Galtung, 1975: 321-5). Galtung (1975: 325) suggests that drama can be used to explore various aspects of peace and conflict in the contexts of different social forms, and the use of another form of drama with no endings: open-ended theatre,
which invites the public to join in and act out various continuations in dealing with current conflict-related issues, introduced by professional actors. Debates and discussion can also be useful in talking about peace-related issues, and schools can organise talks by those who are involved in peace-related work, whilst children can visit people or places to learn more about peace (e.g. see Davies, Harber and Yamashita, 2005: 143).

4.2.2.4 Emotional and Social Aspects of Learning, and Self-esteem

It seems that currently few peace education programmes pay attention to emotional aspects as compared with their focus on rationality (Nevo and Brem, 2002: 274), while feelings and emotions are considered important aspects in conflict situations (e.g. Stewart, 1998: 10-11). Since negative feelings or emotions, which are often caused by low self-esteem or ‘sensed failure,’ can lead to negative behaviour or youth crime (Mosley, 1993: 3; Bruner, 1999: 37-8), it is important for the principles and practices of peace education to take account of emotional aspects which affect children’s learning and overall development. Daniel Goleman, in ‘Emotional Intelligence’ (1995), also points out that negative emotions affect children’s learning:

Students who are anxious, angry, or depressed don’t learn; people who are caught in these states do not take in information efficiently or deal with it well…powerful negative emotions twist attention toward their own preoccupations, interfering with the attempt to focus elsewhere…When emotions overwhelm concentration, what is being swamped is the mental capacity cognitive scientists call “working memory,” the ability to hold in mind all information relevant to the task at hand…On the other hand, consider the role of positive motivation – the marshaling of feelings of enthusiasm, zeal, and confidence – in achievement. (Goleman, 1995: 78-9)

Addressing the need for promoting emotional literacy, Goleman emphasises five main areas of ability adopted from Salovey’s (1990) definition of emotional intelligence (in Goleman, 1995: 43): knowing one’s emotions (self-awareness – an ability to recognise a feeling as it
happens); managing emotions (handling feelings appropriately - an ability that builds on self-awareness); motivating oneself (marshalling emotions to achieve a goal through self-motivation and self-control); recognising emotions in others (empathy which is the fundamental “people skill” – another ability that builds on emotional self-awareness), and handling relationships (skill in managing emotions in others).

This idea also forms the basis of the UK government’s recent initiative to promote social and emotional aspects of learning (SEAL), which involves personal and social development, emotional literacy (emotional intelligence), and social, emotional and behavioural skills (DfES, 2005: 6), while similar aspects of education have been practised in schools as part of the PSHE (Personal, Social and Health Education) curriculum. This initiative is underpinned by supportive evidence that social and emotional aspects of learning benefit children’s improvement not only in goal-setting skills, social interactions and conflict resolution skills but also in academic performance (ibid: 8). The five broad social and emotional aspects of learning (self-awareness, managing feelings, motivation, empathy and social skills), identified in the guidelines for teachers (ibid: 6), coincide with the main areas of abilities in emotional intelligence stressed by Goleman (1995: 43) above. The UK government’s promotion of SEAL reflects the current trend that schools are expected to play an overall role in nurturing children’s emotional and social aspects of development, which used to be primarily supported by families and local communities, as pointed out by Goleman (1995):

As family life no longer offers growing numbers of children a sure footing in life, schools are left as the one place communities can turn to for correctives to children’s deficiencies in emotional and social competence. That is not to say that schools alone can stand in for all the social institutions that too often are in or nearing collapse. But since virtually every child goes to school…, it offers a place to reach children with basic lessons for living that they may never get otherwise. Emotional literacy implies an expanded mandate for schools, taking up the slack for failing families in socializing children. (Goleman, 1995: 279)
Similarly, Bickmore (1999: 243-4) notes the need for providing students with more opportunities for participation in social reality, decision making and conflict management, considering the lack of social involvement in their daily life, in comparison with earlier generations when young people often had more responsibilities for dealing with social problems and conflicts in communities organised differently from today. Therefore, Shapiro (2002b) addresses the importance of promoting children’s emotional and social aspects of development in peace education. By emphasising the ability of human beings to be compassionate, Shapiro (2002b: 144) believes that any pedagogy concerned with peace should consider not only how we think and know the world, but also ‘the extent to which we develop our capacity for feeling, empathy, and emotional connection to ourselves and to others’. Hicks (1988b: 248) also emphasises the importance of developing children’s feelings alongside skills and attitudes as a holistic approach to education, which ‘requires that both teachers and students learn how to express their feelings rather than denying them.’

It seems that some effective programmes emphasising emotional literacy, for example the Resolving Conflict Creatively Program in New York (a conflict resolution course to deal with incidents in schools and to train students as mediators), have been developed especially for the prevention of violence (Goleman, 1995: 276-7). Based on the idea that skills in preventing violence are closely connected with a whole range of emotional competencies, such as understanding and managing feelings, impulses and anger, the Program provides ‘emotional basics such as recognizing an expanded range of feelings and being able to put names to them, and empathizing’, with special attention to anger management (Goleman, 1995: 277-8). As a result, the Program has found an increase in ‘caring among the kids’ and a decrease in fights, put-downs and name-calling.

Moreover, positive self-image and self-confidence are essential for positive behaviour and relationships and for academic, personal and social success. Rawls (1973: 440) defines self-respect (or self-esteem) as having two aspects: first, self-respect includes people’s sense
of their own value, with a strong conviction of their good, and of the worthiness of their life plans. Second, self-respect implies a confidence in their own ability to fulfil their intentions. Without self-respect, people can neither continue making efforts when experiencing failure and self-doubt, nor motivate themselves to do things that have value for them (Rawls, 1973: 440). However, as discussed previously, it seems that schooling often fails to nurture children’s self-esteem and confidence (Holt, 1965/1984; Bruner, 1999), while a lack of self-confidence and low self-esteem, like other negative feelings, potentially leads to violence such as aggression, bullying and self-harm (e.g. Davies, 2004: 121-3; Harber, 2004: 47, 70), as well as causing negative feelings such as guilt, shame, depression and anger, which could become part of the motivation for youth crime (Bruner, 1999: 37-8).

Considering this situation, it is important for peace education to adopt some measures to give children support for their self-esteem and confidence with a view to developing their full potential and personality, which is an important aspect of peace (e.g. Galtung, 1975; Curle, 1984). Reid (1991: 11) addresses the importance of children’s ‘empowering experience of learning to value themselves’ in the process of developing their self-confidence to deal with their own and others’ aggression, noting that:

If schools are to help children to a positive self-image, to value others and to work with them to respond confidently and creatively to conflict, suffering and injustice, then such schools will need to be more open, less goal-oriented and more people-centred than they often are. (Reid, 1991: 10)

In this process, it is also important to share feelings and to recognise the same feelings in others, and to value everybody’s opinions and experiences, while affirmation is particularly emphasised as essential to building confidence (Harris and Morrison, 2003: 223-4). Moreover, Bruner (1999: 37) argues that, while the state of self-esteem is significantly influenced by the availability of support offered from outside, such as a second chance given to children or affirmation for the good, the most important aspect is to provide children with the chance to
identify ‘why or how things didn’t work out as planned’. Bruner (1999: 38) also suggests that school should grant students ‘more responsibility in setting and achieving goals in all aspects of a school’s activities’.

Other general measures to promote self-esteem and positive behaviour include creating an environment where everyone is listened to and encouraged, building positive relationships, and giving respect and support to all the members in schools (Mosley, 1993: 6). While these measures should be employed in a whole school by providing ‘sanctuaries where children feel good and safe’ and ‘an inclusive atmosphere where everyone contributes to keeping the peace’ (Harris, 1999: 312), the primary elements of the measures can be practised in a classroom as a Circle-Time session linking with the PSHE curriculum (Mosley, 1993; 1996). In the Circle-Time approach, all participants sitting in a circle take an equal opportunity and responsibility for speaking, listening, taking actions, sharing and solving problems, while gaining a sense of belonging to a group and developing self-esteem and positive behaviour (Mosley, 1993: 9-10). As seen above, since many elements of the Circle-Time approach seem to overlap with some aspects of peace education in terms of the aims, underlying principles and practices, the Circle Time approach is often adopted in certain types of peace education programmes and models, including the Education for Mutual Understanding (EMU) in Northern Ireland (Tyrrell, 2002: 51-52), and a Peer Mediation model in the UK developed by Stacey and Robinson (1997).

### 4.2.2.5 Conflict Resolution and Mediation Skills

As stated by Hicks (1988a: 14), the development of conflict resolution skills is one of the important objectives of peace education in order that students might analyse different conflicts in objective and systematic ways, suggest a range of solutions to them and implement solutions themselves. Deutsch (1993) also considers the promotion of constructive conflict resolution as one of the key components of education programmes to prepare children
for a peaceful world. Recently, there have been a number of peace education programmes in the UK and elsewhere especially focusing on the development of skills for conflict resolution and mediation. While there are a range of programmes for conflict resolution or mediation, some common ground can be found, such as the following elements suggested by Deutsch (1993: 512-5): knowledge of different conflicts and different strategies, with a notion of power involved in conflict; positive attitudes towards conflict with the recognition of negative consequences of avoiding certain conflict situations; awareness of the causes and consequences of violence and of the alternatives to violence; respect for yourself and your interests, and respect for others and their interests; identification of the common or compatible interests; a distinction between interests and positions, as opposing positions do not always mean incompatible interests; an understanding and acceptance of cultural differences; the skills and attitudes required for co-operative conflict resolution; the ability to communicate with others; recognition of the tendencies towards bias, misperceptions, misjudgements and stereotyped thinking; and self-awareness of one’s reaction in conflict situations.

The basis of these aspects of conflict resolution can be found in the elements of and the processes of conflict indicated in ‘the Conflict Triangle’ by Galtung (1975: 81) (see Figure 2 in Chapter 2), including the idea that the actors’ behaviour, and their attitudes towards conflict, themselves or others, as well as their goals influence the processes of escalation and de-escalation of conflicts (Galtung, 1975: 81-2; Brand-Jacobsen, 2002: 20). In the process of training in conflict resolution, Deutsch (1993) states that,

My emphasis is on the strategy of cooperative problem solving to find a mutually satisfactory solution to the conflict and on the development and application of mutually acceptable fair principles to handle situations in which the aspirations of both sides cannot be realized equally. (Deutsch, 1993: 512)

This viewpoint is underpinned by the idea of conflict transformation, in which co-operation is considered an important element for constructive conflict resolution (e.g. Francis, 2002: 29),
since the purpose of conflict resolution is ‘to discover or develop common ground and reach a mutually acceptable agreement, through a co-operative process rather than a contest’ (Francis, 2002: 30). Alongside co-operation, other important elements of constructive conflict resolution include dialogue, empowerment, participation and just relationships (ibid: 30, 37).

In addition to these elements of conflict resolution training, mediation programmes have been practised in some schools in order to resolve conflicts in which disputing parties need ‘the help of the third parties acting as mediators’ (Deutsch, 1993: 516). Based on the idea that mediators are there to ‘assist the disputants to find mutually acceptable solutions,’ mediation in schools aims to help the disputants to ‘define the problem from their point of view,’ ‘identify and express their feelings and needs,’ ‘hear the feelings and needs of the other person,’ ‘acknowledge each other’s point of view,’ ‘create solutions,’ and ‘evaluate progress and repeat if necessary’ (Stacey and Robinson, 1997: 7). Whilst peer mediation in the school context is seen as an alternative way of dealing with conflict among children themselves by asking other children rather than adults to manage it, in particular, ‘the voluntary and co-operative nature of mediation’ is considered essential, since mediation is voluntary and not possible without co-operation of the disputants (Tyrrell, 2002: 29).

On the other hand, there is concern over a mediation approach to conflict, since a mediator may be neutral in the role of communicating with both parties, but there is no assumption that the mediation approach is ‘associative,’ that is, the union of two parties based on some interdependence, rather than ‘dissociation’ in which the two parties are isolated from each other (Galtung, 1975: 346). According to Galtung (1975: 346), the dissociative approach has the advantage of involving no violence or dominance (structural violence) under conditions of non-contact, while the associative approach promotes a ‘high level of interaction between the actors,’ ‘togetherness and a strengthening of ties’ based on ‘the theory that the more closely interrelated the parties are, the less will they or can they fight each other’ (Galtung, 1975: 94). When peace education aims to achieve not only ‘negative peace’ (the absence of violence),
but also ‘positive peace’ (co-operation and integration among people), as the two sides of peace defined by Galtung (1975: 130), the associative approach, rather than the dissociative approach, seems to support the principles of peace education, with its philosophy underpinned by ‘positive peace’. Moreover, two major strategies in the associative approach, similarity and interdependence (Galtung, 1975: 94-5), can also support the practice of peace education, with interdependence focusing on the relation between the parties in conflict, and with similarity being based on the idea that the two parties in conflict (whether an individual or a group) have something in common, which is opposed to the strategy of dissociation by emphasising their differences.

The elements of conflict resolution and mediation training emphasised above, including non-violent conflict resolution and mediation skills, co-operation, interaction, dialogue, sharing feelings, seeking common ground and goals, building positive relationships, can be found in the practice of many existing programmes (e.g. Prutzman et al., 1978; Johnson and Johnson, 1996; Kingston Friends Workshop Group, 1996). One wide-spread model for conflict resolution and mediation programmes used in the USA, the UK and elsewhere is Children’s Creative Response to Conflict Program (CCRC) in New York (Prutzman et al., 1978), which was developed from a Quaker project on non-violent education for children in the 1970s. CCRC focuses on practical exercises involving the themes of co-operation, affirmation and communication, underpinned by the principle of an equal distribution of power, positions and opportunities, represented by the participants forming a circle structure (Prutzman et al., 1978: 12). Based on this model, peer mediation in schools aims to develop social and emotional skills as well as communication skills, to create a co-operative classroom atmosphere, to praise pupils and raise self-esteem, to promote understanding and awareness of others, to offer pupils the opportunity to learn alternatives to disruption and violence, to promote pupils’ ownership of their resolution of disputes, and to improve learning by creating a safe and positive environment (Stacey and Robinson, 1997: 10-11).
Whilst these practices and programmes for conflict resolution or mediation emphasise the improvement of skills and personal relationships, a mere focus on resolving conflict with skill-based practice is sometimes criticised for maintaining a status quo in unequal power relationships (e.g. Berlowits, 1994; Francis, 2002). This concern has been expressed by Francis (2002: 37-8), who points out the need for ‘justice and the realities of power’ by criticising the emphasis on the role of mediators and their impartiality without moral judgement and assessments of the effects of unequal power relationships, as seen previously. This critical viewpoint on conflict resolution is based on conflict theories, such as conflict transformation theory (e.g. Lederach, 1995), which stresses ‘the need to address underlying structural and cultural violence and of the inevitability of conflict in the process of change’ with the emphasis on the idea of transforming conflict into better relationships (Francis, 2002: 6-7). Similarly, Galtung (1975: 98) notes that there is a concern over the associative approach above in terms of power relationships of interdependent parties. Hence the question of symmetry needs to be considered and included in a process of dealing with conflict. Thus, it is important for conflict resolution programmes to take account of power relationships, with the aim of transforming unequal relationships into more just relationships, while practical skills should be accompanied with a critical awareness of reality and moral consciousness.

Overall, this suggests that, while the development of conflict resolution and mediation skills is only one of the important elements for dealing with conflict without violence, constructive conflict resolution also requires the presence of other elements, such as the values of equality and respect, the practice of co-operation and communication, consideration of feelings and needs, and positive relationships, as well as the raising of awareness of structural violence within unequal power relationships in conflict, and the need for building more just equal relationships.
4.2.2.6 Knowledge of Peace-related Issues

Learning about peace-related issues is the main aspect of ‘education about peace’ (gaining knowledge), along with ‘education for peace’ (nurturing skills, attitudes, behaviour and values) (e.g. Bjerstedt, 1990; Hicks, 1996). As for the kinds of knowledge which can be included in peace education, the following topics are relevant, as suggested by Hicks (1988a):

- **Conflict**: a variety of conflict situations from personal to global levels, and possible ways of resolving conflicts non-violently.
- **Peace**: different concepts of peace, both as a state and as a process, from personal to global levels; examples of the work of individuals and groups who actively work for peace.
- **War**: the key issues and ethical dilemmas involved in war, and the effects of militarism on both individuals and groups, from local to global levels.
- **Nuclear issues**: a range of nuclear issues, the key viewpoints on defence and disarmament, the effects of nuclear war, the efforts of individuals, groups and governments to work towards a nuclear-free world.
- **Justice**: a range of situations regarding injustice, from personal to global levels, and the work of individuals and groups involved in the struggle for justice.
- **Power**: issues regarding power and ways in which its unequal distribution affects people’s life chances; ways in which people and groups have regained power over their own lives.
- **Gender**: issues regarding discrimination based on gender, the historical background of sexism and the ways in which sexism operates to the advantage of men and the disadvantage of women.
- **Race**: issues regarding discrimination based on race, as well as the historical background of racism and the ways in which racism operates to the advantage of white and the disadvantage of black people.
- **Environment**: concerns for the environmental welfare and the natural systems on which people depend; the ability to make rational judgements concerning environmental issues and to participate effectively in environmental politics.
- **Future**: a range of alternative futures both probable and preferable, which would lead to a more just and less violent world and the necessary changes to bring this about.

(Hicks, 1988a: 15-7)
Moreover, as argued at page 59, we would now have to add religion and ethnicity (in relation to potential conflict and concerns about extremism) to the above list, as topics relevant to the contemporary context of peace education.

While these issues above are not often taught in the British school timetable, they can be incorporated into subjects such as Humanities, Geography, History, English or Religious Education, or into the whole curriculum (Hicks, 1988c: 174). More recently, Citizenship Education aims to prepare children to deal with these kinds of controversial issues: war and peace, human relationships, oppression and justice (Citizenship Advisory Group, 1998: 57). As far as learning about these peace-related issues is concerned, the crucial point is that the form of peace education should be ‘compatible with the idea of peace’ (Galtung, 1975: 318-9), as emphasised above. Therefore, the learning process should avoid one-way communication or mere transmission of knowledge, but should involve interactive methods with open and critical attitudes, to encourage students to make their own judgement about indoctrination, propaganda and hidden bias, as noted by Hicks (1988a: 12-14) previously.

In practice, the interactive learning of peace-related knowledge can be promoted through discussion in groups. Johnson and Johnson (1992 in Deutsch, 1993: 515-6) perceive the use of constructive controversy in teaching subject matter as one of the key components of education for peace and conflict resolution, and suggest group discussions about peace-related issues from various perspectives and positions, with the search for consensus on a certain position as a whole group. Thus, the discussion promotes both critical thinking and interaction based on co-operation. In the process of discussing issues from different points of view, it is also important to consider the issues at different levels, since peace education involves peace at all levels from personal to global and the connection between these different levels of peace, as emphasised above (e.g. Hicks, 1988b; Bjerstedt, 1990; Johnson and Johnson, 2005). Moreover, learning issues from different viewpoints also means embracing perspectives of minority but more peaceful people, compared to powerful people who are often highlighted in
mainstream history (Boulding, 2002: 13, 24).

An example of how peace-related issues can be learned through discussion is found in Galtung’s (1975: 329-31) suggestion on the content of peace education, which includes analysis of the present world with its facts and theories relevant to peace problems (such as war and preparation for it, and a lack of equality and freedom); discussions on the ideas and goals of peace; criticism of the present world based on the data and values, while defining a preferred world based on certain values, such as degree of absence of direct and structural violence; proposal-making to explore ways to transform the real world into the preferred world. Most importantly, as Galtung (1975: 331) points out, ‘Any successful peace education program would be one where the participants really would feel the tension between the preferred and the real world.’ Thus, learning about peace-related issues means not only finding and examining facts and theories, but also imagining an ideal society and proposing actions towards its realisation based on certain values underpinned by the ideas of peace.

On the other hand, there are potential problems when practising these approaches in the classroom for the learning of peace-related issues, from different perspectives based on discussion and interaction. These problems are partly related to educational practices in schools in general, particularly in Western cultures, which seem to be dominated by the transmission of ‘fixed knowledge or skills,’ determined by ‘standards of cultural correctness’ (Kohlberg, 1981: 53), based on empiricist philosophy and a value-neutral view of knowledge (DeVries and Kohlberg, 1987: 5). As recent research suggests, there are difficulties facing teachers in handling controversial issues, since some teachers who are used to prescriptive teaching methods are not comfortable with the ‘free-floating or unpredictable nature’ of this type of learning, and others are constrained by a fear of indoctrinating their students (Davies, Harber and Yamashita, 2005: 144). Furthermore, teachers are often reluctant to get involved in teaching controversial issues and lack confidence, since such issues often require great sensitivity in relation to the context of the school or community and the ability to deal with
various emotions, questions and challenges from students (ibid: 145). For this reason, there is a need for teacher training in knowledge, skills and confidence in handling controversial issues (ibid: 147).

Considering the important role of teachers in facilitating the process of learning about peace-related issues interactively in the classroom, further discussion of teacher training in peace education will be presented later in this thesis.

4.3 Issues of Peace Education

This section explores some issues of peace education which arose from previous discussions and the overall review of relevant literature, in particular issues reflecting general problems and challenges that current peace education faces and possible strategies to improve the situation. The key issues identified include the promotion of peace education in formal education, a lack of theoretical foundations, the lack of an educational rationale for peace education and a lack of existing empirical research and systematic evaluation in current peace education. These issues will be investigated in the light of some existing studies on both theoretical and practical aspects of peace education.

4.3.1 The Promotion of Peace Education in Formal Schools

In the UK and elsewhere, the term ‘peace education’ is rarely used in schools (Hicks, 1996: 168), since peace education is not a school subject in most countries and most peace education programmes in schools seem to be run by outside organisations or groups. There are more programmes called conflict resolution, violence prevention or anger management, because people generally prefer immediate solutions to the problems of violence, whilst peace education attempts to provide a long-term solution, as noted by Harris (1998: 9). According to Bickmore (1999):
Short-run problem reduction strategies tend to enhance hierarchical control and breed dependence without enhancing the students’ capacity to resolve problems autonomously. Many important opportunities for long-term conflict management learning exist, not when people are hurt and angry (whether in wars or schoolyard scuffles) but in the everyday process of learning and living in a school community. (Bickmore, 1999: 249)

Thus, alongside short-term strategies, the long-term practice of peace education is essential for building a capacity for sustainable peace, based on learning about justice and peace in children’s daily life (Fisher et al., 2000: 142, 146). The first part of this section explores the issues of legitimisation and introduction of peace education into formal education and of teacher training related to peace education.

4.3.1.1 Legitimisation and Introduction of Peace Education into Formal Schools

There have been discussions about the legitimisation of teaching peace education in formal schooling. One of the problems is the general idea that peace education is only needed for particular schools, where problems of conflict are perceived, whereas peace education is actually intended to prepare everyone for creating peace in school and in society. Tyrrell (2002) recognises this problem of promoting peace education and other similar initiatives (such as peer mediation):

... peer mediation is about resolving conflict and the existence of conflict is sometimes seen as a sign of failure, then peer mediation is only needed when there is a problem. The reality is that peer mediation is valuable as a proactive, preventive strategy in dealing with conflict. (Tyrrell, 2002: 174)

More fundamentally, a key obstacle to the promotion of peace education in schools can be seen as all the structures and practices of formal education, including hierarchical structures and the reproduction of inequality, authoritarianism in discipline and in relationships, and competition, which are not compatible with the ideas and practices of peace and peace education. Stewart (1998: 88) recognises this situation in the UK, in which ‘almost all conflict resolution projects in schools depend on engagement with voluntary or independent agencies
and initiatives within individual schools rather than forming part of national educational policy’, and she perceives the reasons as hierarchical characteristics of schools, the focus on control, the school ethos and attitudes of staff, parents and pupils, which need to change in order to empower children to be able to participate in the process of conflict resolution. Similarly, Galtung (1975: 317) and Burns (1996: 122) state that peace education has not been widespread, partly because of its educational characteristics, contrary to much of formal education, which often reflects national interests and ideology.

Another difficulty is that peace education is sometimes seen as value-laden and not objective and thus a form of political indoctrination (Hicks, 1988c: 176; Harris and Morrison, 2003: 165), especially from the predominant view that education should be objective, neutral, impartial and value-free, and the assumption that the school curriculum is socially and politically neutral (Giroux, 1983: 45). Recognising these questions about objectivity and the neutrality of peace education, Hicks (1996: 168) argues that such a view reflects ‘a particular ideological position which assumes that both research and education can be objective, neutral, impartial and value-free,’ and that ‘so-called objectivity may be an apology for not asking fundamental and awkward questions about an unjust status quo’. These critical viewpoints share the idea that formal education is never neutral, as it involves politics and power, reflecting the interests of the states and of dominant groups in society, as discussed previously. Being contrary to indoctrination, peace education aims to nurture children’s critical judgement to identify any form of propaganda (Hicks, 1988c: 176).

On the other hand, there is a difference between teaching separate peace education classes and integrating peace themes into existing curricula. Regarding curriculum links with peace education, some suggestions have been made on how to make links between skills or knowledge relevant to peace education and school subjects across the curriculum, including English, Geography, History, PSHE and RE (e.g. see Cole, Snyder and Garlake, 1997: 4-5), and recently Citizenship (e.g. see Citizenship Advisory Group, 1998). While some argue that
‘peace studies’ (or peace education) is not a proper subject and should not be included on the timetable, peace educators are not necessarily advocating the introduction of peace education into schools as a new subject, ‘but rather asking what teaching and learning could go on within existing subjects to help children understand issues to do with peace and conflict’ (Hicks, 1988c: 176). This means that the emphasis is on the promotion of an approach to education which intends to transform society, based on person-centred education, by developing self-reliance which is essential for the reconstruction of society (Hicks, 1988b: 245). Thus, while a major goal of many peace educators can be seen as the incorporation of peace education within formal education systems, there are some considerations that need to be taken into account from critical viewpoints.

For example, Burns (1996: 121-2) is concerned that the formal acceptance of UNESCO recommendation may prevent the promotion of critical approaches to peace education, considering that the UNESCO concept of education for international understanding and peace adopted by many education systems has only basic and limited forms of peace education. Burns (1996: 122) thinks that an alternative form of education is not possible within formal educational institutions, ‘so long as formal educational institutions exist within present socio-cultural and political structures,’ and agrees with the viewpoint that the alternative cannot stand for social reality of examinations and employment, both of which are controlled by dominant groups in society, even if some individual schools or individual class teachers may have the freedom to influence or change structures. Thus, one challenge of promoting peace education in formal education involves the question of ‘how to mesh the content with existing philosophies, and to develop new pedagogies where adequate ones do not exist’ (Aspeslagh and Burns, 1996: 57). This means that the introduction of peace education into the education system needs to be carefully considered since, ‘Without change in the wider context, the new content of the knowledge could easily be subsumed within existing structures without changing those structures or the approaches to learning’ (Burns, 1996: 123).
4.3.1.2 Teacher Training for Peace Education

To promote peace education in formal schools, teachers’ understanding of the principles and practice of peace education seems to be essential, whether to support the work done by outside organisations or to introduce peace education into the classroom. In particular, the sustainable practice of peace education in schools would require the understanding and support of the whole school staff. In a sense, as Reardon (2003: 24) states, ‘There is no more essential element in the whole of the educational process than the role of the teacher.’ As Tyrrell (2002: 13) has learned from a case study of peer mediation (as a certain type of peace education), ‘if schools are to create a culture which can sustain peer mediation as part of a whole school approach, they must be prepared for change and transformation’. Moreover, the experience of promoting peer mediation in all schools in Northern Ireland shows the need for ‘more preparatory training workshops for the whole adult communities of the schools so that programmes can be sustained from the beginning by whole school commitment’ (Stewart, 1998: 85).

In the study of teacher education related to peace education (Bjerstdt, 1994), many of the members of PEC (Peace Education Commission – a subgroup of the International Peace Research Association) agreed that teacher training is very important for peace education in schools, since teachers need to understand the possibilities and procedures of peace education in order to teach it well. In particular, many felt the need for training related to peace education in both initial teacher training and in-service training, while some suggested initial teacher training in theoretical and practical aspects of peace education (e.g. the idea of non-violence), and in-service training to develop more practical aspects, such as conflict resolution (Bjerstdt, 1994: 5-6). Similarly, Harris and Morrison (2003: 111-3) regard training teachers as an important part of peace education, in order to provide teachers with knowledge and skills regarding peace, conflict and violence, as well as ‘an awareness of how to structure classes in ways that prepare young people to become peacemakers’.
However, currently in most countries there is very little teacher training to prepare teachers for peace education in schools, apart from some initiatives taken by individual teachers or colleges (Bjerstdt, 1994: 6-7; Harris and Morrison, 2003: 112). In view of this condition, some organisations, groups and individuals are addressing the need for teacher training in peace education. For example, the Hague Appeal for Peace and Justice in the 21st Century, on which the Global Campaign for Peace Education is based, is calling for the training of all teaching staff in issues of peace education, and “Education for Europe as Peace Education” also emphasises the importance of developing a further training programme for teachers (see Seitz, 2004: 70). Furthermore, according to Tyrrell (2002: 266, 269-71), for the improvement of conflict resolution and peer mediation programmes (certain types of peace education), one of the key issues which arose from the discussion at the Annual Conference of Mediation UK in 1998 was the need for ‘a co-ordinated, strategic approach in initial teacher training.’ This is because of a concern that:

They [teachers] don’t necessarily have the training in how to facilitate group work, how to develop co-operation skills, how to teach young people to listen. These all-encompassing skills don’t generally tend to be taught. Certainly the pressure from government and so on is in teaching specific subjects and for education to become more and more compartmentalised. (Tyrrell, 2002: 270)

Similarly, Stewart (1998: 88) points out the effects of general teacher education on the attitudes of teachers towards students, with the emphasis on maintaining discipline rather than resolving conflicts.

There are some potential difficulties in promoting teacher training related to peace education under the current conditions of teacher education, because of the contrasting principles and practice involved between peace education and formal schooling. Stewart (1998) notes that, as an issue arising from the practice of peer mediation in schools:
A more authoritarian and hierarchical ethos within a school might make the idea of children being empowered to deal with their own disputes appear more threatening to adults and the involvement of ancillary staff less acceptable. (Stewart, 1998: 85)

This situation can be relevant to any type of peace education programme practised in schools, since internationally ‘teacher education institutions...have often been characterised as authoritarian establishments’ (Davies, 2002: 113), while an authoritarian ethos is contrary to the idea of teacher training for peace education, which ‘enables teachers to convey values of cooperation, respect for the opinions of the child, and appreciation of differences’ (Fountain, 1999: 19). Furthermore, according to Harber (2002a: 125), ‘the teaching skills and competencies that student teachers learn are overwhelmingly the existing teacher-centred ones resulting in conformity to the status quo and reproduction of authoritarian schools and classrooms.’ Thus, the teacher-centred methods taught in general teacher education seem to be in opposition to the student-centred methods promoted in peace education, such as ‘interactive and participatory teaching methods, organising cooperative group work, and facilitating group discussions’ (Fountain, 1999: 19).

The study by Bjerstdt (1994) shows that many of the members of PEC have recognised similar difficulties in promoting teacher training related to peace education, including ‘difficulties in getting peace education objectives accepted’ and ‘differences between the peace education culture on the one hand and the dominant culture in the society on the other... (for example, teaching cooperative skills in a very competitive society)’ (Bjerstdt, 1994: 15-6). There are other difficulties, such as financial ones and ‘teachers seeing peace education as another task added to their workload’ (ibid: 12). Considering this current situation, some ideas have been proposed to promote teacher training for peace education, including attempts to influence local and national authorities, to establish an international institution which aims to organise teacher training programmes for trainers and teachers, as suggested by the members of PEC (ibid: 13-4).
4.3.2 Empirical Research and Systematic Evaluation of Peace Education

One of the issues frequently raised in the literature on peace education is the need for more evaluation of, and research into, peace education practice. Whilst some positive effects of existing peace education programmes have been reported, recent studies have found a lack of evaluation of effectiveness and systematic research into peace education programmes in general (e.g. Fountain, 1999; Nevo and Brem, 2002; Harris, 2003). Moreover, ‘there have been very few rigorous quantitative or qualitative evaluations of peace education efforts’ (Harris, 2003: 8). In particular, not many in-depth qualitative studies of the effects of peace education seem to exist (Harris, 2003: 7; Harris and Morrison, 2003: 181). Seitz (2004: 74) also claims that ‘systematic project monitoring and accompanying efficacy control are generally non-existent’ in peace education practice, arguing that further efforts are needed for more and improved evaluation in peace education.

The study of Nevo and Brem (2002: 275-6) on general attitudes towards evaluation in peace education suggests that hundreds of peace education programmes have been conducted in the world ‘without being subjected to any act of empirical validation,’ while only one third of about 300 programmes (that referred to a 1981-2000 literature survey) had any evaluation of effectiveness, though 80-90% of the results show positive effects. For example, UNICEF reports that ‘relatively few systematic attempts to evaluate peace education programmes have been carried out by UNICEF offices thus far,’ and expresses the view that ‘there is a clear need for more systematic research and evaluation of peace education programmes in UNICEF, in order to provide more information on factors that contribute to effectiveness in the wide range of social and cultural contexts in which UNICEF operates’ (Fountain, 1999: 32).

One of the reasons for a lack of evaluation of peace education programmes could be ‘the low level of awareness regarding the importance and usefulness of that phase; a lack of expertise in evaluation methodology; budgetary considerations; and avoidance tactics’ (Nevo and Brem, 2002: 275). Another reason could be related to the nature of peace education,
which involves various qualities (skills, attitudes, behaviours and values), and promotes capacities which are not always easy to measure, unlike subject knowledge assessed by exams. As Bar-Tal (2002: 34) notes, there is a difficulty in evaluating achievements of students in peace education, since its objectives concern mainly ‘the internalization of values, attitudes, skills, and patterns of behaviors’. Thus, as Harris (2003: 8) states, ‘Evaluations of the ability of peace education activities to produce peaceful behaviors, norms, institutions, and policies are trying to grasp [an] extremely complicated phenomenon.’

Nevertheless, there have been some attempts and suggestions made for the implementation of evaluation, including different evaluation methods (surveys, rating scales, questionnaires, interviews, focus groups, observation, reviews of school records, experimental procedures), ways of producing indicators for measurement of achievement according to aims and desired outcomes, and planning for evaluation (Fountain, 1999; Nevo and Brem, 2002; Harris, 2003; Seitz, 2004). For example, Seitz (2004) suggests that:

As with the evaluation of education projects on the whole, which is generally faced with the problem of not being able to directly attribute long-term, and only indirectly traceable, changes in attitudes and consciousness to specific pedagogical intervention, it may also be useful for the field of pedagogical PCIA (peace and conflict impact assessment) to orient the analytical instruments more strongly towards the observation of processes than to the “outcomes”. (Seitz, 2004: 75)

While changes in students’ attitudes before and after a programme can be measured, there is a difficulty in proving changes in their actual behaviour (Harris, 2003: 8). Seitz (2004: 74) proposes that indicators for effectiveness evaluation should be integrated into the planning of a peace education project and engaged with before the project begins, through examination of ‘the starting situation and the identification of comparison groups’.

On the other hand, it is important that assessment of school-based peace education avoids conventional examination processes to categorise students according to their marks, which is
against the idea of peace, contributing to maintaining structural violence in a hierarchical society. Bar-Tal (2002: 34) states that ‘the tests and exams normally used in schools are unsuitable for the evaluation of peace education outcomes, because they do not usually evaluate a state of mind but rather the level of acquired knowledge’. To assess a programme in the light of the idea of peace, Galtung (1975: 319) proposes evaluating the form of peace education in terms of its structure and the following criteria: ‘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-generated change? In short, is there dialogue, not only message, in education?’ This means that, similar to assessment of democratic learning (Davies, Harber and Schweisfurth, 2002: 37-48), peace education programmes can be assessed based on whether the idea of peace is reflected in the process of teaching and learning, whether students are involved in assessment of their learning, whether feedback on their learning is undertaken ‘without creating a sense of failure or insecurity’ (ibid: 37), and whether teachers perform peacefully.

Moreover, recent studies suggest that there has been even less evaluation of any long-term impact in comparison with evaluation of short-term impact (e.g. Harris, 2003). According to Harris (2003: 8), most evaluation has been based in schools to assess changes in attitudes and/or understandings, but ‘these studies are not longitudinal and fail to demonstrate whether or not individuals exposed to new ways of thinking about peace strive to address the many complex sources of violence in their lives.’ The review of the UNESCO Associated Schools Project Network (which has promoted international understanding, co-operation and peace for over 50 years in about 170 countries) also expresses concern about the long-term impact of the project and how the impact can be measured (Davies, Harber and Schweisfurth, 2003: 40). It suggests the need for more systematic evaluation to assess long-term impact, although overall positive effects on schools have been identified, including the areas of innovation in teaching methods, quality of education and classroom practice (ibid: 30-33, 40-41).
A difficult part of longitudinal evaluation of educational effects can be the problem of attribution regarding how many of the identified effects can be attributed to peace education. As for evaluation of effectiveness based on long-term impact, Harris (2003: 11) claims that ‘teachers cannot follow their students around to see whether they initiate efforts to bring peace to the world,’ so that ‘they cannot evaluate the effectiveness of their work by seeing whether their students become peace activists or the world grows more peaceful.’ Thus, there is great difficulty in evaluating any long-term impact of peace education as well as in controlling all the variables which may influence students into acting for peace (ibid: 13).

Overall, peace education faces the challenge of conducting more empirical research, in particular, systematic and long-term evaluation of peace education programmes, which can contribute to the improvement of peace education. As Bar-Tal (2002) notes,

The evaluation of peace education requires special techniques adapted to measuring a different kind of outcome. This implies a special call to educators to come up with a creative and original solution because evaluation is an essential aspect of peace education implementation. Evaluation allows the selection of those programs and methods that are effective and have proved capable of achieving the special objectives of peace education. (Bar-Tal, 2002: 34)

4.3.3 Theoretical Foundations and Educational Rationale for Peace Education

The issue regarding the lack of evaluation in peace education discussed above is also related to another issue; lack of theoretical or philosophical foundations and fundamental educational rationale for peace education, which would underpin the values and meanings of peace education. Considering that many peace education programmes are implemented without any theoretical or research rationale, Johnson and Johnson (2005: 276) address the need for conceptual frameworks for peace education, which can support the development of programmes and research. Similarly, others (e.g. Gur-Ze’ev, 2001; Page, 2004) claim that the current approach to peace education by international organisations has not provided and
developed any fundamental educational rationale for peace education. Moreover, according to Page (2004: 4), much of the critical literature has failed to express and systematically improve the philosophical foundations of peace education. Overall, as Gur-Ze’ev (2001: 315) realises, in current peace education, there has been ‘little theoretical coherence or philosophical elaboration concerning the propositions, aims, methods, and evaluation of their effects and their meaning,’ hence ‘many of the difficulties and shortcomings peace education practitioners face are not challenged because of this lack of conceptual work and reflection’.

Page (2004: 5-10) suggests possible philosophical foundations in the area of ethics, based on the following five approaches, which could be integrated into peace education: first, virtue-ethics with the emphasis on the development of character and personality based on harmonious and co-operative relationships; second, consequentialist-ethics, which emphasises the consequences of actions or of education, with the belief that individuals with critical insights can change the future structure of society; third, aesthetic ethics, which values peace, with some influence of moral ethics; fourth, conservative political ethics, which shares the idea of peaceful social change; fifth, the ethics of care, which emphasises supportive relationships (e.g. sympathy, kindness) rather than justice (e.g. rights and duties) which is often linked to power and coercion (i.e. war in the name of national rights and justice).

Some of these suggestions are relevant to theories, ideas and approaches in different areas, which have been highlighted previously to support the ideas, principles and practices of peace education. The theories, ideas and approaches include Curle’s (1971) and Galtung’s (1975) ideas of peace and peaceful relationships based on co-operation and integration, characterised by conditions for fulfilling human potential; Gandhi’s (1951) philosophy of non-violence; Kant’s (1795/1917) and Rawls’ (1973) ideas of morality as a sense of justice; Freire’s (1972) critical pedagogy for nurturing critical consciousness and reflective thinking to transform reality; Piaget’s (1932/1977) and Kohlberg’s (1981) approaches to moral development through experience of role-taking and co-operation in social interaction; Dewey’s (1916/2005: 10).
83-4) approach to education with an emphasis on experience in which people learn to connect actions and the consequences; Lederach’s (1995) and Francis’ (2002) ideas of conflict transformation which aims to transform conflict into better relationships or more just structures of society without violence. The ethics of care reflect the idea of Carol Gilligan (1982: 17-9), who emphasises care and concern for others in women’s moral development by criticising Kohlberg’s (1981) mere focus on rational morality and justice as male-oriented.

Apart from these theories and approaches relevant to Page’s (2004) suggestions, there are other theories or approaches which have been introduced in this thesis on the study of peace education in schools, including reproduction theories (e.g. Bowles and Gintis, 1976) and other critical perspectives on formal education (e.g. Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977/1990; Foucault, 1977), which help to investigate characteristics of formal education as the context of peace education and the contrasting principles and practice between the two.

Since these theories, ideas and approaches in the areas of peace and conflict studies, the philosophy and pedagogy of education, sociology of education and child development psychology have often been mentioned in literature in relation to the principles and practice of peace education, they can be used as the basis for potential theoretical or philosophical foundations to support the values and significance of peace education.

4.4 Conclusion

The discussion of the nature of peace education above shows that there are two major aspects of peace education, which are ‘education for peace’ (nurturing skills, attitudes, behaviour and values underpinned by the idea of peace), and ‘education about peace’ (learning about peace-related issues) (e.g. Hicks, 1988a; Bjerstedt, 1990). These aspects of peace education could involve all levels of peace, from personal to global, based on the ability of individuals to maintain peace in their relationships as well as in wider contexts (e.g. Hicks, 1988b; Johnson and Johnson, 2005). Thus, the important aim of peace education is to offer people the
opportunity to learn relevant knowledge, skills, attitudes, behaviour and values with a view to
developing the full potential of individuals (according to the idea of peace defined by Curle,
1971; Galtung, 1975), which could lead to a more just and peaceful society.

This process of peace education is regarded as the empowerment of people by raising their
consciousness of reality, and by nurturing the necessary tools and the capacity to transform
existing unequal and violent structures into peaceful ones. While this interplay between the
development of individuals’ capacity and the improvement of society underlies the nature of
peace education, the general viewpoint on the relationship between individuals and society is
supported by Mead (1934/1967), who perceives that the social reconstruction and personality
reconstruction of individuals are the two sides of a single process of human social progress.
Thus, it is clear that peace education supports the possibility of influencing and changing the
future shape of society, rather than maintaining the present model of society by reproducing
unequal power relations existing in society (Burns and Aspeslagh, 1996: 4-5).

In the light of these purposes of peace education, the study has also identified certain
capacities that peace education attempts to nurture, including critical thinking, moral
autonomy, co-operation, self-esteem, social and emotional aspects of development, skills in
conflict resolution, and knowledge of peace-related issues. While the practice is based on
learning through experience, co-operation, interaction and dialogue, it is considered as
important to adopt methods which are compatible with the idea of peace (Galtung, 1975;
Hicks, 1996). On the other hand, one of the difficulties in promoting peace education in
schools and through teacher education seems to be rooted in contrasting principles and
practice, in peace education on the one hand and general formal schooling on the other.

In the light of the review of the literature, the following empirical study attempts to
examine relevant themes and issues in the principles and practice of peace education based on
an existing project (see Appendix A for a summary of underlying assumptions of the study).
CHAPTER 5

Methodology
Chapter 5: Methodology

5.1 Research Aims and Objectives
As stated in the introduction of this thesis, the main purpose of the research was to gain insight into the reality of the current practice of peace education, particularly in the context of schooling in relatively stable countries. This means that the main purposes of the research can be described as exploratory and descriptive, among three main purposes of research: exploratory (to explore what is happening, seek new insights, and ask questions, often through a qualitative approach), descriptive (to portray an accurate profile of persons, phenomena or situations through qualitative and/or quantitative approach) and explanatory (to seek an explanation of a situation or problem in causal relationships, mostly through a qualitative and/or quantitative approach) (Robson, 1993: 42). For these purposes, the research conducted an empirical study of a peace education organisation, and the implementation of its project. The empirical study mainly explored the following research questions, which were formulated in the light of key findings and ideas found in the above literature review:

Overall Research Questions:
- How is peace education practised by one organisation in the UK?
- What methods and practice are used, under what principles, and why?

Sub-Questions: A case study of peace education carried out by one organisation (West Midlands Quaker Peace Education Project)

1. How does one particular organisation carry out peace education?
   - What are its aims?
   - What are its principles?
   - What are its stated practices?
   - How do they practise peace education?
   - What are the problems and issues?
2. How does the organisation carry out its work in one case study school?
   - What are its aims in this particular school?
   - What methods and materials does it use?
   - What impact does it have?
   - What are the problems and issues?

Based on these research questions, the empirical study portrayed and investigated an existing peace education organisation and one of its projects in a primary school with a view to understanding the principles and the practice of peace education in school. The study also concerns a potential tension between the principles and practice of existing peace education, and those of schools where the peace education is practised, considering that schools can be seen as places where structural violence is exercised as a means of social control to reproduce the existing unequal power relationship in social structures (Apple, 1982).

5.2 The Motivation for doing the Research

I became interested in peace education when I studied the nature of conflict and poverty in developing countries at the Centre for Development and Emergency Practice at Oxford Brookes University. Through learning that the causes of these problems are often rooted in unequal distribution of power and resources between developed and developing countries, I recognised that these situations are often the consequences of the activities of people in developed countries. This notion led me to the idea of peace education, which can be a vehicle for informing the acts of people based on common human values.

Another reason for my interest in peace education relates to a concern with children’s personalities which are often suppressed in schooling due to the dominant focus on academic achievement. Through my teaching of students at a cramming school who were left behind the class in learning at schools in Japan, I recognised that their low self-esteem was caused by
low academic achievement. Since the exclusive measurement of the academic ability may have a significant impact on students’ value judgement on themselves, a more balanced education is required for the development of a child as a whole person. Further, working in a place where this idea of education has been put into practice (at Pestalozzi International Development Education Centre in East Sussex) gave me a deeper understanding of the value of education, and helped me to learn how people’s values and perceptions can be influenced by education. From this experience, I consider that there is hope of transforming the present ‘culture of violence’ to a ‘culture of peace’ through education for the future when children become adults to make their own decisions and choices, which can have influence on society.

5.3 Research on Peace Education

The initial study indicates a lack of evaluation of effectiveness and systematic research into peace education programmes (e.g. Fountain, 1999; Nevo and Brem, 2002; Harris, 2003). Thus, part of the empirical study involved the investigation of the effects of a particular project, with a view to exploring possible approaches to the evaluation of peace education. One should bear in mind that there can be various meanings of effectiveness depending on the goals of a particular programme. Regarding the evaluation of educational effects, difficulty in evaluating achievements of students in peace education is often pointed out since its objectives mainly concern the internalisation of values, attitudes, skills and behaviour (Bar-Tal, 2002: 34). Having experienced similar difficulties, the study will reflect on the experience and concern later in this chapter. On the other hand, there have been some attempts and suggestions made for the implementation of evaluation, including different evaluation methods, and ways of producing indicators for measurement of achievement according to aims and desired outcomes (Fountain, 1999; Nevo and Brem, 2002; Harris, 2003; Seitz, 2004). Considering these suggestions, this study used a range of methods to examine changes in pupils’ attitudes and perceptions according to the aims and expected outcomes of the project.
5.4 Research Methodology

5.4.1 Methodological Framework

While there are different epistemological perspectives in social science research (a further discussion of epistemology of research is presented in Appendix B), positivism generally leads to quantitative methodology, while interpretivism takes a qualitative as well as a quantitative approach (Cohen and Manion, 1989: 8). This qualitative research focused on the meanings of phenomena within an interpretive paradigm, based on a belief that the world is socially constructed and subjective. Within the interpretive paradigm, the research particularly adopted symbolic interactionism (see Cohen and Manion, 1989, 34; Gray, 2004: 20). This paradigm is based on the epistemological view that people act upon their interpretations of meanings of objects, actions and symbols (e.g. language) in the world through the process of social interaction, while the meanings arising from the interaction can be revised on the basis of experience, including the notion of ‘self’ in relation to others (Cohen and Manion, 1989, 34-5; Gray, 2004: 21). In accordance with this view, which considers human interaction an important element, this research attempted to bring out interactions between the researcher and the researched in semi-structured interviews and participant observation.

In this research, the use of a qualitative approach is suitable for gaining insight into the reality of the current practice of peace education in schools since the research is intended to understand more directly how peace education actually happens – not just how participants say it happens. In general, qualitative research includes the following characteristics (Bryman, 2004):

- Commitment to viewing and interpreting events and the social world from the perspective of the people being studied.
- Provision of descriptive detail and explanation, often asking ‘why’ questions, because of the emphasis on the contextual understanding of social behaviour, values, etc.
• The emphasis on processes of social life (e.g. events, patterns), concerning qualitative evidence of change and flux, which are often studied through participant observation, and/or semi-structured and unstructured interviews.

• The preference for an unstructured approach to data collection based on relatively general research questions in order to enhance the opportunity of revealing the perspective of the people being studied.

• Flexibility, as a result of the unstructured approach to qualitative enquiry.

• Inductive approach to concepts and theories which have emerged from the data collected.

(Bryman, 2004: 279-84)

These characteristics of qualitative research are reflected in this research, which intends to explore and explain the details of existing peace education from the perspectives of people involved. As emphasised above, the research investigated the process of peace education as well as changes in pupils’ behaviour and attitudes as effects of peace education. Based on broad research questions concerning peace education, this study was conducted mainly through participant observation and semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions, which brought flexibility in the process of enquiry. Within a wider conceptual framework underpinning the research, the data analysis was intended to identify appropriate concepts and theories arising from the data based on an inductive approach. These characteristics are generally contrary to quantitative research, which is based on a deductive approach starting with a theory or a hypothesis (Robson, 1993: 18-9).

On the other hand, qualitative research is often criticised for the following aspects:

• Qualitative research can be impressionistic and subjective based on findings from the researcher’s unsystematic viewpoint, within the close relationships between the researcher and the people studied.

• It is difficult to construct a replication of a qualitative study due to a lack of standard procedures in qualitative enquiry, and to replicate qualitative findings due to the unstructured nature of qualitative data, while the interpretation is largely influenced by the researcher’s subjective learning.
• There are problems of generalising findings of qualitative research to other settings, due to relatively small-scale studies.

(Bryman, 2004: 284-5)

While these criticisms seem to be mostly made from the perspectives of quantitative research (Bryman, 2004: 284-5) which is generally conducted within the framework of positivism, the present qualitative research was undertaken within the framework of interpretivism, as stated above. Therefore, there are possible explanations and justifications concerning these criticisms, which will be presented in this chapter, in relation to approaches and methods used in this research. As regards generalisation in qualitative research, Bryman (2004: 285) argues that ‘the findings of qualitative research are to generalize to theory rather than to populations,’ hence ‘it is the quality of theoretical inferences that are made out of qualitative data that is crucial to the assessment of generalization.’ The present research adopted this idea of generalisation in qualitative research with the intention of linking the findings with theories in the data analysis. Furthermore, considering that a lack of transparency of the processes of enquiry and analysis in qualitative research has been addressed (Bryman, 2004: 285), this research attempted to present the processes as much as possible. Further detail of qualitative approaches used in this research will be described later in this chapter.

5.4.2 Research Approaches

5.4.2.1 Case Study Approach

Cohen and Manion (1989: 124) note that the interpretive, subjective aspects of educational phenomena can be best explored through case studies. This research has adopted a case study approach and there are several reasons why the approach is a preferred strategy for the research. As the purpose of the research is to gain insight into the reality of the current practice of peace education in the context of schooling, a case study approach is suitable for the research since the approach allows a researcher to capture ‘the holistic and meaningful
characteristics of real-life events’ (Yin, 2003: 2). Considering that the empirical study asks these main research questions: ‘how is peace education practised by one organisation in the UK?’ and ‘what methods and practice are used under what principles, and why?’ for an exploratory purpose, the use of the case study approach seems to be most appropriate since the approach is generally seen as the suitable strategy ‘when “how” or “why” questions are being posed’ (Yin, 2003: 1). As one of the widely accepted definitions, Robson (1993) describes the case study approach as follows:

Case study is a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence. (Robson, 1993: 5, 52)

The idea emphasised here is that ‘the case is studied in its own right, not as a sample from a population’ (Robson, 1993: 5), while the case includes ‘the situation, individual, group, organization or whatever it is that we are interested in’ (ibid: 51). In this definition, Robson (1993: 52) suggests that case study is ‘concerned with research, taken in a broad sense and including, for example, evaluation,’ by conducting empirical enquiry through ‘the collection of evidence about what is going on’ and the use of ‘multiple methods of evidence or data collection’ (Robson, 1993: 52). These characteristics of a case study approach allowed this research to investigate cases, both a particular peace education organisation and one of its projects in a particular school as well as its impact, by using multiple methods.

As another feature, case study generally focuses on ‘a phenomenon in context, typically in situations where the boundary between the phenomenon and its context is not clear’ (Robson, 1993: 52). This means that a case study approach is used when contextual conditions are believed to be highly relevant to a phenomenon being studied (Yin, 2003: 13). This feature of a case study approach focusing on a phenomenon in its context is largely reflected in this research since it is particularly concerned with schooling as the context of peace education,
and the connection between the two, while also exploring these aspects in a particular school. This capacity of the case study approach to investigate a phenomenon in close relation to its context can be seen as part of the strength of this approach, as Denscombe (1998: 39) states that the major advantage of a case study approach is its ability to deal with the subtleties and complexity of social situations, in particular, relationships and social processes.

Apart from the ability to deal with complex social situations, other advantages of a case study approach are described as:

- Its ability to deal with a variety of evidence - documents, artifacts, interviews and observations (Yin, 2003: 8). The use of multiple sources of evidence allows researchers to maintain ‘the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events’ (ibid: 2).

- Its flexibility in the way of asking the questions, collecting the data, and finding the appropriate conceptual and theoretical framework after studying the phenomena in the field (Robson, 1993: 148).

In this research, the ability of the case study approach to deal with a variety of evidence helped to capture fuller characteristics of the cases from various perspectives by collecting the data from a range of methods and from different people involved in peace education. Moreover, flexibility of the approach allowed the process of the enquiry to be exploratory in finding key issues, collecting and selecting relevant data, and seeking theoretical frameworks.

However, these features of the case study approach, including the ability to investigate the complexity of the situation, the ability to use a variety of evidence and its flexibility in enquiry, could cause a problem of focus or selectivity. Thus, as noted by Robson (1993: 149), the case study approach also involves ‘trade-off between looseness and selectivity’. It means that the looser the initial design, the less selective the research can be in data selection, by considering anything as important (Robson, 1993: 149). On the other hand, if the research begins with a strong conceptual framework, there is the danger of losing important aspects of the case, or misinterpreting evidence (ibid: 149).

Considering this issue, this research
attempted to balance looseness and selectivity by allowing the enquiry to explore issues around the main aspects of investigation, while setting up a broad conceptual framework based on the research questions.

Moreover, among different types of case study, this research is characterised as an embedded single-case study design (Yin, 2003: 39-42) since the study involves two units of analysis within a single case; one organisation, and one case study school where the organisation ran its project. The cases used in this research represent a typical project among different types of peace education, and the school in question also shares common circumstances and conditions with many other schools in the UK. Therefore, the use of single-case design in this research can be justified by one of the rationales described by Yin (2003: 41), which is the use of ‘the representative or typical case,’ with the aim of capturing ‘the circumstances and conditions of an everyday or commonplace situation’.

5.4.2.2 Selection of Samples

This research mainly focused on the following two samples as subjects of the study:

1. **One organisation: West Midlands Quaker Peace Education Project (WMQPEP)**
   
   One organisation, WMQPEP, supported by Quakers, fosters peace education in schools in the West Midlands

2. **One primary school, where WMQPEP has been active**
   
   One state, multi-cultural primary school in Birmingham, where WMQPEP has run the Peace Maker Project

The details of these two samples and research procedures are explained below:

1. **West Midlands Quaker Peace Education Project (WMQPEP)**

A particular organisation, WMQPEP was chosen as a case for its long lasting active work on peace education in schools. Since the work of WMQPEP mainly focuses on peace education
in schools, it fits the purpose of this research as a study of peace education in the context of schooling. WMQPEP, set up by local Quakers in the mid 1980s, works with staff and students in schools in the West Midlands area. WMQPEP states that its work is to promote awareness of all kinds of conflicts, and to offer the means of resolution (WMQPEP, 2004). In 2005, WMQPEP was staffed with a project manager, a project administrator and 12 project workers, and worked with 16 schools and youth services. The major work has been the ten-week sequence of ‘Peacemakers’ workshops in primary schools, which are often followed by peer mediation training. Recent work also includes producing teaching materials for National Curriculum Citizenship in secondary schools (WMQPEP Annual Report 2005).

To understand the principles and practice of peace education carried out by the WMQPEP, the research was undertaken through short questionnaires for the project manager and project workers, followed by more in-depth semi-structured interviews (summer to autumn 2005), alongside document analysis. The questionnaires were sent to the project manager and all 12 project workers and there were 11 responses. Among those who responded to the questionnaires, the project manager and 7 project workers took part in the interview.

2. One primary school in Birmingham, where WMQPEP has run its project

A second aspect of the WMQPEP case study was to explore the ten-week workshop ‘Peacemakers’ carried out in one particular primary school in Birmingham. This particular school was chosen for the following reasons. Firstly, it is one of the schools where WMQPEP has been active. Secondly, it is a school with interesting characteristics. For instance, pupils are ethnically very mixed but the size of the school is relatively small: one class for each year group of about 30 pupils; about 200 pupils in total (DfES Primary School Profile 2005). This means that it is a manageable size for the research. There may be some results which are specifically related to certain issues in the school, though significant findings can be transferred to the same project held in other schools. Another reason is that the project has
become well known in the school after 5 years of experience of the project, and there is a good relationship established between the school and the organisation. The school, therefore, did not mind having a research student in the school. Moreover, according to the project manager, it seemed that pupils in the school were not overly controlled, so they could be honest in saying what they thought in interviews.

This school has invited the project, ‘Peacemakers’ for Year 4 pupils over a period of 5 years. In 2005 and 2006, in particular, the project was carried out for both all the Year 4 pupils and all the Year 5 pupils who missed the opportunity in 2004. The length of the project was 10 weeks (2 hours a week in this school) for each year group (Year 4: Sept. – Dec. 2005, Year 5: Jan. – April. 2006). This research mainly focused on the project run for the Year 5 group, although some pilot work was undertaken for the Year 4 group in order to gain basic understanding of the project. The sample (see Table 1.1 in next section) in this case consists of a leading project worker, the head teacher, a learning mentor and participants of the project including the whole Year 5 group (30 pupils) and a class teacher in a main study as well as a Year 4 group (30 pupils - only for observation), a supply teacher and a supply learning mentor in a pilot study. For the study of the school, participant observation, questionnaires and interviews were undertaken between September 2005 and July 2006. The statistical and factual information above was gained from the school’s application for the project.

The reason why this research focuses on children aged 9-10 is that previous research suggests that the basis of a child’s value system has already been set at a young age (9-10) and that it may be difficult for children to develop peace-related values after the age of twelve (Vriens, 1990: 12). However, it needs to be borne in mind that not all children develop their capacities in the same way, as criticism of this theory points out (Berryman et al., 2002: 183).
5.4.3. Data Collection

5.4.3.1 Case Study Data Collection

The opportunity to use multiple sources of evidence is regarded as a major strength of case study data collection (Yin, 2003: 97). Yin (2003: 85) has identified six types of evidence that are most commonly used in a case study: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation, and physical artefacts. This research also used questionnaires, which can also be used for qualitative data collection (Gray, 2004: 320).

A case study approach fosters the use of multiple sources of data, which promotes the validation of data through triangulation (Denscombe, 1998: 40). The use of multiple sources of data for the aim of triangulation is often emphasised in literature. For example, Yin (2003: 98-9) considers the most important advantage of using multiple sources of evidence in case studies to be ‘the development of converging lines of inquiry, a process of triangulation’, including the triangulation of data sources (data triangulation), among different evaluators (investigator triangulation), of perspectives of the same data set (theory triangulation), and of methods (methodological triangulation). As a result of triangulation, findings or conclusions in a case study can be more convincing and accurate since they are ‘based on several different sources of information’ (Yin, 2003: 98). Therefore, triangulation is considered particularly important for qualitative data collection, improving the reliability (the stability of findings) of the research, although this is not guaranteed (Gray, 2004: 344). Considering this advantage of triangulation, this research used different methods (methodological triangulation) and a variety of data sources (data triangulation) to study one organisation and its project.

One advantage of using a range of methods is that these different methods can contribute to the ability to ‘explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint’ (Cohen and Manion, 1989: 269). With data triangulation, one source of information can be tested against other sources. If the same information is found from two sources, the data can be cross-validated (Robson, 1993: 383).
If there is a difference between two sources of information, its examination can help explain the phenomenon. Therefore, findings from different sources of evidence can be more convincing than from a single source. As this idea was applied to the present research, the information gathered through documents, questionnaires and interviews were cross-examined against what was found from observation of the actual project.

However, Silverman (2005: 121) argues that data collected from different sources does not necessarily prove validity, since different methods are often based on different theories, and different data is gathered in different contexts. Silverman (2005: 121-2) notes that triangulation should at least operate based on ground rules suggested by Fielding and Fielding (1986): always begin from a theoretical perspective or model; choose methods and data which will give a researcher an account of structure and meaning from within that perspective.

In accordance with these suggestions, this research is based on a perspective of symbolic interactionism, which considers that the world is socially constructed and subjective as people act upon their interpretations of the meanings of the world in the process of social interaction, and these interpretations are revised on the basis of experience (Gray, 2004: 21). Within this perspective, the research chose semi-structured interviews and participant observation to study peace education in the context of the interaction between the people involved.

These different methods were also used to examine a peace education project from different aspects, since the use of multiple methods can be beneficial not only to ‘the reduction of inappropriate certainty’ in findings but also to ‘the complementary purposes model’ in which different methods are used for alternative tasks (Robson, 1993: 290). According to this model, the purpose of conducting questionnaires and interviews was to find answers in people’s views on peace education, while the purpose of observation was to find how these views are reflected in actual projects in practice (see Robson, 1993: 189). Furthermore, the information gained through questionnaires and interviews also helped the researcher to understand the meaning of activities and interaction of participants during the observation of the project.
As a result, the use of different sources of data and methods in this research helped to reduce uncertainty in findings (e.g. Robson, 1993: 290), while also contributing to greater understanding of the cases and building detailed explanations from different aspects of peace education, and from various viewpoints of the people involved.

5.4.3.2 Data Collection Methods and Instruments used in the Research
As stated previously, for the purpose of gaining insight into the reality of peace education, this research examined the principles and practice of a peace education organisation and its project in a school as two units of data collection and analysis within a single case study. Since particular methods are more appropriate to collect certain kinds of data than other methods, it is important to give careful consideration to the links between research questions and methods (Mason, 1996: 19). A summary of the main methods used for data collection and their objectives is as follows:

- Questionnaires and interviews with WMQPEP were used to identify the principles and stated practices of peace education carried out by the organisation.

- Participant observation was conducted by the researcher to learn how the principles are actually practised in the project and to investigate pupils’ learning processes and possible changes in their behaviour, abilities and confidence in the project. The criteria for the observation were established in the light of the aims, principles and practice of WMQPEP, expected impact and issues concerning the project, which were identified in the interviews and documents prior to the observation. Thus, the observation focused on interpersonal skills and relationships based on ‘education for peace,’ not on other aspects of peace education (e.g. critical thinking, ‘education about peace’ to promote knowledge about peace, conflict, war or injustice in society). For example, some indicators used were:
  - Communication: Are children encouraged to speak? Do they listen to each other?
  - Co-operation: Do the children help each other? Do the children share tasks?
  - Affirmation: Do the children make positive comments about each other? Do the children encourage each other?
  - Problem-solving: Do the children identify problems and possible solutions? Do the children discuss and prioritise the possible solutions?
• Questionnaires and interviews with participants of the project (pupils and teachers) and school staff were used to examine the effects of the project in the light of the aims of the project and the needs of the school. Special attention was given to pupils’ own views on their learning in the project since they are the centre of the subject of education.

(For further details of the methods used in the research and their objectives, see Appendix C)

A table of the participants in the questionnaires and interviews is given below (see Table 1.1).

**Table 1.1 The Structure of the Sample**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Methods</th>
<th>Contents of Questions</th>
<th>Participants/ the number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Organisation:</td>
<td>Questionnaire</td>
<td>Backgrounds of workers and key elements of the work</td>
<td>The project manager 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMQPEP</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Principles and practice of the project and experiences of working in schools</td>
<td>Project workers 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The project manager 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Project workers 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Primary School</td>
<td>Questionnaire</td>
<td>Attitudes, values, confidence relating to the project (the same questions were asked before and after the project)</td>
<td>Pupils in a Year 5 class 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participant observation</td>
<td>Aims, teaching methods, pupils’ responses, possible changes in pupils’ behaviour, abilities and confidence during the project</td>
<td>10-week programme 20hrs each for Year 5 and Year 4 (pilot work) 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Feedback on the project: experience and thoughts about the project, changes in pupils’ behaviour, abilities, confidence</td>
<td>Pupils in a Year 5 class 5-6 pupils x 5 groups 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Year 5 class teacher 1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Leading project worker 1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Year 4 supply teacher 1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Supply learning mentor 1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The head teacher 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Learning mentor 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4.4 Data Analysis

This research attempted to provide a fuller explanation of the cases by analysing the data based on interpretivism (especially symbolic interactionism), in order to understand the meanings of actions and interactions from the perceptions of the people involved (Cohen and Manion, 1989: 34-5; Gray, 2004: 21). This also means that a researcher’s own understanding, perception and conceptual orientation are reflected in the process and results of data analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 8). Thus, the overall process of generation, selection, interpretation and explanation of any descriptive data can become the process of ‘the interpretations of the interpretations’ (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 9). Keeping in mind these underlying issues in qualitative data analysis, the data collection and analysis in this research aimed to produce a ‘descriptive explanation’ (Mason, 1996: 137-8) of the cases in the light of the research questions. The overview of the data collected from questionnaires, interviews, participant observation and documentation are as follows:

- The results of the questionnaires with project workers and the manager of WMQPEP
- Field notes based on the researcher’s participant observation of the project and meetings with a leading project worker and teachers
- Transcription of tapes from the interviews with project workers and the manager of WMQPEP, teachers, learning mentors, the head teacher and pupils
- The results of the questionnaires with pupils before and after the project
- Documents, including the outline of each programme in WMQPEP’s project, and official documents concerning WMQPEP, its project and the case school

Among the above data, the main information was provided by the interview results, which were analysed according to issues and themes reflected in the interview questions. The overall data analysis was conducted based on general processes of data analysis, which can be found in the following three stages of qualitative analysis. Miles and Huberman (1994: 10) define analysis as ‘consisting of three concurrent flows of activity: data reduction, data display, and
conclusion drawing/verification’. Following these processes, the study analysed and displayed the data, mostly as extended texts while some data were presented as a form of diagram, or a descriptive summary of simple quantitative data. In particular, an effort was made to link up the data with the concepts and theories reviewed in the literature (Wolcott, 2001), while following a circular process of describing, classifying, and connecting (Dey, 1993), in which data are broken down into smaller parts and are related to concepts to provide the basis for new description.

5.4.5 Data Collection Tools

5.4.5.1 Questionnaires

Prior to the interviews, short questionnaires were conducted by email in order to gain basic information about an organisation, West Midlands Quaker Peace Education Project (WMQPEP), and its project workers. This included the nature of the work, qualifications and experience. The information obtained from the questionnaires provided useful background knowledge for in-depth semi-structured interviews with the project workers.

Alongside gaining information, the importance of a questionnaire is considered its function to measure (Oppenheim, 1992: 100). The research conducted this typical form of questionnaires with participants of a peace education project in order to explore changes in their attitudes, values and confidence. Based on questions (or statements) in the light of the overall aims of the project, the same questionnaires were used before and after the project, and the answers were analysed to examine the impact of the project. The main aim of the questionnaire was to compare its result with the interview results. The choices for the answers were based on a scale with three levels (Yes/ Not sure/ No) and the results were quantifiable. Moreover, considering that the ‘specification of measurement aims must be precisely and logically related to the aims of the overall research plan and objectives’ as suggested by Oppenheim (1992: 101), special attention was paid to ensure that all the questions were
related to core elements of learning and values promoted in the project with a view to examining the impact of the project as one of the research aims.

In both cases (with WMQPEP and with pupils), self-completed questionnaires were used, and the questions were made specific rather than general, since general questions could lead to ‘wider range of interpretations by respondents’ (Robson, 1993: 247). Also in both cases, open-ended questions were kept to a minimum in order to simplify the analysis.

These questionnaires were conducted in the research by taking account of the following advantages and disadvantage of questionnaires. One of the main advantages of self-completed questionnaires is their efficiency, with regard to the time and effort of a researcher (Robson, 1993: 243). Other main advantages of questionnaires are lower cost of data collection and of processing, the ability to reach a wide range of respondents, and the avoidance of interviewer bias as there is no interviewer (Oppenheim, 1992: 102-3). On the other hand, certain views of those who design the questionnaire may be reflected in questions which may bias the responses. Moreover, questionnaires are more likely to provide the desired information when information is needed from many individuals, when confidentiality is a major issue, and when sensitive issues are sought as there is more anonymity (Lewis and Tall, 2004: 20).

On the other hand, disadvantages of questionnaires can be a low response rate and consequent biases, unsuitability for people with language difficulties, ‘no opportunity to correct misunderstandings or to probe, or to offer explanations or help,’ and ‘no control over the order in which questions are answered, no check on incomplete responses,’ and no control over who answers the questionnaires (Oppenheim, 1992: 102). There is also no control over the honesty or seriousness of responses (Robson, 1993: 243). To a certain extent, these disadvantages can be reduced by triangulation, as used in the present study.
5.4.5.2 Interview

*Interviews in general*

Interviews are considered one of the most important sources in case study research since ‘most case studies are about human affairs’ (Yin, 2003: 92) which should be reported and interpreted from the perspectives of people involved. According to Yin (2003: 90), interviews in case studies operate on two levels at the same time, by satisfying the needs of a line of enquiry while asking non-threatening questions in open-ended interviews. Therefore, interviews in case studies are usually of ‘an open-ended nature,’ in which interviewees are asked about the facts as well as their opinions about the events (ibid: 90).

Generally, ‘interviews are used as a source for understanding how individuals make sense of their social world and act within it’ (May, 2001: 142), providing ‘rich insights into people’s biographies, experiences, opinions, values, aspirations, attitudes and feelings’ (ibid: 120). Research interview can be defined as ‘a two-person conversation, initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research-relevant information, and focused by him on content specified by research objectives of systematic description, prediction, or explanation’ (Cannell and Kahn, 1968: 527). In accordance with this idea of interviews, the research conducted interviews with various people involved in the project being studied, with the aim of investigating their experiences, values and attitudes concerning peace education.

Moreover, interviews are considered most useful for an exploratory purpose of enquiry, and are more suitable than questionnaires when questions are open-ended or complex (Gray, 2004: 214). According to Cohen and Manion (1989: 308-9), interviews may be used for the following three main purposes: first, it may be used as the principal means of data collection in the light of the research objectives; second, it may be used to test hypotheses, to suggest new ones or to identify variables and relationships; third, it may be used in combination with other methods, for instance, to validate other methods. Reflecting these general purposes of interviews, this research conducted one-to-one interviews and group interviews as the prime
means of collecting data for an exploratory purpose. Since the main questions were open-ended, asking complex and detailed descriptions and explanations of the principles and practice of peace education, interviews were more appropriate than questionnaires.

For the purpose of gaining insights into the reality of peace education, all the interviews in this research were used to ask for detailed descriptions concerning specific questions or particular issues from the perspectives of the people involved. Thus, semi-structured interviews were more appropriate than either unstructured or fully structured interviews. In semi-structured interviews in general, while there is a list of questions or specific topics investigated by a researcher, the interview process is flexible and interviewees are given space in how to reply (Bryman, 2004: 321). This is because semi-structured interviews emphasise the perspectives, understandings and explanations of interviewees regarding the issues and events being studied. Since semi-structured interviews allow a researcher to clarify and elaborate on the questions in response to answers given by interviewees, and to record the qualitative data, the researcher can probe detailed responses through a dialogue with the interviewees (May, 2001: 123). In this research, the conversations were tape-recorded, then transcribed, in order to gain precise information from the interviews. Although the interview schedule, the content, sequence and wording of the questions were planned in advance, the actual interviews were more flexible by giving freedom to both the researcher and the respondents (Robson, 1993: 230-1).

Regarding the preparation of the interview schedule, which needs to reflect the research aims and translate them into interview questions, consideration was given to the objectives and focuses of the interviews (Cohen and Manion, 1989: 321). While the content of questions was developed from the research questions, the researcher had informal talks with some interviewees prior to formal interviews in order to gain basic understanding of the research context, as well as piloting and refining the interview questions. The details of the construction of the interview questions are presented in Appendix D.
In terms of major advantages, interviews are useful for exploring issues in more depth than other methods of data collection (Cohen and Manion, 1989: 308). Interviewing is ‘a flexible and adaptable way of finding things out,’ and provides ‘the possibility of modifying one’s line of enquiry, following up interesting responses and investigating underlying motives’ (Robson, 1993: 229). Another advantage of interviews is the opportunity to approach a wider range of people and situations in comparison with participant observation, in which researchers are constrained in their interactions and observations to a limited range of people, events and sites (Bryman, 2004: 341). In this research, interviewing different project workers was useful in providing the overall picture of the organisation and the principles underlying its practice, while observation was conducted in only one programme run by one project worker.

As regards disadvantages of interviewing, it is more expensive and time-consuming than questionnaires (Oppenheim, 1992: 82-3). There may be a problem of interviewer effects since the unnatural character of interviewing can be seen as a context within which reactive effects may occur (Bryman, 2004: 340). Moreover, interviewing can become subjective and biased (Cohen and Manion, 1989: 308) and, in particular, interviewer bias can be a potential threat to the validity of interview measures (ibid: 318). Thus, this research used multiple methods in order to validate the interview measure by comparing it with another measure that appears to be valid, as suggested by Cohen and Manion (1989: 318).

*Group Interviews with Children*

In addition to the general characteristics of interviews discussed above, further considerations are needed for group interviews and for interviewing children. In terms of the general purpose, Watts and Ebbutt (1987: 27) consider group interviews as appropriate when ‘a particular group has a status within the domain of the research inquiry and it is important that a collective view is sought rather than interviewing the group members individually.’ The purpose of the group interviews in this research was to investigate the overall impact of the
project on pupils as participants, in particular from their own perspectives. While individual pupils were asked to respond to specific questions, the interviews intended to explore general trends or patterns in the pupils’ responses, indicating their collective viewpoints.

While young people’s voices or opinions are not always heard compared to those of adults, one main reason for interviewing young people is ‘to allow them to give voice to their own interpretations and thoughts rather than rely solely on our adult interpretations of their lives’ (Eder and Fingerson, 2002: 181). On the other hand, interviewing children requires special consideration for its context and process, alongside ethical issues which will be discussed later in this chapter. While researchers’ control over the process of interviewing can occur in all interviews, Eder and Fingerson (2002: 182) state that it is essential for the researchers to take account of the power dynamics between adults and youth in interviewing children. Regarding the issue of power dynamics and the importance of creating a natural context for interviewing children, recent research suggests that children are more comfortable and relaxed in group settings, which can also minimise the power difference between the researcher and children (Eder and Fingerson, 2002: 183).

Considering these aspects, group interviews in this research contributed to creating a less threatening and more natural setting for pupils, while interviewing all the pupils in a class for feedback on the project reflected the principles of equality, inclusion, co-operation and good communication promoted in the project. In terms of size of a group, having five or six pupils in a group seemed to be appropriate for conducting interviews effectively, since it may be impossible to interview properly with more than ten people in a group (Hedges, 1985: 75).

In group interviews which bring a small number of people together to discuss topics on the research agenda, the task of the group interviewer is ‘not to conduct individual interviews simultaneously but to facilitate a comprehensive exchange of views in which all participants are able to “speak their minds” and respond to the ideas of others’ (Walker, 1985: 5). Since group interviews encourage the interaction between interviewees, the role of the interviewer
becomes a ‘moderator’ or ‘facilitator’ (Watts and Ebbutt, 1987: 27). In the process, Oppenheim (1992: 79) suggests that the interviewer should try ‘to be as non-directive as possible, while maintaining control of the group.’ Since group interviews in this research were intended to gather data which represent the viewpoints of pupils as a group, the researcher acted as a ‘facilitator’ to encourage pupils to interact with others, to express their own opinions and feelings, while allowing them to react freely to what others said. During the interview, the pupils were asked to speak one at a time for tape-recording (e.g. Oppenheim, 1992: 79), which helped to maintain control of the group.

With regards to advantages, group interviews are useful for studying an established group (Robson, 1993: 241), apart from the obvious reason: their efficiency in terms of cost and time in comparison with one-to-one interviews (Hedges, 1985: 71). These aspects were reflected in the present research, which involved a whole class of pupils as an established group and required the efficient use of time in order to interview them all within a limited time. As for another advantage, group interviews can provide a social context which helps participants to consider other people’s viewpoints in forming their own responses (Hedges, 1985: 72). Watts and Ebbutt (1987: 32) also state that one advantage of group interviews is ‘their potential to allow discussions to develop so that a wide range of responses can be collected’ while ‘such interviews are useful, for example, where a group of people have been working together for some time or common purpose, or where it is seen as important that everyone concerned is aware of what others in the group are saying.’ In this research, it seems that the group setting helped pupils to interact with others and share their experience of participating in the project together, which created a lively atmosphere and some conversations between them.

There are also disadvantages of group interviews, including the difficulty in following up the viewpoints of individuals (Robson, 1993: 241). Watts and Ebbutt (1987: 33) note that group interviews are not useful for bringing personal issues or probing individual perceptions since ‘the dynamic of a group denies access to this sort of data’. Moreover, the effect of group
dynamics can become a problem, for example, when group dynamics or power hierarchies influence who speaks and what people say (Robson, 1993: 241). Dominant characters may have an effect on what others say, people may feel nervous about expressing viewpoints opposed to those of the rest of the group, or ‘people sometimes feel constrained in what they say in front of their peers’ (Hedges, 1985: 74). In order to reduce these effects of group dynamics, Hedges (1985: 82) suggests ‘making sure that dominant characters do not monopolise the conversation, bringing in the quiet members, and ensuring that strong personalities or majorities do not suppress or distort the views of others.’ Considering these issues, the researcher encouraged pupils to say what they really thought, while giving everyone equal chances to speak throughout the interviews.

### 5.4.5.3 Participant Observation

The observation method can have a particular role in research since it ‘provides an opportunity to get beyond people’s opinions and self-interpretations of their attitudes and behaviours towards an evaluation of their actions in practice’ (Gray, 2004: 238). Emphasising the importance of the observation method in case studies, Cohen and Manion (1989: 124-5) note that ‘the case study researcher typically observes the characteristics of an individual unit - a child, a clique, a class, a school or a community.’ In this research (based on a case study approach), the subjects of observation were people involved in a peace education project.

Among two main types of observation: participant and non-participant observation, this research used participant observation, in which the observer is ‘a regular participant in the activities being observed, and his or her dual role is generally not known to the other participants’ (Bailey, 1978: 215). Participant observation generally takes qualitative, unstructured approaches (Robson, 1993: 194), and the observer attempts to remember what occurs during the observation and then records these general impressions after the observation (Bailey, 1978: 219-20).
In this qualitative study, the researcher participated in the project and interacted with participants, while the participants were told that the researcher was interested in learning about the overall project, not individuals. In general, a participant observer is not only a passive observer but may have various roles, and participant observation can provide distinctive opportunities, such as the opportunity for greater access to the project and ‘the ability to perceive reality from the viewpoint of someone “inside” the case study rather than external to it’ (Yin, 2003: 93-4). This aspect of participant observation was reflected here, since the researcher joined in all the activities, except when occasionally assisting the leading project worker, or when some group work required adults only to observe. The observation was intended to explore the complexity and richness of the project, with the aim of gaining insights into the project from the perspectives of people involved. Although there were certain focuses of the observation, the overall structure was kept relatively open in order to capture the whole picture of the project, as well as different elements of learning and people’s actions.

While observation can be used for different purposes in a study by taking various forms, it is commonly used in an exploratory phase, often in an unstructured form, to investigate what is going on in a situation and test hypotheses (Robson, 1993: 192). Observation can also be used as a supportive or supplementary method of data collection to complement, corroborate or validate data obtained by other methods, while sometimes being used as a main method for a descriptive purpose in certain studies (Robson, 1993: 192). In particular, participant observation is suitable to study research questions involving ‘how,’ while answers to the questions concerning ‘what’ and ‘why’ can be identified in advance (ibid: 199). Participant observation is also useful in a small event or process involving small groups (ibid: 205).

Reflecting these purposes, one of the purposes of participant observation in this research was to investigate how one small-scale project is actually practised in one case study school, while cross-examining this with similar information gained through interviews. Since interviews investigate ‘how people perceive what happens,’ but ‘not what actually happens,’
observation may be ‘more reliable than what people say’ (Nisbet and Watt, 1980: 17 in Bell, 1999: 157). Thus, observation can be used to ‘discover whether people do what they say they do, or behave in the way they claim to behave’ (Bell, 1999: 157). In contrast to the interviews conducted here to learn about the principles of the project, participant observation was useful to study how the principles were applied. Another focus of the observation was to explore pupils’ learning process, their reactions in activities, and possible changes in their behaviour.

As stated above, this research was conducted within the framework of symbolic interactionism, while participant observation is largely based on the perspective of symbolic interactionism: that ‘the social world involves subjective meanings and experiences constructed by participants in social situations’ (Robson, 1993: 194). Thus, participant observation often emphasises the meanings that people attach to their actions, while observing and listening to people in their natural setting with an attempt to discover social meanings and interpretations of their activities (Gray, 2004: 241). The observer not only shares experiences of people being studied, but also enters their social and ‘symbolic’ world through learning their social customs, habits, and verbal and non-verbal communication (Robson, 1993: 194). In particular, the participant observer pays attention to people’s interactions with the social environment, to explore how such interactions change their ideas and behaviour, and their own awareness of these changes (Gray, 2004: 241-2). Considering these aspects of participant observation, this research especially investigated the interactions and relationships of people involved in the project in terms of behaviour and verbal and non-verbal communication, as well as changes in these elements from their own perspectives.

As for advantages of observation, it is useful to collect data on non-verbal behaviour, as a researcher can observe ongoing behaviour as it occurs (Bailey, 1978: 215). Another advantage is that behaviour takes place in its natural environment, so that it is less reactive than other methods (ibid: 216). Moreover, since the observation usually takes place over a longer period than the survey or experiment, it can provide the opportunity of longitudinal analysis (ibid: 216).
With the longitudinal character of observation, ‘changes and connections between events can be observed’ (Bryman, 2004: 341). These advantages of observation provided this research with opportunities to collect data on non-verbal behaviour of people involved in the project, to observe their actions and behaviour occurring in a natural environment, and to examine changes in their actions and behaviour over an extended period of time.

In terms of disadvantage of participant observation, one problem can be the potential biases generated (Yin, 2003: 94), for example: the ability of the researcher to work as an external observer can be limited, while taking positions or advocacy roles in the event. Moreover, the participant observer tends to ‘follow a commonly known phenomenon and become a supporter of the group or organization being studied’ (Yin, 2003: 94-6). This is because it is not easy to play the dual role of observer and participator (Robson, 1993: 197) and to sustain a balance between ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ status (Gray, 2004: 242). One practical problem is that the participant role may require too much attention compared to the observer role, so that the participant observer may not have enough time to observe and take notes, or ‘to raise questions about events from different perspectives’ (Yin, 2003: 96). While the difficulty of being an observer and participant was also experienced by the researcher, the opportunity of being a participant of the project provided insights into the overall project.

To reduce these observational biases, Robson (1993: 202-4) makes some suggestions: in order to avoid selective attention, ‘make a conscious effort to distribute your attention widely and evenly’; in order to avoid selective encoding and ‘the “rush to judgement” where something is categorized on the basis of initial and very partial information,’ ‘try to start with an open mind’; in order to avoid selective memory with less accuracy and completeness due to delayed construction of an account after the event, ‘write up field notes into a narrative account promptly’. From the researcher’s experience, one of the difficulties was to remember what had happened in the project and take notes soon after, since the researcher did not take notes during lessons as pupils may have felt nervous about it. However, it gradually became
easier while the observation took place over one semester. During the observation, an effort was made to pay wide and even attention to the project and the people involved.

Another problem in participant observation can be observer effects which occur when the observed know that observation is carried out by the observer who is a participant in the situation, and then the observation becomes possibly reactive (Robson, 1993: 208). Although it is impossible to avoid these effects completely, two main strategies to minimise observer effects are suggested by Robson (1993: 208-9): minimal interaction with the group, and habituation of the group to the observer’s presence by repeating the presence in the setting, in order that people do not notice after a while. In this research, it is considered that observer effects were kept to a minimum, since the researcher participated in the project over an extended period of time and took the same role as other members of the groups.

5.4.6 Reliability, Validity and Generalisability

5.4.6.1 Reliability

Reliability is ‘the extent to which a test or procedure produces similar results under constant conditions on all occasions’ (Bell, 1999: 103). It relates to the accuracy of methods and techniques used in the research, generally in quantitative research which relies on standardised research instruments, and on cross-checking the data produced by such standardised instruments and by different sets of instruments, which are designed to ‘measure’ the same phenomenon, as a means to check reliability (Mason, 2002: 39). However, the value or feasibility of such standardisation and the concept of research instruments (indicating that such instrument can be neutrally applied) may not always be applicable to qualitative research (Mason, 2002: 39). For instance, the transparency of the whole research process is regarded as important for the quality of the data in qualitative research, which relates to the reliability (of methods) (Seale et al., 2004: 407). Considering the difference between quantitative research
and qualitative research, this research was concerned with reliability in terms of the accuracy of data generation and analysis.

In most qualitative research, reliability (the stability of findings) is improved by triangulation (Gray, 2004: 344). Among different types of triangulation, this study used multiple methods (questionnaires, interviews, observation and document analysis) for data collection. Information gathered through the multiple methods provided a means of testing one source of information against other sources. Both correspondences and discrepancies can be valuable since the same findings from two sources can cross-validate each other, while a discrepancy may be useful in explaining the phenomenon of interest (Robson, 1993: 383). In this research, the investigation of peace education from different people’s viewpoints also increased the reliability of the qualitative data as a form of triangulation in interpretative research (Cohen and Manion, 1989: 270). Overall, triangulation contributed to improving the quality of data and consequently the accuracy of the findings here.

On the other hand, possible causes of unreliability include subject error and subject bias (Robson, 1993: 67). In participant observation carried out here, subject error could occur when pupils’ performance in the project might be affected by internal or external conditions such as their psychological or physical states caused by the school or outside environment. For this reason, in this research, the observation took place over a sufficient period of time, alongside an attempt to identify sources of error, with a view to ensuring the stability of the findings. As regards the interviews with participants of the project, subject bias can be a problem, as pupils or teachers may try to give answers to please the researcher. In order to reduce the possibility of this bias, the interviewees were encouraged to give honest responses providing useful feedback for the research.

For a case study design, reliability can be achieved if other researchers conducted the same case study, by following the same procedures as described by a researcher, and then reached the same findings and conclusions (Yin, 2003: 37-8). The general suggestion for reducing the
reliability problem is to document the procedures followed by making as many steps as possible, with a view to allowing other researchers to repeat the research. Thus, this study attempted to describe the procedure of the empirical work in as detailed a manner as possible.

Another technique for increasing reliability is to allow the reader to follow the origin of any evidence presented in the research, including initial research questions and conclusions (Yin, 2003: 105). For this aim, the case study report should have made sufficient citation of the relevant portions of the database by citing specific documents, interviews or observations. The database should present the actual evidence with an indication of the circumstances (e.g. the time and place) under which the evidence was collected. These issues were taken into account in this case study report when the findings are discussed.

5.4.6.2 Validity

Validity refers to ‘whether an item measures or describes what it is supposed to measure or describe,’ according to Bell (1999: 104). Similarly, for Robson (1993: 66), validity implies ‘whether the findings are “really” about what they appear to be about’. To demonstrate validity, a study should observe or ‘measure’ in the way initially proposed, so that other researchers using the same research instrument can gain the same results (Bell, 1999: 104). Generally, there are three key types of validity: construct validity, internal validity and external validity (generalisability).

Construct validity is about ‘establishing correct operational measures for the concepts being studied’ (Yin, 2003: 34). In order to increase construct validity, this research used multiple sources of evidence from documents, questionnaires, interviews and observations, with a view to converging lines of inquiry (Yin, 2003: 36), since similar patterns of findings from different data collection methods can increase the validity (Robson, 1993: 69). Another aspect of construct validity is the measurement of abstract concepts and characteristics (Gray, 2004: 91), for example, pupils’ abilities, attitudes and skills relating to peace issues, which were
investigated in this research. Since a measure has to be validated by measuring what should be measured, each of the characteristics of the concept ‘has to be operationally defined before it can be measured’ (Gray, 2004: 92). To establish the validity of the measures in this research, some key concepts which are relevant to the focus of observation and the content of questionnaires and interviews (i.e. the core elements of pupils’ learning in the project, such as affirmation, co-operation and communication) were defined prior to the study.

Internal validity refers to the establishment of a causal relationship and commonly relates to explanatory or causal studies, including causal (or explanatory) case studies (Yin, 2003: 34, 36). Since this research had an explanatory aspect to examine the impact of the project on pupils, questionnaires were used to find possible changes in pupils’ attitudes before and after the project. In the process, there was a concern over a threat to internal validity (Robson, 1993: 70-1). For example, when pupils become familiar with certain ideas relating to questions asked before the project, this may have some influence on their answers to the same questions asked after the project. To stabilise the result of the questionnaires, appropriate occasions needed to be chosen to avoid this subject error. Therefore, in this research, there was a gap of over three months between the first and the second questionnaires, so that the subject error was more likely to be avoided.

5.4.6.3 Generalisability

In carrying out case study research, the issue of generalisability is a major barrier, regarding the extent to whether the findings can be generalised beyond the immediate case study, in particular, in single cases (Yin, 2003: 37). Generalisability refers to ‘the degree to which findings can be generalized from the specific sample in the study to some target population’ (Robson, 1993: 46), or ‘in other contexts, situations or times’ (ibid: 66). While threats to generalisability can be related to selection, setting or period (when the findings are only relevant to the group studied, to the particular context in which the study was carried out, or to
specific historical experiences) (Robson, 1993: 73), there are two main strategies to reduce these potential threats: first, ‘direct demonstration’, in which the results are applied to a further study (e.g. with other types of participants or in a different setting); second, ‘making a case’, which justifies the generalisability of the results, ‘with arguments that the group studied, or setting, or period is representative in that it shares certain essential characteristics with other groups, settings or periods’ (ibid: 72). Since the peace education project studied in this research focuses on improving interpersonal skills (co-operation, communication, affirmation and problem-solving skills), which are typical skills in peace education, it might be possible to make some kind of generalisation about similar types of peace education.

Moreover, generalisability in case study research can be distinguished from survey research which relies on statistical generalisation, whereas case studies rely on analytical generalisation in which the researcher intends to ‘generalize a particular set of results to some broader theory’ (Yin, 2003: 37). Thus, ‘the findings of qualitative research are to generalize to theory rather than to populations’ (Bryman, 2004: 285). It means that generalisation is assessed by the theoretical inferences made from qualitative data. Following this idea of generalisation, in this study of a peace education organisation and its project in a school, the data was analysed to connect with and generalise to wider theories of peace, peace education or schooling.

5.4.7 Limitations of the Research

In case study research, there is a problem of generalising the findings from a specific case to wider phenomena (Robson, 1993: 52). In particular, a single-case study is sometimes criticised for its limitation concerning generalisability in comparison to multiple case studies, since the opportunity to replicate findings in a single-case study is limited (Yin, 2003: 53). In this research, there might be a limitation in generalising the findings from the case studies, which are about one particular organisation and its project in one particular school. The
results can be generalised to the same project carried out in other schools, or to similar types of peace education in the context of schooling. However, the findings might not be generalised to the whole of peace education in the UK or in the world, since peace education programmes vary in principle and approach depending on purposes and context.

There is also a limitation relating to the scale and the length of time available in this research. Since the research was undertaken on a relatively small scale in a short period of time (less than one year), it explored only the short-term impact of the project and could not trace the increasing or decreasing effects of the intervention over a longer period of time. Moreover, there may be a limitation to identifying how far changes (occurring as a result of the project) could be attributed to the intervention itself, because of the difficulty in controlling other variables outside the project which may have an influence on the changes. This problem is related to ‘attribution gap’ in peace education, for the examination of the degree to which the effects can be credibly attributed to the intervention.

Some practical problems in conducting questionnaires and interviews were that the time available for teachers and pupils was often restricted due to their busy school schedule, and that the noise in school seemed to be unavoidable as it is in the nature of a school. Another minor problem was found during the group interviews with pupils. While pupils were not influenced by each other’s opinions when they were interviewed in a group, some quiet children did not say much although they might have the same or a different response if they were asked individually. Sometimes it was difficult to hear pupils when they wanted to speak all at once. The interviewing was, however, successful in general.
5.4.8 Ethical Considerations

This research was conducted under certain ethical principles of research, which ‘concern the appropriateness of the researcher’s behaviour in relation to the subjects of the research or those who are affected by it’ (Gray, 2004: 58). One important aspect of ethical concerns involves ‘informed consent’ based on ‘the subject’s right to freedom and self-determination’ (Cohen and Manion, 1994: 350), rather than merely obtaining consent (Gray, 2004: 59). The following aspects of the research were explained to the participants: the research aims, the researcher and participants involved, kinds of information sought, the voluntary basis of participation with the right to withdraw, data access and ownership, the way of preserving anonymity of respondents, and the conditions for confidentiality (see Gray, 2004: 59). As a result, a particular organisation being studied consented to allow the researcher to mention its name in the study, while the names of project workers remain anonymous. The case study school agreed to accept a research student, while being informed about the aims and process of the research. The school also agreed that the observation, questionnaires and interviews were undertaken on the condition that the information obtained was treated with confidentiality and anonymity. Thus, the names of the school, teachers and pupils remain anonymous in the description of the case study. The participants in questionnaires and interviews (pupils and school staff) were also informed about the research aims, and confidentiality and anonymity of the information given by them. Moreover, since the study involved children, the researcher consulted and sought permission from the school to observe the children participating in the project and to conduct questionnaires and interviews with them (see Cohen and Manion, 1994: 352). For group interviews with pupils, tape-recording of their voices was permitted by the school on the condition that individuals were not identified.
CHAPTER 6

A Case Study of

The West Midlands Quaker Peace Education Project:

(1) Aims, Principles and Practice of Peace Education
6.1 Introduction

As the first part of a case study of the peace education organisation, the West Midlands Quaker Peace Education Project (WMQPEP), this section portrays and analyses the organisation through investigating their viewpoints on peace education, as well as the principles and practice of its project. The data concerning WMQPEP was collected from documents, questionnaires and interviews with project workers (see Appendix C).

The West Midlands Quaker Peace Education Project was set up in 1985 as an initiative of the Warwickshire and Staffordshire Monthly Meetings, which were local Quaker groups. The funding is mostly provided by the Quaker movement. The project in schools has been run by a team of project workers with a wide variety of professional skills. A bursary fund exists to which schools may apply. The current team consists of about 14 staff (10 females and 4 males) including the project manager, a project administrator and 12 project workers (WMQPEP, 2004; 2006; 2007). The backgrounds of the project workers and some key elements of WMQPEP’s work were identified through questionnaires (see Appendix E for the details), which provided useful information for the following interviews.

Moreover, WMQPEP is part of the Peace Education Network (PEN) (www.peaceeducation.org.uk) through which different forms of peace education are currently carried out in the UK. This includes:

- Community-based peer training in conflict resolution and anti-racism (Aik Saath)
- University-based courses, research and related activities on transformative conflict resolution, reconciliation and forgiveness (Centre for Peace and Reconciliation Studies, Coventry University)
- Workshops on non-violent conflict resolution and peace as part of an international Christian peacemaking movement (Pax Christi)
- The promotion of non-violent action against injustice, non-violent conflict resolution, peace, co-operation, human rights, conscientious objection and other related issues through campaigns, educational activities and publications (Peace Pledge Union)
• School-based programmes for both ‘education about peace’ (learning about the issues of war, arms and disarmament, conscientious objection, human rights, citizenship and social justice) and ‘education for peace’ (the skills of peacemaking, conflict resolution, mediation and problem-solving) as part of the Quaker movement (Quaker Peace & Social Witness)

• Museum-based peace education through exhibitions of artefacts relating to peace, disarmament and local peace issues (the Peace Museum, Bradford)

• A civil society movement to raise awareness of constructive alternatives to war through school visits and campaigns through Parliament, the media and the arts (Movement for the Abolition of War)

Thus, WMQPEP’s school-based work, which mainly focuses on nurturing and developing peace-related skills, behaviour, attitudes and values, can be seen as one of these various forms of peace education practised through PEN (see Appendix F for PEN’s basic framework for peace education in terms of aims and the main components: skills, values and attitudes, and knowledge and understanding, as well as a list of organisations which are part of the network).

6.2 The Principles of WMQPEP

6.2.1 WMQPEP’s Understanding of Peace Education

6.2.1.1 WMQPEP’s Understanding of Peace Education in General

Several project workers described peace education in relation to the understanding and management of conflicts:

‘What I understand by peace education is the concept of giving people the awareness of how conflict arises and the potential tools and skills either to try to avoid conflict developing or to try to defuse it as it escalates or to try to give ways of dealing with it if it actually reaches an impossible situation, if it reaches an impasse where nothing is moving.’

‘Peace education is about being able to handle conflicts without hurting anyone else.’
In terms of different contexts for peace education, one project worker commented that:

‘Conflict areas like Northern Ireland have certain issues and problems to be taught in peace education so that the content can be different from non-conflict areas, but the kind of message which children learn through activities is similar in both areas.’

One project worker quoted a Chinese poem, which expresses her idea of peace:

No peace in the world without peace in the nation;
No peace in the nation without peace in the town;
No peace in the town without peace in the home;
No peace in the home without peace in the heart;

Tao Te Ching

Overall, there are two main aspects found in WMQPEP’s understanding of peace education in general, as pointed out by one project worker:

‘There are two main things. One is to improve or develop peaceful relations within an educational setting, and secondly it is education about peace and conflict, not necessarily in a school but more to do with more general examples of peace and conflict in the world.’

6.2.1.2 WMQPEP’s Own Understanding of Peace Education

WMQPEP’s own understanding of peace education coincides with their idea of peace education in general: education for peaceful relationships, and education about peace and conflict. WMQPEP emphasises these two aspects of peace education officially: ‘Peace education is both education for peace and education about peace’ (www.peacemakers.org.uk).

In particular, WMQPEP focuses more on the first aspect, as one project worker said that:

‘WMQPEP’s understanding of peace education is developing peaceful relationships within educational institutions, and also educating, to some extent, about peace and conflict around the world. But it has developed more into the former.’
The importance of building peaceful relationships is emphasised in WMQPEP’s statement:

‘As Quakers, we believe that it is possible and vitally important for the future that peaceful relationships should be achieved in all areas of life, for example: family, school, workplace, community and international relations.’ (WMQPEP Annual Report 2005)

Another project worker explained peaceful relationships with a particular emphasis on peace arising from people’s daily life experience:

‘I believe peace education is something that needs to be tackled in a very concentrated, focused way on a small scale, rather than as a large scale concept. Hopefully, it arises as people’s own experiences… It arises out of something that they can relate to.’

A starting point of building peace may be on a small scale, but WMQPEP hopes that peace will spread further from a school to a wider community, as noted by one project worker:

‘QPEP believes that peace grows inside people, and from the community they live in. So if we can make schools peaceful communities, children will learn more about peace from their community and from their school. And hopefully, that will spill over into their families and into their home.’

Another project worker described learning for peaceful relationships in practice as follows:

‘Peace education is about people getting on with each other, learning about each other, being tolerant of different people and trying to understand other people, where they come from, not only as different culture but the different sorts of backgrounds like different ethnic or religious backgrounds and experiences they are brought up with. Different people have different ways of looking at things. And understanding what is common to everybody, like everybody wanting friends and wanting to play with them at the playtime.’

The learning also involves skills and the understanding of other people’s feelings, as several project workers mentioned:

‘Peace education also includes developing emotional literacy.’
‘Peace education involves learning and practising skills for good communication, co-operation and affirmation as a basis of problem-solving.’

In regard to the second aspect (education about peace and conflict), one project worker thought that this aspect coincides with some general aims of peace education:

‘I think that WMQPEP’s understanding of peace education work fits in with the international aims for peace education, particularly for young people - giving people the awareness of how conflict comes about, watching for the signs, and defusing conflict. It actually enables people to deal with things before they get out of hand.’

Another project worker explained necessary knowledge about the nature of conflict:

‘The knowledge involves understanding conflict theory in terms of causes, processes and effects of conflicts, what makes conflicts escalate such as blaming or negative language, what makes them de-escalate such as techniques for managing anger or assertive communication, and what is our personal involvement in conflict.’

Their views of conflict are not negative, as expressed by some project workers as follows:

‘I think conflict is a normal part of everyone’s life, so it’s about handling it creatively rather than violently, and teaching children that it’s possible to do that.’

‘We think that conflict can be good and helpful, but also it can get terribly wrong.’

These views of conflict are also stated in the statement of WMQPEP:

‘Conflict is part of everyday life, so it is really important that children should understand its causes, both in social conditions and in personal relationships. We all need to learn ways of creatively resolving conflict without resorting to aggression.’ (WMQPEP, 2006)

6.2.1.3 The Origin of WMQPEP’s Understanding of Peace Education

Many project workers pointed out that WMQPEP’s work is underpinned by religious and philosophical elements of Quakerism to a certain degree:
‘Although we never mention a religion or Quakerism in our work in a school, because many of those who do the work are committed Quakers, we actually underpin what we are doing with our feelings and our strength of belief.’

‘My understanding of where this idea was from is, historically, Quakers’ work, part of their witness to peace and Quaker philosophy.’

Quakerism is based on a strong belief in people, and the belief is reflected in WMQPEP’s attitude towards children. As one project worker said:

‘As Quakers believe there is God in every person, and to respect each individual and value their contribution, each has to make the learning process. I think that we’re trying to do that in a Circle Time to value every child.’

Moreover, another project worker described Quaker philosophy as follows:

‘In Quaker philosophy, it’s believed that each person has value, so it’s important in a group, in a class or in a school to value individuals and to develop a child as the whole person. It also puts value on groups, as the focus is often on what can emerge from a group in terms of the understanding of values. On the other hand, it’s believed that each person has a spiritual journey for their own path. That’s why it emphasises experiential learning rather than a didactic way of teaching.’

It seems that part of WMQPEP’s understanding of peace education comes particularly from the Quaker Peace Testimony, as one project worker said:

‘WMQPEP’s understanding of peace education comes from the Quaker Peace Testimony, and the way of conflict resolution.’

Some project workers introduced the following ideas expressed in Quaker Peace Testimony:

‘It’s Quakers’ experience of the world in which we live….It basically says that you oppose all wars and all violent means of achieving ends. Everything is done through co-operation and though pacifist ways. It’s the pacifist approach but it’s a proactive approach. Pacifist approach doesn’t mean sitting back doing nothing. It means finding other peaceful ways of reaching solutions.’
‘In Quaker Peace Testimony, there are ideas of how we can live peacefully by finding peaceful and non-violent ways of dealing with problems. It also includes ideas of simplicity, counter-act and power relationship.’

(For the story of how the project originally started, see Appendix G)

6.2.2 The Need for Peace Education

6.2.2.1 The Need for Peace Education in Schools

Many project workers are concerned about current situations in schools, in which children’s learning and growth are often affected by bullying and conflicts in their daily lives:

‘Because there are bullying and conflicts in the lives of the students in the school, they can’t learn so effectively, they are losing some of their opportunities, because they aren’t fully concentrating on their studies. They have to deal with these emotional things that are getting in their way.’

‘If you have unresolved conflicts either at home or in school or in the community, children don’t achieve their potential because they’re so unhappy with whatever goes wrong at home. So when they come to school, they don’t learn anything because their thoughts are occupied by that.’

‘There are too many conflicts in classroom and playgrounds, which make children’s learning inefficient due to the emotion and disruption involved. When children learn ways of solving conflicts, the classroom becomes a place to learn.’

In particular, one project worker pointed out that children’s behavioural problems are often rooted in their emotional problems:

‘There are many children who have difficulties in dealing with their strong emotions such as short temper, anger, fear, anxiety, frustration and irritation, which are caused by various reasons. Such emotions can be shown as their aggressive, self-centred, destructive or disruptive attitudes in schools. As a consequence, many schools face children’s behavioural problems including bullying, physical fighting or arguments among children in the classroom and playground.’
The same project worker also mentioned other problems that children face, including negative views on themselves and others, and a lack of communication skills:

‘Many children have negative views on self and others, such as a dislike of someone, a lack of self-confidence or low self-esteem, and a lack of respect for others. Some children also have poor communication skills with either aggressive or passive attitudes. Other children are self-centred without thinking of others.’

Considering these issues, several project workers stressed the importance of creating a good school environment, where children can learn, build self-esteem, and fulfil their potential:

‘I think that for schools it’s time to build the ethos that promotes growth and self-esteem in children….if they can push aside these difficulties, they can concentrate on their academic work. That’s really why peace education is needed so that people have a good start.’

‘If you want children to learn, you need a safe and peaceful environment. I think that schools should be safe places where the children feel safe and secure so that they can fulfil their potential… and they will be able to build their self-esteem. If you have peaceful and enjoyable playtimes, you’re more likely to come into the lesson being much more receptive to learning.’

One project worker introduced an example of how peace education can help children learn to deal with difficult situations:

‘Schools often have problems of name-calling, people feeling left out of the group, somebody might have been picked on and they might feel that they are not accepted by the group. When you do activities, sometimes children put down other people but they never use the word, put-down. So, you explain the term, put-down, and they learn the term, what it is and also the effect that has on somebody... They are getting skills for life and I think that the relationship skill is more important than an academic side.’

However, this kind of learning may not be prioritised in schools, as pointed out by another project worker:
‘These social skills have been squashed out from the National Curriculum due to the pressure of keeping on the target.’

Another project worker addressed the need to nurture the strengths of each child:

‘I think that it’s important to focus on a child’s individual reality and gifts that each child has and to recognise what their strengths are, not worrying too much about their weaknesses until a little bit later on. But nowadays, everyone has to learn at the same speed. That’s not right.’

6.2.2.2 The Need for Peace Education from WMQPEP’s Viewpoint

Considering the needs of school above, WMQPEP thinks that its peace education can help to improve the current situations in school:

‘The Peace Maker Project intends to offer a solution to the current situation in schools where bullying or conflicts in playgrounds or classrooms are everyday life, and a small argument often escalates into a bigger problem. The Peace Maker Project aims to help schools to become places where people feel secure enough to grow in whatever way is appropriate for them.’ (WMQPEP, 1998)

In particular, children seem to have difficulty in building good relationships. Some project workers explained why children nowadays lack the opportunity to learn social skills, while also concerning that children are often exposed to the situations in which people resort to violence or aggression:

‘I think that, in today’s society, a lot of children are growing up in quite dysfunctional or isolated family units. So they are not actually having the experience of dealing with a conflict in non-violent ways even between siblings, and they are lacking experience of social skills. So they are going straight to conflict zone, instead of seeing other ways of solving problems. Children used to interact with a wider range of people, and people weren’t always moving into violent or aggressive mode, whereas it becomes so much part of what they see, they see people driving aggressively, and they see their older brothers and sisters maybe using aggression as a form of social interaction. I think they are surrounded by it.’
Sometimes schools are concerned about the fact that children don’t get on with each other at all, like children fighting in the playground. Also, some teachers are concerned that many children have computers and televisions in their bedrooms, and are not having relationships with people.

Another project worker thought that the ‘violent or aggressive mode’ can also be found in popular TV programmes:

One of the problems I have now when I watch TV as a peace worker is not just a news report of violence and the way that we become a little bit immune to that, but it is also main scale TV, stuff like East Enders which I know that youngsters love and relate to. When I am doing peace education, I know that 9 year olds are watching it. It’s a point of contact and discussion. And often in things like that, they see adults solving a problem by resorting to aggression or bullying… these are images that they are bombarded with on an almost daily basis.

Considering these situations above, one project worker said that peace education can offer children alternative experiences to fighting:

It’s very worrying that there are some children who think that the only way to deal with things is to just fight because it’s the only thing that they’ve got the experience of. Whereas if we open their experience wider, they have experience of dealing with conflict without fighting and they realise there is an alternative to fighting.

Many project workers think that peace education is needed in order for children to learn the skills to develop peaceful relationships, which are useful throughout their lives:

Peace education gives them the skills to deal with things as they go through their lives. So if they’ve got the skills of anger management, co-operation and mediation, they can use those skills all through their lives, whether it’s in their workplace, in their homes or in their community.

Peace education tries to promote more peaceful and healthy institutions. It’s to do with developing peaceful relationships within the school between children, between children and adults, and hopefully between adults. It’s important to give children the opportunity to learn about and understand the nature of peaceful relationships.
‘Peace education is needed because children need to know how to resolve their conflicts and if you learn it in a primary school, it’s a skill you’ve got for life. You can apply it all the way through your life. Teachers haven’t got the skill to teach it because they haven’t been taught in training colleges. So teachers are sometimes taught by WMQPEP at the training days.’

One of the project workers introduced a situation in which these skills could be useful:

‘They do encounter some unpleasant situations in the workplace. If they’ve got the skills, they can overcome those and get on with their work. But if they can’t overcome those problems, they may have to leave their work or they get themselves in difficulties. They might fight or find themselves dismissed from their work. It’s very important that they are able to cope with the changes…. Peace education helps people to cope with change…. These are life skills.’

Another project worker suggested introducing peace education into middle-class schools, not only into schools where problems are more noticeable:

‘It’s a shame in one way that often peace education finds its way into more difficult schools where they know they’ve got problems with their classes, and they know that relationships are not working, and often the children have got quite disastrous home lives. But I would like to see peace education finding its way into more middle-class areas and more stable areas as I would like to see it as standard practice in schools.’

The same project worker explained why peace education is practised less in middle-class schools:

‘Because peace education generally happens where those schools have already identified and perceived that their children have got difficulties through their teachers. They are often more switched on to social difficulties and social inequalities that their children are experiencing than nice neat middle-class areas where they don’t perceive that they’ve got problems. I would say that there are absolutely few schools in this country where they don’t have bullying problems of some degree or the other. But some schools still choose really not to acknowledge that they’ve got an issue. I think the more middle-class school is less willing to acknowledge that they’ve got difficulties that they can’t really cope with internally.’
In relation to the need for peace education in any schools, another project worker mentioned the government’s recent scheme, SEAL (Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning), which aims to promote social skills and emotional literacy in primary schools:

‘It seems to be now there is a box that the government has made, called SEAL, which is about emotional literacy in primary schools. It’s not compulsory yet but the government’s got the same sort of activities that we do in the WMQPEP. So they are beginning to think about it but also there are other problems like some head teachers or teachers were saying that, “When can we do it? We don’t have time to fit it in as we have a lot of other things that the government told us to do.”

6.2.3 The Aims of Peace Education

6.2.3.1 The Aims of Peace Education in Schools in General

WMQPEP thinks that peace education in school generally aims to create a safe environment in which children can learn. One project worker said that:

‘Important aims of peace education in schools are that children feel happy, secure and safe in their learning environment, and to equip them with valuable life skills for later on, hopefully for life. Part of the aim is to enable children to learn better. Because if they are happier at school, and if they are safer at school, and the atmosphere in a classroom is healthy and if they don’t feel threatened in a corridor or whatever, they learn better.’

On the other hand, each school has a different situation which requires a different design of peace education course, as pointed out by another project worker:

‘Because schools are all different, we make a different course for each school and each class. So the course that we present to them is suitable for them, not suitable for anybody else, but it’s been designed for them.’

WMQPEP states this point clearly in its document:

‘The project recognises that schools have widely varying needs and seeks to tailor each programme to these needs.’ (WMQPEP, 2004)
Thus, the project attempts to find real needs in each school, which are not always recognised by the school. One project worker said that:

‘Before the project, we ask teachers what they think children need or what they think the problems are. But sometimes when you get in two or three sessions, although the teachers have said that the children get on very well, you find that they don’t get on well as the teachers just imagine that they do.’

The same project worker explained how to adjust a programme to the needs of each group:

‘I make a programme for each week depending on how the children get on. If they are very poor at affirming or they have very low self-esteem, you might spend a lot of time building affirmation within the group and in individuals as well.’

### 6.2.3.2 The Aims of Peace Education for WMQPEP

Considering the issues above, WMQPEP states the main aims of its peace education as:

- To promote peaceful relationships as realistic and attainable among individuals and communities particularly in the West Midlands.
- To train people in peacemaking skills.
- To provide resources and learning materials relating to peace issues, mediation and conflict resolution.
- To foster conflict resolution and mediation projects in schools.

(WMQPEP Annual Report 2005)

As for the promotion of peaceful relationships, one project worker described it in the context of schooling:

‘To promote better relationships within a class and gradually throughout the whole school. And hopefully by providing peace education to children in school, it would improve the relationships of people in the wider community, including their parents.’
Therefore, although the project only involves schools, WMQPEP hopes for further effects.

One project worker described the importance of this vision:

‘Sometimes there are differences between the parents’ approach and the school’s approach, and it can create conflict. On the other hand, when they know different views, the children may be able to make up their own minds, rather than accepting values or ethics in their community.’

Another project worker explained that peacemaking skills include ‘the skills of communication, co-operation and affirmation.’ As for the provision of resources, one project worker noted that, ‘One of our aims is to provide resources for schools to continue the work.’

As regards conflict resolution and mediation projects in schools, one project worker described this aim more specifically in terms of necessary knowledge and skills for conflict resolution:

‘To promote better understanding of the nature of conflict such as how they get involved in conflict, how conflict escalates and alternative ways of managing conflict.’

The importance of learning constructive ways of managing conflict was also pointed out by another project worker:

‘Our aim is to teach people and children how to make conflicts work well for them, so that positive change happens and people don’t get hurt. The overall aim is to deal with conflicts in children’s daily lives in positive and creative ways as a life skill.’

Overall, WMQPEP aims to promote creative ways of dealing with conflict:

‘The project works in schools, with staff and students, to promote awareness of all kinds of conflict and to offer the means of resolution. The project aims to develop an understanding of how conflict, if resolved creatively and without violence, can be a positive force for change.’ (WMQPEP, 2004)

WMQPEP’s positive viewpoint on conflict is reflected in its aim. One project worker also addressed the need of confidence in dealing with difficult situations:
Conflict can be used creatively to support change, so it isn’t always a bad thing. To know how to do it and to know it’s possible, to make it a can-do thing rather than something that either somebody else does to you or that’s so difficult that you can’t possibly do it yourself. A lot of people think that they can’t do it so somebody will do it for them.’

The attitude of self-reliance is also emphasised in the principles of the project:

‘Through the project, pupils learn to mediate conflict arising among their school friends by themselves rather than by teaching or supervising staff.’ (WMQPEP, 1998)

Therefore, it seems that the important aims of peace education for WMQPEP are not only providing children with necessary knowledge and skills for dealing with difficult situations, but also sending a message that it is possible for them to achieve peace, by encouraging them to engage in the process with positive attitudes. One project worker said that:

‘I think that the overarching aim of the project is that it is possible to live in peace, it is attainable. It’s not something that is beyond everybody’s reach. It’s something within everybody’s capacity. So communities can be peaceful places, schools can be peaceful places. I think that a lot of people think that it’s impossible…Our philosophy or our aim is to ensure that people think that they can do it themselves and that it is possible for them to do it without waiting for money or help or something from outside. You need to do it yourself and take control. Our aim is that, through peace education, they get the skills and they get the confidence to use those skills.’

The same project worker also emphasised the importance of experience-based learning and the acquisition of the skills through practice:

‘In the process of peace education, children build on their experience, you build on what they know, you show them the skills, you enable them to practise those skills and then they can go out and use them. And they don’t need any more help. They can do it themselves. That’s very ambitious. Because the idea is that we don’t keep going back and helping people. We are coming, and we help and show, and we go. And the school then does it themselves. You need to practise and make it for yourself in your own situation.’
6.2.4 Summary and Discussion: The Aims and Principles of WMQPEP

In general, WMQPEP understands peace education as promoting the awareness of the nature of conflict and providing people with the skills to manage conflict without violence. It means that peace education offers alternative strategies to violence in difficult situations (Harris and Morrison, 2003: 26). These aims of peace education understood by WMQPEP seem to coincide with the broad definition of peace education by UNICEF:

…the process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behaviour changes that will enable children, youth[s] and adults to prevent conflict and violence...; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive to peace… (Fountain, 1999: 1)

For the aim of creating the conditions for peace, WMQPEP not only deals with violent conflict or aggressive behaviour but also works on solving problems in peaceful ways and improving human relationships. This reflects two concepts of peace defined by Galtung (1975: 29-30): ‘negative peace’ (the absence of violence) and ‘positive peace’ (co-operation and integration among people with the absence of structural violence). Of these two concepts of peace, WMQPEP seems to focus more on ‘positive peace’ by promoting co-operative relationships. Based on the principle of promoting ‘positive peace,’ two aspects of peace education can be identified in WMQPEP’s work: ‘education for peace,’ which is to improve peaceful relationships; and ‘education about peace,’ which is to promote the awareness of peace and conflict. These two aspects are often emphasised in peace education in general (e.g. Bjerstedt, 1990; Harris and Morrison, 2003): ‘education for peace’ by nurturing skills, attitudes, behaviour and values, and ‘education about peace’ by promoting the awareness and knowledge of peace and conflict. Of these two aspects, WMQPEP focuses more on the first aspect - ‘education for peace,’ by promoting peaceful relationships and necessary skills as they believe in building peace in daily life experience.
Consequently, WMQPEP’s peace education mainly deals with peace at a personal level rather than a more macro level, while peace ranges at different levels from intrapersonal to international (Bjerstedt, 1990; Johnson and Johnson, 2005). Although the project is only involved in schools, WMQPEP hopes that its work also has a positive impact on the improvement of people’s relationships in a wider community in all areas of life. Thus, WMQPEP perceives the connection between different levels of peace, which is expressed by Hicks (1988b: 248) as: ‘Education for peace is initially about individual actors on the world stage … It is about peace, conflict, and violence in our daily lives and immediate experience’.

The emphasis on peaceful relationships in WMQPEP’s work seems to be largely underpinned by Quakerism, which refers to Quakers’ beliefs, philosophy and the way of living. Based on the belief that there is God in every person, Quakers strongly believe in people by respecting and valuing each individual equally. Therefore, WMQPEP attempts to involve everyone in activities to have fun and work together, considering that children often learn to fail in school and have low self-esteem (Holt, 1965/1984). This is discussed in more detail in relation to Quaker publications in Appendix H.

WMQPEP addresses the need for peace education in schools, concerning the current situations where children are often exposed to fighting, violence and aggression as the only way to deal with problems, while they lack the opportunity to learn social skills. Thus, by showing children non-violent ways of managing conflict and encouraging them to make their own choices, WMQPEP attempts to counteract the negative influence of violence experienced by children. This aspect of peace education is perceived as ‘corrective’ (Fountain, 1995: 196):

Many children who have grown up in situations of actual or anticipated conflict struggle with anxiety, fear, feelings of hopelessness about the future, and a sense of powerlessness in the face of forces which seem beyond their control. For these children, learning conflict resolution skills can be part of a healing process, providing practical ways of coping and a sense of empowerment. (Fountain, 1995: 196)
WMQPEP is also concerned that children’s learning and growth are often undermined by disruption and emotional disturbance caused by bullying or conflict in schools and in their daily lives. WMQPEP realises that these behavioural problems are related to children’s struggle to deal with their strong emotions, negative views on self and others, and lack of communication skills (e.g. Mosley, 1993: 3-4). The problem of the effects of negative emotions on children’s learning is pointed out by Goleman (1995). Goleman (1995: 78-9) addresses the importance of developing students’ emotional literacy to enable them to understand and manage emotions of their own and others. In view of the need of emotional aspects of education, WMQPEP’s work, in line with the government’s initiative in promoting SEAL (Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning), aims to enable children to deal with their emotions and to increase self-esteem. This emotional aspect is often neglected in current peace education programmes, in comparison to their focus on rationality (Nevo and Brem, 2002: 274), although feelings and emotions are closely related to conflict situations (e.g. Stewart, 1998: 10-11).

Among similar educational initiatives (see Harris and Morrison, 2003: 66), WMQPEP’s peace education can be categorised as ‘conflict resolution education,’ which ‘helps individuals understand conflict dynamics and empowers them to use communication skills to build and manage peaceful relationships’ (ibid: 72). It focuses on ‘the skills and processes that make peace,’ and emphasises ‘interpersonal relations and the processes that help disputing parties resolve their differences’ (ibid: 72). As seen in WMQPEP’s aims, conflict resolution education teaches ‘alternative dispute resolution techniques’ to help students develop peacemaking skills in managing their interpersonal conflicts in non-violent ways, with an attempt to create a safer school (ibid: 73). In particular, this approach considers conflict a potential positive force for change and growth, and the goal is not to eradicate conflict but to transform individuals as well as communities (ibid: 74).
WMQPEP has this positive viewpoint on conflict, underpinned by the assumption that conflict can be a positive force for change if resolved creatively without resorting to aggression or violence. This attitude reflects the idea of ‘conflict transformation’ (e.g. Curle, 1971; Galtung, 1975; Lederach, 1995; Francis, 2002), which attempts to transform conflict into better relationships by addressing underlying causes of conflicts. Since this process involves personal and social transformation through empowering people, the same idea is shared by critical pedagogy (e.g. Freire, 1972). Based on this idea, WMQPEP considers peace education as a way of learning how to live with conflict in a constructive manner. WMQPEP also recognises that sometimes there is a conflict of different approaches and values between a school and a community, but hopes that children will be able to make up their own minds once they learn different views through the project.

6.3 Methods and Materials used by WMQPEP

6.3.1 Methods used by WMQPEP

It seems that WMQPEP mainly uses a Circle Time model, which implies the value of equality and everyone’s participation. Many project workers emphasised the importance of involving everybody throughout the process:

‘We use a Circle Time model, and the Circle Time is a main value. It also includes learning in small groups and in pairs…The value of the Circle Time is based on a philosophy that everyone has an equal place in a circle and everyone has opinions and values, which have to be taken seriously by everyone else in a circle.’

‘In a classroom, teachers are normally talking and when they are asking questions, they are picking up certain children who answer the questions. Whereas in the way we work, everyone has to be involved. When we go around the circle, you may pass if you want to but we come back to you so you can think about it…as it’s for the involvement of everybody. In a formal setting, not everybody participates and someone always misses out.’
‘It’s important that everybody has a chance.’

‘The whole point of peace education is to involve everybody and to get everybody to make a contribution.’

‘It is important to include the most difficult children as they benefit most from the project and a class can move on as a whole.’

In the project using the Circle Time, children learn peacemaking skills through activities. Several project workers described the characteristics of the methods as fun and active:

‘We use drama, fun games and other activities to learn co-operation, communication and affirmation skills, and either demonstrating or practising mediation skills.’

‘We try to make it fun, and enjoyable, not like the rest of the lessons, as we try to make it different from the rest. It’s not competitive. We don’t encourage competition between children. We want children to work together so we try to show them all the different ways of working together both co-operatively and collaboratively.’

‘We play games or do exercises. It’s not just for the sheer fun of it, although from children’s point of views it’s fun, and it’s also changing the dynamics in a room all the time. So the children are often changing places, they are more active and their energy has got somewhere to go.’

Fun games and activities are also designed to challenge children to think for themselves:

‘…the project tends to get more serious as we move through the 10 weeks and there is more hard work for them to do because they have to think more. When they are calmer and quieter, we can have more discussion type things and tasks for problem-solving, rather than games and activities and moving about a lot. So we do challenge them but in a fun sort of way. Sometimes we pass the way to do activities to the children, “You lead this game. Can you think of variation of this game?” We ask them to think of other ways of doing it. So we empower them to be able to think what they can do…It’s different from teachers who tell them what they have to do.’
In the games and activities, children learn through interaction and reflect on their experiences.

Many project workers stressed the importance of experience-based learning:

‘A main method used in the project is experience-based learning, in which children can reflect on their experience by seeing themselves objectively. Through games and activities, firstly children have experience, which is followed by reflection and some explanation.’

‘The methods used are essentially experiential learning, interpersonal learning within a group, learning through interaction and learning through relationships. So they are different from being given facts and having to learn them. We encourage children to learn from each other and to understand each other.’

‘Any experience or any situation can be used as a learning process, while project workers listen to children’s voices and pay attention to what is happening during the project.’

‘You have to relate the learning to your personal experience… So the main methods we use are personal learning and learning from experience within a group.’

In the process, the importance of reflection was particularly emphasised by many:

‘Reflection is probably the most important part, getting children to reflect upon what we’ve done and to draw out for themselves what the learning is.’

‘We have to reflect on what we’ve learned, what did go well, whether we’ve listened to each other or taken turns. So children would develop based on what they’re doing.’

‘…you have to get them to think why we played that game, and what we’ve learned from that game is important. So we have to talk about it as well, not one game after the other.’

‘When things are not going well, asking “What’s happening?” and getting the children to notice what’s happening in the game and why it’s difficult to play. They can solve problems as they can say what they need to do to make the game go better.’
One project worker introduced some examples of questions asked in the process of reflection:

‘We ask children, “What do you feel?” “Did you enjoy that game?” “Why did you enjoy it?” or “Were there any problems?” This is something they don’t have in an ordinary lesson. ...Whereas in a game that we would play, we would say “Did you like it?” or “What did you learn?” All of those kinds of things make a huge difference. So we try to create time for reflection. That’s the critical part of what we do.’

In experience-based learning, random pairing or grouping is often used to encourage children to interact with anybody in a classroom, as another project worker noted:

‘…you really are challenging them to make them work with all the different combinations of people. The ability to work with anybody in a group is absolutely integral to this work. Pairing is always random, and putting them into threesome is always random.’

WMQPEP designs a range of activities in order for children to learn in different ways:

‘Role-play, drama, individual work, pairs work, group work, games, discussions... I think it’s about using many different ways to engage all the children as we know some children learn best by listening, some children are very visual, and some children are very hands-on, kinetic.’

Several project workers introduced some examples of how these methods are used according to different purposes of learning:

‘The project aims to raise awareness of other people’s feelings. Drama, story and role-play are often used to understand others like your friends or your family in daily life situations by thinking “Why do they act like this?” or “Can I react differently?”

‘Problem-solving involves role-play: “This is the situation and what happens next?” Sometimes we have one group doing the scenario and everybody else is watching, and they might suggest different ways that they could solve the problem. So children act out different ways and then we would discuss what would be the best way. We look at choices and consequences, “If we make this choice, what would happen?” and “If we make that choice what would happen?”

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The project also encourages children’s ownership. One project worker introduced an example:

‘Ideally, if you’ve got a class who are really interested and intelligent, you might get them to start writing a programme with you. So you could ask them, “What should we do next week?” or “What would you like to do?” So you might get them to take ownership. Once they begin to take some ownership, then you really know that you are beginning to progress with them. That ownership is the important thing.’

This trust that WMQPEP has in children is reflected in its work, as described by another project worker:

‘Peace education is more proactive. We often use things from the children. Children have a sense of fairness, what’s wrong and right, how they feel when someone did something. We are drawing on the children all the time and they just seem to come out.’

WMQPEP’s work demonstrates the values which they believe in, including an affirmative attitude, as explained by one project worker:

‘All the time, you are underpinning the values and attitudes you want them to have… we always stress that if people are going to make comments, the comments need to be positive ones. We don’t look for negativity. We actually say, “Let’s say good things about what we have seen.” That is so much part of the affirmation work. Even if a group manages to achieve little because they are having trouble co-operating in a small group...through the affirmation, you are able to say, “Look, at least you’ve actually managed to complete part of it and you showed us what you’ve managed to complete now. That’s really good.”

The same project worker continued to introduce examples of bringing positives into learning:

‘So, negatives always turn into positives in the peace education setup. We never criticise. You would say, “Next time, it might be an idea if you did it in such a way.” And when they are giving feedback from their small groups as to how a little exercise has gone, I have a rule that they don’t mention anybody by name like, “So-and-so wouldn’t join in, and that’s why we couldn’t get it finished.” They don’t use anybody’s name, and they just discuss the problem in general on what could the group have done to get over that problem, because again it’s all affirmation all the time.’
Another project worker described one of affirmation activities called a ‘Hotseat’:

‘We have a “Hotseat” in which others tell you what value they find in yourself. That’s the result coming from learning from others and understanding others.’

According to one project worker, an affirmative attitude towards children is necessary to raise their self-esteem:

‘You just look at what happens when you do that. Whatever children say, it’s just accepted, and there isn’t a right or wrong answer, which is great. Because in normal lessons, you’re always either right or wrong, so it’s really good for children just to have their viewpoints accepted without being corrected. Everybody’s viewpoint is accepted. You can’t give children confidence and self-esteem, but you can set up situations where the children can develop them. I think that is what Circle Time certainly does.’

Moreover, throughout the project, children are encouraged to follow the rules which are set up for themselves. One project worker described the process of making the rules:

‘The rules are a big part of our process. I do it in Week 2. We set our Peacemaker rules in the class themselves. In small groups, we come up with rules that they think are absolutely necessary in order for Peacemakers to run smoothly. We don’t have negatives in them like “We must not do such a thing”. We turn them into positives like “We will respect each other’s space.”… Everyone puts their signature to the rules, including the teacher and myself… I would say, “Now that’s everybody’s signature sealed in those rules, which means we’ve all said we accept them and we’re all going to stick to them.” And then we try to keep referring back to the set of the rules so they are displayed in a classroom.’

Many project workers consider that following rules is important in order for children to learn self-control and taking responsibility for their behaviour:

‘It’s to do with respecting each other and rules, actually following rules because if the rules in the games aren’t followed, the game is stopped. And we have to talk about why we can’t carry on playing that game.’
‘This kind of control, this kind of taking personal responsibility is essential as part of the life skills training of the work.’

The design of the project is adjusted for each group at each session, since children and classes vary, as mentioned by several project workers:

‘Each class would play the games differently because all the children are different. So the learning of one class playing the same game would be very different from the learning of another class.’

‘So that’s why the programme we do is very unique, and it’s tailor-made for the class. There is no standard 10-week programme… We work where the children are, and if we’re in a wrong place, then we change it the next week. We go along with the children, and I think that makes the project very unique and that’s essential.’

‘Different classes are only ready to go so far because they have their own personalities and people. You can only take a class a certain distance. If you take it beyond that, the whole thing would collapse.’

Another project worker suggested that more dinner ladies and parents should become familiar with the methods used in the project:

‘I think it would be good if parents could also join. In some schools, dinner ladies join in and they find it very helpful. I think that’s really good because they have to know what we are doing as well, and how we listen to both sides. So they reinforce what we are saying during the week when they are in a playground at dinner time. Sometimes parent governors come to the lessons as well.’

6.3.2 Materials used by WMQPEP

Materials are mainly made and developed by each project worker through exploring what works for children:

‘Each and every one of us as a worker actually develops our own kits….games and objects and things that we have developed as strategies over the years, and that we know catch and hold children’s interests.’
‘The thing is that all the materials we use, we try to make them so the children will like them, so when there is a little toy to hand around, it’s a toy that children like, they see something they like, they touch these things.’

In general, materials used by WMQPEP are simple and minimal because they think that people themselves are the focus of experience. The features of materials are enjoyable, tactile, amusing and beautiful. These points are made by several project workers:

‘Materials are fairly minimal because that relates to the personal learning, and the most important material of the work is the people who take part, so physical materials like posters and objects are less important.’

‘They are very simple and non-technical materials…we try to choose very simple materials which are amusing and children can enjoy and touch, because that’s all part of the joy of the experience. If you do sleeping hedgehogs, the cover of the hedgehogs is a lovely piece of fabric and they have boxes to put things in and the boxes are beautiful.’

One project worker also emphasised the use of non-technical materials, considering that technology can be a barrier between people:

‘The whole thing is nice and is supposed to be pleasurable experience, but non-technical. We don’t use computers or anything like that in the workshop, because the workshop is for people. Sometimes if you use a lot of technology, it becomes a barrier between people, and people are not able to relate to one another quite so well. So that can be a problem.’

The use of simple and non-technical materials is important, particularly with a view to ensuring everybody’s involvement, as described by another project worker:

‘Everybody can be involved in the workshop. We don’t exclude people. So materials are chosen to encourage everybody to get involved. A lot of people might be put off by a lot of written materials because they might not be good at reading. And a lot of people might be put off by a lot of writing because they might not be good at writing. So we try to choose materials which mean everybody can join in. That’s why they are simple and non-technical materials.’
Some examples of materials were described by several project workers:

‘These would be almost like educational aids such as laminated cards, toys and all sorts of things that youngsters often want to know about, and that stimulate interest.’
‘The sorts of materials we use are personal. I tend to use things like puppets, ribbons, jigsaw, raffle tickets and cards in different ways.’

These materials are also directed to different ways of learning, as one project worker noted:

‘Generally, materials are chosen considering children’s different ways of learning. Some children learn by listening to what people say, other children learn visually from what they see, that’s why I use different colours and visual reminders with pictures. Or some children learn through their bodies so I use signals because once children do something with their bodies, it helps them in remembering what they learn. So I normally use auditory, visual and kinaesthetic reminders.’

These different materials are used for playing co-operative games or for grouping children in a cooperative way, as described by several project workers:

‘We also use materials for fun ways of getting children into different groups like Jigsaws or different colours or shapes of papers. This is a good way of grouping children because they focus on their cards and distract them from the fact that they are not choosing their own group.’

‘I like to use materials, games and activities to get children into random groups in different sorts of ways. Playing Genga or making bridges out of newspapers is good for co-operation and being creative. To get the children into random groups, you can use Jigsaw pieces for them to find people who have other pieces from the same picture.’

The following are some examples of how different materials are used in getting children into random groups:

‘If I have a class of 30, I cut 15 ribbons, all the same colour. And I hold them up in the middle and the ends are tangled. I put 7 in one hand and 8 in another, and just tangling. Children take an end and I let go. Whoever is on the end of the ribbons, that’s their partner.’
‘Like pair’s cards, snap cards and Jigsaw, in one you have the words and in the other you have the pictures. So one child has a picture and one child has the word, and they have to match the word and the picture.’

One project worker noticed that children enjoy surprises and variety in the process:

‘Children are not quite sure what’s going to happen next and that’s quite nice, and they quite enjoy that. It’s like a mini problem-solving exercise once they’ve been organised into random pairs, they get very used to being in random pairs, and they quite enjoy getting to know lots of different people in the class. So I think it’s variety as much as anything.’

As another way of using specific materials, one project worker mentioned speaking objects as an important medium of communication:

‘I think generally all of us have a speaking object… I use a small cuddly toy which I pass around. It is this tactile thing and the comfort value of it. I also use a big cuddly toy almost as a character that youngsters can speak through, almost like using it as a puppet.’

The same project worker explained why a cuddly toy or something tactile helps children to relax when they speak in a circle:

‘At 9, some of them have got a veneer of being sophisticated and they don’t use cuddly toys anymore, but actually we need to get them back into a state of play, imagination and receptivity and using cuddly toys helps it enormously… It relaxes them. So there is also therapeutic value in it. If they have been asked to say their names as they go around a group or to say something about how they feel, if they’ve got an object in their hands, it takes their attention away from the nervousness of speaking out. So, a really important thing is a speaking object. Other people use wooden eggs or stones or whatever.’

Furthermore, some materials, such as posters and objects, serve as reminders for learning:

‘Other ways of using materials are reinforcing or reminding children of the learning that they’ve done. For example, if they are working on particular topics like “what stops us working well together” or “what stops conflict”, I will ask for their ideas and write them down to make a poster, and then they can put it up on the wall. That’s reminding them of
what they’ve achieved. It becomes more important if they keep it as a document and they can continue using it and teachers can refer to it to the children in a class. We also use some objects as reminders, like a cardboard cut into a shape of ear, which means good listening, and again this is a visual and concrete reminder.’

6.3.3 Key Elements of the Project and the Reasoning

In its official document, the key elements of WMQPEP’s work are stated as affirmation, self-esteem, co-operation, collaboration, communication, emotional literacy, critical thinking, problem solving, anger management, conflict resolution, mediation training and mentor training (WMQPEP, 2004). Among these elements, all the project workers consider that communication, co-operation, affirmation and problem-solving are particularly important:

‘Even though each one of us will use quite different methods for introducing the skills, the concepts of conflict escalation, peacemaking and mediation techniques, we all have the focus on co-operation, communication, affirmation and problem-solving… Whatever we are doing, whatever exercises, games or role-plays, drama, activities that we’re using, they are all funnelling into underpinning those things.’

‘We do focus on communication, co-operation and affirmation and also problem-solving, so there are four. But problem-solving is the last point as you really need to have communication, co-operation and affirmation first before you can do problem-solving added to these three.’

‘These are the essential components of human interaction. Without reaching the understanding of these elements and being able to actively use these tools of interactions, peacemaking is not possible.’

WMQPEP perceives the meanings of these elements as follows (as described in its material):

**Communication:** confidence at presenting self in a circle (spoken or otherwise), speaking and listening abilities, awareness of each other, body language

**Co-operation:** taking turns, working in pairs and in small groups, taking a role vis-à-vis others’ roles, awareness of others’ needs, sometimes taking the lead, sometimes allowing others to take the lead, sharing responsibilities, contributing to the task
Affirmation: attitude to each other, ability to give positive comments, ability to accept positive and negative comments, ability to have fun together

Problem-solving: tackling problems one step at a time, ability to think of different solutions to a problem, ability to cope with new tasks

Several project workers explained why these elements are important:

‘They are the key skills that you need to practise to be able to handle conflict. If you can’t communicate, if you can’t work with other people or if you have a very low opinion of yourself and other people, you are going to get into conflict and you are not going to handle it. If you have those skills… you are much less likely to get involved in fighting.’

‘In order to have a good relationship with others, I think that it’s important to feel positive about yourself and others. I think that if you feel good about yourself, then you can feel good about other people and accept other people, not seeing them as a threat, and learn how to become calmer in yourself.’ (Affirmation)

‘From my understanding, there is a theoretical basis for this approach…..It looks at the factors that make a situation conflict or a situation peaceful and you can actually categorise the behaviours into main areas about communication, co-operation, affirmation and problem-solving. If you categorise behaviours in any conflict situation, you find non-cooperation, violence or non-communication and put-down or negative views. If you look at behaviours in peaceful situations or situations where problems are solved, you find good communication, good co-operation and good affirmation.’

Some project workers explained how children develop these skills in the project:

‘It shows in the conflict triangle where they have communication at the bottom, and then co-operation, affirmation, and problem-solving on the top. If you’re not good at communicating, it’s going to be very difficult to co-operate, and then higher order skills and problem-solving would be the most difficult skill. So the beginning of our session is very much about communication, lots of pair’s listening and speaking. As the 10 weeks progress, we do more on co-operation and problem-solving skills… That really is the base line. Good communication skill is the most essential part to be able to solve problems.’
‘The top of the process is probably problem-solving, and sometimes we don’t get to that part with the group because a lot of energies go into maybe getting them to co-operate with others and communicate with each other, and we only get as far as co-operation, communication and affirmation… But what we would like ultimately is that they actually achieve problem-solving.’

WMQPEP uses specific games and activities to teach these key elements. Some examples of different activities and relevant comments are presented in Appendix I.

6.3.4 Summary and Discussion: Methods and Materials used by WMQPEP

WMQPEP runs workshops using a Circle Time model as a main method. The Circle Time model represents everyone’s equal position and participation. Children learn to include everybody, respect everybody’s opinion and recognise that everyone has equal chances. Equal relationships between children and adults are also demonstrated by using their first names, and the project worker treats the children as equals with respect. This workshop approach used by WMQPEP is common to conflict resolution training based on collaborative, experience-based learning (e.g. Kingston Friends Workshop Group, 1996). In a workshop, participants learn through interaction and share personal experiences, rather than being directed by a leader, while the discussion is guided by questions. Figure 2.1 shows a conventional format for classroom lessons with children facing a teacher (leader) at the front (Tyrrell, 2002: 52), while in Figure 2.2 children and a teacher sit in a circle, which promotes equal responsibility, self-discipline and a sense of belonging to a group, and encourages children to share thoughts and feelings, and help one another (Mosley, 1996: 34). The values and attitudes promoted by WMQPEP are in line with these characteristics of the Circle Time.
Moreover, the Circle Time model promotes good relationships and positive behaviour by providing the ideal group listening system, in order to raise children’s self-esteem, promote moral values, establish a sense of team and develop social skills (Mosley, 1996: 32-3). In accordance with this approach, WMQPEP has the same aim: promoting good relationships, self-esteem and positive behaviour, and emphasises the importance of listening.

In order to provide a suitable environment for children to have appropriate experience and learn these values and attitudes in a circle, WMQPEP regards the important role of a project worker as a facilitator, rather than a controller. As a facilitator, by using things coming out of children (e.g. behaviour, reactions, opinions, feelings), the project worker helps children consider other people and come up with their own ideas about their relationships with others. In a sense, boundaries regarding children’s behaviour are determined by ‘consideration for others in the group, by the principles of cause and effect rather than rules’ (Kingston Friends Workshop Group, 1987: 1-2; 1996: 10). Therefore, the Circle Time approach is seen as ‘a democratic system, involving all children and giving them equal rights and opportunities (Mosley, 1996: 33). It means that the approach gives power to children, by trusting their ability to learn from each other in a group with support from a facilitator, whose important role is ‘to enable rather than instruct’ and ‘to facilitate the sharing of insights and experience’ (Kingston Friends Workshop Group, 1987: 1-2; 1996: 10).
Overall, the methods used in the project are based on child-centred, experience-based learning, in which children’s own ideas and experience are valued. WMQPEP uses fun games and activities involving role-play, drama, stories and discussions, which are designed for children to learn through interaction. After each game and activity, there is always some time for reflection, in which children share thoughts and feelings arising from their experience.

The method of experience-based learning is often used in peace education from the viewpoint that children’s own experience and knowledge are important in the process of learning (Oppenheimer, Bar-Tal and Raviv, 1999: 8). This approach is supported by some theoretical perspectives on the development of children’s understanding of peace, conflict and war, which are underpinned by the idea that children’s knowledge, understanding and behaviour are directly related to their experience and the level of operational thinking (ibid: 8). In particular, Piaget’s cognitive-developmental theory has influenced the use of active experience-based learning to promote children’s social and moral development (Johnson and Johnson, 1996; Harris and Morrison, 2003: 146), based on the viewpoint that children’s perception and their understanding of society are constructed through their interaction with the environment. Supported by these viewpoints on children’s learning, WMQPEP provides children with the opportunity to explore issues concerning peace and conflict and to develop their understanding of these issues based on their experience.

The value of learning through experience and reflection on experience can be found in John Dewey’s definition of education as ‘reconstruction or reorganization of experience which adds to the meaning of experience, and which increases ability to direct the course of subsequent experience’ (Dewey, 1916/2005: 47). According to Dewey (1916/2005: 95), students can only learn to think when dealing with problems and seeking solutions at first hand. The experience of connecting actions and the consequences enables people to relate their actions to those of others, and to consider the actions of others to give direction to their own actions (ibid: 53). In the process of learning, Dewey (1916/2005: 86) addresses the need for reflection, since
experience is only meaningful when a change made by action is consciously connected with its consequence and with the meaning (ibid: 83). Moreover, reflection allows people to accept responsibility for the consequences of their actions (ibid: 87). In accordance with Dewey’s idea, WMQPEP encourages children to consider actions of themselves and of the others as well as the consequences, and to take responsibility, with a view to nurturing skills, behaviour, attitudes and values, which enable them to handle difficult situations and build peaceful relationships. The importance of continuous action and reflection is also emphasised by Freire (1972: 73), as a source of knowledge and critical consciousness.

In terms of the context for learning, Dewey (1916/2005: 92) suggests that the situation should present what is new, uncertain or problematic, but is still related to existing practice, in order to stimulate effective response. In accordance with this idea, WMQPEP provides learning contexts which are relevant to children’s daily life. The general process of learning should involve posing problems, asking questions, allocating tasks and magnifying difficulties, while pupils have the opportunity to suggest solutions to the problems, examine their ideas by application, and clarify the meaning of the ideas (Dewey, 1916/2005: 92). This process is practised in WMQPEP’s project, in which children are asked questions about perceived problems and possible solutions to the problems as part of experience-based learning.

Moreover, the experience-based learning used by WMQPEP is underpinned by certain values such as equality, co-operation and affirmative attitudes. In particular, communication, co-operation and affirmation are the key elements, which form the basis for problem-solving. WMQPEP considers these elements as essential components of human interaction, and as the factors which help to manage conflict or problems. This type of approach to peace education is based on the iceberg principle (see Figure 3.1), which was originally developed by Children’s Creative Response to Conflict Program in New York (see Prutzman et al., 1978) to deal with inner-city violence, and has been widely adopted in the UK (Stacey and Robinson, 1997: 9). The iceberg principle shows that:
‘Problem-solving is just the tip of the iceberg: co-operation, communication and affirmation are the hidden supportive elements of successful solutions. Where the ‘underwater’ sections are practised and experienced many difficulties solve themselves.’ (Kingston Friends Workshop Group, 1987: 6)

**Figure 3.1 The Iceberg Principle**

![Image of the Iceberg Principle]

The terms can be simplified into ‘understanding each other’ (communication), ‘helping each other’ (co-operation) and ‘valuing each other’ (affirmation).

(Adapted from sources in Kingston Friends Workshop Group, 1987: 6; Stacey and Robinson, 1997: 9)

WMQPEP believes that peacemaking is not possible without these elements and the ability to actively use these tools of interaction. Therefore, all games and activities involve these aspects of learning, while the overall methods promote the values and attitudes underpinning these elements. Throughout the project, WMQPEP promotes affirmative attitudes to each other by encouraging everybody to make positive comments about each other rather than criticising. This affirmative attitude is seen as essential for raising self-esteem. Bruner (1999: 37) thinks that the state of self-esteem is influenced by the availability of support, such as a second chance given to children or affirmation for the good, and most importantly, the provision of opportunity to identify ‘why or how things didn’t work out as planned’. WMQPEP states that children are always given this type of support in the project.
Materials used by WMQPEP are basically intended to support the methods of child-centred, experience-based learning and to involve everybody. The materials are mainly developed by the project workers based on their ideas and experience of working with children. It seems that the way WMQPEP prepares the materials coincides with one of the conditions for developing person-centred learning suggested by Carl Rogers (1977: 73): learning resources should originate from facilitators themselves and their own experience as well as from books or community experiences, while learners’ knowledge and experience are also included in the resources. In Rogers’ person-centred approach, a facilitator focuses on providing various resources which can give students experience-based learning relevant to their needs (Rogers, 1983: 148). In accordance with Rogers’ viewpoint on learning resources, WMQPEP uses materials as aids to promote children’s experience of interaction in the process of learning.

Since WMQPEP considers children’s direct experience of interacting with others as the focus of learning, the materials are generally simple, minimal and non-technical. Some materials are used for specific purposes, such as encouraging everybody’s involvement, grouping children randomly, playing co-operative games, or reminding them of what they have learned. Moreover, WMQPEP chooses materials which are enjoyable, tactile, amusing and beautiful in order for children to have a pleasurable learning experience. They also use materials that suit children’s different ways of learning, such as auditory, visual and kinetic.

The methods and materials described by WMQPEP in this section will be compared with what it actually does in practice later in the thesis.
CHAPTER 7

A Case Study of

The West Midlands Quaker Peace Education Project:

(2) Expected Impact of the Project and Issues Facing Peace Education
7.1 Introduction

This section explores the expected impact of the project by the West Midlands Quaker Peace Education Project (WMQPEP), including the expected impact on children and the perceived contribution of the project to the development of children. It also investigates WMQPEP’s viewpoints on issues and problems that current peace education faces. The study also examines the congruence between the principles and practice of WMQPEP.

7.2 Expected Impact and Contribution of the Project

7.2.1 Expected Impact on Children

In a broader sense, WMQPEP expects children to develop the ability to work together, to become more self-confident, to have raised self-esteem and to have improved communication skills. Several project workers pointed out these aspects as follows:

‘There are three main areas which impact on children: the first is to enable children to work well with others in their class or year group. This is related to their self-esteem and affirmation skills and hopefully undermines the hierarchical structures in many classrooms. The second is to encourage the children to relate their experiences as valuable to them and to others. Some development of emotional literacy is included here. And the third is to give children the skills to listen well and to expect to be listened to.’

‘We expect children to increase confidence in themselves, self-esteem, the ability to affirm others, being kind to each other and noticing positive things in each other. We hope that children develop the skills in direct communication rather than indirect communication, so they could more clearly ask what they need. And hopefully, they improve co-operation - the ability to work harmoniously with other people, sometimes to take the lead but also sometimes to let other people take the lead, and to share responsibility.’

WMQPEP also expects children to take more responsibility for their behaviour, as mentioned by one project worker:

‘I expect children to be more responsible individually for their behaviour and to be insightful about what it is helpful to do in the classroom.’
Moreover, children are expected to learn about the nature of conflict and conflict management, as described by another project worker:

‘An increase in their understanding of conflict and how they deal with conflict with better and more ideas. Therefore, they get happier and get on better together. Another thing is that conflict can be managed more creatively.’

7.2.2 Contribution of the Project to the Development of Children

One project worker described how the project can contribute to the development of children:

‘It’s for children to fulfil their potential through a child-centred approach. I would like to see more power in the hands of the children. I would like to see them empowered with more confidence to ask some questions.’

WMQPEP believes that the project contributes to an increase in children’s self-esteem and confidence by encouraging interaction and affirming each other:

‘To raise self-esteem, to be able to affirm other people, to get to know other people in the class because they often don’t know other people as they always hang about with the same people… because you never deal with them. So it’s good to mix them to get to know other people better.’

‘It builds self-esteem and encourages children to join in. It encourages children to relate to their experiences outside the school or the classroom. It also encourages a ‘can do’ philosophy. It demonstrates that learning can be fun.’

‘In positive ways, they can feel better about themselves and about other people, realising the talents they have within the group, and think that they have choices, how they can make good choices and they can change things.’

Many project workers thought that the project helps children to improve their behaviour and attitudes:

‘…children are less often in trouble as they are aware of the effect their behaviour has on others so they can modify their behaviour and don’t copy other people’s poor behaviour.’
‘I think that it raises their potential personal responsibility like responsibility for their own actions, and they become more self-controlled, when they feel more accepted by the class. Another impact can be opposite when they become more open and are able to share their ideas in a class or in a group, and they also become more assertive rather than aggressive.’

In particular, the project seems to work on children with challenging behaviour, and on quieter, more reserved children, as mentioned by several project workers:

‘It seems that the project has a positive impact on children with behavioural difficulties. They become more able to join in the group while they can take some time off to calm themselves down during the project. They are beginning to think before they do something to upset other people.’

‘I think that often it’s the ones who don’t speak or feel excluded will absolutely shine in this work because their views and experiences are valued as anybody else’s. At my last school, the teacher said it’s absolutely brilliant that for one period of 10 weeks all the children including the ones with learning difficulties were actually in a classroom at the same time because she had children who were taken out for special lessons on a daily basis. So they never did operate fully as a class or very rarely, but in Peacemakers they did.’

‘…..with children who have started off really shy and not wanting to take part, and towards the end of the 10 weeks… they’re putting their hands up to speak, and they just seem to be so much more confident… 10 weeks is a short period of time really but you can actually see a difference.’

One project worker explained the improvement in children’s behaviour regarding stages of social development, which is promoted by the project:

‘Generally, it improves their socialisation. Children who are quiet become more confident, and children who are dominating and uncontrolled become more controlled and more socialised. Considering different development stages of the children, for example, younger children rely more on adults and older children take more responsibility for themselves. Generally, whatever stage the children are, it can help the process of their development.’

Another project worker also mentioned children’s social development, where they become more self-reliant and mature when they are given more responsibility:
‘Children don’t always need teachers or dinner ladies to sort out things, and they can resolve issues by themselves. Adults don’t have to be controlling or sorting everything out because children can sort out by themselves. As they are given more responsibility, they get mature as well. They do tend to grow up and get more self-reliant rather than turning to teachers all the time to get adults to sort things out.’

Moreover, the project helps children develop their life skills and language for dealing with difficult situations, as described by several project workers:

‘Giving children different strategies for handling conflicts and also language for handling difficult situations. I don’t think sometimes children know what to say, so we get them to learn language as well, like “Stop it. I don’t like that”.

‘It provides access to life skills such as communication, co-operation, problem-solving, anger management and mediation.’

7.2.3 Summary and Discussion: Expected Impact and Contribution of the Project

WMQPEP thinks that its project can empower children and fulfil their potential. WMQPEP expects children to develop interpersonal skills, such as getting on with each other better, increasing the ability to work with others, finding the positives in themselves and others, and improving communication skills. WMQPEP believes that through interaction children become more aware of relationships with others, and become more conscious of and responsible for their actions and behaviour as well as their effects, by making appropriate choices. WMQPEP also thinks that affirmative attitudes contribute to raising children’s self-esteem and confidence as well as improving self-control, when children feel more accepted by the class and feel more positive about themselves and about others. It seems that the project has these positive effects particularly on children with challenging behaviour and with quieter, more reserved natures. Overall, WMQPEP intends to contribute to children’s social development.

These aspects of WMQPEP’s contribution to children’s development accord with the benefits of using Circle Time methods ‘as a means of promoting self-esteem, self-discipline
and responsibility towards others’ (Mosley, 1996: 6). Considering the Circle Time as a social process, Mosley (1996: 71) regards symbolic interactionist theory (e.g. Mead) and its view on ‘the self as a social entity formed by appraisal from others’ as useful in discussing ‘the power of Circle Time to enhance self-esteem.’ Mosley (1996) understands Mead’s idea thus: ‘The behaviour of the individual can only be understood in terms of a social dynamic and therefore the individual act can only be comprehended as part of a whole,’ and applies this idea to Circle Time as follows:

Circle-Time strategies are designed to help individuals understand their behaviour and the response of other people towards it. They offer a model of helping that acknowledges that as the behaviour of an individual child is embedded in the social interactions of her class group, it needs to be the class group that works with her to help her become aware of the range of other responses she could choose from. (Mosley, 1996: 72)

Mosley (1996: 72) recognises Mead’s significant contribution as ‘the assertion that the self cannot be reorganised or reconstituted into a more positive one without altering the social relations of the self to others.’ This idea underpins the benefit of the Circle Time method, emphasising learning within the group (i.e. the ‘generalised other’ as expressed by Mead), which is constrained by ‘ground rules based on respect, valuing and reflecting back to participants a positive reflection of their selves’ (ibid: 72). Considering that there are two general stages of the full development of the self, Mead (1934/1967: 158) argues that it can be achieved, first through the assimilation of particular attitudes of individuals, and secondly, by generalising and assimilating the attitudes of the social group as a whole to which the self belongs. Thus, the attitudes of the social group are included in the structure of the self through the individual’s direct experience. In particular, through interaction with society in the different roles one takes in that society, the individual develops his or her personality by adopting the attitudes of the members of the society (Mead, 1934/1967: 162-3). Mead’s idea concerning the development of the self within social relationships supports WMQPEP’s
perception of its educational contribution to improving children’s interpersonal skills and raising self-control and self-esteem, as a result of their experience of interacting with others.

WMQPEP also realises that the impact of the project could be compromised if there is a conflict between the different behavioural policies of schools and the project. WMQPEP hopes that empowerment of children would gradually undermine and change the hierarchical structures in the classroom. This WMQPEP’s viewpoint can be supported by some perspectives on the possibility of bringing positive changes into schools and society through educational initiatives. For example, Bruner (1999: 19) states that, from the viewpoint of constructivism, education can help young people to learn ways of making sense of and constructing reality, and to contribute to the process of changing the existing society when it is necessary. For McLaren (2003: 70), from the viewpoint of critical theory, schools are not only places of indoctrination or socialisation, but also places of ‘empowerment and self-transformation.’ WMQPEP’s viewpoint is also supported by Mead’s (1934/1967) idea of the interplay between the development of individuals’ self-awareness and the progress of society through social interactions. Mead (1934/1967: 309-10) perceives that social reconstruction and the self reconstruction of individuals are the two sides of the single process of human social progress, which involves self-consciousness of individuals both in ‘the effecting of such progressive social changes’ and also in the development of the individuals themselves or of their personalities in accordance with social reconstruction.

What WMQPEP stated in this section regarding the expected impact of the project on children will be compared with what the researcher observed in the project later in the thesis.

7.3 Project Worker’s Role and Relationship with Children

7.3.1 The Relationship of a Project Worker and Children in the Project

Many project workers said that their relationships with children were generally good, friendly, not authoritarian, and more equal compared with the normal relationship between children
and teachers in school. The equal relationship is demonstrated by using their first names, while project workers interact with children at the same level and treat them as equals:

‘I think they see you more as a friend because they call you by your Christian name. I don’t think they see you as a teacher. Children’s faces usually light up when we are there for the project. So it’s a positive experience for them. They know that we’re not going to shout at them, and I think they notice that we’re working in a different way.’

‘I hope I form a good relationship in which we can have fun together, we can respect each other, and we can treat each other to some extent as equals. This is promoted partly through using my first name, and using the children’s first names. So although I’m always an adult in a group, I hope that helps them to feel that I’m on a more equal footing with them, which is different from teachers.’

‘Usually it’s very good… Our relationship with children is different from their relationship with teachers because we’re not there all the time as figures of authority.’

One of the project workers described the equal relationship with children as follows:

‘…we’re all people and we’re equal as people. Just I’m an older person and they are younger people. The difference is that I have more life experiences than them because I’m older, but they might have more experiences of a different nature that I don’t have… In the project, we’d indicate that we are treating each other just as a group of people with different experiences, rather than treating each other according to some hierarchy with hierarchical rules… In many ways, they wouldn’t see me as equal, and in many ways I’m not equal to them because I’m not a child and I have more power as an adult. But in terms of all of our ideas being of equal value, and everybody being able to listen to everybody else’s view and take them as being of value, that’s one of the other aspects of relationship.’

The same project worker claimed that addressing teachers by their titles is a form of external discipline imposed on children, which does not indicate that any effort is being made to help them understand about the relationship.

Overall, the project promotes supportive and trusting relationships in order for children to feel safe in a circle, as mentioned by some project workers:
‘It has to be a trusting relationship so they have to be very clear about what I will and I won’t do with the information that they give or the things that they talk about.’

‘Hopefully, we’re trying to make a circle a very safe place to be. That’s our first prime target in the first couple of weeks to build trust and ease so that children feel safe. I think that once you have safety, then you begin to work better.’

By demonstrating more equal relationships between children and adults in the project, WMQPEP intends to offer teachers the experience of different relationships:

‘Teachers can also see how project workers treat children with respect so that they find potentials in children and how much more they can trust children.’

One project worker said that their relationships with children are based on the children as a group rather than as individuals, since the project encourages children to build good relationships within the group:

‘I treat individuals as a part of the group, so my relationship probably is primarily with the group and with how individuals contribute to the group and how the group helps or hinders them, and how they help or hinder the group process.’

### 7.3.2 The Role of a Project Worker in comparison to that of a Teacher

It seems that the role of project workers and their relationships with children are very different from those of teachers. Some project workers described the difference between teachers’ control over children and the potential for children to have self-control over their actions:

‘Sometimes teachers think that they have to keep their distance from children, whereas in Circle Time everyone is equal within a circle. Some teachers are really concerned about that as they think that if they don’t remain the boss, children are going to run riot. But when they see how it does work by changing their teaching methods around, at the end of 10 weeks, they realise that it does work and children still do respect the teacher. I think that if teachers control children all the time, they are never going to learn self-discipline.’
'It’s a very different relationship to that of the teacher. I’m an ex-teacher and I really have to modify the way that I used to work with youngsters where control was absolutely essential in a particular kind of way because you have educational targets to hit. With the project, I pull much more from my experience of a drama workshop leader.'

Many project workers also described a role of a teacher as a controller, which differs from that of a project worker as a facilitator, who encourages children’s self-control:

‘I would like to see myself being as a facilitator of the group, not as a controller. If the group is working very badly together, I would say something like, “It seems like it’s really hard for us to get on with each other this afternoon. I wonder what’s going on. I wonder what’s happening,” and try and help the children think about their relationships with each other, and offer ideas about what they could do about it. But I have observed and imagine a teacher as a controller. I think that the teacher in that situation would identify particular children as trouble makers, and would ask those children to stop doing what they are doing or to leave the group. So that would be a fundamental difference.’

‘We don’t shout at them and we have more choices. I think that our role is very different from a role of a teacher where the children do what they are told. I think that rules are quite important. Actually you’re not working to your rules, you’re working to the rules that children set in Circle Time. Once you have those boundaries, my role as a facilitator is like a referee in football. The rules are there and all you’re doing is keeping the rules.’

‘The role is generally more informal than that of a teacher and with the responsibility for choices about good and bad behaviour firmly handed over to the pupils.’

‘We try to encourage the group to exercise self-control. So they are doing the controlling because they want to get more activities and games into the time.’

In particular, one project worker pointed out two main ways of facilitating in the project:

‘Other things in terms of teaching in some of the work, particularly to do with conflict management, are didactic, which means that I’m imparting knowledge or ideas to them, for example, the conflict escalator [a graph showing different stages in the development of conflict] or anger rules [rules for the management of anger] ... But most of the time, I would hope that my teaching style or rather the way of encouraging them to learn is through their experiencing. So having experiences and then facilitating the children to try and understand their experience and to come up with their own understanding of their experience. So I suppose those are the two main ways.’
The same project worker described how to encourage children to learn from their experience:

‘I hope to have a non-punitive but questioning approach to conflict so that if children in a class get into conflict or the whole group gets into conflict, I would hope to say, “I wonder what’s going on. Can anybody tell me what’s happening?” So I ask them those questions for them to observe and to reflect on what’s happening instead of telling them off.’

While WMQPEP uses this approach to encourage children’s self-control, teachers are asked to support and trust the children’s learning process, as another project worker explained:

‘…teachers are asked at the beginning of each project if they will in effect sit on their hands when they become part of the circle, and not intervene. If there are disciplinary problems coming up, we try to resolve them as a group. A teacher doesn’t come in as a teacher because that would completely destroy the atmosphere that we try to create. Always at the introductory meeting with teachers, we try to alert them to what to expect if it’s the first time they go through Peacemakers, and to encourage them to trust the process that we go through with the youngsters - actually it will work if you let it happen. Because teachers often have to jump in at a first sign of trouble, they can’t wait for the group to self-regulate whereas we can. We are helping the group self-regulate.’

In this way, teachers can see the potential of the approach, as one project worker noted:

‘We sometimes work with a group of teachers, but the advantage of working with children ourselves is that teachers can see it [children’s self-control] is possible.’

In the process, one project worker emphasised the importance of facilitating the whole group, rather than removing the causes of problems, which may happen in normal lessons:

‘Instead of controlling the situation and removing the elements of the class that are causing problems, I would like to facilitate the whole group to take responsibility for the more difficult elements in the group.’

The same project worker also explained the way to ensure that children experience success:
‘In a preliminary meeting, we do ask if there are particular children who might have particular difficulties in a circle. Because it would be very unfair on a child to be expected to do something that they are not capable of, because they would then get experience of failure straight away… It’s important to know that, so that we can adjust to it and they can get experience of success from the beginning.’

At the same time, it is also important not to discriminate against particular children according to their ability, as the same project worker mentioned:

‘We aim not to discriminate against children according to what we’ve been told about their ability.’

Moreover, several project workers said that they have more flexibility to respond to the needs of children, in comparison with teachers who are often governed by educational and disciplinary targets:

‘Teachers have targets in the National Curriculum and discipline, and they also have ultimate discipline over the children who are particularly difficult in order to get on with the class. They are more directed to that. But we can set up our own programmes and can be more flexible with delivering the programme each time according to children’s condition… We know what we’re aiming at in the session but we don’t have the same sort of targets as the teachers.’

‘If I had set learning outcomes, I would be constantly trying to get back to them in order to achieve the outcomes. If I don’t set outcomes, it gives me that flexibility to respond to the need or the mood of the class that afternoon.’

In particular, one project worker emphasised their role in helping children deal with their problems, which differs from the teacher’s role to work towards targets:

‘In another way, my role is to enable children to find their own solutions to their problems rather than having a learning outcome which they have to achieve. Particularly at the moment in education, it’s very oriented to target setting and learning outcomes. So a teacher’s job by and large would be to make sure that children have achieved their learning outcome. I don’t set outcomes, and therefore, I’m different from a teacher.’
The same project worker also pointed out that if children are told what their learning outcomes should be, they are given the mentality of expecting to be told what they are meant to achieve. This also creates a situation where children experience failure:

‘In some schools in all the core lessons; English, Maths and Science, children are actually told what their outcome is for that lesson… I think that gives the children a whole mentality of being told what they are meant to be learning, and being able to judge whether they have achieved that learning or not, and therefore, whether they are successful or not successful. I don’t do that, so that is another major difference. I don’t set outcomes… I may think that in my head… But I don’t tell them that’s what I expect them to have, so I would say much more generally like, “We are going to talk about ways you might be able to handle conflict differently.” But I don’t set it as a desired outcome.’

‘If I set targets or gave children the outcomes…my concern with that is that there may be children who have found it really hard for all sorts of reasons. Then they are failing to do it and feeling that they failed because they haven’t done what I wanted them to do, or they are doing it because they want to please me and get a smiley face or something. But actually it’s very superficial because they’ve done it for me, but actually they don’t really want to do it.’

Finally, one project worker said that they could make suggestions about structures in a school since they are independent from the school:

‘I don’t have my work measured by the management of the school, therefore, I could, if I find it necessary, point out factors within the management of the school that I felt are contributing to conflict between children, for example. Whereas teachers find it very hard because they are part of the staff, because they are employed by the school, and they would probably feel that they would risk losing their job or getting a bad reference... But I do have the independence as a project worker, which enables me to comment on structures within a school that promote conflict between children and to make suggestions about how those could change.’

7.3.3 Summary and Discussion: Project Worker’s Role and Relationship with Children

It seems that there are significant differences between the relationship of a project worker with children, which is more informal, non-authoritarian and relatively equal, and that of a
teacher, which is generally more formal, authoritarian and hierarchical. These differences also reflect contrasting roles between the two. The role of the project worker is regarded as a facilitator, who encourages children to exercise self-control and to take responsibility for their actions and behaviour. The project worker’s main role is to help children to have experience and gain their own understanding of the experience. Thus, they use a non-punitive and questioning approach, in which questions are asked which encourage children to reflect on their actions and the situations. On the other hand, WMQPEP perceives the role of a teacher as a controller who controls children by imposing external discipline and rules in order to maintain a hierarchical structure in school. The project workers have more flexibility to respond to the needs of children, compared with teachers who are directed by targets in the National Curriculum. These contrasting roles portray a tension between WMQPEP’s principle of giving children autonomy and common school discipline imposed by adults.

As discussed previously (Chapter 3), common disciplinary measures in schools seem to be rooted in authoritarian characteristics of schooling based on authoritarian relationships between teachers and pupils, in which pupils are expected to obey teachers without question (Harber, 2004: 24-5). When the authoritarian power is practised in a classroom by teachers whose role is to control, the teacher-student relationship ‘involves a narrating subject (the teacher) and listening objects (the students),’ as described by Freire (1972: 45). This reflects a teacher-centred approach in which teachers give answers or direct children to come up with predicted answers and control their behaviour according to expected learning outcomes or targets set in the National Curriculum and school disciplinary policy. This approach is criticised by WMQPEP, since if children are told their learning outcomes, they are given the mentality of expecting to be told what they should learn, and this also creates a situation where children experience failure. Moreover, one-way communication between teachers and pupils, which is described as a ‘banking concept of education’ or an ‘act of depositing’ by Freire (1972: 45-6), can be seen as a kind of violence (i.e. indoctrination) (see Galtung, 1975).
On the contrary, WMQPEP intends to enable children to find their own solutions to their problems, by supporting and trusting their learning process. In this child-centred approach, the project worker elicits children’s ideas and opinions by encouraging them to think for themselves. WMQPEP’s approach seems to accord with Freire’s (1972: 53-4) idea of ‘problem-posing education,’ in which both teachers and students are the centre of dialogue and enquiry based on their relationships as critical co-investigators towards becoming themselves (ibid: 48). In a sense, the way WMQPEP attempts to empower children through a child-centred approach within equal relationships seems to counteract authoritarian ways of socialising children in school. WMQPEP’s approach, emphasising co-operation of children and their contribution to a group, is supported by Piaget’s theory of the moral development of children, which claims that children’s autonomous type of morality, such as fairness and equality, is only nurtured through equal relationships based on mutual respect and co-operation, rather than through authoritarian relationships based on unilateral respect for authorities and imposed constraint (Piaget, 1932/1977: 103; Kohlberg et al., 1987: 275).

Moreover, WMQPEP’s attitudes towards children is underpinned by Rogers’ (1951) person-centred philosophy in terms of their trust in children’s ability to self-regulate within a group and in their learning process, valuing children’s own experiences and viewpoints, group listening and positive attitudes towards each other. Similar to the idea of Freire (1975), Rogers’ philosophy is based on the trust in people’s capacity to understand self-concepts within the context of the social world and to make constructive choices for themselves (Rogers, 1977: 15).

While his person-centred philosophy supports WMQPEP’s child-centred approach, Rogers’ idea of the facilitator also accords with the role of WMQPEP project workers. Having a negative view of ‘teaching’ (which often means ‘to instruct,’ ‘to impart knowledge or skill,’ ‘to make to know’ or ‘to show, guide, direct’) and its ‘over-rated function’, Rogers (1983: 119-20) argues that the goal of education in a changing world is to facilitate a learning process
in which learners seek knowledge by themselves, rather than gaining static knowledge. Rogers (1983: 121) thinks that facilitation of learning does not depend on teaching skills, academic knowledge, audiovisual aids, planned lessons, lectures, presentations or many books, but on ‘certain attitudinal qualities that exist in the personal relationship between the facilitator and the learner’. From his experience, Rogers (1983: 120) also recognises the important ability of a facilitator to transform a group into ‘a community of learners’.

Rogers’ emphasis on learning within a group and a facilitator’s relationship with students coincides with WMQPEP workers’ role in moving the whole class forward, by facilitating children’s learning through experience of interacting in a group, and their informal and relatively equal relationships with children. Because of the emphasis on learning as the whole group, the project workers attempt to include all the members of the group without removing elements that cause problems and encourage the group to take responsibility for the difficult elements, in contrast with the practice in schooling in which children with difficult behaviour are often excluded. Similarly, the project workers try not to discriminate against particular children according to their ability, and sometimes adjust the project in order to give experience of success (not failure) to children who have difficulties in a circle. These efforts being made by the project workers contrast with the general practice of schooling which involves examinations and ability-based groups, and often causes children’s experience of failure and low self-esteem (Holt, 1965/1984).

Furthermore, Rogers (1977) suggests three key elements which a facilitator (e.g. an educator, a therapist) should possess: congruence, unconditional positive regard and empathetic understanding (Rogers, 1977: 9-11): The first element is congruence between the self, self-awareness and self-expression based on real experience and opportunity for being themselves; The second element is accepting clients’ (or students’) feelings in a positive and caring way; The third element is an empathic attitude towards helping the clients to understand the meaning of their feelings. A positive impact on clients relies on these three key
elements regarding the therapist’s attitude towards the clients and mutual relationships in the process of the clients’ experiencing feelings and becoming self-aware based on positive self-esteem. These key elements required of a therapist coincide with the important features of WMQPEP workers as facilitators, who show affirmative and empathetic attitudes towards children, and encourage them to talk about their thoughts and feelings arising from their experience.

The project workers’ relationships with children and their role in comparison to that of teachers, as described by WMQPEP in this section, will be compared with the findings from the researcher’s observation of the actual project later in the thesis.

7.4 Issues of Current Peace Education

7.4.1 Problems Facing Peace Education in Schools

One problem that schools often have is to find money for peace education. But other related problems are lack of trust that the money is worth spending on peace education and lack of belief that peace education is beneficial to the school, as pointed out by many project workers:

‘A problem facing peace education in schools is a financial problem.’

‘If they have the project in, it costs to the school. The project does give the bursary, so it does help, but usually the schools have to find some of the money by themselves as well.’

‘One of the problems in school is money… we are an additional expense. However, it’s not always money, and sometimes a lack of money is used for an excuse because anything outside of the school can be quite threatening. Or either the school has to trust that the money is well spent, and also there is a risk that the money spent isn’t beneficial to the school.’

According to another project worker, peace education is not prioritised in schools for the following reasons:
'Another problem is that peace education is not part of the National Curriculum so it’s not assessed or reported on. Peace education is not generally perceived as helpful in getting good inspection outcomes... It is also not easily connected to the rest of the school curriculum in some schools.'

The same project worker suggested linking peace education not only to PSHE but also to all subjects by teaching with the same principles that underpin the project:

'Peace education links more with PSHE in primary schools. What we would like is that the project is applied everywhere, but I think, the thing about our education system is that subjects tend to be isolated from each other… So it’s very unlikely to make a link between this and English, for example, although there is a very strong link. I think that one of the things that the school has to do is to try to make sure when they are teaching all the academic subjects, they are using some of the same ideas that they see in our workshops.'

On the other hand, many project workers noticed that schools often have difficulty in finding time for peace education:

'Some teachers resist it by saying that they don’t have time to do extra things such as PSHE, but head teachers’ initiatives are important.'

'I think it’s the time to fit it all in. I think that the curriculum is so heavily loaded. So it’s very difficult for them to give up 10 afternoons, which for some schools they think it’s worth it, while other schools might not think that they could give up that amount of time.'

'Teacher overload means there is no time available for peace education. In particular, peace education is not seen as a high enough priority, and the curriculum is also overloaded. So, there is no room for peace education.'

Moreover, some project workers pointed out that the present situation in schools makes it difficult for teachers to use the same approach because of the pressure for meeting targets in a limited time:

'I think that teachers are so stressed out by having to get the right targets met by the children. And they often don’t have very high self-esteem because they’ve been pressured by everybody else.'
‘I think it’s difficult for teachers to use the same approach in the classroom. I don’t think it’s impossible but it’s more difficult because it takes more time. I think that one thing that teachers don’t have anymore is time… It’s quicker to tell somebody rather than asking what they should be doing, but in the long term, it would be better to take time so that the children can do it by themselves. In the long term, it’s worth it. I think that some teachers lose sight of that in their hurry to get things done.’

On the other hand, one project worker thinks that the problem of finding time is also affected by other factors, such as teachers’ values or a lack of knowledge about peace education:

‘One of the problems would be where they can fit it into the timetable. It’s very difficult at secondary schools. At primary schools, sometimes it’s difficult, depending on how committed the school is. I think they could fit it in. It depends on their values or teachers not knowing what is about because they haven’t been trained and they feel uncomfortable with it.’

Another project worker also noticed that peace education is misunderstood by some schools:

‘Some of the problems are misunderstandings because some schools think that all peace educators are peace activists… There is a lack of knowledge about what peace education really is, both education about peace and education for peace. Peace education is often perceived as slightly weird, off-beat or threatening.’

Sometimes there is a gap between the expectation of a school and the actual impact of the project, which can cause a negative view of the project, as one project worker pointed out:

‘Another problem that peace education comes up against is schools in difficulties, who are hoping for quick answers or miracle cures. When a school expects the project to solve their problem after 10 weeks but actually the problem is bigger, the difficulty is that if it’s not recognised that the problem is bigger. The project worker would feel disappointed, and the school would get disappointed and can get a bad impression of the project and a bad impression of peace education. When the project couldn’t solve the problem and the school thinks that the project was a complete waste of time and money, and they wouldn’t recommend the project to anyone, that can be a quite serious problem.’
In order to prevent this problem happening, the same project worker emphasised the importance of having a preliminary discussion with schools to identify their needs:

‘So, I suppose what is required so that that doesn’t happen is to have a very clear discussion at the start of the project or even before a contract is given to the project. It’s important to have a discussion with the school about what exactly is needed… In some schools, there is an expectation that the project would sort out all the problems and behaviour of the children. But actually experiences show that… the fundamental problems are to do with management in schools, to do with the leadership, and the whole school relationship… If the management of the school is very disappointed by the project or if they have a very poor opinion of the project because the project hasn’t sorted out the problem, the problem is that the given expectation is too high.’

As another major problem, several project workers commented that peace education is often contrary to the school ethos, and can be seen as a threat to the hierarchy in schools:

‘Peace education is contrary to the school ethos in some schools. Some of the problems facing peace education in schools relate to the structures and customs in schools. Some professionals are actually afraid that to question the underlying assumptions of the structure will lead to anarchy. In peace education, we do encourage pupils to question and put forward new ideas. This is seen as potentially threatening to the existing hierarchy… The methods we use are quite different to those used in some schools and this can be seen as undermining their chosen teaching style.’

‘Another problem that peace education faces is the ethos of the school. So if the ethos of the school is one where children are told what to do and children’s views are not held to be important, then peace education is not working very well... In schools that have a very strict hierarchy where a head teacher tells senior managers what to do, senior managers tell teachers what to do, teachers tell children what to do, and nobody listens to people who are below them, I’m not going to find that education is very easy or peace education work is not found easier.’

One project worker illustrated how they could prepare teachers for the approach used in the project:
‘At the beginning of the project, teachers often feel shocked by the way children misbehave, as they think. But this is just the way children will behave when they don’t have someone giving them directions every minute. There is an idea about group dynamics from a study of psychology. First they are going to get into a group (Forming) and they may misbehave (Storming) and then they reform as a group and Norming at the end. So you have to prepare a teacher that they will badly misbehave at Week 3 or 4 but they have to go through that process in a way because they are taking on discipline from the teacher and going to the children. At the beginning it doesn’t go well because the children aren’t co-operating so it’s quite normal within groups and then they will settle down. Otherwise, if the children always have teachers lead, they are never going to get their own self-discipline and their own awareness of choices that they have and different outcomes from different sorts of choices that they have.’

Some project workers described the difficulty of working in schools with the hierarchy and a punitive ethos, where people do not recognise problems or do not accept the need for changes:

‘One of the problems is that some schools particularly those with those kinds of main stream areas, middle class areas, may think that they don’t need this kind of work. There is no problem and they can’t perceive any benefit to their school from this kind of work. Maybe problems are not so visible but also perhaps they are a little bit short-sighted. Teachers don’t like to give up their authority and the fact that youngsters are having fun …it’s not in the same way of controlled classroom environment that teachers are used to.’

‘It’s just harder to go into schools which are very hierarchical and have a very punitive ethos. Those schools need most work, but I think that experiences in any kind of social change show that work is most effective with people who have some problems but also acknowledge that they have problems…In fact, it’s not very efficient to go in and try to work with those people, because, even though they have the biggest need to be worked on, if they don’t accept the need for change, then the work is not possible.’

One project worker introduced the kinds of school ethos, which accord with peace education:

‘Peace education will work better in a school which already values children’s opinions about themselves, about each other, about members of the school staff, and also in a school that has an emphasis on what is called “positive behaviour management”, which is helping children to change behaviour by giving them positive incentives rather than punishments.’
Another problem mentioned by one project worker is that peace education is not part of teacher training:

‘Another problem is that teachers are not trained in peace education. It’s not part of teacher training. It would be good to have it as a module and they can do it by themselves. I think the idea is that when we go in, we should be empowering the teachers as well, so they will continue the work. But sadly, because teachers move on and there are lots of changes in staff, you don’t always get that continuity. It would be good if it was part of teacher training so teachers go in and do it.’

While WMQPEP encourages teachers to observe and learn the approach used in the project, it is not always easy for teachers to do so in reality, as pointed out by another project worker:

‘We normally ask teachers to sit at the back but some find it difficult. Some teachers don’t participate while they sit in the corner marking their books. In some schools, teachers cannot come every week so that our work cannot be extended and reinforced during the rest of the week. They have to realise that they have to be here to learn what they have to do and become skilled in what we are doing. That’s important because teachers can make a big difference. You can’t check whether teachers are reinforcing our ideas during the week but you can tell because the children are more aware.’

Another project worker talked about a problem of instability in schools where staff often change or where there are not sufficient staff to participate in the project:

‘Problems are in some of the more unstable schools where you don’t always have regular members of staff. I worked with a school where a teacher was part-time and a lot of the time she was missing, and there were supply teachers so I couldn’t build the relationship with teachers who went through the process. So there is this problem where there is instability in schools, and staff are constantly changing. Sometimes they can’t release sufficient staff to come to the Circle Time and so people who need to know about it, like teaching assistants or dinner ladies, aren’t included on it. In some schools, dinner ladies are freed up to come to the Peacemakers because they are the ones who see problems in a playground.’
In particular, the same project worker mentioned the problem of not having a permanent class teacher involved in the project since there would be no follow-up work in the classroom:

‘It can be difficult if the class doesn’t have a permanent teacher and constantly supply teachers are coming in…Because children are accepting what you are saying in Peacemakers but there is no follow-up. The project needs follow-up, so it needs teachers to take on board what we’ve been doing and to keep referring back to it, and to utilise it in what they are doing in a classroom.’

One project worker also pointed out a lack of overall resources (e.g. time, money, staff, space and room in a curriculum) to continue the scheme and to implement changes in schools after the project.

Moreover, another project worker mentioned a recent issue in a local community, which seems to have created a challenging situation for peace education in some schools:

‘We’ve got a lot of Somali families very recently over the last two years coming to the country. That changes the dynamics of the school and sometimes there is a conflict between two families… so sometimes it can cause problems and conflicts in schools.’

7.4.2 Peace Education in Schools?

Many project workers felt that peace education is not commonly practised in schools. One of the reasons can be that people often react to what happens, for example, to bullying with an anti-bullying policy, rather than being proactive in preventing problems. Another viewpoint is that there are similar practices to peace education, such as a Circle Time and Citizenship, although they are not called ‘peace education’. In general, it seems that peace education is practised more in city schools than in village schools, although peace education is actually about everybody learning necessary skills. Moreover, one project worker felt that the term, ‘peace education’ is not usually used because ‘some people have a very negative image’ such as left-wing or anti-Vietnam War protestors. (See Appendix J for more comments concerning the issue of peace education in schools).
7.4.3 Limitations on and of WMQPEP’s Work on Peace Education

Several project workers mentioned that a lack of financial and other resources has limited the spread of the project:

‘Financial support would not be made available for this to be more wide-spread.’

‘The obvious answers are finance of both WMQPEP and the school, supply of suitable professional trainers, inflexibility of the school timetable and continuing Quaker support which is not just money but also management team etc.’

Regarding a limitation of the project, one project worker pointed out the limitation in dealing with wider issues in a short time:

‘There is a limitation in what can be done in a short time. There is a limitation in that issues might be much wider than in a school, they might be more to do with what’s going on in a community, but that is not this project’s brief.’

Similarly, another project worker said that the project cannot always solve problems, especially when they are serious, since it is rather to help schools build the basis for peace:

‘If problems in a school are so big and serious, we can’t solve or deal with them. We are not doctors but educators, so the project can help to build a basis of co-operative behaviour and a peaceful atmosphere. When a school has this basis, other things such as the learning of children or school management can go well.’

One project worker talked about hope for the effect of the project on children in the long run:

‘Children don’t necessarily pick up what we are doing now but they might do in a few years time. At least they are exposed to it, having done it over 10 weeks, and then something remains in their heads. Even if they don’t change over 10 weeks, something along the lines, they might think back or refer back to the documents at the end of the 10 weeks on “What’s good about me when I was in Year 5” when they have trouble for fighting, and “Perhaps I need to think what we learned from QPEP a few years ago.” That’s what we hope.’
On the other hand, many project workers mentioned some factors, which would limit the effect of the project, including perceptions and attitudes of teachers and schools:

‘External perceptions generally will always limit the effect of the work if not the approach. I am referring to the perception of peace education, which some professionals have. They think it is okay most of the time but possibly not for them and their class. If they think that, they can be quite passive in the workshops and don’t do the follow-up activities, which WMQPEP workers leave for them. In other words, it is too radical and too different from their usual approach and this will limit the effect.’

‘I think that limitations come from teachers whether they keep this going. I think that teacher training would be the way to do it. Also they need to stay in the school for other classes to follow it, as it’s not only for one class but for the whole school to have that approach… We also leave a pack of activities that we have used in the project so that they can do them by themselves. So it depends on teachers who are keen on it. Sometimes they have some authority like a deputy head or a head teacher who are keen on it and keep it going if they believe in it, otherwise it just disappears.’

‘Another issue is that teachers don’t always do follow-up work. That depends so much on teachers’ attitudes to the work… So as a limitation to the work, if it’s only conducted on one afternoon a week for 10 weeks, and if there is no other work done along those lines either in between sessions or afterwards, there is not much to gain, and advantages for the children are quite small.’

As suggested by one project worker above, other project workers also thought that teacher training could help to sustain the work done by the project in schools:

‘I think it’s the sustainability. Once it’s in a school, perhaps it should enforce that training so that staff can go and do it by themselves rather than relying on the project. We need to cascade it down to teachers so that they can do their own work. I think we can only work with one class, but to be really effective, it has to be the whole school… If you’re looking to get the whole school involved in peace education, we have to train all the teachers.’

‘I think it would be excellent if teachers had it integrated into their training, like some of the methodologies used in peace education work, so they can use them as part of their classroom management.’
While WMQPEP does not normally go back to schools after the project, several project workers suggested doing so, in order to check schools’ follow-up work or to evaluate the impact of the project:

‘…we often don’t have the chance to see a few months on whether or not the principles that we tried to raise are being implemented.’

‘While the limitation of the project is a lack of follow-up, I think that, as part of a series of workshops, workers should be paid to do at least one follow-up visit.’

Regarding limitations of the approach used in the project, some project workers felt that it is not active enough for some boys:

‘In terms of the specific work, I know some people feel that it can be very word-based and sometimes that doesn’t appeal to boys particularly who prefer much more active styles of learning. So, even if it’s experiential, I know that some people feel that too much time is spent discussing things. And it doesn’t actually give boys or certain boys enough opportunity to learn as much as they could because they switch off when they hear words.’

‘A big problem is that some of the boys will get a lot of pleasure from destructiveness, from being naughty, from attention-seeking or from upsetting others. That kind of negative game is very hard to compete with. You’ve got to do things that are better than the things that they do. So this is the problem. Some peace education workers think what they do is boring, too boring for the boys. So they need to have things that are exciting enough for the boys and that interest the boys. They’ve got to be active, fun or not too girly.’

Furthermore, one project worker pointed out a possible limitation of the project in understanding children from different cultural backgrounds:

‘Another limitation might be that if there are children from different backgrounds, or if the children and the worker are from significantly different cultural backgrounds, I think that can be a problem because of different understanding or cultural expectation. Particularly, if the worker is white middle class, and the children are not all white and working class, it could be very easy to imagine a kind of imperialism, ‘white people are telling us what to do, telling us how to manage ourselves.’ You have to be quite sensitive to that… It’s not just to do with peace education but to do with the whole education system.’
As a limitation as well as a possibility, the same project worker described what the project can do for some children who may have different experiences at school and at home:

‘I think that there are children from minority ethnic backgrounds who are in schools… in some circumstances, they may have very different experiences at school and at home. So the children who have one set of experience in attitudes and behaviour towards conflict at school, which could be different from a set of attitudes and behaviour towards conflict at home. They could potentially find themselves in a very tricky situation not knowing who to believe… I would hope that essentially what we can do is to talk about their experience and help them make sense of their own experience so that when they get older, they have choices about which experience they choose to use.’

7.4.4 Summary and Discussion: Issues of Current Peace Education

Overall, many WMQPEP workers share the view that peace education is not commonly practised in schools, compared with other similar practice such as an anti-bullying policy which contains some aspects of peace education, because schools often take more reactive than preventive measures towards problems. This viewpoint is also found in the literature. According to Harris (1998: 9), there are more programmes called conflict resolution, violence prevention or anger management, since people often prefer immediate solutions to the problems of violence, whereas peace education attempts to provide a long-term solution.

For the same reason, it seems that peace education is practised, compared with village schools, more in city schools where problems are more visible. However, Tyrrell (2002: 174) criticises the misconception that only particular schools facing problems of conflict need these initiatives (i.e. peer mediation), since peer mediation is actually ‘a proactive, preventive strategy in dealing with conflict’. That is why WMQPEP believes that peace education should be for everybody to learn necessary skills.

WMQPEP perceives that one major problem facing current peace education is a lack of overall resources (e.g. time, money, staff) to introduce peace education in a school as well as to implement changes within the school after the project. Since peace education is not part of
the National Curriculum, it is not always prioritised or valued, especially where schools have an overloaded curriculum and are on a tight budget. It seems that these obstacles to the introduction of peace education into schools largely result from the characteristics of the National Curriculum. Since the curriculum mostly emphasises basic subjects (i.e. English, Maths) while excluding or putting less value on other subjects (Meighan and Siraj-Blatchford, 1997: 93-4), it is difficult for schools to find room for peace education, even by linking it with PSHE, which is itself a less-valued subject.

On the other hand, WMQPEP thinks that the difficulty of bringing its project into schools is not only because of these practical problems, but also because of the school ethos and the contrasting principles and teaching methods between peace education and formal education. WMQPEP recognises that schools often have hierarchical structures and use punishments to manage children’s behaviour. Moreover, some schools consider the methods used in the project, in which pupils are encouraged to question and suggest new ideas, as a potential threat to the existing hierarchy in school, undermining their teaching style. These features of schooling are found in Foucault’s (1977: 181-2) view of schools as surveillance facilities with hierarchical and punitive disciplinary systems, which allocate pupils into the hierarchical system in society according to their abilities, whilst the pupils are put under constant pressure to fit into the same model in which they are forced to be obedient to the authority. On the contrary, WMQPEP’s approach values children’s views with equal respect and affirmative attitudes by promoting their co-operative relationships, self-discipline and autonomy. This approach can be supported by Bickmore’s (1999: 249) emphasis on enhancing students’ capacity for their own problem-solving in the long term, rather than increasing hierarchical control and dependence to reduce problems in the short term. The issue of hierarchical characteristics of schooling is pointed out by Stewart (1998: 88) as a reason why most conflict resolution education (a type of peace education) in school depends on outside agencies or on initiatives of individual schools, rather than being led by national education policy.
According to WMQPEP, peace education cannot be effective in this hierarchical and punitive school ethos, and that the practice of peace education can be difficult when schools do not perceive this issue as a problem, not accepting the need for change, or not wanting to give up their authority. While some teachers do not value peace education, lack the understanding of peace education, or feel threatened by or uncomfortable with it, these negative perceptions and unsupportive attitudes would diminish the potential of the project, especially if the principles are not promoted or sustained in school.

WMQPEP considers that these attitudes of schools and teachers are partly because peace education is not part of teacher training. While most countries provide little teacher training to prepare teachers for peace education in school (Bjerstdt, 1994; Harris and Morrison, 2003: 111-3), the importance of teacher training in peace education has been addressed (e.g. Bjerstdt, 1994; Stewart, 1998; Tyrrell, 2002; Harris, 2003), since teachers’ understanding of the principles and practice of peace education is essential for effective and sustainable practice of peace education in school. For example, based on the experience of promoting peer mediation in schools in Northern Ireland, Stewart (1998: 85) suggests the need for training for adults in the whole school in order to sustain a programme. Stewart (1998: 88) recognises that, for teachers who consider their role as maintaining discipline and control (as they are taught in teacher training), allowing pupils to resolve their own conflicts can be seen as a sign of weak discipline. Thus, the empowerment of pupils to participate in the process of conflict resolution would require a change to the focus of schooling on control (ibid: 88). Similarly, from his study of peer mediation (as a certain type of peace education), Tyrrell (2002: 13) found that ‘if schools are to create a culture which can sustain peer mediation as part of a whole-school approach, they must be prepared for change and transformation.’

On the other hand, there are potential difficulties in promoting teacher training in peace education within the current formal teacher education because of contrasting principles and practices between peace education and formal schooling. Teacher education institutions are
often portrayed as authoritarian organisations (Davies, 2002: 113), promoting teacher-centred methods to reproduce authoritarian schools and classrooms (Harber, 2002a: 125). However, an authoritarian ethos is contrary to teacher training in peace education, which aims to enable teachers to use student-centred methods, to promote the value of co-operation, and to respect children’s opinions (Fountain, 1999: 19). This is because peace education is more effective in a school where children’s opinions are valued and positive incentives are given, rather than punishments, as noted by WMQPEP.

These difficulties facing peace education in school, due to its educational approach being in contrast to formal schooling and negative attitudes towards peace education, can be associated with two types of objection to peace education in school identified by McCarthy (1990: 118): First, some perceive that the content of peace education is dangerous, leading to ‘appeasement or indoctrination in some form’. This type of objection is based on the assumption that formal education is neutral. Second, the discussion of political issues in school is often not considered as ‘education’ but a thing to avoid. Recognising the way in which particular knowledge is imposed in formal education both in the delivery of the curriculum and in the overall school ethos, McCarthy (1990: 119) questions the neutrality of the education system because of the way schools foster certain attitudes defined by society and imbedded in social structures.

These conflicting perceptions about the educational approaches followed by the different values and practices of peace education and formal schooling are related to one of the main problems for legitimating peace education in formal education perceived by Burns (1996: 120): the legitimation of its epistemological foundation, which is contrary to the dominant positivist epistemology. Burns (1996: 117) points out that the teaching and learning process in formal education is largely led by ‘factual knowledge and particular methodological rules for problem-solving’ based on a positivist epistemology. It means that empirical science is emphasised in formal education, often at the cost of other forms of knowledge, while ‘aspects
of human life in society such as emotions, values and worldviews, as well as human action, are largely ignored’ (Burns, 1996: 117). This issue relates to the problem that teachers often find it difficult to use WMQPEP’s approach in the classroom because of the pressure for meeting educational targets in a limited time, with the approach taking more time than the didactic teaching style.

Furthermore, while teachers can learn from the experience of the project, there is the problem of instability or discontinuity in schools, caused by frequent changes in staff or there being no permanent class teachers to participate in the project regularly. This condition makes it difficult to carry out follow-up work in the classroom, and limits the effect of the project. Another issue is the gap between the expectation of a school and the actual impact of the project, particularly when the school has a serious problem. Disappointment felt by the school can result in a negative impression about the project and about peace education in general. This risk can be reduced if a project worker and a school have a preliminary discussion about problems in the school and possible approaches. WMQPEP also recognises a limitation of the project being unable to handle wider issues facing a school or a community in the short time available. This is because, even though the project can form the basis of peaceful relationships to build upon, the effect might not be felt immediately.

As for limitations of the methods used in the project, some project workers perceive that word-based learning limits the full engagement of some children especially boys, who are better suited to more active ways of learning. Another limitation may relate to WMQPEP workers’ cultural and social backgrounds which do not always reflect children’s backgrounds, since this may result in imposing a certain culture (e.g. white middle class) with a lack of understanding of children’s cultures. On the other hand, regarding different attitudes towards conflict or violence, WMQPEP recognises that children are sometimes confused by different messages given at school and at home. This also means that children experience different ways of dealing with an issue, which they can choose from in the future.
WMQPEP thinks that the term, ‘peace education’ is not often used since the word ‘peace’ does not always have a positive image, and some people associate it with left-wing, anti-Vietnam War protesters or middle-class people. Similarly, Hicks (1996: 168) states that the term ‘peace education’ is rarely used in schools in the UK and elsewhere, since peace education is not a school subject in most countries and most peace education programmes in schools are run by outside agencies. On the other hand, some WMQPEP workers perceive that there are other practices in schools, such as Circle Time, citizenship education and school councils, which are not called peace education but contain similar concepts.

School councils are seen as a way to ‘provide practical first-hand experience of decision-making and democratic processes’ and ‘enable children and young people to participate effectively in schools and debate and address issues of concern to them and their school’ (The British Youth Council, quoted in Citizenship Advisory Group, 1998: 19). Recent research found some positive learning outcomes, such as the improvement of personal, social and problem-solving skills, and increased awareness and understanding of democratic procedures and practices (Taylor and Johnson, 2002). On the other hand, according to a study by Cox et al. (2006: 11-12), school councils mostly deal with playground issues and fundraising rather than teaching and learning, while students and teachers felt constrained about the content of discussion as well as being affected by hierarchical or power relationships between students and teachers and between students. Therefore, although school councils can be a potential force for change by giving students a voice and the opportunity to develop a sense of empowerment, ownership and skills (Taylor and Johnson, 2002), the current practice does not seem to reach that point in general (Harber, 2007). While the aims and practices of school councils are similar to those of peace education, the current situation of school councils also seems to share the same difficulties facing peace education in schools.

With similar aims to those of school councils and peace education, citizenship education (which was introduced in the National Curriculum in England in 2002) focuses on three main
areas: social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy (Citizenship Advisory Group, 1998: 13), with its emphasis on responsibility and moral virtue. Within this framework, primary schools are encouraged to nurture children’s moral values and personal development as necessary preconditions of citizenship (ibid: 11). Thus, citizenship education involves not only knowledge but also values and skills (e.g. communication, working with others, problem-solving), and promotes the link with the early stages of child development, often within PSHE. Some (e.g. Bell, 2005) consider this close link between citizenship education and PSHE as problematic because of a difference between the two: ‘PSHE is about the private, individual dimension of pupils’ development, whereas citizenship concerns the public dimension.’ On the other hand, peace education on different levels (from personal to global) involves elements of both citizenship education and PSHE, while WMQPEP’s project focuses on personal relationships, linking with PSHE.

Moreover, Bell (2005) also recognises reluctance, resistance, scepticism and other barriers to the implementation of citizenship education in schools, including the difficulty of finding time within an overloaded curriculum, negative views from both the political right and left, cynicism about the potential for indoctrination, and fear of dealing with complex, sensitive and controversial issues. To improve this situation, Bell (2005) emphasises the importance of empowering pupils as well as the need for properly trained teachers. These difficulties and challenges facing citizenship education are also shared with peace education as seen above.

Overall, major obstacles to the promotion of peace education in school are related to a tension between a hierarchical school ethos, and the contrasting principles and practices of peace education with mainstream education, as well as a lack of teacher training in peace education.
7.5 Emerging Issues

From the study of WMQPEP above, several issues have emerged as follows. The first issue is that the model of peace education used by WMQPEP seems to concern peace and conflict on a micro-level, rather than on a macro-level. Thus, WMQPEP’s peace education focuses on interpersonal skills in daily life, in contrast with a macro-level approach to peace and conflict in national or international contexts, which involves critical analysis of inequality and justice within social structures from socio-political perspectives. Generally, a micro-level approach seems to be more common in primary schools in relation to PSHE, which focuses on practical, personal and individual characteristics of learning rather than dealing with wider social issues (Harber, 2002b: 235). On the other hand, a macro-level approach to peace education, when it occurs, seems to be used more in secondary school as part of citizenship education, in which controversial issues are discussed.

However, considering that there is often a connection between micro (personal) and macro (social) aspects of an issue (e.g. with people who wish to make small-scale changes but whose behaviour is constrained by larger structural forces), the need to combine the practical and personal approach with the critical analysis of social structure from wider perspectives is emphasised by Harber (2002b: 231). The idea of bringing critical analysis into an interpersonal approach to peace education is also important for building a ‘culture of resistance’ against negative propaganda, social injustice and manipulation by powerful groups, in view of a criticism of current peace education’s focus on ‘making people be nicer to each other’ (Fisher et al., 2000: 146). This issue of different approaches to peace education will be explored further from different viewpoints later in the thesis.

The second issue is related to the potential danger of indoctrination by imposing certain values and beliefs through peace education, as opposed to the promotion of critical thinking and autonomy, which is one of the important elements of peace education. McCarthy (1990: 119) states that ‘one of the most important values of peace studies is as a defence against
indoctrination. Yet peace education itself is often equated with indoctrination’. While the main principle of WMQPEP is underpinned by pacifism, as their belief and motivating ideology are to support non-violent means of resolving conflict, the attempt to instil pacifism in schools can be seen as indoctrination. However, in practice, it seems that WMQPEP attempts to encourage children to think for themselves and make decisions about their actions and behaviour. The potential tension between the principles and practice of WMQPEP in terms of indoctrination will be examined in the light of the actual practice of WMQPEP later in the thesis.

The third issue is concerned with a contrast between the values and practice of WMQPEP and the dominant values and practices of formal education in the UK. WMQPEP primarily aims to promote the values of equality, co-operation and mutual respect, to raise children’s self-esteem, and to develop their life skills through child-centred, experience-based interactive methods. On the other hand, formal schooling is often oriented towards classification and competition among pupils and among schools to achieve higher academic performance in examinations and higher ranking within league tables. Normal lessons, based on the National Curriculum, seem to be generally delivered through teacher-centred, knowledge-based didactic methods (Griffith, 2000). This potential tension between the different values held and methods used by WMQPEP and formal schooling will be explored within the context of the actual practice of WMQPEP in school later in the thesis.

The fourth concern is that the nature of teacher training and its approach to teaching are mostly underpinned by an authoritarian type of discipline, in which ‘order is based on rules imposed by adults’ and ‘power resides in an individual or group of leaders’ (Meighan and Siraj-Blatchford, 1997: 229). This type of discipline is contrary to the non-authoritarian types of discipline promoted by WMQPEP. The non-authoritarian types include an autonomous type of discipline in which ‘order is based on self-discipline and self-imposed rules’ and ‘power resides with the individual’ as well as a democratic type of discipline in which ‘order is based
on rules agreed after discussion based on evidence, human rights values and the logic of consequences’ and ‘power is shared among the people in the situation’ (Meighan and Siraj-Blatchford, 1997: 229). Since teacher education is seen as part of a cycle of producing, maintaining and perpetuating authoritarian classrooms (ibid: 230), many teachers may not be used to these non-authoritarian types of discipline. Therefore, WMQPEP’s project can be a force to break this cycle by providing schools and teachers with the opportunity of experiencing different types of discipline. On the other hand, WMQPEP’s approach, based on trust in pupils’ autonomy, can be seen as a challenge to teachers whose normal classroom management relies on pupils’ obedience to authority and external discipline. This issue will be explored further by comparing the viewpoints of teachers with those of WMQPEP workers later in this thesis.

The fifth issue is concerned with WMQPEP’s emphasis on supporting schools to become safe places, in contrast to the reality of schools as often unsafe places. Many schools and teachers seem to have failed to protect children from both physical and mental violence (Harber, 2004). In the UK and globally, there is the problem of ‘teacher-centred transmission of largely cognitive curriculum content’ (Harber, 2004: 47) based on the authoritarian classroom, in which cognitive abilities of children are constantly measured and ranked through examinations and other assessment (ibid: 70). This condition can cause children significant stress and anxiety because of competition and failure in examinations. Moreover, schools and teachers are often poorly equipped, or reluctant, to handle children’s real issues in school life, including controversial issues, values and ‘the affective dimension of learning – feelings, emotions and relationships’ (Harber, 2004: 47). Many schools also seem to be reactive to the problems of bullying, fighting or difficult behaviour, resorting to punishment or exclusion rather than supporting children. That is why WMQPEP addresses the need for peace education in school, which offers proactive strategies to build safer learning environments, by supporting children, teachers and schools.
From a macro viewpoint, the authoritarian and hierarchical characteristics of the education system contribute to ‘structural violence’ in school (Galtung, 1975: 332), while suppressing children’s potential and autonomy, and reproducing social inequality as a result of competition and classification through schooling. Similarly, teaching in school is seen as ‘symbolic violence’ in the way which the dominant culture of dominant social groups is imposed and inculcated within the power relationships legitimatised in the education system (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977/1990: 5-6). Thus, it seems that the challenges WMQPEP faces for reducing violence and building peace in school are associated not only with individual children and their personal relationships on a micro-level, but also with the whole education system in society on a macro-level. This issue will be discussed in further detail later in the thesis.

7.6 Conclusion: A Case Study of WMQPEP

The study found that WMQPEP uses experience-based, child-centred teaching methods to promote interaction within equal relationships between children and adults. Thus, WMQPEP’s approach seems to be compatible with ‘peace’ as discussed in Chapter 2. The learning process in the project represents a model of peaceful relationships, which is particularly underpinned by ‘positive peace’ (co-operation and integration among people, as defined by Galtung, 1975: 29). While WMQPEP focuses on interpersonal skills, it does not deal with wider social issues as it does not have the aim of raising awareness of structural violence or unequal power relationships in school or in society through a macro-level approach. Thus, to some extent this can be seen as a limitation of WMQPEP’s approach.

There are certain difficulties and challenges that WMQPEP faces, in particular, because of the different values held and practices used by WMQPEP and formal schooling. The differences include contrasting ways of managing pupils’ behaviour, with WMQPEP promoting pupils’ autonomy and self-discipline, and schools’ disciplinary measures often relying on pupils’ obedience to authority.
CHAPTER 8

A Case Study of the West Midlands Quaker Peace Education Project in Practice:

(1) The Peace Maker Project in School - Aims and Practice -
8.1 Introduction

This chapter and the next chapter present a case study of the West Midlands Quaker Peace Education Project (WMQPEP) in practice through investigating the Peace Maker Project (or the ‘Peacemakers’) practised in one particular primary school in Birmingham. This chapter firstly explores the school’s previous experience of the project, which is followed by the current conditions and issues of the school and the class researched. After exploring specific aims of the project based on the needs of the class, teaching methods and resources used in the actual project are described. In this chapter, the congruence between the principles and practice of the project is also examined. The data presented in both chapters was collected from documents, observation by the researcher, questionnaires and interviews with pupils, and interviews with the head teacher, teachers, learning mentors and WMQPEP workers.

8.2 Why is the Project in the School?

8.2.1 History of Why the Project was invited

The school first invited the Peace Maker Project in 2001 because they were seeking solutions to certain problems in the school. In the interview, the head teacher explained major reasons why the school decided to have the project:

‘About 5 years ago, the school got to know the Peacemakers through a learning mentor who had worked with children having difficulties. The school is always trying to do preventive work. Rather than dealing with a problem as it happens, we want to deal with the children before we reach the problem. We thought about working closely with the Peacemakers when we learned that it included looking at conflict resolution, self-esteem and emotional intelligence. We applied the project to Year 4 as they were having a lot of difficulties. They had poor self-esteem and very low self-confidence, and they didn’t interact with each other.’

A learning mentor also thought that the project would help improve children’s behaviour:
‘Firstly, the whole reason for the Peacemakers was to initially help with the trouble we were having in a playground. Basically, mediation, conflict resolution and so on … The Peacemakers is about ideas and suggestions about conflict resolution and mediation, giving children other skills to progress from the point they are at the moment… In fact, we allowed our children to move forward.’

The school has the project mostly for Year 4 pupils. The head teacher explained one reason:

‘We mostly have the Peacemakers for Year 4, partly because of their developmental stage. We start this work in Year 4 and the children can improve when they become Year 5.’

The learning mentor also agreed that Year 4 was most appropriate for the project:

‘We always got the project at Year 4. The building of teams, the team work approach is fully established by Year 5 when things tend to get a little harder for the children. So it’s all about team building and allowing them to learn conflict resolution.’

Although the school has a problem of a high turnover of pupils, the head teacher believes that the project has created a base for pupils and the school:

‘New children are coming all the time and we have a quite high turnover of children, so sometimes our work has to be repeated for these children. But we don’t start from scratch because the other children are already used to that way of working.’

There is another reason why the school invited WMQPEP, as described by the head teacher:

‘The second reason why we adopted the project was that we were interested in it as a model for working with children at different stages of development, and as a tool for training teachers. It also fits our school policy: our work on improving behaviour of children, increasing their confidence and improving their listening and speaking skills. The idea was that staff would get skilled in the approach used by the project… Our learning mentors who work with small groups of children for special needs also use the same technique, which has impact on developing self-confidence and self-esteem of the children.’
As part of the scheme for training teachers in the school, a learning mentor participated in the project over several years and found it beneficial:

‘…it was also an in-house training for myself. Because I was quite new at the time, it was a valid experience, as I was able to sit down and watch somebody else do what I am being trained to do.’

Moreover, the learning mentor said that the funding for the project was very helpful:

‘What was really good about the Peacemakers was that there was funding available, which allowed us to have the project in our school. If it wasn’t funded, we wouldn’t be able to afford the project.’

When asked about the title of the project involving the word ‘peace’, the head teacher said that, ‘I think it’s well titled because it gets non-confrontational work and conflict resolution’.

8.2.2 The School’s Previous Experience of WMQPEP before 2005: Perceived Impact

Part of the study explored the impact of the project based on the school’s experience over the past five years. The project seems to have had positive effects on pupils both as individuals and as a group, as perceived by a WMQPEP worker during the project:

‘By the end of the sessions, many children had developed some strategies to help them make their own choices about behaviour and to ignore the inappropriate choices of others. All the children showed improvement in levels of participation and concentration in whole group and small group activities and there was a noticeable improvement in listening skills.’ (From the evaluation report by a leading project worker: 2003)

Another project worker also noticed an improvement in pupils’ relationships with others:

‘At the beginning of the course, many children found it challenging to choose children outside of their normal friendship group; this gradually improved and children who were normally excluded were encouraged to join in.’ (From the evaluation report by a leading project worker: 2004)
Similarly, a learning mentor said that many children, especially quiet children benefited from the project:

‘Yes, language building and being able to express themselves clearly. A lot of children have had that. In a circle, there would be certain children who are very quiet and are not willing to stand up and talk or not to put their hands up. But after 10 weeks, we can see changes like they often become more confident.’

The head teacher thought that the pupils learned positive attitudes from good models presented by the project:

‘Because they have good models for the children, for example, respecting others, politeness and seeing other people’s viewpoints, that’s a model to them. They also have models about being assertive, the way of accepting things, and they know exactly the things they like and what they don’t like.’

Moreover, there have been positive effects on a class as a whole, such as more integration and problem-solving among pupils themselves, as stated by the learning mentor in an interview and a report:

‘…yes, some progress has been made. On many occasions, you’ve found that children are more grouped as a class instead of sub-grouped. They are happier to resolve their conflicts and use strategies of how to get themselves out of that situation. We still use the notion of making a problem smaller instead of bigger.’

‘The class has now formed into a group, where children are now supporting and encouraging the correct behaviour. They are repeating the terminology to one another, “It’s your choice.” etc., which seems to have made a difference.’ (Form the evaluation report by the learning mentor: 2001)

The head teacher also noticed behavioural changes in the group:

‘Many positive impact: the group really came together and showed respect towards each other … The sessions had a major impact on class dynamics.’ (From the evaluation report by the head teacher: 2001)
Similarly, the project manager was surprised to see significant changes in the school in comparison to the previous visit in 2001:

‘The situation is much better than 4 years ago when children didn’t get together. It’s great that all the children can participate in the session as often a few children can’t… They learned how to calm down in different ways. They have learned different ways of working together. They integrate well together.’

Moreover, the learning mentor felt that newcomers had benefited from the project’s inclusive attitude:

‘Other benefits we have from the Peacemakers are that certainly when we have an influx of new families. All of a sudden, basically they are singled out and so on, but with the Peacemakers, we found that inclusion is very useful and the children learn through that.’

Outside the project, the following effects were noticed, as noted by the head teacher:

‘The project was for a whole term and that had a strong impact on the children. Although it did not completely or suddenly change everything, we at least found a language we could use to talk to the children about feelings or difficulties. The project, in particular, worked on both children with challenging behaviour and with quieter, more reserved children. They became more confident in talking to people and became more assertive. They also became more used to talking about their feelings to others, including adults and peers.’

‘Compared to before, such as 5-6 years ago, the atmosphere of the school is very different. Now children are much more confident in speaking and sharing with others. They talk more about their emotions when they have a bad moment, for example, when they are angry…Year 6 pupils are confident, self-assured, and have a positive set of values.’

In particular, a learning mentor noticed good effects on children at dinner and playtimes, especially on those who needed this learning:

‘Calmer personalities for the children who have always found dinner and playtimes a difficult time.’ (From the evaluation report by the learning mentor: 2001)
‘For some of the children, it has reinforced the skills being taught. However, for others it has been specific sessions on skills they lacked ... I felt that the children were taking these skills into the playground, making it a safer place for other children and taking ownership of their behaviour.’ (From the evaluation report by a learning mentor: 2003)

Having the project for several years, good effects seem to have spread to the whole school:

‘I feel that the school as a whole has seen a difference within this year group. It has created a calmer atmosphere outside in the playground.’ (From the evaluation report by a learning mentor: 2001)

The learning from the project has also been useful in the classroom, as the head teacher said:

‘In the classroom, the approach is not used in curriculum delivery, but rather as a way of discussing children’s work. Since children are encouraged to see things that are positive about themselves and other children, that makes it much easier when they are assessing their own work and each other’s work. In the project, the children have developed these skills which are transferable to class, as they often do pair work to talk about their work with their partners. As these techniques are also good in improving children’s speaking and listening, we do a lot of work on that.’

Overall, the project has contributed to the strategy of the school, according to the head teacher:

‘I wouldn’t say that it is entirely the Peacemakers that have achieved this, because we did a lot of work on emotional intelligence, Circle Time and peer mediation. We did a lot of training for that and are still developing. The Peacemakers has been added on and its philosophy helps us to back up our work.’

The school has encouraged not only teachers but also other staff to participate in and learn from the project:

‘In addition to the class teacher, two learning mentors, the lead dinner supervisors, and another class teacher who had previously worked with WMQPEP were present for one or more sessions, and a teaching assistant for most of them.’ (From the evaluation report by a WMQPEP worker: 2004)
As a result, the project seems to have benefited the school staff by providing skills which allow them to continue and develop similar work in the school:

‘The project developed the skills of the class teacher and our learning mentor. I also enjoyed the sessions and had my skills developed… the teacher developed the approach to use in other sessions.’ (From the evaluation report by the head teacher: 2001)

‘I feel that we as a school are gaining many skills with Peacemakers’ help. As the learning mentor, I use these skills in nurturing groups we run at our school.’ (From the evaluation report by a learning mentor: 2003)

‘… it was most gratifying to see how the Learning Mentor had taken on and developed the work done by the project last year, both in terms of helping small groups of children to choose more positive behaviour and supporting all classes in using Circle Time.’ (From the evaluation report by a WMQPEP worker: 2003)

Moreover, it seems that the school staff who participated in the project gained new insights into pupils, as the head teacher said:

‘We learned things about the children that we didn’t know. That had a positive impact on their general behaviour.’

Overall, the school highly values WMQPEP’s work which helps with issues they currently face:

‘The project provides good strategies not only for the children but also for staff who then are able to share the good practice with other colleagues. This in result supports the high intake of asylum seekers, the continuing turnover at the school and supporting those children who have various barriers to learning. We are located in an inner city area, where crime, violence is part of everyday life. The Peace Maker Project not only provides a good foundation for the children, families and community but enables those that take part to realise that they do have other choices.’ (From the school’s application to WMQPEP: 2005)
8.2.3 Summary: Why is the Project in the School?

The school had invited WMQPEP for two main reasons. Firstly, the project uses preventive measures for the problems of pupils with difficult behaviour and low self-esteem. Secondly, the project is a good model for training school staff to acquire skills in working with children. The project fits into the school policy for improving pupils’ behaviour, communication skills, self-confidence and emotional intelligence. Over the past years, the practice and philosophy of the project have supported the work of the school, such as the Circle Time and peer mediation. Overall, the school values good strategies provided by the project, which have supported pupils and staff under the current difficult conditions, such as an intake of asylum seekers, a high turnover of pupils, and crime and violence in an inner-city area.

8.3 Observation during the Pilot Study

Prior to the main study, the pilot study took place in the autumn term 2005 with a Year 4 class (see Section 5.4.2.2), using interviews, documents and participant observation. This section only discusses observation since other findings (see Appendix K) were similar to the main study. In the pilot study, supply teachers and a supply learning mentor participated in the project for their first time, in contrast to a Year 5 teacher in the main study, who had previous experience of the project in another school.

The observation of the project by the researcher found that there were disciplinary differences between teachers and the project worker. For example, some supply teachers often pointed out pupils’ negative behaviour. As a result, one pupil had to leave a classroom as a punishment. However, the project worker wanted teachers to stand back and not to jump in to discipline pupils since the influence of strict discipline could undermine the effect of the project. Thus, the project worker encouraged the teachers to notice pupils’ positive attitudes. Overall, the teachers’ discipline was directive, trying to keep pupils quiet all the time, partly because they did not want to trouble the project worker. On the contrary, the project worker
did not mind the pupils chatting when they were not doing any activities, and explained that, ‘the pupils don’t need to be good all the time. When discipline is directive, pupils don’t learn from it. The important thing is for the pupils to learn from their experience in the process.’

8.4 The Conditions and Issues in the School and the Class Researched

8.4.1 The Current Conditions and Issues in the School

The school official profile indicates some issues relating to social, economic and cultural backgrounds of pupils in the school, for instance, a high transient population (school mobility indicator of Key Stage 2 pupils was 46% in 2003, 48% in 2004, 57% in 2005 and 64% in 2006: DfES: 2004/2005/2006/2007) from different cultural backgrounds, including nearly 40% of Asian (Pakistani, Indian and Bangladeshi), about 14% of African, 20% of Caribbean, 5% of white European or British, and 10% of mixed race (DfES: 2004). Nearly a half of the pupils speak English as an additional language in 2004 (DfES: 2005). Also many pupils are from low-income families (pupils provided free school meals were 63% of the whole school in 2004, DfES: 2005). Furthermore, the number of pupils who were excluded permanently from the school rose from 0% to 5% after 2002 (DfES: 2003/2004).

It seems that daily practises regarding teaching and learning in the school have changed recently, as explained by a WMQPEP project worker:

‘…there have been significant changes in the day-to-day organisation of teaching and learning. Each class has a classroom and a ‘form’ teacher who takes the register in the morning. In the mornings, numeracy and literacy are set across the whole Key Stage 2, so that sets generally include children from more than one year group, and children frequently are neither taught by their class teacher nor working in their classroom either. In the afternoons, a ‘carousel’ system operates. Each week, each class has one afternoon of Science and one of ICT with dedicated teachers for each subject. The three remaining afternoons are used for other subjects, some taught by the class teacher, some not. Therefore in the course of a typical week, children are taught by 2 teachers in the mornings and 3 or 4 in the afternoons.’ (From a report of preliminary visit by a project worker: 2006)
The current system of teaching was also described by a Year 5 teacher in the interview:

‘The school has subject-based classes (ability-based groups in Maths and English) taught by specialist teachers. This style seems to becoming more popular in primary schools. Children are in smaller groups which suit to their levels and they can get more individual help as well. This seems to be effective since by the time they get through to Year 6, they are kind of closer to the others a bit more. In SAT results, they have done better than they would’ve done.’

Although there is a concern over ability-based groups with regard to pupils’ self-esteem, the teacher thought that it depends on how the situation is dealt with:

‘In terms of children’s self-esteem, they are very good at knowing who are the best and the bottom in the class. They do that anyway regardless of whether you take that system away. Also when they are put in a group where it’s more their level, they can succeed and they can feel good about it. I think that must do something for their self-esteem. But it also depends how you do it.’

The teacher continued to explain a good reason for adopting this system:

‘I always have mixed feelings about putting children into different groups as I think children would feel awful. But I think they would also feel awful when they are in a class and don’t know what teachers are talking about and everybody else does. If you are in a group, at least you can do the work, and if you can do well, teachers are pleased. That must make you feel better.’

On the other hand, it seems that this system has brought some changes in the relationships between teachers and pupils, as noted by the teacher:

‘I have to say, because of the curriculum, we don’t have much time with children anymore. I used to spend a lot more time talking with the children in a more informal way when I didn’t have to get through a whole lot of literacy lessons. These lessons actually stop me talking to the children. I used to know the children better. This is going back before, a long time ago. I would’ve known the children better, and I would’ve known about their families. I kind of think when did I do it. Because I still did teach them something and they did learn things as well. But it was more flexible.’
According to the teacher, the current system also prevents them from discussing behavioural issues in the class as they did before. The discussion could benefit other pupils in the class, but instead, now a learning mentor deals with these issues individually:

‘…certainly issues that arose in the playground or at dinner time, we would’ve talked about them in a class. But we can’t do that now. We do have a learning mentor who kind of picks up on that. But I sometimes think it would be useful for the whole class to discuss… I think that’s really important, the learning experience of children. So that’s a real shame. I think the children are gelled together better as a class when you talk about issues together.’

The role of a learning mentor was described by the project worker as follows:

‘The learning mentor supports children with particular behavioural difficulties through the weekly “Thumbs up Group” sessions. These provide the focus for thinking about their feelings and behaviour and for setting weekly targets for improvement, in conjunction with their parents.’ (From a report of preliminary visit by a project worker: 2006)

The teacher described (in the interview) existing strategies for managing pupils’ behaviour:

‘Giving out smiley faces for good behaviour such as good work, behave nicely, thinking about somebody else. And sad faces for bad behaviour, not just when they don’t listen but something quite bad, but I don’t like giving them and children know that as well. When children show bad behaviour, I talk to them first and then give them warning, and if they are still bad, and then they will have a sad face.’

The teacher also explained different levels of punishment for individual pupils:

‘There are different levels of punishment depending on the number of sad faces from one to four - one sad face; warning, two sad faces; staff room, three sad faces; going out to another class room, four sad faces; going to a head teacher.’

Similarly, the project worker reported that the school operates its behaviour management system involving certain punishments and rewards:
‘A rigorous system for behaviour management has been adopted in conjunction with the “Framework for Intervention” team so that behavioural issues are dealt with consistently by all the adults involved. A four-point “sad face” system operates for undesirable behaviours, starting with a warning and progressing to moving within the class, moving to another class to reflect upon the behaviour and finally seeing the Headteacher. A “smiley face” system operates for desirable behaviours with individual and class rewards.’ (From a report of preliminary visit by a project worker: 2006)

On the other hand, the teacher also recognised that focusing on positives is more effective in managing pupils’ behaviour than punishing for negatives:

‘Getting smiley faces has much more impact on how children behave rather than getting sad faces. They really want to get smiley faces. That is a positive thing and they know what they have to do.’

8.4.2 The Conditions and the Issues in the Class Researched

In the spring term 2006 the project was run for 29 pupils (13 girls and 16 boys) in a Year 5 class who missed out the previous year due to a lack of funding. The conditions in the class were described in the reports by the leading project worker as: the class is ethnically very mixed. The children are from at least 7 cultural backgrounds (Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Somali, Vietnamese, Afro-Caribbean, Polish and White British) and several dual heritage. Many children have English as an additional language, of which 3 children newly arrived in Britain (Somali and Polish) had limited English and get extra support. They have a broad spectrum of ability. Although none have statements of Special Educational Need, 10 have IEPs (Individual Education Plans), 2 have IBPs (Individual Behaviour Plans) and 3 boys go to ‘thumbs up group’ to receive support from the Learning Mentor (Adapted from a report of preliminary visit and the evaluation report by the leading project worker: 2006).

The pupils have previous experience of similar activities to the project, which was found in the preliminary meeting with a class teacher and the project worker as follows:
‘Circle time is timetabled weekly and takes the form of 30 minutes sitting on the carpet. The children value this time, and are very strict about the use of the talking object and the need to respect what others say without laughing. The main topics are “show & tell” where children bring important objects to share with the class, and some of the PSHE curriculum which usually involves paired discussion. They have not formally done work on conflict resolution; [a class teacher’s name] talks about issues as and when they arise.’ (From a report of preliminary visit by the project worker: 2006)

In the meeting, the project worker also found some issues in the class as follows:

‘[A class teacher’s name] knows the children very well, having also taught them in Year 3. She feels that relationships amongst children and between children and adults are generally good and describes them as a ‘nice affirmative class’. Her major concern is a sub-group of 5 recently-arrived Somali boys who do not mix with either the Somali girls nor the other boys. This has led to a ‘them and us’ mentality with reports from other boys of name-calling and subsequent retaliation. She would very much like this to change and for all the children to mix peaceably together.’ (From the report of preliminary visit by the project worker: 2006)

The head teacher also commented on this issue concerning newly arrived Somali boys, and a conflict of different cultural values:

‘There are issues about cultural diversity and different family backgrounds that children belong to, and we have to work hard on that because it affects all the children. Particularly, Somali children who are new, have a conflict with other children, especially in Year 5 group. There is an issue between the Somali children and other children about certain values depending on where they come from. For example, the boys and the girls are separating in the Year 5 group, and we’ve never had that before. Children have always been mixed...It is a very recent thing.’

The head teacher continued that pupils should learn to value people regardless of their backgrounds:

‘I think we should challenge that as it’s not right that they are separated... We need to value people whatever gender they are, and whatever culture they are. Children have to understand this, and they should make a choice to do that. I know that one of the greatest
aims of the Peacemakers is to deal with this kind of issue, and the children can talk about it in different ways. And, of course, you can’t say to them what they’ve got to do. That wouldn’t work. You have to get them to understand things like human rights or religions, and that all of us are important as persons… Our school policy is that you don’t discriminate against people on the basis of any religions, gender or whatever. And the children have to know that.’

8.4.3 Summary: the Conditions and Issues in the School at the Time of the Research

In this inner-city school, many pupils are from low-income families or/and from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. There is a high transience rate, and many arrive at the school with little or no English. Due to changes in the organisation of teaching and learning, core subjects are taught according to pupils’ ability, and teachers have less time with the pupils of their class and less opportunity to deal with behavioural issues in the class. Instead, a learning mentor sorts out behavioural issues individually. The school has adopted a rigorous behaviour management system to deal with behavioural issues consistently by all the adults involved.

The class, which is the subject of the research, has pupils from various cultural backgrounds, and many use English as an additional language. The pupils have a wide range of ability both academically and behaviourally, and many require extra support. There are some issues such as disintegration and conflict between pupils. This situation seems to be rooted in different values and a “them and us” mentality. For the head teacher, this situation is against the school policy of non-discrimination.

8.5 The Aims and Objectives of the Project

8.5.1 The Needs of the Class Researched

In the preliminary meeting with the project worker and a class teacher (including the researcher), the format and content of the project were discussed. The important reasons for having a preliminary meeting were noted by one WMQPEP worker as: (1) to identify the particular responsibilities of the adults involved, and (2) to reach a clearer understanding of
how WMQPEP’s work fits into the whole school development needs and the issues of the
class I would be working with. (From the evaluation report by a project worker: 2004)

The class teacher had a positive understanding of WMQPEP’s work since she participated
in the project at a different school before and was impressed with the way it improved
relationships in a challenging class. There was a specific issue identified by the school and the
class teacher: group dynamics, including separation between boys and girls as well as
between different ethnic groups, especially because of a high turnover and the influx of new
pupils who had not settled well in the class; 1/3 of the boys had arrived less than a year ago.
The teacher wanted the pupils to improve all kinds of communication and problem-solving
skills, commenting that, ‘I want children to deal with problems by themselves first. If they
can’t do it, then they should ask for adults’ help.’ This is because she felt that ‘many children
have a tendency to rush into a problem and would benefit from a more structured and detailed
approach to analysing and managing problems.’ The class teacher also felt that the children
‘would benefit from learning techniques to stand back and assess a situation before rushing in
and retaliating.’ (From a report of preliminary visit by the project worker: 2006)

8.5.2 The Aims of the Project

The general aim of the project is to improve skills of co-operation, communication,
affirmation and problem-solving. A specific aim for the class, which was requested by the
teacher above, was to improve communication and problem-solving skills. There are also the
aims set up for each week according to the needs and the level of the group as follows (from
the programme plans):

Week 1: Introduce Peacemaker project/ Build trust and ease

Week 2: Build trust and ease/ Begin work on devising ground rules for the group

Week 3: Continue to build trust and ease/ Continue devising ground rules for the group/
Begin co-operative group work to move the tables
Week 4: Reconnect with the group (after 4 weeks break due to a school closure and a half term)/ Finalise ground rules/ Continue co-operative group work to move the tables

Week 5: Focus on integration and inclusion in the group/Identify and practise good listening

Week 6: Continue activities which promote communication between all members of the group/ Practise greeting each other with respect and explore the non-verbal signs of respect/ Find out more about each other

Week 7: Continue using different greetings, and activities to promote communication/ Explore a feelings vocabulary/ Identify what children fall out over at school

Week 8: Continue using different greetings, and activities to promote communication/ Explore what makes conflicts escalate and how we feel about them

Week 9: Continue using different greetings, and activities to promote communication/ Explore how we can stop conflicts growing

Week 10: Have fun and make a good ending/ Affirm each other/ Review what we have learned and reiterate that we each have skills to be Peacemakers

8.6 The Project in Practice

8.6.1 The General Structure and Patterns of the Project

The project has a similar basic structure which is used each week while different games and activities are practised, depending on the ability and progress of the pupils. The general structure and pattern were identified by the researcher through observation.

(1) General structure

- **Introduction**
- **Moving tables and chairs to make a circle**: everyone involves as a member of a group
- **Badges**: giving out badges to identify everyone
- **Name round**: saying name and do actions (e.g. clapping rhythm then a whole group repeats)
- **Circle Time skills**: learning the 5 skills of circle time: thinking, looking, listening, speaking and concentrating, and then all practise with actions
- **Rules revision**: reviewing Peacemaker rules set up by the class
- **Games**: playing mixing-up games or/and category games and reflect on the experience
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- **Feedback**: reviewing what they did the previous week
- **Activity** in small groups or/and in a whole group to learn communication and cooperation
- **Slogan**: pupils hold cards that make a sentence which contains a theme for the session
- **Affirmation** (‘Hotseat’): making positive statements about a child sat in the middle of a circle
- **Closing round**: reflecting on the session, and tell others, such as what they have enjoyed
- **Moving tables and chairs back**

(2) General pattern

1. Explain rules and the process of a game or activity. Before or during the game or activity, a project worker asks children their ideas, thoughts and feelings. Questions include: “What does everybody need to do while someone is talking?”, “What skills will you need to use?”

2. While children experience the game or activity, the project worker stops them every time they have some problems or difficulties, and asks their ideas of what they have done (e.g. What happened? What didn’t go well? Why? How can we do it better next time?)

3. Try again to do it better or do similar things which are more advanced. After the activity, children are asked some questions to reflect on their experience: “What happened? Why?”, “What were the problems?”, “How did you feel when...?”, “What choices did people make to help that game go well?”, “What did we do well?”, “What skills did we use to make that work?”, “What did you learn?”, “What rules might we need for that game? Why?”

8.6.2 The Methods and Resources used in the Project

Appendix L presents the actual project based on observation by the researcher and the programme plans prepared by the leading project worker. The first part portrays ongoing activities which happen in most weeks, while the second part describes specific activities practised each week. This section is set out in table form to summarise the objectives, teaching methods and resources used in the project. Some comments are based on observation of classroom practice, including pupils’ responses to different activities and their reflections on the experience in the learning process. The analysis of teaching methods in relation to the principles of the project is provided later in this chapter.
8.6.3 Discussion: The Congruence between the Principles and Practice of WMQPEP

In this section, the practice of WMQPEP is analysed in the light of its principles (see Chapter 6), including the issue of congruence between the principles and practice of WMQPEP.

WMQPEP stated that its project has the two aspects of peace education: ‘education for peace’ to improve peaceful relationships, and ‘education about peace’ to improve understanding of peace and conflict and offer the means of conflict resolution in school.

Regarding the first aspect of peace education, the actual project was designed to improve peacemaking skills (communication, co-operation, affirmation and problem-solving skills) as the basis of peaceful relationships. The principles of the project were consistent with the actual project in which games and activities promoted these skills. Communication involves speaking clearly (e.g. giving out badges with greeting), listening to others (e.g. good and bad listening) and expressing ideas, thoughts and feelings (e.g. making ‘feeling statues’). Co-operation involves taking turns (e.g. Name round), sharing ideas, helping each other (e.g. a game ‘Co-operative Five’), working together (e.g. moving tables and chairs) and taking responsibility for actions. Affirmation involves everybody’s participation (e.g. ‘Koosh ball’), an inclusion of different ethnic and cultural groups (e.g. a game ‘Fives’ and greeting in different languages), recognising each other (e.g. greeting with respect), and making positive statements about each other (e.g. Hotseat). Problem-solving involves identifying problems (e.g. by asking pupils, ‘What happened?’), discussing different solutions to problems (e.g. by asking pupils, ‘What can you do to make it work better next time?’) and making their own decisions (e.g. conflict-related activity). Moreover, the principles that WMQPEP believes in, including the importance of building peace in daily life experience, were reflected in activities such as ‘Finding similarities and differences’ in which pupils share information about each other in order to build trusting relationships. For the second aspect ‘education about peace,’ the project involved conflict-related activities in which pupils identified a range of relationships, feelings and the causes of conflict. While each activity focused on specific skills,
there was coherence in a session relating to the themes and objectives of each session.

In accordance with the aims, the actual project focused more on education for peace (based on interpersonal relationships and relevant skills) than education about peace (concerning peace and conflict in the wider world). WMQPEP’s project follows the general trend of peace education: a micro level of approach seems to be more common in primary schools as part of the PSHE curriculum, while a macro level approach might be used more in secondary school as part of citizenship education (Citizenship Advisory Group, 1998; Harber, 2002b: 231).

In the light of the principles of using child-centred, experience-based learning, there is consistency between the principles and practice found in the actual project. The activities and the project worker’s attitude also reflect the values underpinning the principles, such as inclusion, equality and autonomy of children. According to recent research, the approach used in the project is commonly found in similar types of peace education programmes practised around the world. For example, Synott (2005: 12) points out that the learning process in peace education found in recent research is mainly based on experience and activity through participation, interaction and reflection, rather than learning based on memorisation or repetition. Synott (2005: 12) particularly emphasises the crucial principle of experience-based learning as: ‘You cannot indoctrinate peace education.’ Further evaluation of the congruence between the principles and practice of WMQPEP is presented in Appendix M.

Overall, the findings discussed here and in Appendix M suggest that there is consistency between the principles and practice of the project. The study of the actual project also confirms that WMQPEP uses a conflict resolution approach to peace education, which generally focuses on improving interpersonal relationships by developing skills in communication and management of interpersonal conflicts (Harris and Morrison, 2003: 72-3). While WMQPEP’s project involves behavioural and emotional aspects of peace education, Nevo and Brem’s (2002: 274) study found that many programmes in the world focus on rationality with little attention to these aspects.
CHAPTER 9

A Case Study of the West Midlands

Quaker Peace Education Project in Practice:

(2) The Impact of the Project, Comparison of the Project with Normal Lessons, and Issues Facing Current Peace Education
9.1 Introduction

This chapter first explores the impact of the project, and then examines congruence between the impact found in the research and the outcomes expected by WMQPEP. These findings are compared with evaluation of other peace education programmes. Moreover, the practice of WMQPEP is compared with normal lessons in the school from the participants’ perceptions. Lastly, the issues and challenges facing current peace education in schools and its possibilities are explored.

9.2 The Impact of the Project

The impact of the project on participants in one case study school was investigated through interviews and questionnaires with the participants (pupils and a class teacher), an interview with the leading project worker, her reports on the project, and observation of participants by the researcher during the project.

9.2.1 Pupils’ Perceptions of the Impact of the Project

The effects of the project on pupils were explored from their own viewpoints. The data is based on group interviews after the project, and questionnaires taken before and after the project (see Appendix C). Pupils’ responses, which are not described as questionnaire results, are all from the interviews. Overall, the pupils had positive responses to the project.

(1) Enjoyment

Enjoying the project (the ability to have fun together) is an important part of affirmation, as stated by WMQPEP. Almost all the pupils said they enjoyed most of the project including games, activities and group work. The reasons for the enjoyment were not only because of the fun but also what they experienced and how they felt:
‘I enjoyed all the games and activities because they were good fun and I learned something, like respecting people, do not fight.’

‘I felt happier and enjoyed it because everybody smiled. Somebody said nice things and made people laugh.’

Several children said that they enjoyed working together:

‘We enjoyed games, activities and group work because they were really fun and we got more co-operation.’

‘I enjoyed team work and working with other people.’

Many pupils said that they enjoyed getting to know their classmates through activities:

‘I like everything but what I like most is to get to know more about my classmates.’

‘I enjoyed learning more about my friends and classmates.’

‘I liked the activities with partners because you get to learn stuff about other people.’

Similar responses were found in the questionnaires which examined a change in the pupils’ attitudes towards their classmates before and after the project. A means of gauging impact used here was + or − 3 as a rough indicator suggesting change. With the question, ‘I know most of my classmates very well’, the number of ‘Yes’ responses increased by more than 3 between the beginning and end of the project.

Several pupils said that they liked Hotseat in which other pupils make positive comments about them:

‘I liked Hotseat because you get a chance to tell people how you feel about them.’

‘Hotseat, because everyone gets to say good things about you as you sit in the middle.’

They also enjoyed watching adults acting. Other things they enjoyed were giving out badges, learning different languages (for greetings and counting numbers), learning new things and Name Round. One pupil said that ‘It stimulates your brain.’
On the other hand, some pupils said that they didn’t like the project when others were using bad language or telling a lie, getting upset or noisy. While one pupil didn’t like ‘sitting next to people who I don’t like’, many pupils said that they didn’t like others to ruin the enjoyment of the project through ‘cheating in games’, ‘not wanting to co-operate’, ‘spoiling what we are doing’, ‘interrupting others’, ‘not paying attention’ and ‘talking when a teacher was talking.’

(2) Perceived Success

Many pupils thought that they and their classmates did well in the project. Some said that they did well to ‘behave well’ and ‘not to fight’, while others said that they did well to give feedback or ‘we waited patiently when giving out the name badges’. In particular, many answers were related to communication and co-operation, which are core elements of learning in the project. Comments about communicating well include: ‘reading out badges and saying hello to people in different languages’; ‘communicating with other people’; and ‘listening to questions and answering’. They also experienced good co-operative skills during the project such as: ‘playing games with others’; ‘working in a team’; and ‘working together as a class.’ Some pupils made particular comments on class co-operation:

‘Everyone worked together in the games.’

‘Everyone worked well together in Hotseats by making people feel good about each other.’

‘I think everyone did well in moving chairs and tables.’

(3) Learning

When asked what they learned in the Peacemakers and whether they learned anything that would be useful in class or in the playground, many pupils said that they ‘learned about good relationships’:

‘We learnt about relationships with our friends such as working together and helping each other.’
‘I learnt about relationships and we played together.’

Regarding relationships, they also learned ‘to get along with other people’ and to ‘be happy with your classmates.’ Other pupils said that, ‘I learned how to make more friends’ and ‘I made more friends’.

While some pupils seemed to have improved their self-confidence or self-control, which is the basis of good relationships, many pupils said that they learned attitudes and behaviour concerning good communication, co-operation or affirmation. The answers relating to communication skills and self-confidence include:

‘Don’t be shy when you do something with other people or say something in front of other people.’

‘I learnt how to communicate with my eyes; eye-contact.’

‘I learnt how to speak to others.’

Some pupils learned to ‘speak out loud,’ became ‘more confident to speak up in a group,’ or learned to ‘talk to people more nicely’ as well as ‘listen carefully.’ Many pupils thought that the project helped them to understand other people:

‘I learned to understand other people’s feelings.’

‘Some people bully and make people get upset because they have their own problems.’

‘I learnt other things about friends and classmates, like what’s important to them.’

In terms of learning relating to co-operation, some pupils said that they learned ‘how to work with different people’ and ‘how to move the tables around - teamwork; build your team effort.’ Other answers include:

‘I learnt to work together with people and to share with others.’

‘I learnt to co-operate and to pay attention to the teaching.’
The answers regarding affirmation include: ‘I learnt how to say hello in several languages’; ‘I learnt how to count 1 to 5 in other people’s languages’; and ‘I learnt attitudes to be nice to people’. Moreover, the project helped pupils to consider their behaviour:

‘It helps you to stop getting into fighting.’

‘I learnt ways to stop you getting angry, ways to stop conflicts getting bigger and ways to be a Peacemaker.’

‘It helps you to learn ideas like how to make life better and how to stop fights before it gets worse instead of ideas to make the fights worse.’

‘I learnt how to calm down.’

‘It is educational because you learn about friends and good behaviour like not fighting, not to get angry, not to swear and not shouting.’

In particular, the pupils seemed to have learned some strategies to control their behaviour and emotions as well as helping other people who are in difficult situations:

‘Think before you act.’

‘Tell them to remember the good things they do and remind them not to ruin themselves by getting into fights.’

‘If some people start to fight with you, just ignore it or go to teachers. If somebody hits you, you just ignore them. That’s what I learnt.’

‘Count 1 to 10 (to calm down) if I am angry.’

‘Don’t fight and you press the stop button.’

Other strategies that they learned to control their own behaviour and the behaviour of others include: ‘how to stop arguments’; ‘stopping arguments before they happen’; ‘try to keep out of trouble as much as possible and to get along with people’; ‘be brave to stop fights’; ‘calm them down’; and ‘Don’t be mean. If someone is being mean to you, just walk away.’ One pupil said, ‘I learnt how to be a good Peacemaker.’
(4) The Values in the Peace Maker Project

When asked ‘what is a good Peacemaker like?’, many pupils came up with the idea of ‘not fighting,’ including answers such as: ‘not arguing’; ‘helps to stop fighting’; ‘not to fight’; and ‘stop fights and get on with people.’ Similarly, others thought of some strategies such as ‘mediation’ or ‘when you get angry and want to shout, you can think of something else’.

Many pupils also thought that being a peacemaker is about making good relationships, such as ‘you have to get along with each other’ and ‘make as many friends as possible,’ as well as caring about others ‘by understanding other people’ or ‘cheering people up’.

Some pupils stressed affirmative attitudes, including ‘making people feel good about themselves,’ being able to ‘make people smile’ or ‘make people happy by smiling’. Others emphasised the value of co-operation, such as ‘to share with others’; ‘to work together’; ‘to help each other’; and to ‘give people a chance to talk’. Several pupils referred to the value of equality or equal respect: ‘treat everyone the same’; ‘everyone is equal’; and ‘respecting everyone in the world’. One pupil thought that ‘creative thinking’ is important to make peace.

Some pupils associated peacemakers with good attitudes, including ‘be kind,’ ‘sensible’ ‘gentle,’ ‘calm,’ ‘friendly,’ ‘happy’ and ‘nice to others’.

Responses to the questionnaires (see Appendix C.3) conducted before and after the project suggest some changes in pupils’ attitudes and values. For one of the open-ended questions, ‘I am proud of myself because …’, the number of answers mentioning their helpful attitudes and good relationships with friends increased after the project (from 13 to 17) (e.g. I like sorting people’s problems, I can be trusted, I have good friends, I am a really good friend, I share, I am kind, I am helpful, I made new friends, I don’t fight, I take care of my friends). Answers regarding their own performance decreased (from 11 to 4) (e.g. I got a gold award in school, I do the right thing, I can finish my work, I have achieved a lot of things in my life, I am good at football, I am good at maths). This change in the type of responses suggests that after the project there was an increase in the number of pupils who value relationships more than their
own performance. However, in another similar question, ‘I am good at …’, there was no change in the number of answers referring to relationships and performance before and after the project.

For the question, ‘I am a good friend because…’, although there was no change in the number of answers regarding supportive or friendly attitudes (e.g. I care about my friends, I help them when there is a trouble, I cheer up people, I taught my friends playing football, I make my friends happy, I help my friends when they are down or sad, or they hurt or cry), answers relating to certain qualities such as trustworthiness (3 answers - e.g. I am trustworthy, I don’t tell a lie), co-operation (3 answers - e.g. I get along with others, I share ideas) and inclusive attitudes (1 answer - e.g. I don’t leave people out), which are part of the focus of the project, were mentioned only after the project. This suggests that the pupils became more aware of the value of these qualities as a result of learning in the project.

Regarding changes in pupils’ perceptions of their classmates, for the question: ‘I like my friends because …’, the number of answers mentioning trustful attitudes (e.g. I trust them, not being two-faced, they look out for me, they are keeping secrets) increased (from 2 to 9). This suggests that more pupils value trust which is promoted in the project. Furthermore, in the question, ‘Things I like about my class are …,’ co-operation (6 answers - e.g. they work as a team, they share things, we all work together) and sympathy (3 answers - e.g. they understand people’s feelings, they will play with you if you don’t have someone to play with) were only mentioned after the project. This suggests that the pupils noticed that their classmates were better able to work together and understand others as a result of the project.

(5) The Influence of the Peace Maker Project

When asked whether the project helped them in anyway, many pupils said that it helped them to improve their behaviour and attitudes, such as ‘not shouting,’ ‘not to be angry at someone,’ ‘not to be vicious’ and ‘not to shout but keep it inside’. In particular, many pupils described
good attitudes as ‘to be kind’ as well as ‘polite,’ ‘courteous’ and ‘patient’. Several pupils also used the word ‘calm’ or ‘calm down’ as a good state of mind, such as ‘I learned to be calm’. Other similar responses include:

‘It changed our behaviour. When people are bad, you can try to be good.’

‘It has changed attitudes. When you get angry, you know how to calm down yourself and for others as well.’

Many pupils also said that the project helped them ‘not to fight,’ ‘not to argue,’ ‘not to bully,’ ‘to ignore bad things’ or ‘not to mess around’. This is a conversation between a boy and a girl from different cultural backgrounds which are in cultural conflict with each other:

(A boy said) ‘It helped me and my friend to improve our behaviour. I don’t fight much.’
(And a girl said) ‘He still fights but less than before. When some people tease him, he takes it in the wrong way, and he starts fights. He used to fight a lot but not so much now’.

As alternatives to fighting, it seems that the pupils learned better ways to communicate, including ‘listening to other people,’ which was mentioned by several pupils. Others also said that: ‘I learnt not to swear but to talk,’ ‘When someone is speaking, you shouldn’t interrupt,’ ‘Don’t swear with no reason’ and ‘not talking at the wrong times’. For good communication, it is important to understand people. Several pupils said that the project helped them ‘to understand other people’s feelings’ and ‘to learn that you might not see something as important but it is important to someone else’. Overall, the result suggests that the pupils learned ‘how to make good relationships’, including paying ‘respect’ to others and ‘caring for each other.’

‘Yes. By getting to know people, I can get on with people and not have fights with them.’

‘It helps me to be a Peacemaker. Work hard and get along with each other.’
Furthermore, it seems that the pupils became more aware of the environment around them:

‘I learnt to know about things that are dangerous.’

‘It helped me to think about things around me like if they are safe.’

Several pupils also said that the project helped them ‘to think’ more before they act:

‘I learned to think before you speak.’

‘I learned to think about things before I do it.’

Many pupils said that they learned ‘team work and co-operation’ and to ‘help others’:

‘It helped us work as a class.’

‘I learnt to look out for people when they have problems and they need help.’

‘It helped us build our teamwork as a class.’

‘It helps people to be responsible.’

In accordance with these interview results regarding co-operation, similar questionnaire responses were given to the questions about their own attitudes. The number of ‘Yes’ answers to the question: ‘I help most of my classmates when they need it’ increased by more than 3 after the project. On the other hand, when asked their perceptions of their classmates’ attitudes, the result was more complicated. In the three questions asking pupils to respond to these statements: ‘Most of my classmates play nicely with other children,’ ‘Most of my classmates work well in groups’ and ‘Most of my classmates are good at sharing their ideas with others,’ the number of ‘Yes’ answers increased by 4 or 5. However, in the questions about these statements: ‘Most of my classmates help other children when they need it’ and ‘Most of my classmates are good at understanding other people’s feelings,’ the number of ‘Yes’ answers decreased by 3. This suggests that pupils noticed or experienced more difficulties in acknowledging others’ need for help or understanding each other, while their contact with others increased.
Moreover, the interview results suggest that the project helped pupils gain self-confidence: ‘It built my confidence,’ ‘It makes me feel proud of myself.’ One pupil said, ‘It’s inspiring’. Overall, many pupils made positive comments on the project such as ‘great’, ‘brilliant’, ‘excellent’, ‘wonderful’, ‘fantastic’, ‘fun, nice and funny’. Other comments include:

‘In Hotseat, you could say something about yourself like your progress or what you did well. You could do that in the future.’

‘It’s like an advanced class to help you how to work out fights.’

‘It’s not time wasting – like normal lessons.’

‘My sister likes it even though she hasn’t been to it.’

Questionnaire responses regarding the pupils’ relationships with their classmates were interesting. With the question, ‘I get along with most of my classmates’, although the number of both ‘Yes’ (from 18 to 15) and ‘No’ (from 4 to 0) decreased, the number of ‘Not sure’ increased. This could be as a result of pupils mixing with others who are not their close friends and whom they do not normally play with. Overall, there was no major or significant change in the questionnaire results. This is partly because the sample was small while there was no control group with which to compare. On the other hand, the overall interview result suggests a positive impact on the pupils.

9.2.2 Teacher’s Perception of the Impact of the Project

To explore the effects of the project on the pupils as well as on the teacher, interviews with the teacher were undertaken twice, three weeks after the project and three months after the project. First, however, the teacher was asked about her expectations of the project.

(1) Expectation and the Result

In general, the teacher expected ‘affirmation; saying things in positive ways, co-operation games’ from the project. Also, as the teacher told the project worker in the preliminary
meeting, the class had a certain issue. The following is the teacher’s response just after the project:

‘In particular, there was a plan to deal with a specific issue in the class, relating to group dynamics, particularly the new influx of children who had not settled well in the class. I realised that the issue was even more of a problem than I thought.’

It seems that the teacher did not find much improvement in the integration of the newly arrived pupils three weeks after the project finished. Although the problem was more serious than the teacher realised, she felt that it was something the class could work on:

‘In the playground or when the children are together, it hasn’t had the magical effect, so it proves that it is a bigger issue than I realised. But I think this [a division between different gender and ethnic groups] is the sort of issue that we will be able to develop because this is the sort of thing that they choose to do. I think that we will be able to speak quite openly about that, so certainly we will be able to follow up.’

(2) The Impact of the Project on the Pupils

• 3 Weeks after the Project

The teacher felt that one benefit of the project to pupils was an improvement in the ability to affirm each other:

‘It seems that the children have got more used to affirming others and are able to be pleased with others even though they had to give up something or give away some opportunities. For example, something happened this afternoon. When only two children were selected to do interesting jobs while everybody wanted to do them, they were able to applaud the lucky ones even though they were disappointed. That was quite an unusual reaction.’

As another effect, she felt that pupils seemed to show more respect for others:

‘It also seems that the children have become more respectful to other children, for instance, they can concentrate more on listening to other children with respect and interest.’
The teacher also noticed that quiet pupils gained more confidence in communication:

‘There were a lot of children who didn’t say anything at the beginning and they became more confident. For example, quiet children were able to speak in front of others.’

It seems that the pupils learned to control their behaviour and became more aware of other people and of the consequence of their own actions:

‘Children who have behavioural difficulties have learned how to channel their behaviour and how to behave more appropriately. They think more about the impact of their actions on others. The children think more about making choices and taking other people’s perspectives.’

The pupils seemed to accept each other more than before, and the teacher thought that they learned this attitude in one particular affirmation activity:

‘The children are getting more tolerant of each other. I think that is learning from one of the activities in which the children tried to find something different in each other as well as something we can share. That was good.’

The teacher also noticed that particular individuals became calmer or got along with others:

‘I can’t say it is only because of the Peacemakers but I particularly noticed that one of the boys calmed down a lot after the Easter holidays. Other boys are getting on better with each other…Certain children are also more able to get on well with others.’

It also seems that the pupils were more able to listen attentively:

‘When we had a presentation by one of the children who talked about West African culture today, they listened to her very quietly with interest and asked her a lot of questions. It seemed that their attitudes were improving.’

- **3 months after the Project**

The teacher noticed that the newly arrived boys were better integrated with the class, although she felt that there was still a division between boys and girls to a certain degree:
‘It seems that Somali boys have integrated more with other boys in the class, in particular after one Somali boy left the school, so the lesser number could also be the reason. Boys and girls are still separated in general though.’

The teacher still felt that 3 months after the project, some pupils were more confident in expressing themselves and more self-confident generally:

‘Quieter children have become more confident. It’s difficult to tell for some of the children as I actually don’t teach them in my numeracy and literacy groups, but there is one girl who is certainly more able in SAT in literacy and numeracy, and has become more confident. I think the thing about speaking out in front of other people is that when they realise they can do it, they can do it in lessons.’

(3) The Impact of the Project on the Teacher

It seems that the project had benefited the teacher in many ways. The teacher said that:

‘The technique used in the Peacemakers is very useful. The actual style of relationship with somebody; when you know your class very well, that is very effective. Once you establish the relationship with children and then they know you, that works.’

According to the teacher, she had adopted some aspects of the project in the classroom, including a positive way of perceiving things, the use of positive language, and different ways of talking about feelings:

‘I started using the technique that I learnt from my last experience of the Peacemakers - trying to say a very negative thing in a positive way, and changing the language. I also picked up some different things that had worked, such as different ways of talking to children and getting them to think about how they feel. For example, when they laugh at someone who makes a mistake in a class, I ask them how they would feel.’

The teacher also found it beneficial to see how well random groupings worked:

‘When children were put into groups and it looked as if it was done randomly, I was amazed to see how they worked together. It was very impressive. I think if I make groups and it looks as if I have chosen them, it won’t work so well. This is something I can do.’
During the project, the teacher also said that:

‘I was pleased to see pupils working and talking with others who are not their friends. I also found it interesting to see different reactions and new sides of pupils.’

9.2.3 Project Worker’s Perception of the Impact of the Project

The following was the leading project worker’s impression of the class at the beginning:

‘My experience was that the class felt like a mix of very different sub-groups, with a huge range in terms of social and interpersonal ability. This was expressed most specifically in a boy-girl divide, within which the small group of 5 Somali boys definitely isolated themselves from everyone else.’ (From the evaluation report by the project worker: 2006)

In the interview after the project, the project worker reported that pupils generally had positive reactions to the project. Regarding the effect of the project, she said that ‘the work was worthwhile, although perhaps did not achieve as much as I or [the class teacher’s name] had hoped.’ When asked whether there were any changes in the relationships between the pupils and in their overall behaviour, the project worker said that:

‘The children are still divided in different sub-groups but a lot of improvement can be seen in individual children, for example, they have become more confident, more controlled when they are overexicted, take the whole process more seriously, take more responsibility and try harder. It means that they have the capacity, but it’s a different matter whether these attitudes will be sustained later or not.’

Although the class did not become entirely integrated, the project worker noticed some positive signs to form the basis of further improvement:

‘As children’s own languages are used in some games and activities, it seemed that some of the newly arrived children from Poland or Somalia felt accepted. Although the project has prepared the ground work for the class, the work is not seen as satisfactory in the short term, and more work needs to follow in the longer term.’
With regard to the relationship between the pupils and the teacher, the project worker did not find much change during the project:

‘The children rely on their class teacher, and this tendency hasn’t changed.’

The project worker noticed some improvement in pupils’ ability to co-operate:

‘They became more able to work in pairs and in random groups without natural leaders or adults.’

On the other hand, it seems that their ability to work together was often hampered by a feeling of insecurity, as described by the project worker:

‘The ability or desire of the class to work and play together was very variable, with some great moments of cohesion but others where individuals or sub-groups felt insecure and disparate, so that I had to keep returning to ‘basics’… Despite various activities designed to encourage mixing within the class, many children used the slightest opportunity to regroup themselves into their habitual gender/cultural groupings. I think that [a class teacher’s name] was disappointed that by the end of the project, the Somali boys were still not integrated, and in fact were involved in considerable difficulties across the school.’ (From the evaluation report by the project worker: 2006)

As for changes in pupils’ communication skills, their ability to listen seemed to have increased, as the project worker said in the interview that, ‘Yes, they can concentrate more on listening to others.’ Regarding the ability to affirm each other:

‘Most of the children were able to say hello to anybody in Name Round. They were also able to challenge others who had negative attitudes.’

In terms of changes in pupils’ self-esteem and confidence:

‘Although some improvement can be seen, there is still a fundamental lack of confidence and self-esteem in many children.’
9.2.4 Researcher’s Perception of the Impact of the Project

From observation of the project, the researcher noticed some changes in pupils’ behaviour, similar to those reported above. On an individual level, at the start of the project a few pupils always spoke but later in the project more pupils who had not spoken before put their hands up to speak. In particular, some quiet girls started expressing their ideas in front of others with confidence. As for listening, while they were often distracted at the beginning, they became more able to concentrate and remember what was said. On a group level, at the beginning of the project, the class was totally divided by gender. For example, they always sat with their own group of friends after the break. However, later in the project, during a break some boys and girls were playing a game together which they had learned in previous sessions. Therefore, it seems that the boys and girls were interacting more.

Moreover, pupils became more self-controlled towards the end of the project and needed less help from adults for group work. Also, when working individually for table work, they were able to work more independently and to think for themselves in comparison to the earlier table work when they had often copied one another.

The influence of the project was also seen in the teacher who started using the same approach, for example, clapping hands to get pupils’ attention rather than shouting at them, or asking questions to remind the pupils what they had learned.

9.2.5 Summary: The Overall Impact of the Project

The following are major points concerning the impact of the project. The findings show positive impact relating to core elements of the project (communication, co-operation, affirmation and problem-solving skills). The details of the effects are more complex, however.
(1) The Impact on Pupils

- Communication

Speaking and Listening

From the pupils’ viewpoints
- They learned different kinds of communication (both verbal and non-verbal)
- They built confidence in expressing their opinions, ideas and feelings

From the teacher’s viewpoint
- They became able to listen attentively
- They became more able to express themselves

From the project worker’s viewpoint
- Pupils improved their ability to concentrate on listening

From the researcher’s viewpoint
- They became more confident in speaking in a circle
- They became able to communicate with anybody in the circle

Emotional Literacy

From the pupils’ viewpoints
- They learned to control their emotions (e.g. anger)
- They learned to control themselves and ignore people who disturb them
- They learned to understand other people’s feelings

From the teacher’s viewpoint
- They became more able to control their behaviour and to stay calm
- They can understand other people’s feelings better

From the researcher’s viewpoint
- They have a deeper understanding of their own and others’ feelings
• **Co-operation**

  **From the pupils’ viewpoints**
  - They learned to work together as a class, help each other and share their ideas

  **From the teacher’s viewpoint**
  - They worked well in random groups

  **From the project worker’s viewpoint**
  - They became more able to work in pairs and in random groups without leaders or adults

  **From the researcher’s viewpoint**
  - They became more able to help each other

• **Affirmation**

  **Affirmation Skills**

  **From the pupils’ viewpoints**
  - They learned to affirm each other by making positive comments
  - Almost all the pupils enjoyed the project

  **From the teacher’s viewpoint**
  - Their ability to affirm each other has increased
  - They became more tolerant of each other, knowing their differences and similarities
  - They became more able to take other people’s perspectives

  **From the project worker’s viewpoint**
  - There is an improvement in affirming each other

**Self-confidence and Self-esteem**

  **From the pupils’ viewpoints**
  - They became more confident in their abilities

  **From the teacher’s viewpoint**
  - They gained more confidence in themselves

  **From the project worker’s viewpoint**
  - Some became more confident but there was still a fundamental lack of confidence and self-esteem in many children
• **Problem-solving**

  **From the pupils’ viewpoints**
  - They learned to think before they act, and became more responsible for their actions
  - They became more aware of others and the environment around them
  - They learned about conflict and ways to stop conflict escalating

  **From the teacher’s viewpoint**
  - They became more considerate of their actions and their effects

  **From the researcher’s viewpoint**
  - They were able to work more independently without help from adults
  - They learned to identify a problem and come up with different ideas for managing it

• **Behaviour**

  **From the pupils’ viewpoints**
  - They learned not to fight, shout or argue
  - They developed some strategies to deal with difficult situations
  - They learned positive behaviour (e.g. concentration, paying attention, being calm or kind)
  - They became more able to make their own choices about appropriate behaviour

  **From the teacher’s viewpoint**
  - They learned how to channel their behaviour and how to behave more appropriately
  - They became more able to control their behaviour and to stay calm
  - They became more aware of the impact of their actions on others
  - They became able to think more about making choices

  **From the project worker’s viewpoint**
  - They became more able to control their behaviour when overexcited
  - They became more able to challenge others who had negative attitudes

  **From the researcher’s viewpoint**
  - There was an improvement in their ability to take responsibility for their behaviour
• **Involvement**
  
  From the project worker’s viewpoint
  - They took the whole process more seriously, taking more responsibility and trying harder

  From the researcher’s viewpoint
  - As weeks went by, more pupils showed a higher degree of involvement and concentration

• **Relationships**

  **Individual Pupils**
  
  From the pupils’ viewpoints
  - They got to know more about their classmates
  - They learned about good relationships
  - They learned to get along with other people
  - They learned how to make more friends

  From the teacher’s viewpoint
  - Some pupils became more able to get on well with others

  From the researcher’s viewpoint
  - They became more able to interact with anybody in the class

  **Inclusion/ Integration in the class**
  
  From the pupils’ viewpoints
  - They enjoyed interacting with others whom they had never played with before

  From the teacher’s viewpoint
  - There was more integration in the class particularly from newly arrived pupils
  - They were still divided into different sub-groups

  From the project worker’s viewpoint
  - Some positive signs as a basis for further improvement but no significant change
  - There was still the tendency for the pupils to divide into different gender and cultural sub-groups

  From the researcher’s viewpoint
  - Girls and boys became more used to interacting with each other
Relationships between Pupils and the Teacher

From the project worker’s viewpoint
- Not much change in the tendency for the pupils to rely on the class teacher

• The Values

From the pupils’ viewpoints
- They learned the importance of handling difficult situations without fighting or arguing
- They learned the importance of co-operation (e.g. working together, sharing ideas)
- They recognised the value of good relationships based on mutual understanding and affirmative attitudes
- They learned the value of equality, respect and trust
- They recognised the importance of inclusive attitudes

From the teacher’s viewpoint
- They showed more respect for others (e.g. concentrate on listening to others with respect)

• Academic Performance

From the teacher’s viewpoint
- Some individuals have improved in numeracy and literacy

(2) The Impact on the Teacher

• The Use of the Approach

From the teacher’s viewpoint
- The teacher recognised the usefulness of the approach (e.g. random grouping)

From the researcher’s viewpoint
- The teacher started using the same approach - positive behaviour management

• Raised Awareness

From the teacher’s viewpoint
- The teacher became more aware of issues in the class

• Gaining New Insights into Pupils

From the teacher’s viewpoint
- The teacher found new sides of pupils and their different reactions to certain situations
9.2.6 Discussion: The Congruence between the Impact and the Expected Outcomes

The study found that there was the congruence between the aims/expected outcomes of the project and the actual impact on pupils in many areas, such as an improvement in communication, affirmation, co-operation and problem-solving skills, as well as an increase in self-esteem and self-confidence, and more responsible behaviour with self-control. However, it seems harder for the whole group to move forward than to improve certain interpersonal skills on an individual level. As for the aim of promoting peaceful relationships among individuals and within the class (see Section 6.2), the overall result suggests that pupils’ relationships with others and their awareness of the issue of group dynamics have improved on an individual level, but there was not much change on a group level as a whole class. Although there was not much improvement in the integration of sub-groups in the class, pupils’ experiences of playing together and getting to know more about each other can be seen as a potential for further integration (e.g. Pettigrew, 1998; Kadushin and Livert, 2002).

All the results discussed above are about short term impact, which suggests only that the pupils have the capacity for the skills and attitudes, which need to be maintained and developed further in the long term, as noted by the project worker. On the other hand, the findings also suggest that the pupils learned the values relating to these skills and attitudes. The internalisation of the values was emphasised by WMQPEP and this can be the basis for further improvement of pupils’ behaviour and attitudes. Moreover, for pupils to practise the skills and maintain the attitudes and values, a supportive environment is required in school. The practice of the same approach in school is the key to maximising and maintaining the impact of the project, in order to achieve a long-term aim of WMQPEP - helping schools to become places pupils feel secure enough to grow (see Section 6.2). The school aims to train staff in the approach used by the project, and the findings suggest that some teachers started using the techniques for positive behaviour management. However, it seems difficult for teachers to find time for follow-up work. This can be seen as one of the problems which
current peace education projects face in schools, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

There were also some unexpected outcomes found in the result. One unexpected effect was that some pupils realised the difficulty of interacting with and understanding others as a result of interaction. This suggests the importance of providing a supportive environment during the interaction (e.g. Allport, 1954). Another unexpected but interesting effect, noticed by a learning mentor, was that pupils could ‘see teachers as normal persons’ as teachers participated in the project on the same level. Finally, the class teacher noticed that some individuals improved in numeracy and literacy. This may not be only because of the project, but the teacher thought that the project contributed to some pupils’ higher academic performance to a certain degree.

9.2.7 Discussion: Evaluation of Peace Education

Some of the main outcomes of the project above are similar to the findings from the evaluation of similar conflict resolution workshops, such as a study of the Kingston Friends Workshop Group in the UK, which included a positive effect on self-esteem, the ability to work together, reduction of disruptive behaviour in class, and improvement in communication skills and co-operative learning (see UNICEF, 1995: 13). Moreover, many of the elements of WMQPEP’s project reflect important aspects of effective peace education in general, as identified by UNICEF (Fountain, 1999: 31) from its review of studies of school-based, skill-oriented conflict resolution programmes in the world: using co-operative and interactive methods for active participation and practice; teaching problem-solving skills by using real-life situations; the opportunity to get involved in constructive peace-building activities; combining analysis of conflicts in society with interpersonal conflict; analysing a situation prior to the programme design.

While this study of WMQPEP involved some aspects of evaluation, a lack of evaluation phases (Nevo and Brem, 2002: 275) is often seen as a major issue of current peace education.
WMQPEP reflects this since the projects in schools are not normally systematically evaluated, apart from evaluation reports by project workers and school staff. In general, the main aim of evaluation of an activity or programme is ‘comparing the achievements of a project with its intended objectives, as well as determining how effective the process of implementation has been’ (Fisher et al., 2000: 157). The former is formative evaluation and the latter is summative evaluation (Robson, 1993: 179). This research, which explored the effect of the project in the light of the stated aims, involved some aspects of summative evaluation.

Part of this study followed the guidelines for the evaluation of peace education suggested by UNICEF (Fountain, 1999: 37), which recommends the use of a case study approach to examine the aims of a programme and the desired outcomes based on behavioural aspects of indicators. According to the guidelines, the practice of a programme is described, and the outcomes are compared with the baseline data collected before the intervention. It also suggests comparing the data with a control group, finding changes in teaching style in a classroom or an improvement of relationships among pupils, and monitoring the sustainability of the outcomes within the group over time (Fountain, 1999: 37). In the light of the guidelines, certain considerations need to be taken into account in this research. First, it is difficult to determine whether all the outcomes occurring within the research can be attributed to the intervention of the project, in particular because the study did not use a control group. Secondly, the outcomes discussed above are mainly short-term effects since the research does not involve longitudinal studies to evaluate long-term effects.

It has been said that it is not possible to ‘control all the complex variables that may contribute to whether a particular student works for peace’ (Harris and Morrison, 2003: 179), and that peace education is to only ‘plant seeds in pupils’ minds and may not know whether those seeds will grow into plants that ultimately bear fruit’ (ibid: 178). It follows that:
The effectiveness of peace education, therefore, cannot be judged by whether it brings peace to the world, but rather by the effect it has upon students’ thought patterns and knowledge base. (Harris and Morrison, 2003: 179)

Deciding the criteria and methods for the evaluation of peace education programmes can be controversial. This is because ‘building peace is itself a change process and one that is often highly political,’ and ‘evaluation is not a neutral activity’ especially in the context of conflict (Fisher et al., 2000: 160). This issue is also relevant to the evaluation of peace education in the context of formal schooling since the principles and practice of peace education often seem to be contrary to those of schools. In this case, a peace education organisation may ‘evaluate the mistakes (and successes) made in management, teaching methods, discipline, exclusions’ (Davies, 2004: 164) in a school, in the light of the principles and practice of peace education.

9.3 Participants’ Perceptions of the Project and Comparison with Normal Lessons

This section presents different viewpoints of the project from the leading project worker and the participants (pupils and class teacher). In particular, the approach used by the project is compared with ‘normal’ classroom teaching and learning.

9.3.1 Project Worker’s Perception of the Project

When asked about the differences between the project and schools regarding the approach to learning, the project worker pointed out the following contrast:

‘I think that schools already have enough competition in which teachers give rewards to children, and its negative side is that some win and others lose. By highlighting failure, it can cause negative feelings like anger, sadness and low self-esteem, which can lead to conflict. In Peacemakers there is no competition because they learn how to co-operate and co-operative games aim to have fun, enjoyment and excitement.’
9.3.2 Pupils’ Perceptions of the Project: The Difference from Normal Lessons

After the project, when the pupils were asked whether the project was different from normal lessons, some pupils said:

‘Yes. You played games all the time and also learned how to respect others.’

‘We were allowed to express our true feelings.’

Overall, many pupils thought that the project was different from normal lessons because: ‘In the Peacemakers, there is no test and you don’t use papers and pens much because you don’t need it and you get up and do something’ and ‘we play games and talk,’ but ‘in normal lessons, we don’t get to play games and we don’t get up’. One pupil thought that ‘the Peacemakers are more fun. In normal lessons, you have to learn maths or literacy, and sometimes they are boring because you just have to sit down and concentrate.’ Other pupils also said, ‘it stimulates your brain’ and ‘more active’. Moreover, several pupils mentioned that ‘working in a team as a class’ is different from normal lessons:

‘We learned something which we have never been taught in normal class. I liked the team work when we moved the chairs around, and we learned to be patient. For the first time, the Peacemakers was hard, but from the second time, we were slightly improving in working together.’

Many pupils thought that the project provided the opportunity to get to know their classmates:

‘You got to know more about you friends, that you never knew before.’

‘You learned more about you classmates, which you don’t do in other lessons. It’s a good thing.’

‘Because we were sitting in a circle, we got to know our class much better. In normal lessons, we get on with our work and just have the same people on the table.’

Some pupils thought that, unlike normal lessons, the project taught them to ‘trust people’:
‘You can talk about problems to somebody else. When you need help, you don’t have to be alone. You have some people to talk to.’

Several pupils said that learning about fighting is different from normal lessons:

‘Teachers don’t teach anything about fighting.’

‘We learned not to fight or to stop it.’

‘It teaches you to protect yourself when somebody else is fighting. It is always annoying but if you fight, you get hurt.’

On the other hand, the pupils thought that they learned some things that would be useful in normal lessons, in particular, good communication, self-confidence and co-operation. Their comments included ‘listening to someone who is talking’; ‘paying attention to the teacher’; ‘not shouting’; ‘eye-contacting’; ‘courage to put your hand up’; ‘be happy with who you work with’; ‘to work with different people even though they are boys’; and ‘try to get on with people even in your normal lessons.’

9.3.3 Teacher’s Perception of the Project: Comparison with Normal Lessons and Benefits to Normal Lessons

From her previous experience of the project in another school, the teacher knew about the positive influence of the approach used in the project, although she first felt it a threat to her control over the pupils:

‘Compared with normal lessons when I teach, I had to do things differently in the Peacemakers as I wasn’t leading it and I had to do the same things as the children were doing. The first time I joined in the Peacemakers with the children, I was shocked. I thought I couldn’t be there because the children would see me differently as I’m not challenging them. That’s kind of undermining. I felt that they were going to think that I couldn’t control them anymore. But actually I saw how powerful it was at the end of the session.’
Regarding the approach used in the project, the teacher thought that it was different from normal lessons because:

‘There are a lot of different activities in the Peacemakers and not much written work. Doing something that doesn’t involve a piece of writing or work, but that serves for its own sake - that is valued. This is fantastic and it would be good if teachers could do this in every lesson but unfortunately we can’t. Methods of teaching are very different.’

When asked whether there are any particular teaching methods which could be used in normal lessons, the teacher felt that some elements were useful but that there were limitations:

‘I do shout at the children to take responsibility in a lesson and I have to challenge children as other children have to learn. But I use the elements of the project in my lesson.’

Regarding the project’s approach to pupils’ behaviour, the teacher thought that an emphasis on positives is similar to the school’s behaviour management:

‘Positive ways of behaviour management are similar. We give them lots of smiley faces instead of sad faces. If they get sad faces, it means it’s very serious.’

Perceiving that the project worker’s relationship with pupils is more informal than that of a teacher, the teacher did not think that this would work in normal lessons which require control in order to meet many targets within a limited time:

‘Compared to teachers, the project worker and the children have more informal relationships…And also she never told them off. As a teacher, you still need to have that control. And you don’t have that time to keep stopping because I’ve got a list of things we’ve got to get through in lessons.’

When asked whether the project could use real issues that happened to pupils, the teacher thought that it may not be appropriate because of the project worker’s different relationship with pupils from that of a teacher:
‘I think it (using real issues that happened to pupils) would be quite personal. In a class, a teacher could say specific things because it’s a class teacher. But the best part of the Peacemakers is a fictional situation…so they (project workers) have a different relationship with the children.’

Since teachers know pupils better than a project worker, teachers also have an advantage:

‘I can deal with individual pupils in different ways by knowing the best possible ways to work for each pupil.’

The teacher thought that some aspects of the project could be useful in normal lessons:

‘If you explore issues in the Peacemakers, and if you are in the middle of numeracy or other lessons and something happens, you could always refer back to the Peacemakers, such as models of good behaviour, how we treat other people, and how we teach each other. I think it has value even though it’s kind of separate, in order to refer back to it.’

‘Like today in one class, when somebody said an answer that was incorrect and some people laughed, I was shocked… That would be something perhaps to pull out of the Peacemakers, asking like, “Do you remember we talked about how it’s nice when you are sitting in the middle and everybody says how good you are? You don’t want to laugh at each other.”

The teacher also thought that the rules in the project would be useful in normal lessons:

‘And also the rules of the Peacemakers such as good listening, helping each other and so on. They could be put up on the wall in order to refer to in any lesson.’

As for curriculum links, the teacher considers the learning in the project to be a part of PHSE:

‘PHSE including Circle Time - one afternoon a week, in which children are expected to learn to be more empathetic and emotionally intelligent, and to behave more appropriately. We look at how they impact on others and the different feelings of others.’

The teacher perceived that this kind of learning is important for all the children:
‘I think that the Peacemakers should be compulsory in every school. Children should learn how they feel and how the others feel. It is very important as it affects everything.’

While the teacher felt that this learning should take place anytime when issues arise, the conditions in the school do not seem to allow this to happen:

‘I think that this is very important, so that it shouldn’t happen just one afternoon a week and not for the rest of the week. I think that this is for children to learn the most important thing, so it should happen all the time. Incidents happen during the week, and we have to wait until the Circle Time to think about it. I think that we lost a lot of the timing. When issues arise, they should be dealt with straight away. But unfortunately, that is not happening because time is so restricted.’

9.3.4 Summary and Discussion: The Difference between the Project, Normal Lessons and the Dominant Model of Schooling

The project worker thinks that there is much competition in schools which creates winners with rewards and losers whose negative feelings of failure can lead to conflict. In contrast, the project focuses on co-operation by encouraging interaction and integration of different ethnic groups. The pupils also found the project very different from normal lessons because: the project is more fun and active with little writing and no testing; it allows them to express their true feelings; it teaches about conflicts, the alternatives to fighting, team work, respect, self-control and trust. They also thought that they learned something useful in normal lessons, such as good communication, self-confidence and working with anyone. The class teacher also felt that the project was very different from normal lessons. The teacher noticed that the project worker’s relationship with the pupils is more informal than that of a teacher. While valuing the approach of using various activities, the teacher did not think that this method could be used in every lesson, because it takes more time and normal lessons require more control in order to meet many targets within a limited time. On the other hand, the teacher felt that the positive behaviour management used in the project is similar to her approach.
Although the teacher felt that this kind of learning is important and should happen whenever incidents arise, it seems difficult to make it happen due to restrictive conditions in the school.

The overall findings concerning the difference between the project and normal lessons suggest that there is a contrast between the two in terms of teaching methods, the role of a project worker and that of a teacher, and the relationships with pupils (also see Chapter 6, 7, 8). Therefore, the nature of WMQPEP’s peace education seems to be largely contrary to current schooling and the education system. The main differences lie in the focus of the learning, and the approach to learning and discipline. The project focuses on building good relationships, and the learning is related to pupils’ daily-life experience, including feelings and emotions. On the other hand, current primary schools in England mainly focus on literacy and numeracy (Alexander, 2000: 143). Normal lessons mostly involve reading and writing, and pupils are expected to gain knowledge and skills for certain subjects.

These different focuses of education seem to reflect different aims of education from contrasting streams of educational thought (see Kohlberg, 1981: 51-5; DeVries and Kohlberg, 1987: 3-10). Educational practices in schools in general, particularly in Western culture, seem to be dominated by the cultural transmission stream of thought (Kohlberg, 1981: 52-3). Based on positivist epistemology with a value-neutral view on knowledge (DeVries and Kohlberg, 1987: 5), the main aim of education in this approach is to transmit ‘fixed knowledge or skills assessed by standards of cultural correctness,’ and to internalise moral rules of the culture, while early education particularly focuses on literacy and numeracy skills (Kohlberg, 1981: 53). This approach can be seen as problematic since it assumes that knowledge only comes from outside, ignoring internal aspects of knowledge and subjective experience (DeVries and Kohlberg, 1987: 5). Accepting knowledge and values passively without thinking critically is contrary to the principles of peace education. WMQPEP encourages children to think about and question issues relating to them and to suggest new ideas based on their experience.
WMQPEP’s approach seems to be more in line with another form of educational thought - ‘progressive’ education (e.g. Dewey), which is supported by a cognitive-development psychology established by Piaget (DeVries and Kohlberg, 1987: 8). According to Piaget’s constructivist theory, the mind of a child ‘acts on the stimulus and interprets it in terms of previous knowledge’ (as a process of assimilation) while ‘previous knowledge is modified’ (as a process of accommodation) (ibid: 8). Therefore, this educational thought is associated with a dialectic process and the belief that ‘knowledge evolves from an internal psychological core through an interaction or dialogue with the physical and social environment’ (ibid: 7). This stream of thought perceives the child as ‘a philosopher or scientist-poet who progressively recognizes knowledge on the basis of a personal “reading” of experience’ (ibid: 7). This approach stresses the effect of interaction – ‘not only a psychological interchange between the individual and the environment but a dynamic interaction within the individual of multiple aspects of what is “known” ’ (ibid: 8), as a process of actively constructing their own understanding of knowledge. This view of children’s learning coincides with WMQPEP’s emphasis on children’s own experience and interaction in the process of learning.

These contrasting streams of thought reflect the different approaches to learning of the project and schools. The project uses children-centred, experience-based learning based on interaction and reflection, and promotes co-operation, emotional literacy, children’s autonomy and their own problem-solving through questioning and critical thinking. In contrast to these elements, normal lessons mainly consist of instruction by teachers who convey academic knowledge and skills through a didactic teaching style. Therefore, teachers generally focus on direct instruction of information and rules (Kohlberg, 1981: 52), and promote children’s learning through ‘punishment, reward and practice’ (DeVries and Kohlberg, 1987: 5) based on ‘repetition and reinforcement as a means of teaching’ (ibid: 7). Since this approach believes that knowledge and behaviour can be observed and measured in ‘objective’ ways (ibid: 5), academic achievement is measured by tests. As a consequence, ‘the academic contents of
these tests have become educational goals of schooling’ (ibid: 7). This type of approach is criticised by Freire (1975) as it limits people’s capacity to think critically by transmitting knowledge through one-way communication. This method can also be seen as ‘indoctrination’ of knowledge, which is considered as mental violence (see Galtung, 1975: 112).

On the other hand, WMQPEP’s project emphasises co-operative relationships based on mutual respect and minimises adults’ authority over children. It encourages pupils to exercise self-control based on their own judgments so that their ability to control their actions ‘gradually constructs internally coherent knowledge, morality, and personality’ (DeVries and Kohlberg, 1987: 37). This practice is based on Piaget’s idea that, ‘Mutual respect between adult and child frees the child to exercise and develop autonomy’ (ibid: 38), while the teacher ‘acts as a companion who minimizes the exercise of adult authority and control over children and as a guiding mentor stimulating initiative, play, experimentation, reasoning, and social collaboration’ (ibid: 20). Overall, Piaget’s idea of the moral development of children (see Piaget, 1932/1977: 90-91) seems to be significantly relevant to the practice of WMQPEP, which emphasises children’s interaction and reflection in order to become more aware of self, others and relationships. Furthermore, the project worker’s role as facilitator in the learning process, in which children reflect on their experience, analyse their actions and their effects, based on questioning and discussions, seems closer to Vygotsky’s idea of ‘the role of adults in scaffolding children’s understanding across the “zone of proximal development” – the extension of understanding which can be attained with appropriate support from others’ (Pollard, 2004: 286-7). One of the main characteristics of Vygotsky’s approach to education is understood as its emphasis on the role of adults to support children’s autonomy for their effective learning since hierarchical power relationships would undermine the learning (Devine, 2003: 145).

In terms of approach to discipline, schooling mainly relies on adults’ control and external discipline with imposed rules and punitive measures (e.g. Foucault, 1977). This type of
discipline seems to be relevant to Durkheim’s (1956: 85-7) approach to education, which emphasises the necessity of authority in education. In contrast, WMQPEP promotes children’s self-control and autonomy through positive behaviour management, believing that adults’ constant control over children makes it difficult for the children to control themselves.

Moreover, WMQPEP’s emphasis on the importance of rules, which children set up by themselves, encouraging them to take responsibility for their actions, is also found in the theory of Piaget (1932/1977: 65) who realises the important role that ‘rules’ play in the process of co-operation. According to Piaget, when rules are imposed on children as commands under submissive relationships, this conformity stays external and coercive to them. In contrast, through co-operation and autonomy, rules are modified and adopted by the group, and become their collective will and the practice of reciprocity. The process of co-operation can also build a basis of critical thinking. According to Piaget (1932/1977: 391), co-operation is a source of critical awareness since mutual control acquired through co-operation moves children forward from their egocentrism and ‘blind faith in adult authority.’ Co-operation gives children the opportunity to compare their personal motives with the rules adopted by the group, and leads them to judge objectively the actions and orders of other people, including adults. Thus, children become less dependent on unilateral respect for adults, while internalising new morality and rules based on the idea of justice and reciprocity, rather than simply obeying adults out of mere duty (Piaget, 1932/1977: 391-2).

Overall, there are considerable differences between WMQPEP’s project and common practice in primary schools. In particular, it seems that the practice of schooling often involves different kinds of ‘violence’ (i.e. structural violence, indoctrination) due to a didactic teaching style and the hierarchical education system. On the other hand, WMQPEP promotes co-operation, children’s autonomy and equal relationships as the basis of ‘positive peace’ (defined as co-operation and integration among people by Galtung, 1975), and offers conflict resolution skills as alternatives to violent means, in order to promote ‘negative peace’ (defined
as the absence of violence). WMQPEP’s practice also follows its principles (e.g. equality, inclusion, respect, non-violence). This reflects the idea that the form or process of education should be ‘compatible with peace’ (Hicks, 1996: 168) since peace education should not ‘be merely education about peace but must also be education for peace’. Thus, the method is as important as the content.

9.4 Issues and Challenges that Current Peace Education Faces

9.4.1 The Difficulties and Problems Facing the Project

The study of the project in the school found some problems that the project faces. The following findings are based on interviews and discussions with the project worker and the class teacher, the evaluation report by the project worker, and observation by the researcher.

There are several factors which affected the continuity of the project, including a problem with pupils’ attendance, as noted by the project worker in the interview and in a report:

‘There was a problem in organising time for the project as some children had to miss out almost half of the sessions to attend other activities happening at the same time. It caused a lack of continuity in the class as a group, and the work was also harder for the project worker because the members of the class and the atmosphere were different at each session.’

‘It would have been good to have avoided scheduling other projects on the same afternoon as Peacemakers as the children’s absences changed the dynamics of the group.’ (From the evaluation report by the project worker: 2006)

There were also unexpected conditions which led to discontinuity:

‘Although unavoidable, the school closure [due to epidemics] and the OFSTED inspection inevitably had an effect, mainly a sense of release of tension and lack of concentration after they had gone!!’ (From the evaluation report by the project worker: 2006)

Furthermore, the issue of discontinuity can also be found in the current conditions in the school, as pointed out by the project worker in the interview:
'They [pupils] don’t seem to feel comfortable being outside of their sub-groups probably because of a lack of continuity in school such as a high turnover of children. The way of organising lessons probably makes the situation worse in terms of class cohesion.’

Also, it seems difficult to find time for follow-up work since the school gives priority to academic subjects:

‘We didn’t have time to do any follow-up work as all Wednesday afternoons were taken by science lessons.’

Furthermore, observation by the researcher found that in one week when the teacher was absent, many pupils lacked concentration, and others were out of control. The project worker felt that the class seemed to be controlled by the teacher. She was concerned that when pupils are always controlled by adults, it makes it difficult for the pupils to control themselves.

When asked about problems faced by the project, the project worker said that a large group and general distractions like a noisy classroom can be obstacles. Another problem is the difference between disciplinary measures used in the project and behaviour management systems used in schools. For example, when teachers start giving children orders as soon as the project finishes, there is no consistency in the messages given during and after the project. According to the project worker, ‘Our work is effective when teachers are supportive of the principles of the project by using the same methods in the class during and after the project.’

Another issue is that the school sometimes has deeper problems than what the project can deal with, such as separation between different gender and ethnic groups, which was experienced by the class researched. Regarding this problem, the project worker commented in a meeting after the project: ‘This issue can’t be solved only by the project in the short term or even by the school because the issue relates to the whole community, families and culture outside school.’
Finally, the teacher thought that it would be interesting if the project could demonstrate ‘teaching in a formal class setting’:

‘That’s an interesting thing. Almost like, coming in and doing a literacy lesson to show how the project can be applied. Because it’s still very separate, like citizenship is about how you would behave in Circle Time, but in a literacy class you are doing literacy so it’s completely different. That would be a good challenge. Like how to teach fractions in a Peacemakers’ way. That would be very interesting.’

9.4.2 Summary and Discussion: Issues and Challenges that Peace Education Faces

Some issues and challenges facing the project identified above are also relevant to wider problems facing current peace education practice in schools, which were discussed previously (see Chapter 6, 7, 8). The previous findings show that children seem to need more support to understand their negative emotions and feelings, which affect their attitudes and behaviour under the current conditions in the school and in their daily life where they often feel anxiety, instability and fear. Inner-city schools often have pupils from different social and cultural backgrounds and a high turnover, and it seems that these conditions tend to lead to pupils forming different sub-groups creating a lack of cohesion in the class (see Section 8.4, 8.5). These issues reflect the conditions in primary schools in England described in a recent report: ‘children are under intense and perhaps excessive pressure from the policy-driven demands of their schools and the commercially-driven values of the wider society’ (Alexander and Hargreaves, 2007: 1). And outside schools, children are concerned about security in their communities (e.g. gangs of older children, knives, guns, street violence), especially in the inner-city areas (ibid: 12).

Therefore, it is important for schools to deal with these issues through peace education or other similar initiatives. However, it seems that there are many obstacles to the practice of these initiatives. One of the problems was a lack of time and resources to implement the project due to the pressure of meeting targets and an overloaded curriculum, while
child-centred, experience-based methods used in the project require more time and flexibility than a didactic teaching style allows. There was also a difficulty in continuing the work done by the project since the teacher cannot find time for follow-up work while academic subjects are prioritised. Another major issue was a lack of continuity under the current conditions in the school, such as high turnover of pupils and ability-based organisation of lessons. The project worker felt that these conditions were part of the reasons why pupils tended to be sub-grouped and the class lacked cohesion.

A more crucial issue is that there are some fundamental differences in the principles and practice of the project and the school, and WMQPEP’s approach can be seen as a potential threat to the existing hierarchy in schools, undermining the authority of teachers and the didactic teaching style which predominates (see Section 7.3). From WMQPEP’s viewpoint, these negative perceptions or unsupportive attitudes of schools and teachers towards the project could diminish the potential of its positive educational effects. The same difficulty in sustaining a project has been identified in a peer mediation project in schools in Northern Ireland, realising that ‘a more authoritarian and hierarchical ethos within a school might make the idea of children being empowered to deal with their own disputes appear more threatening to adults’ (Stewart, 1998: 85). The study addresses the importance of consistency in ethos and relationships throughout the school:

Peer mediation is about the development of relationship skills among children and about building self-esteem and esteem for others, but to be successful, relationships must be consistent throughout the school. Peer mediation can be the catalyst for raising issues about the whole school ethos and challenges adult relationships as much as relationships between children. (Stewart, 1998: 84)

The peer mediation project recognises that successful projects need ‘more preparatory training workshops for the whole adult communities of the schools so that the programmes can be sustained from the beginning by whole school commitment’ (Stewart, 1998: 85). Thus, in the
same way, the challenge of WMQPEP’s project is to promote the principles of peace education in schools and teacher education by advocating the importance of developing peacemaking skills and presenting the positive effects of child-centred methods on pupils’ general learning and overall development.

The difficulty in sustaining a project in a school is related to another issue of legitimising peace education in formal education (see Section 4.3.1.1). Burns (1996: 122) recognises the difficulty of adopting the principles and methods of peace education in schools as long as the education system is located within the present social and political structures under the control of the state. The experience of a similar project to WMQPEP has identified the same issue:

Schools are essentially hierarchical institutions where disciplinary procedures are rigidly established and documented. The idea of empowering the pupils to participate in resolving conflict involves altering the focus of control. It may mean changing the school ethos, and all this means changes of attitude for staff, parents and pupils. (Stewart, 1998: 88)

Legitimising peace education in formal education may require the provision of more freedom and power for schools and teachers. While outside organisations can support schools in this process, it may be possible for peace education projects to stimulate changes in schools, in particular through children, since children are not merely passive receivers of information from the environment but can actively construct knowledge through interaction with the environment as well as within individuals (DeVries and Kohlberg, 1987: 5, 8).

Finally, the findings show that there are some limitations of the capacity of the project for solving wider issues in a school or a community, such as disintegration of different gender or ethnic groups, or a clash of values (e.g. different messages given to pupils in school and at home, which could cause them confusion, as mentioned in Section 7.4.3). Therefore, a realistic aim for peace education is, at least, to prepare pupils to deal with problems and to make decisions for themselves, by acquiring self-confidence, the necessary social skills, positive attitudes towards different viewpoints and common human values.
9.5 Conclusion: A Case Study of WMQPEP in Practice

The study of WMQPEP in practice mainly investigated the school’s expectations of the project, the practice of the project and its impact, and the issues facing the project. The findings suggest that the project had positive effects on the school, as a preventive measure in terms of pupils’ behavioural and emotional problems. The actual practice of the project and its impact were consistent with the principles and practice stated by WMQPEP, which aim to build peaceful relationships by providing skills of communication, co-operation, affirmation and problem-solving, based on child-centred, experience-based methods. The impact on pupils included the improvement of behaviour, confidence and self-esteem, and better integration and inclusion in the class. The findings also suggest certain limitations of the project, for example, the division between different gender and cultural groups was not solved in the short term. The current conditions in the school (i.e. a high turnover of pupils, ability-based groups) may affect pupils’ feelings of insecurity.

The comparison between the project and normal lessons found significant differences between the two, in terms of the aims and focus of learning, teaching styles and the relationships between pupils and adults. This may also reflect contrasting values and practices between peace education in general and the dominant model of primary education in England. In particular, discipline and school ethos involving hierarchical structures and the use of punishments are contrary to the approach of WMQPEP’s peace education. The major problem is that these contrasting values and practices can diminish the positive effects of the project, creating a lack of continuity during and after the project. To gain the support and understanding of schools, the study recognises the importance of advocating the positive effects of peace education approaches on children’s overall development, and of introducing the principles and practice of peace education in teacher education. Changes in the ethos of many schools and the hierarchical structures of schools are required for peace education to be fully successful.
CHAPTER 10

Conclusions and Recommendations
10.1 Introduction

The main purpose of this research was to gain insight into the realities of the current practice of peace education, particularly in the context of schooling in relatively stable countries. For this purpose, the overall research investigated theoretical and practical aspects of peace education; explored key issues regarding the principles and practice of peace education; conducted an empirical study of a peace education organisation and the implementation of its project; and explored the conditions of the education system and schooling as the context for peace education. In the light of the findings from the research, this section restates the research questions, and considers how the research has contributed to answering them.

Overall Research Questions:

- How is peace education practised by one organisation in the UK?
- What methods and practice are used under what principles, and why?

Sub-Questions: A case study of peace education carried out by one organisation, West Midlands Quaker Peace Education Project (WMQPEP)

10.2 How does one particular organisation (WMQPEP) carry out peace education?

10.2.1 What are the aims of WMQPEP?

In WMQPEP’s official document, the main purpose of WMQPEP’s work is ‘to offer a solution to the current situation in school where bullying or conflicts in playgrounds or classrooms are everyday life’ and ‘to help schools to become places where people feel secure enough to grow’ (WMQPEP, 1998). In the interviews, WMQPEP emphasised the need for children to have alternative experiences to aggression, fighting and violence, recognising that children lack the opportunity to learn social skills in their daily lives while often being exposed to situations in which people resort to violence or aggression.
For the above reasons, WMQPEP mainly aims to promote peaceful relationships, to train people in peacemaking skills (communication, co-operation, affirmation and problem-solving skills), and to foster conflict resolution and mediation projects in schools (WMQPEP, 2006). WMQPEP also emphasises emotional aspects of peace education, which often seem to be neglected in current peace education, as compared to rational aspects. WMQPEP considers that children’s behavioural problems are often caused by their struggle in coping with strong emotions and negative views on self and others, which often affect their learning and growth.

These characteristics of WMQPEP’s peace education also mean that it mainly focuses on peace at a personal level, following general trends of peace education: a micro-level approach is more common in primary schools, as part of PSHE in the curriculum, while a macro-level approach might more likely be used in secondary schools, perhaps as part of citizenship education. In particular, WMQPEP’s approach seems to support the idea of self-reliance, with the aim of enabling children to deal with personal relationships and conflicts arising among their peers by themselves rather than relying on adults (WMQPEP, 1998).

10.2.2 What are the principles of WMQPEP?

The interview results suggest that WMQPEP’s emphasis on peaceful relationships and its principles of peace education are influenced by religious and philosophical elements of Quakerism to a certain degree. These elements include the Quakers’ commitment to peace as pacifists who oppose any kind of violence, and their belief that there is God in every person and thus we should respect and value each individual equally. These attitudes are reflected in WMQPEP’s emphasis on the values of equality, inclusion, co-operation and affirmation, by involving everyone to have fun and work together in activities, while being concerned that children often learn to fail in school and have low self-esteem.

WMQPEP’s principles of non-violence, creative conflict resolution, equality, co-operation, and good communication reflect two major concepts of peace, ‘negative peace’ (absence of
physical violence) and ‘positive peace’ (co-operation and integration among people, with absence of structural violence), as well as its positive view of conflict, perceiving that conflict is part of everyday life, and creative conflict resolution without violence can be ‘a positive force for change’ (WMQPEP, 2004). This is supported by the idea of transforming conflicts into better relationships through people’s participation and dialogue (conflict transformation).

10.2.3 What are WMQPEP’s stated practices?

WMQPEP stated in the interviews and official documents that its practice takes a form of a workshop mainly using a Circle Time model which represents equal positions and everybody’s participation, and focuses on improving skills of communication, co-operation and affirmation, which are considered essential components of human interaction, forming a basis for problem-solving. This approach accords with a wide-spread model for conflict resolution, based on the iceberg principle which considers that co-operation, communication and affirmation are essential elements to solve conflicts and other problems successfully.

WMQPEP said that the methods used in the project are child-centred, experience-based learning in which children’s experiences, ideas and feelings are valued, while interaction and reflection on the experience are encouraged in the process, with an attempt to relate the learning to their personal experience. The process of reflection after activities is considered most important, in order for children to gain their own understanding of their experience.

The role of a project worker in the learning process is considered as a facilitator who encourages children to interact, and brings out things coming from children, rather than trying to control the situation. In the interview, WMQPEP also stressed the importance of building equal, non-authoritarian, supportive and trusting relationships between a project worker and children, rather than imposing external discipline and rules in hierarchical relationships, in order for children to exercise self-discipline and self-control, and to become more aware of their responsibilities for their actions and behaviour.
10.2.4 How does WMQPEP practise peace education?

For child-centred, experience-based learning in practice, WMQPEP explained in the interviews that children play co-operative games and activities (e.g. role-play, drama, stories and discussion), which are designed for all the children to get involved, interact with others, and work together as a group, in order to learn the skills of communication, co-operation, affirmation and problem-solving in active ways. After the experience, children are asked questions by a project worker, to reflect on their actions, thoughts and feelings arising from the experience. WMQPEP said that they use a non-punitive and questioning approach in which children are not told off but are asked questions to reflect on what they have done and what happened in the situation, in order to understand and learn from their experience.

The interview results show that in the process of learning, WMQPEP also promotes the values and attitudes underlying these skills, such as equality, co-operation, inclusion, affirmative attitudes and respect, by giving all the children equal opportunities to express themselves and to get involved in activities, and by encouraging them to respect others and their opinions, and to share ideas and feelings with others. Moreover, to demonstrate the value of equality, project workers treat children as equals and allow the children to call them by their first names. WMQPEP also stated that there is no element of competition or testing in the project while providing children with the opportunity to practise different ways of working together, and enabling them to work with anybody.

Moreover, WMQPEP attempts to raise children’s self-esteem and confidence by creating an affirmative environment, by providing the opportunity to experience success rather than failure, by encouraging them to praise rather than criticising each other, and by giving them a sense of ownership to practise self-control and to take responsibility for their actions. Thus, children set up rules by themselves and are encouraged to follow the rules during the project.

The interview results suggest that the materials used by WMQPEP are simple and non-technical, and are kept to a minimum, in order to support children’s direct experience of
interacting with others. The materials are described as enjoyable, tactile, amusing and beautiful so that children have a pleasurable experience. They also promote different ways of learning, such as auditory, visual and kinetic, which may suit different children.

10.2.5 What are the problems and issues of peace education perceived by WMQPEP?

In the interviews with WMQPEP, many project workers shared the view that peace education is not commonly practised in schools compared with other approaches, such as an anti-bullying policy which is compulsory in all schools in England, probably because peace education is more proactive and preventive rather than reactive to what happens, which often seems to be prioritised. Thus, it seems that peace education is practised more in city schools where problems are more visible, rather than in village schools, according to WMQPEP.

The interview results suggest that major problems facing the current practice of peace education perceived by WMQPEP include a lack of overall resources (time, money, staff and space) in schools. Since peace education is not part of the curriculum, it is not prioritised or valued like core subjects. WMQPEP also recognised that teachers often find it difficult to use the same approach in normal lessons, since they may feel threatened by, or uncomfortable with a child-centred approach, or they are under pressure to meet educational targets in a limited time. WMQPEP expressed concern over these negative perceptions and unsupportive attitudes of teachers and schools, which would decrease the potential of the project, especially if the work is not promoted or sustained. WMQPEP considers that these problems are partly because peace education is not included in teacher training.

Another major problem expressed by WMQPEP was school ethos which often seems to be contrary to peace education in terms of structures, customs and teaching methods. While its questioning approach (based on relatively equal relationships between children and adults) can be seen as a threat to the existing hierarchy in a school and its teaching style, WMQPEP thinks that peace education is not effective in a hierarchical and punitive school ethos in
which children’s views are not valued. WMQPEP has experienced the difficulty of working in schools where this issue is not perceived as a problem, not accepting the need for any change, not willing to give up their authority or being suspicious of the project. This situation also explains the reason for the difficulty of introducing peace education into schools.

Some project workers said in the interviews that there may be a limitation to what the project can do in a short time to produce immediate visible effects when issues are wide or deep. Another limitation can be that the project workers’ cultural and social backgrounds do not always reflect children’s backgrounds, which may cause a lack of understanding of children’s culture. WMQPEP also recognised that sometimes there is a conflict of different approaches and values between a school and a community, but hopes that children will be able to make up their own minds, once they learn different viewpoints through the project.

10.3 How does the organisation, WMQPEP carry out its work in one case study school?

10.3.1 What are the aims of WMQPEP in the particular school?

Initially, as described by the head teacher in the interview, the school invited the project in as a preventive measure to tackle the problems of pupils’ difficult behaviour, low self-confidence and little interaction with each other, by raising self-esteem and improving emotional intelligence and skills in conflict resolution. The school also intended to adopt the project as a model for training teachers and other school staff, as they can participate in the project to learn skills in working with children.

The findings suggest that these intentions of the school accord with the aims of WMQPEP and its project practised in the school. Along with the general aims of WMQPEP to improve skills in co-operation, communication, affirmation and problem-solving, the project carried out in the school had specific aims related to issues concerning problem-solving and group dynamics, which were raised by a class teacher at a preliminary meeting with a leading project worker. The specific aims included the improvement of all kinds of communication
and skills to deal with problems by pupils themselves, since the teacher felt that many children had a tendency to rush into problems. She was also concerned about an issue of group dynamics in the class, such as separation between different ethnic and gender groups, especially due to a high turnover of pupils and the influx of new pupils who had not settled well in the class.

The objectives of the project practised in the school over ten weeks included: building trust; setting up ground rules for the group; working in a group to experience co-operation, integration and inclusion; identifying and practising good listening; improving communication between all members of the group; practising to greet each other with respect and exploring non-verbal signs of respect; finding out more about each other; exploring vocabulary to express feelings; identifying the causes of conflicts at school and exploring what makes conflicts escalate or stop as well as feelings about conflicts; having fun together; and affirming each other (from the programme plans prepared by the leading project worker).

Overall, the findings suggest that the project aims to meet the specific needs of a particular class or school, under WMQPEP’s general principles of promoting peaceful relationships and the awareness of peace-related issues. There was congruence found between the aims stated by WMQPEP and the aims of the project practised in the school.

10.3.2 What methods and materials does WMQPEP use?

The observation of the project by the researcher found that WMQPEP adopted child-centred, experience-based teaching methods by using a Circle Time model in which all sit in a circle and are given an equal chance to speak or do actions, and by introducing activities in which pupils interact with others and share their experiences, rather than gaining knowledge. The process was facilitated by a project worker who intended to draw out what pupils have, rather than controlling them. Thus, pupils were always encouraged to express their ideas, thoughts and feelings, while being given the opportunity to learn to co-operate and take responsibility
for their actions, and a chance to reflect upon their experience and learn from it. Also, pupils’ autonomy and self-control were promoted through their involvement in the process of setting ground rules, while being encouraged to control their behaviour based on the rules, rather than being controlled by adults. Moreover, emotional aspects of learning were promoted by asking pupils about their own feelings and those of others in specific situations.

All the games and activities were intended to promote skills in communication, co-operation, affirmation and problem-solving as well as relevant values through experience and practice. There were many opportunities for pupils to practise both verbal and non-verbal communication, get to know each other, learn co-operation skills, such as turn taking and working as a team towards collaborative success, with no competition or tests. Throughout the project, an affirmative environment was created by the project worker who treated pupils as equals and praised them for what they did well. At the same time, the project also encouraged pupils to learn affirmative attitudes by making positive comments about each other. The pupils also practised problem-solving skills through moving tables and chairs to make a circle or doing conflict-related activities, as well as identifying problems that occurred during games and activities and exploring different solutions to the problems.

The materials used in the project were enjoyable, tactile, beautiful as well as simple and non-technical, and functioned as a medium to help pupils interact and learn in different ways, without involving much writing or reading in order to include everyone.

While WMQPEP promotes a non-violent approach to conflict based on the principle of pacifism, there was a concern over the risk of indoctrination of its belief in pacifism, as opposed to the idea of ‘education for peace’ which should exclude any form of violence. However, observation of the project found that their methods did not impose pacifism on pupils but encouraged them to make their own choices.

Overall, the findings from the observation of the project suggest that the actual practice was consistent with the stated practice.
10.3.3 What impact does WMQPEP’s project have?

Overall, the research suggests that the project had positive effects on participants, in the light of the findings from interviews and questionnaires with the participants, an interview with a leading project worker, her reports on the project, and observation of the participants by the researcher during the project. While positive effects were related to core elements of the project (i.e. communication, co-operation, affirmation and problem-solving skills) as well as general attitudes and behaviour, the details of the effects were more complex.

Regarding communication, pupils became more able to listen attentively and express themselves with confidence, and learned to control negative emotions and understand the feelings of others. In terms of co-operation, they became more able to work together, help each other and share ideas. As for affirmation, they learned to affirm others by making positive comments and to take on perspectives of others, and became more tolerant of each other. However, it seems that many pupils still lacked self-esteem and confidence, although some became more confident. As regards problem-solving, pupils learned to identify problems and consider different ways to manage them, and became more aware of their actions and their effects. In terms of general behaviour, they learned not to fight, shout or argue and developed some strategies to deal with difficult situations, while becoming more able to make their own choices about appropriate behaviour and taking more control over, and responsibility for, their behaviour. The findings also show that pupils learned the values of co-operation, equality, respect and trust, as well as the importance of making good relationships based on mutual understanding and affirmative or inclusive attitudes.

The findings also suggest that the project helped to improve relationships between pupils by getting to know about each other better. On the other hand, pupils still had the tendency to stay in different gender and cultural sub-groups, although more integration of newly arrived pupils in the class was identified. Moreover, in terms of pupils’ relationships with their class teacher, there was not much change in the tendency to rely on the teacher. Thus, it seems that
the project prepared ground work for better relationships in the class, but it requires more work in the longer term. The project also had a positive impact on teachers and learning mentors, who learned different approaches to learning and gained new insights into pupils.

10.3.4 What are the problems and issues?

The findings from the interviews with the leading project worker, the class teacher and the head teacher, and observation by the researcher suggest that there are some problems and issues that WMQPEP’s project faces in the school. While the project was intended to bring the whole class together to move forward as a group, one of the problems was a lack of continuity during the project, which was caused by pupils’ low attendance due to the school’s arrangements for other activities at the same time. Another problem was that the school found it difficult to continue the work done by the project. According to the teacher, she could not find time for the follow-up work since other academic subjects were prioritised.

One of the difficulties was to improve group dynamics in the class, particularly under the current conditions of the school, with ability-based organisation of lessons and a high turnover of pupils, who often have different social and cultural backgrounds. These conditions, which are commonly found in inner-city schools, seem to contribute to a lack of cohesion in the class and a tendency for pupils to form sub-groups based on gender and ethnicity, as expressed by the leading project worker. Moreover, due to the ability-based organisation of lessons, teachers seem to spend less time with the pupils of their class and to find less opportunity to deal with their behavioural issues than before, according to the class teacher.

Another major problem, which was especially noticeable in the pilot study observed by the researcher, is related to different disciplinary measures used by teachers and a project worker. The differences include exclusion of pupils who disturb others, as opposed to the principle of inclusion practised by the project, and the emphasis on negative behaviour, which undermines the positive attitude of the project. These contrasting principles and practices make the project
less effective, and create discontinuity by sending contradictory messages to pupils, as expressed by the leading project worker.

Overall, the findings show that there are some limitations to the capacity of the project for solving wider issues in a school or a community, such as the disintegration of different gender or ethnic groups and a clash of values. This situation includes different messages given to pupils in school and at home, which could cause them confusion. As pointed out by the head teacher, some pupils have cultural backgrounds with specific values which may not be compatible with values promoted by the school or the project. What the project does is to provide pupils with the opportunity to learn different viewpoints, which would enable them to make their own choices in the future.

10.4 Recommendations

It is difficult to make recommendations based on one piece of research on one specific peace education organisation and its project in one specific school, since there are various peace education programmes being practised in schools facing different issues. On the other hand, some of the research findings may reflect situations and issues which are commonly found in peace education programmes practised in schools in the UK and other parts of the world. Therefore, the following comments are provided as possible agendas for further considerations of practice and research of peace education.

- There is the need to recognise the importance of promoting positive peace (co-operation and integration) and self-esteem in schools as preventive measures to reduce violence, rather than using punitive measures, or law and order against violence and inappropriate behaviour.

- Effective peace education requires consistency in ethos and relationships throughout a school. It means that it is important for the whole school to adopt positive behaviour management rather than punitive measures, and to value children’s opinions and feelings.
The study recognises the difficulty of adopting principles and methods of peace education in hierarchical school structures. On the other hand, schools can be places, not only for indoctrination or socialisation, but also for empowerment and self-transformation, since children are not necessarily passive receivers of information but actively construct knowledge through interaction and learning. Thus, by showing children non-violent ways of managing conflicts and encouraging them to make their own choices, peace education has the potential to counteract the negative influence of various forms of violence experienced by children in school and in the wider society.

To maximise its positive effects, peace education in school requires support of teachers and the whole school in order to carry out follow-up work, and to maintain and reinforce the same principles and practices in the classroom. A peace education organisation may make follow-up visits to ensure this process in schools.

The introduction and promotion of peace education in formal education may require changes in schools and within the education system, by increasing understanding of those who are involved in formal education at different levels (e.g. teachers, head teachers, parents and policy makers), and by providing schools and teachers with more freedom and power to use peace education approaches.

To promote peace education in schools, peace education organisations may demonstrate how their approaches can be adapted for teaching in a formal class setting. There is also the need to introduce peace education into teacher education in both initial and in-service training, so that teachers can learn knowledge, skills and values concerning peace education.

Further research on possible long-term impact of peace education can be considered, since this research suggests positive effects of one project only in the short term.
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APPENDICES
Appendix A

Underlying Assumptions of the Study (4.4)

In the light of the literature review, this part summarises some key issues and themes regarding peace education, and sets out theories, values and assumptions underlying the study on peace education in the context of schooling. The summary also represents my position concerning the substantive and theoretical issues related to peace education, and indicates some of the focuses of the empirical study.

1. Peace, Violence and Conflict

Firstly, this study of peace education is based on the following assumptions about violence and human beings:

1. War and violent conflict are not conducive to human well-being.
2. Neither are they the result of inevitable aspects of human nature.
3. Peace, that is alternative ways of being, behaving, and organizing, can be learnt.  
   (Burns, 1983 in Hicks, 1988a: 8)

These assumptions are supported by recent scientific evidence that violent behaviour is not necessarily intrinsic to human nature and that violent action may in fact be the product of being ‘conditioned and socialized’ (see the ‘Seville Statement on Violence’ 1986 in Adams, 1995: 30). The corollary is that peace can also be socially constructed, and this idea is reflected in the statement of UNESCO’s Constitution: “since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed” (in Wilson, 1946).

Secondly, the study is based on the assumption that peace education has both values and goals, which are both the absence of direct (physical) violence and the absence of structural violence (or social injustice) (Galtung, 1975: 113-4). Moreover, ‘peace’ not only involves ‘negative peace’ (the absence of physical violence), but also ‘positive peace’ (a pattern of co-operation and integration among people with the absence of structural violence), as defined by Galtung (1975: 29-30). This fuller ideal of peace can be identified as the co-operative relationships, which would foster the realisation of full human potential (e.g. Curle, 1984; Fisher et al., 2000). Overall, peace expresses social goals, agreed by many people, which may be difficult to attain, but is not impossible (Galtung, 1975: 110).

Thirdly, the study is based on a positive viewpoint on conflict: that conflict can be constructive, rather than destructive, through co-operation to increase one another’s chances to attain one another’s goals (Deutsch, 1973: 22), and to find common ground and search for a mutually acceptable agreement (Francis, 2002: 30), instead of competing with each other. This positive process of conflict resolution and the idea of ‘conflict transformation,’ which aim to transform conflict into better relationships by addressing underlying structural violence, and ‘the inevitability of conflict in the process of change’ (Francis, 2002: 6-7), support the principles and practice of peace education.
2. The Goal and Aim of Peace Education

From a critical viewpoint on education, schooling often involves structural violence, such as one-way communication, hierarchical relationships, and examinations used to categorise people (Galtung, 1975: 318-20, 332). While this condition reflects the society in which structural violence (or social injustice) is the outcome of exercised power within an unequal social structure, radical peace educators are concerned with the educational impact of peace education on existing society.

This study is based on the belief that peace education has the potential to replace a ‘culture of violence’ in present society with a ‘culture of peace’ in the future. Therefore, the main goal of peace education can be seen as the transformation of society by empowering people, and the aim of peace education is to provide people with the necessary tools which will enable them to perceive their reality and the contradictions in it, and to become conscious of their own perceptions of reality, based on Freire’s (1972) viewpoint on education. Freire (1972) believes in the potential of education, based on the assumption that all human beings are capable of looking critically at their world and that education can facilitate the full development of human beings. According to Freire (1972), in the process of a fuller understanding of reality, and the relationships with reality and with others through dialogue and participation, people become more fully themselves, and transform reality.

This educational process can also be supported by Piaget’s cognitive-development theory from the viewpoint of cognitive constructivism, according to which children’s perception and their understanding of society are formed through their interactions with the environment, and their capacities are developed towards more logical or internally consistent ways of understanding and adapting to society (Barrett and Buchana-Barrow, 2005: 181). This theoretical perspective has its underlying assumption that ‘what individuals think and believe, about social arrangements as well as about natural phenomena, is a function of the capacities they have developed to reason about and make sense of available evidence (ibid: 181).

3. The Role of Peace Education

Towards these goals and aims described as above, the role of peace education is to enhance children’s capacity to think and act, which increases the possibility of creating (in a non-violent way) a more just and peaceful society. In this way, peace education can be a means of synthesising individual and social goals towards a peaceful society, in which the full development of individual potential and social justice can be mutually realised. This is expressed by Mead (1934/1967), from a sociological viewpoint, as the interplay between the development of individuals’ self-awareness and the progress of society through social interactions, and as opposed to Durkheim’s (1956) idea of ‘the primacy of society over the individual’ in the relationships between society and the individual (in Meighan and Siraj-Blatchford, 1997: 244).
Thus, in this study, the role of peace education is based on the assumption that education not only reproduces society as it is now, but can do potentially influence the shape of the future. This educational practice can be a force for social change from a viewpoint of critical pedagogy (Apple, 1982; McLaren, 2003). From this point of view, peace education can be considered as a possible way of transforming a currently dominant ‘culture of violence’ into a ‘culture of peace,’ as well as a ‘culture of resistance’ (Fisher et al., 2000: 146), by nurturing individuals’ critical consciousness of violence and peace.

**Appendix B**

**Epistemology of Research (5.4.1)**

This part identifies epistemological perspectives which are relevant to the methodology of this research. It is essential for a researcher to identify beliefs, culture, values, discourse and social structures, which influence the way of carrying out the research and the perspective on knowledge produced by the research. This is because research and research knowledge reflect a researcher’s own socio-political position, interests, understanding, values or viewpoints, hence the researcher’s epistemological stance selects specific methodology and methods to produce knowledge in relation to the kind of evidence to be gathered, from where, and how it is going to be interpreted. As Griffiths (1998: 46) argues, the knowledge formulated through a researcher’s interpretation is not necessarily ‘bias,’ but ‘perspectives’. Therefore, it is also possible to enhance a researcher’s perspective by choosing the appropriate methodology for the purpose of research.

Epistemology is regarded as the study of understanding ‘what it means to know,’ providing ‘a philosophical background for deciding what kinds of knowledge are legitimate and adequate’ (Gray, 2004: 16). It is traditionally concerned with the criteria that distinguish between ‘knowledge’ and ‘non-knowledge’ (Usher, 1996: 11). In practice, it consists of a set of questions and issues about knowledge; what it is, how to get it, how to recognise it, how it relates to truth, and how it is involved with power (Griffiths, 1998: 35).

One of major theoretical paradigms, *positivism* assumes that, based on objectivist epistemology, ‘reality exists independently of consciousness,’ and research intends to discover this ‘objective truth’ (Gray, 2004: 17). Therefore, there is a distinction between the ‘objective’ world and the ‘subjective’ researchers, and between facts and values, while research only deals with facts (Usher, 1996: 12). For this epistemology, the validity of knowledge can be sensed, measured, tested and replicated through systematic observation and scientific methods (Usher, 1996: 12). Based on the idea that both the natural and social worlds are regulated under certain laws, the research underpinning this epistemology intends to accumulate facts to be generalised as scientific laws (Gray, 2004: 18), with its exclusive attention to methods and results, but not to the research process (Usher, 1996: 13).
Opposed to this positivism, recent social research has been largely concerned with meaning and interpretation of phenomena within another theoretical paradigm, *interpretivism*. For this *constructivist* epistemology, truth and meaning do not exist externally but ‘are created by the subject’s interactions with the world,’ so that the meaning is constructed by the subject’s own meanings in various ways (Gray, 2004: 17). Therefore, in contrast to scientific research based on the assumption that there is objective and universal knowledge of the world, research underpinned by *interpretivism* intends to explore the subject’s interpretation and understanding of ‘meaning within social interactions’ in order to make sense of the social world (Usher, 1996: 18).

Concerning these contrasting epistemological perspectives, this qualitative research focused on the meanings of phenomena within an interpretive paradigm, based on a belief that the world is socially constructed and subjective. Within the interpretive paradigm, the research particularly adopted *symbolic interactionism*, which is influenced by Mead (1934/1967) (see Cohen and Manion, 1989, 34; Gray, 2004: 20). This paradigm is based on the epistemological view that people act upon their interpretations of meanings of objects, actions and symbols (e.g. language) in the world through the process of social interaction, while the meanings arising from the interaction can be revised on the basis of experience, including the notion of ‘self’ in relation to others (Cohen and Manion, 1989, 34-5; Gray, 2004: 21). In accordance with this view, which considers human interaction an important element, this research attempted to bring out interactions between the researcher and the researched in semi-structured interviews and participant observation.

The research also adopted the epistemology of *postmodernism*, which believes that any research reflects the researcher’s status and the situational context of research practice, questioning ‘the notion of an absolute and universal knowledge’ or ‘one true reality’ existing independently of researchers (Usher, 1996: 28). In contrast to the scientific attitude to knowledge based on the assumed value-neutrality (ibid: 29), a postmodern approach perceives reality as complex, uncertain, heterogeneous and unstable (ibid: 28) by taking account of ‘the implication of research with power and unspoken values’ and by seeing research as a way of seeking a truth out of many possible truths, not ‘the truth’ (Usher, 1996: 29). Therefore, by challenging a positivist approach which focuses on methods and results (under the assumption that following the correct methodology guarantees a true and certain knowledge), postmodernism considers knowledge as culture-bound, reflecting the dominant values of the particular culture, and addresses the need of being aware of the influence of power, culture and values on its methods and results (Usher, 1996: 29). From this postmodernist viewpoint, this research considered the power involved in the process of the research (e.g. the relationships between a researcher and the researched) and the researcher’s values which are reflected in understanding and interpreting the research findings.
Appendix C

The details of the methods used in the research and their objectives (5.4.3.2)

1. Questionnaires and interviews with the manager and project workers of the organisation

Questionnaires were used to explore the backgrounds and experiences of project workers while the interviews examined the principles of peace education that the organisation believes in, as well as its practice and relevant issues. (See C.1 and C.2 below)

2. Participant observation of the project

The main focus of observation was the project itself as well as the process of pupils’ learning. The aims were to learn about different activities and teaching methods, and to find out pupils’ reactions to the activities and their reflections after the experience. Observation also concerned possible changes in pupils’ behaviour, abilities and confidence in the light of the overall aim of the project and the core elements of learning.

3. Questionnaires concerning pupils’ attitudes, values and confidence before and after the project

Questionnaires were used to investigate changes in pupils’ attitudes, values and confidence from their own perspectives. The same questionnaires were administrated before and after the project to compare changes in their answers, with the aim of examining the impact of the project on the pupils. (See C.3 below)

4. Interview with a class teacher after the project

This interview aimed to explore the viewpoint of a teacher on the project, and to ask whether any changes in the pupils’ behaviour, abilities and attitudes have been found after the project. (See C.4 below)

5. Group interviews with all the pupils in class after the project

This aimed to explore pupils’ experiences and thoughts about the project, with a view to examining the impact of the project, including possible changes in their behaviour, abilities and confidence in the light of the overall aims of the project and the core elements of learning. (See C.5 below)

6. Interview with the leading project worker after the project

This aimed to investigate the viewpoint of the project worker who led the project, in terms of changes in pupils’ behaviour, abilities and confidence in the light of the overall aim of the project and the core elements of learning. (See C.6 below)
[Appendix C (continued)]

7. Interview with the head teacher

This aimed to find out the viewpoint of the head teacher on the project in general, and to ask whether he has found any impact of the project on the school. (See C.7 below)

8. Interview with a learning mentor

This aimed to find out the viewpoint of a learning mentor on the project in general, and to ask whether she has found any impact of the project on the school. (See C.8 below)

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C.1 Questionnaire for the manager and project workers of WMQPEP

Please answer following questions in the context of your work in WMQPEP.

1. What is your background?
   - Qualifications:
   - Field(s) of study:

2. What is your previous employment experience?

3. How did you become interested in peace education?

4. Which three key elements in WMQPEP’s work are the most important from your experience? (Please put them in rank order according to importance)
   (1)
   (2)
   (3)
   Please explain your answer.

5. Can your project manager see your answers? (Yes/No)

6. Are you willing to take part in an interview for further enquiry? (Yes/No)

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C.2 Interview questions for the manager and project workers of WMQPEP

[Peace education in general]

1. What do you understand by peace education?

2. Why is peace education needed in schools?

3. What are important aims of peace education in schools?
[Appendix C (continued)]

[Peace education in WMQPEP]
4. What is WMQPEP’s understanding of peace education?
   Where did it get this understanding from?
5. Why does WMQPEP think peace education is needed?
6. What are the important aims of peace education for WMQPEP?
7. What methods does WMQPEP use?
8. What materials does WMQPEP use?
9. It seems that, of the key elements, WMQPEP seems to focus mostly on communication, co-operation and affirmation. Is this the case? If so, why?
10. Please give examples of teaching methods of some of these key elements of WMQPEP.
11. What impact on children can be expected from WMQPEP’s work?
12. How does WMQPEP’s peace education contribute to the development of children?
13. What kind of relationship do you form with children through your work in school?
14. How does your role as a WMQPEP project worker differ from that of a teacher?
15. What are some of the problems facing peace education in schools?
16. Is peace education commonly practised in schools? If not, why not?
17. Are there any limitations to this approach to peace education?

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C.3 Questionnaires for Year 5 pupils

About Myself & My Classmates

* Please circle one around for each line

About myself

I am a [Girl / Boy].
I am good at ...............................................................
I am proud of myself because I ...........................................
I am a good friend because I ............................................

---
## Appendix C (continued)

1. I like most of my classmates. Yes/Not sure/ No
2. I get along with most of my classmates. Yes/ Not sure/ No
3. I know most of my classmates very well. Yes/ Not sure/ No
4. I say good things about most of my classmates. Yes/ Not sure/ No
5. I play nicely with most of my classmates. Yes/ Not sure/ No
6. I am good at working with my classmates. Yes/ Not sure/ No
7. I work well with my classmates in groups. Yes/ Not sure/ No
8. I help most of my classmates when they need it. Yes/ Not sure/ No
9. I ask most of my classmates for help when I need it. Yes/ Not sure/ No
10. I am good at sharing my ideas with others. Yes/ Not sure/ No
11. I am good at listening to others. Yes/ Not sure/ No
12. I am good at understanding other people’s feelings. Yes/ Not sure/ No

### About my classmates

I like my friends because they .................................................................

The most important thing(s) in a friend is/are ..............................................

Things I like about my class are .................................................................

1. Most of my classmates like one another. Yes/ Not sure/ No
2. Most of my classmates get along with one another. Yes/ Not sure/ No
3. Most of my classmates know each other well. Yes/ Not sure/ No
4. Most of my classmates say good things about one another. Yes/ Not sure/ No
5. Most of my classmates play nicely with other children. Yes/ Not sure/ No
6. Most of my classmates are good at working together. Yes/ Not sure/ No
7. Most of my classmates work well in groups. Yes/ Not sure/ No
8. Most of my classmates help other children when they need it. Yes/ Not sure/ No
9. Most of my classmates ask other children for help when they need it. Yes/ Not sure/ No
10. Most of my classmates are good at sharing their ideas with others. Yes/ Not sure/ No
11. Most of my classmates are good at listening to others. Yes/ Not sure/ No
12. Most of my classmates are good at understanding other people’s feelings. Yes/ Not sure/ No
C.4 Interview questions for a class teacher (after the project)

About the overall project
1. What did you expect from the Peacemakers?
2. Did the Peacemakers meet your expectations? If so, how?
3. Do you think that the Peacemakers were beneficial to children? If so, how?
4. Do you assess the impact of the work of the Peacemakers? If so, how?
5. How do you fit the Peacemakers into the National Curriculum?
6. Are the Peacemakers linked to any curriculum subject?
7. If so, what are the possible learning outcomes?
8. Have you found any impact of the Peacemakers on children?
9. Are there any particular aspects of the Peacemakers that you think are beneficial to you as a teacher?
10. Are there any different or similar approaches to standard/normal teaching of children in the Peacemakers?
11. Do you do any follow up work after the Peacemakers?
12. How do you think the Peacemakers might contribute to ‘peace’?
13. Are there any other comments on the Peacemakers?

About children’s certain attitudes
14. Have you noticed any changes in relationships between children?
15. Have you noticed any changes in relationships between children and you as a teacher?
16. Have you noticed any changes in children’s ability to work with others?
17. Have you noticed any changes in children’s ability to listen attentively?
18. Have you noticed any changes in self-esteem or confidence of children?
19. Have you noticed any changes in children’s attitudes to affirming others?
C.5 Interview questions for Year 5 pupils (after the project)

1. Did you enjoy (like) the Peacemakers? Yes / No
   If you did, can you tell me something you particularly enjoyed (liked)?
   If you didn’t, why not? Can you tell me something you particularly didn’t enjoy (like)?
2. What did you and your classmates do well in the Peacemakers?
3. What did you learn in the Peacemakers?
4. What is a good Peacemaker like?
5. Did you learn anything that will be useful for you in class or in the playground?
6. Do you think that the Peacemakers were different from normal lessons? If so, how?
7. Did you learn something which will be useful for you in normal lessons?
8. Do you think that the Peacemakers helped you in any way? If so, how?
9. Did the Peacemakers have any influence on you or your class? If so, in what ways?
   (Have you changed in anyway because of the project?)
10. Any other comments?

C.6 Interview questions for the leading project worker (after the project)

1. Have you found any impact of the project on children?
2. Have you noticed any changes in relationships between children?
3. Have you noticed any changes in relationships between children and a class teacher?
4. Have you noticed any changes in children’s ability to work with others?
5. Have you noticed any changes in children’s ability to listen attentively?
6. Have you noticed any changes in self-esteem or confidence of children?
7. Have you noticed any changes in children’s attitudes to affirming others?
8. Are there any issues that you noticed in the class?
9. What follow-up work did you suggest to a class teacher?
[Appendix C (continued)]

C.7 Interview questions for the head teacher

1. What do you understand by the Peacemakers?
2. Why do you invite the Peacemakers into your school?
3. What do you expect from the project?
4. Has the project met your expectation? If so, how?
5. What do you expect from the project?
6. What impact can be expected from the project?
7. Have you found any impact of the project on the children, teachers and other staff?
8. Do you do any follow up work after the project?
9. The project calls itself ‘the Peacemakers’. What attracted you to a project with the word ‘peace’ in the title?
10. How do you think the project might contribute to ‘peace’?
11. Are there any other comments on the project?

C.8 Interview questions for a learning mentor

1. What do you understand by the Peacemakers?
2. What do you expect from the Peacemakers?
3. Have the Peacemakers met your expectation? If so, how?
4. Have you found any impact of the Peacemakers on children?
5. Do you think that the Peacemakers are beneficial to children? If so, how?
6. Are there any aspects of the project that you value in particular?
7. How do you think the project might contribute to ‘peace’?
8. Are there any particular aspects of the Peacemakers that you think are beneficial to your work as a learning mentor?
9. How do the Peacemakers fit in with behavioural strategies in the school?
10. Are there any other comments on the project?
The construction of the interview questions (5.4.5.2)

In terms of types of questions, these semi-structured interviews were mostly based on open-ended questions, in contrast to closed questions with given choices to answer. Since the interviews were intended to investigate the details of particular issues, open-ended questions were more appropriate in this research than closed questions. Moreover, the overall research questions required qualitative analysis of people’s experiences, ideas and perceptions gained from open-ended questions, in contrast to closed questions which are more suitable for statistical analysis (Robson, 1993: 252-3). Thus, although there are some closed questions in the interviews, the interviewees were asked to explain the details, or reasons for their answers. As noted by Cohen and Manion (1989: 313), open-ended questions are flexible, hence they allow the interviewer to investigate in more depth, or to clarify misunderstandings. They also enable the interviewer to identify the limits of the respondent’s knowledge, to encourage co-operation, and to allow the interviewer to assess what the respondent really believes.

In terms of the content of questions, which can be categorised between seeking facts (what people know), types of behaviour (what people do), and beliefs or attitudes (what people think or feel) (Robson, 1993: 247), the interview questions in this research aimed at obtaining information regarding facts, as well as probing the experiences and attitudes of the respondents through in-depth inquiry. In particular, the content of interview questions reflected the research questions in terms of its focus and specific issues. This practice coincided with the idea that qualitative interviews with open-ended questions seem to be suitable for research with a specific focus, since the interview can be directed at that focus and its associated research questions (Bryman, 2004: 341). Moreover, Cohen and Manion (1994: 315) suggest that carefully structured questions may minimise inaccuracy and bias which can occur in response to questions about both facts and opinions. In this research, with regard to the order of questions, the interviews took the funnel approach, which starts with broad questions and then narrows down the scope of the questions until, towards the end it comes to some very specific points (Oppenheim, 1992: 110-2). Therefore, in this research, questions about abstract ideas were placed at an earlier stage while specific questions asking for practical examples of these ideas came later in the interview design. Through this approach, it may be possible to avoid putting certain ideas into people’s minds before asking about their own ideas and experiences.

Furthermore, question wording is also important to minimise misunderstanding or distortion in people’s responding process. Oppenheim (1992: 121) suggests three points to consider in the wording of questions: the focus and contents of the questions must be right; the wording must be suitable; and the context, sequence and response categories must help the respondent without intentionally biasing the answers. Therefore, in this study, careful attention was paid to question wording by selecting simple words and clear concepts to convey the precise meaning of the questions, and by avoiding the use of prejudicial language or vague words (May, 2001: 106-7).
[Appendix E] Backgrounds of WMQPEP (6.2)

• **Backgrounds of Project Workers**

  The following characteristics were identified in the backgrounds of WMQPEP project workers as a result of questionnaires which asked about their qualifications and fields of study, previous employment experience, and how they became interested in peace education.

  Many project workers are qualified and have worked in primary, secondary or further education, by teaching specific subjects (e.g. Geography, Physics, Economics, Maths, English, Drama, English Literature, P.E., Craft Design, Technology, Dance, Art and Music) or by working for children with special needs. Some are qualified and have worked in the fields of educational therapy, psychotherapy, psychiatry (including emotional disturbance), counselling, mentoring, mediation and yoga. Several project workers read War Studies, Peace Education, and Peace and Reconciliation Studies at university.

  Some also have experience in working in informal educational settings such as drama workshops or youth clubs (e.g. Woodcraft Folk) while others have worked in religious settings as a Buddhist chaplaincy or as a Quaker school teacher. Furthermore, one project worker has worked in international settings, for peace-building in Northern Ireland and peace education in Northern Ireland, England, Belarus, Ukraine and Uganda. Many project workers became interested in peace education through their connections with Quakers. Overall, it seems that many project workers regard WMQPEP’s peace education work as an opportunity to make good use of their skills and knowledge gained from their previous experiences.

• **WMQPEP’s Views on Key Elements of their Work**

  Through the questionnaires prior to interviews, some important elements of WMQPEP’s work were identified by the project workers. Many project workers described what the project aims to offer children, teachers and schools:

  ‘Giving individual children transforming experiences.’

  ‘Giving children the opportunity to explore creative responses to conflict: conflict arising out of difference is inevitably part of life. Constructively dealing with conflict is a basic skill that ideally all children will learn and an educational duty that we should all find ways to discharge.’

  ‘To help reduce bullying in schools; many children suffer in a culture of bullying.’

  ‘Helping teachers to see their pupils in a new light - teachers hardly ever see their classes working with other people and it is a useful experience for everyone.’

  ‘Offering teachers new insights and approaches - though the work with children is often the most immediately rewarding, helping teachers to change may affect the lives of hundreds of children in the future.’
‘Improving school ethos and conflict handling.’

Many project workers also noted that the approach and methods used in the project are important elements of their work:

‘The Circle Time approach is a key element in encouraging children to take responsibility and to develop empathy for self and others.’

‘The method of working in a circle and the experiential learning that results from this; working in a circle creates a very different dynamic which allows for relationships in the group to be experienced and understood in a way that “classroom” situation doesn’t.’

‘Creating workshops so that everyone can join in and have fun; many pupils learn to fail and have low self-esteem so they enjoy working using their experience and sharing with others.’

‘Learning takes place through the children examining their own experiences, and learning from them rather than passively absorbing knowledge.’

‘As a project worker, my main role is to train young people in conflict resolution skills in order to promote peaceful relationships in our society.’

‘The strength of the Process - without the Process (the ways in which we engage children and staff in the key concepts of peace education, conflict resolution and peer mediation), our work would not be anywhere near as effective. All of us trust this Process and need to pass on this trust to teachers and other staff as well as to the children with whom we work.’

One project worker emphasised the importance of the theoretical basis underpinning the approach and methods used in the project:

‘The theoretical basis, such as the focus on the key skills of communication, co-operation, affirmation and problem-solving - the theoretical basis is very sound and can be used to plan carefully.’

As other key elements of the work, many project workers also noted specific skills and attitudes which they wish children to learn through the project:

‘Language of feelings, it’s OK to express what you are feeling; it is always good to hear children using language related to emotions, and to see them growing in confidence from being able to explain how they feel.’
‘Encouraging emotional literacy; emotional literacy is a key component in developing a more skilful approach to dealing with conflict in self and others.’

‘Good listening skills, vocabulary for feelings and the ability to recognise them in ourselves and in others are essential for life. Good co-operation is important too. Adaptability, problem-solving and respecting other people’s ideas are necessary in a changing world. These are lessons for life and the skills we teach are needed throughout life in all relationships. Also, to be able to feel O.K. about ourselves and not to feel we have to follow others and that we can say “no” is important.’

‘Recognising signs of your own anger and finding ways to diffuse the emotion - it seems that the fact that we all get angry is quite a revelation to some children. They are relieved to hear it, and to find that there are ways to deal with it which do not involve violence or getting into trouble.’

Several project workers emphasised the importance of meeting the needs of children:

‘Tailoring the basic programme to the needs of each group of children.’

‘The way that programmes can be devised to suit the needs of the class.’

‘Planning workshops to meet the particular needs of pupils in schools; much of the educational experiences in schools are of a ‘one size fits all’ type.’

Some also stressed the teacher’s role to continue using the principles of the project:

‘The teacher continuing to remind the children of our ideas during the week.’

‘The school committed to maintain the ways of thinking and behaviour taught when we have left.’

One project worker emphasised the following attitude towards the work:

‘The utter commitment of the workers to peace education work - There is no room for half-heartedness in this kind of work and all of us who do the work, have to hold a belief in its potential for changing attitudes and patterns of behaviour, if only in small ways.’

‘The vital importance of shared experience amongst the workers - sometimes we work in pairs, but often we work alone in a school. The opportunity for us to have regular contact with each other and with a project manager, can be really important when dealing with issues such as challenging behaviour or situations previously not experienced in the work.’
1. PEN’s basic framework for peace education

[Main aims of Education for Peace]

• To show people that violence and war are learned and not an intrinsic part of human nature and that it is possible to resolve conflict peacefully.
• To create a more peaceful world where all of us may become agents for change. Education for Peace gives us the skills that will assist in achieving peaceful societies.
• To correct the limited understanding of peace held by many people that it is the absence, however contrived, of direct violence, of wounding and killing.
• To create a better learning environment where conflict and relationships may be explored.

[Main Components of Education for Peace]

• **Skills**: communication, problem-solving, critical thinking, cooperation, conflict resolution
• **Values and Attitudes**: self esteem, respect for others and diversity, respect for the environment, empathy, commitment to equality, social justice and nonviolence
• **Knowledge and Understanding**: difference between fact and opinion – identifying bias; positive aspects of conflict; feelings and the origins of conflict; interdependence and globalisation; rights and responsibilities

(Peace Education Network, 2006)

2. A list of organisations which are part of the network

• Aik Saath
• Anglican Pacifist Fellowship
• Centre for Peace and Reconciliation Studies, Coventry University
• Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
• Coventry Peace House
• Fellowship of Reconciliation (England)
• Movement for the Abolition of War
• Network for Peace
• Pax Christi
• Peace Pledge Union
• Peace Research & Education Trust
• Quaker Peace & Social Witness
• The Peace Museum (Bradford)
• West Midlands Quaker Peace Education Project

(www.peaceeducation.org.uk)
The story of how the project originally started (described by the project manager in the interview) (6.2.1.3)

‘There was a Quaker in the Warwickshire monthly meeting who felt that in schools the children were taught about war. They were taught about war in Geography, History, English, the war poems and so on, but they were never taught about peace. He felt that there was imbalance in the curriculum. He felt so strongly that he suggested to other Quakers that they set up a project to get this balance back. So wherever there was a war being taught about, he felt that peace should be taught about as well. So it was a kind of balance because of this imbalance in the curriculum in schools. He started by showing films of various international conflicts; he had a film of the Korean War, films of the Vietnam War, and other conflicts in different parts of the world. He showed those films in schools and then he held discussions about what did happen and what could’ve been done to stop it. His whole emphasis was against the glorification of war and the possibility of living peacefully. He felt that he wanted to sow the seeds of the idea in young minds that that’s what you can do, you can do it peacefully and the world can be a peaceful place. It doesn’t need to be a war like that.’

‘What happened then was that his idea was developed by different people who worked for the project. A first co-ordinator was very interested in international relations and a second co-ordinator was interested in community conflict and personal conflict. What I refer to is mostly the work of the second co-ordinator. She was very interested in how you deal with personal conflict, how you deal with conflict in your community. And the idea was that if you learned the skills of dealing with conflict in your own life, you could then see how conflict in an international way could be handled. That was the beginning of the idea of personal skills. You could potentially transfer these skills internationally. That’s where our idea of peace education comes from, it’s really anti-war education.’
Discussion: WMQPEP’s work and Quakerism (6.2.4)

WMQPEP’s work seems to be greatly underpinned by Quakerism, which refers to Quakers’ beliefs, philosophy and the way of living. The Quakers’ belief in the values of equality, co-operation and affirmation can be found in the literature as follows:

The belief in the equality of all human beings of whatever sex, race, class or age. This is firmly grounded in God’s love for each individual, rather than in social fashion. This requires policies, not of equal opportunities (which redistribute inequality) but of equality, and implies that schools be reorganised for co-operation rather than competition, and for affirming people in their successes rather than their failures. (By Janet Scott, 1988 in Quaker Faith and Practice, 2005: 23.73)

Quakers’ philosophy clearly expresses the importance of practising the belief in people’s own experience, while valuing each person’s spiritual journey on their own path:

For Quakers what is experienced in their hearts and lives is more important than anything preached from a pulpit. What another person may say to be true only becomes real if they experience it for themselves. (Cameron et al., 2004: 11)

The Quakers’ belief and philosophy are reflected in WMQPEP’s peace education, in which every child is treated as equal, and their opinions and feelings are valued. Quakers value learning from what emerges from a group and each person’s contribution to the group, which are important part of WMQPEP’s project. The Quakers’ attitudes toward people and peace are described in the literature as follows:

Friends [Quakers] believe that war is contrary to the teaching of Jesus, who commanded ‘Love your enemies, do good to them which hate you’ (Luke 6: 27 in the New Testament). They apply this principle into each area of their lives arguing that they should be peacemakers in all dealings. Today Friends are involved in finding peaceful solutions to conflict by mediation and reconciliation at personal, local, national and international levels. (Cameron et al., 2004: 17)

Therefore, the Quakers’ involvement in peace accords with WMQPEP’s work in promoting peace through education. In particular, WMQPEP’s view on peace and their belief in peaceful ways of resolving conflict seem to come from Quaker Peace Testimony, which contains the principle of pacifism:
The peace testimony is about deeds not creeds; not a form of words but a way of living. It is the cumulative lived witness of generations of Quakers....The peace testimony is not about being nice to people and living so that everyone likes us. It will remain a stumbling block and will itself cause conflict and disagreement. The peace testimony is a tough demand that we should not automatically accept the categories, definitions and priorities of the world… The peace testimony, today, is seen in what we do, severally and together, with our lives… We need to train to wage peace. (From London Yearly Meeting, 1993 in Quaker Faith and Practice, 2005: 24.11)

WMQPEP’s understanding of peace education is based on this pacifist approach, in which peace is referred to as the total refusal of violence. As pacifists, Quakers oppose all wars and all violent means of achieving ends, believing the idea of living peacefully by solving conflict in non-violent and co-operative ways. The pacifist approach does not mean the avoidance of confrontation or being passive, but a strategy of active non-violence which uses communication to resolve conflicts in non-violent ways (Harris and Morrison, 2003: 20-1). This strong belief in non-violence is stated in the Quaker Peace Testimony:

We actively oppose all that leads to violence among people and nations, and violence to other species and to our planet. Refusal to fight with weapons is not surrender. We are not passive when threatened by the greedy, the cruel, the tyrant, the unjust. We will struggle to remove the causes of impasse and confrontation by every means of non-violent resistance available. (From A Statement of Peace by New Zealand Quakers, 1987 in Quaker Peace and Service, 1993)

Furthermore, pacifists do not repress conflict but try to solve it alongside eradicating injustice and building peace through co-operation, as stated by the Quakers:

The places to begin acquiring the skills and maturity and generosity to avoid or to resolve conflicts are in our own homes, our personal relationships, our schools, our workplaces, and wherever decisions are made……Conflicts are inevitable and must not be repressed or ignored but worked through painfully and carefully. We must develop the skills of being sensitive to oppression and grievances, sharing power in decision-making, creating consensus, and making reparation. (From a public statement of the Yearly Meeting of Aotearoa/New Zealand, 1987 in Quaker Faith and Practice, 2005: 24.10)

The same viewpoint is found in WMQPEP’s approach to peace education, which is based on the belief that conflict is part of everyday life.
Activities for communication, co-operation, affirmation and problem-solving (6.3.3)

- Communication

One project worker raised some major points of teaching communication skills:

1. Regular repetition of a round where somebody in a circle says something and everybody shows respect and listens.

2. Paired listening is very important, where talking in pairs and your partner has to feedback to the whole group.

3. Non-verbal exercise like drama, making statues in the situations or a conflict situation.
   
   ‘I think that is very powerful communication which helps children to see clearly what’s going on in different situations. It’s a very direct way, not speaking, but it’s a way of their communicating; what the situation is like.’

An example of games for children to learn communication skills was introduced by another project worker as follows:

The Blame Game

‘If I choose three children and I would go in as the fourth. I have a red card on one side is written “I blame …” and on the other side is blank. I would set up part of the situation, for example, you are the two children who are encouraging each other to be very badly behaved in a class, I’m a parent, and the other child is a teacher. And we’re going to pass this red card around to give to anybody in a group saying “I blame you because…” And then I would give a reason why I blame that person and that person passes it to somebody else and say “I blame you because…” And I would say to the class, “What’s happening here? All we are doing is passing the card, we’re just passing responsibility, and nobody’s taking responsibility.” So we’re turning the card over, and it’s blank. This time, somebody in the group takes the card and doesn’t give it to anybody, somebody can only take it. When you take it, you’re taking responsibility. So you say, “I take some of the blame for this because … (For example, I shouldn’t be so easily distracted).” In that way, you can actually see that unless people start taking responsibility, nothing can happen. So it’s a nice demonstration.’
• Co-operation

Games and activities for children to learn to co-operate involve working together both physically and intellectually. Children are encouraged to move safely and interact with others:

‘Small group tasks, for example, using Jigsaw, and more recently there are some more physical co-operative tasks like Jenga or making newspaper bridges. So it’s working together on a practical task, even moving tables - learning to move a table together. I think that’s very powerful. It’s actually learning how to do it.’

‘For instance, if you have a game like what we call mixing-up games like ‘Fruit Salad’. If you’ve got a problem in a class with pushing and shoving… you’ve got a problem with not being careful enough with each other. They are not careful in moving around in a room. So ‘Fruit Salad’ is good to do with them because you can watch them and then control. And if they do it badly, you’ll do it again until they get it right.’

Some games and activities require a high level of co-operation skills and trust between children. These are often introduced later in the project when children have built more co-operative relationships and trust in the whole class. Examples of co-operative games and activities were described by several project workers as follows:

Co-operative game using different colour dots (suitable for around Week 6)
‘Children sit in a circle and you put sticky different colour dots on everybody’s forehead, and tell the children not to talk, not to indicate what colour it is, not to use sign languages, and not to look in a mirror or glass windows. And you have to get yourself into a group depending on the colour of your dot. You can’t ask people, “what colour am I?” It’s entirely co-operation because someone else who can see the persons who have blue dots, has to bring them together. But you don’t know what your own colour is, so you’re going to hope that someone else in the class will come and find you. You have to put yourself in other’s hands, be very vulnerable, and allow yourself to be moved, because there is no way that you can do it in any other way. You have to forget yourself and trust other people.’
Co-operation donkeys
‘The other game is co-operation donkeys which we do quite close to the end of the ten weeks because you can tell by that stage whether or not, when we do co-operation donkeys, how far the group has come. They may find it difficult to do this in a group of six, because the group dynamics are difficult for them to handle, or because they haven’t managed themselves in a group of six. They all have a script which tells the story if you put them in a right order of two donkeys who want to eat piles of hay. But both donkeys are roped together so when they pull in separate directions, they can’t reach the hay. They can only get the hay if they co-operate and work together. But the youngsters have to put the cards in a right story order. They have to decide that in the six, and they also have to decide a way of demonstrating that story to the rest of the group.’

‘That one is such as a good exercise for seeing what stage people have reached in the group. Some can manage it with very few problems, others have untold difficulties in getting people to co-operate… that’s all part of process. When we talk about it afterwards, we encourage those groups to be very honest. “What would you say went wrong in your group? What could we do about that so that wouldn’t happen again? What changes could we bring about?”....’

Moreover, some activities involve both communication and co-operation. One of the examples was explained by one project worker as follows:

Gossip:
‘Basically you have a little story and choose about four children out of the classroom. They should be children who have good memory otherwise it doesn’t work. You tell the story to one child who remains in the class and everybody can hear it. And that child tells what the story was when the first person comes in. When another person comes in, the person who has just heard the story has to repeat it to the next one. So the story is passed on and the whole group just listen. And then you ask the rest of the group “What happened?” The story often gets shorter and gets distorted, and some words are changed, like a police officer has changed to a policeman. Using a whole story can show how a story changes when more and more people repeat it. Therefore, it’s good to realise that somebody says something about a person, how do you know that’s a truth or not. Because a lot of people have told the story, it’s probably changed. So you shouldn’t believe that’s been said and you shouldn’t pass it on because you aren’t passing it on correctly.’
[Appendix I (continued)]

- **Affirmation**

An affirming environment is created through games and activities as well as through attitudes towards each other. One project worker introduced one example of affirming children:

‘I usually say to teachers, particularly for listening skills, “It would be good if you could notice children who are listening”, and to use that word “I notice that…….” Because children think that you’re noticing what they do and they are more likely to do it. You don’t necessarily have to have the certificate, just a teacher to say “I’ve noticed you’re sitting really quietly. I can see you’re ready to start.” It’s enough…Because at the end of the day, that’s what we all want, isn’t it? We want to be noticed and valued. I think that many children, if they can’t be noticed for positive things, they want to be noticed for negative things, because they can still get attention. So I think we can try and notice more positive things about children, and perhaps ignore minor negative things.’

There are activities for children to practise affirmation by noticing the positives in themselves and in others (e.g. Hotseat). One project worker described the benefit of affirmation:

‘Hotseat is very valuable. I think this is practice of making positive comments, noticing and telling children when they’ve done something well. By receiving positive comments, children would try to work hard.’

The following are examples of affirmation activities described by several project workers:

**Sleeping Hedgehogs**

‘A child sits in the middle of the circle and others affirm that child. You cover the child with cloth before someone else comes in and guesses who is under the cover from the statements that are made. Process: One person goes outside the classroom. You pick a child to be the one to go in the middle and everybody has to change places because otherwise the person who is outside can easily guess. The child in the middle is under the cloth and when the person comes in from outside, other people say something positive about the child under the cloth.’

**Mr Blob**

‘You draw an outline of shape of a person on a black board and every time when children shout at me saying something horrible like ‘You’re spotty’ and you rub a little bit off. And then when they start saying something positive and you’re getting more optimistic, Mr Blob comes back on the board. So children really get the idea of how you feel. When people are really horrible to you, you would feel that you wish you could disappear, and when people say something positive, you would feel relax and happy.’
[Appendix I (continued)]

**Magic Carpets**

‘For Magic Carpets, you put a little pretty rug in the middle of a circle and a child sits on a rug, and anyone wants to say something positive about the child or what the child is good at, and they have to put their hands up. And the person in the middle can choose four or five people to say something positive about them, and they go on the certificate. It’s a bit like Sleeping Hedgehogs but it’s quicker and you can see and you can choose who would like to say something. We encourage them to take risks, not to just choose their friends. If you choose someone you don’t know very well, you might be surprised. And you know that everyone with their hands up is going to say something nice anyway. So it’s not like you’re going to risk negative comments. Sometimes that comes afterwards, “Was there anything you learned about or you were surprised about?” Some children say “Yes, I thought I was…..” We normally do this at the end of a session because it’s a very positive way to finish the session.’

- **Problem-solving**

To learn problem-solving skills, children are given tasks, such as a conflict-related group activity, and are encouraged to explore different solutions to a problem as well as identifying advantages and disadvantages of these approaches. One project worker explained as follows:

‘We have a particular activity where we ask children about different kinds of conflicts, how to stop conflicts and alternatives to conflict. The idea of problem-solving is to define the problems, to get a lot of different solutions, to define what are advantages and disadvantages of these approaches, and to make choices about which one would be tried out. The important point of problem-solving is to open up your mind and to get more ideas. A lot of activities are quite simple, and they don’t have really complex rules. They do open up children’s minds to different ideas and different solutions.’

According to another project worker, the important aspect of problem-solving is the practice of thinking different ideas. In the process, it’s also important to value children’s ideas, with a view to increasing their confidence:

‘When I ask questions and children put up their hands with their ideas and I listen to everyone’s idea, that practice gives them confidence. Even when their ideas are not appropriate, but if you say to them that we can use their ideas for the next time, they would think that their ideas are worthwhile. If children answer a question and you say to them, “I don’t think that’s a good idea”, it doesn’t give them any confidence trying to contribute their ideas next time. So it's important to value all of their views.’
[Appendix J]

Peace Education in Schools? (7.4.2)

Many project workers felt that peace education is not commonly practised in schools. As one of the reasons, one project worker said that people often react to what happens, for example, to bullying with an anti-bullying policy, rather than being proactive in preventing problems:

‘I don’t think it’s practised commonly, perhaps certain aspects of peace education are. I think certainly all schools look at the issues and address bullying. Because it’s the law, each school has to have an anti-bullying policy. I think we’re not proactive in preventing it. We’re looking at responses to it when it happens, so how do we handle bullying when it happens to the school, rather than saying how can our community be such a good community that bullying happens very rarely because we are proactive and because every child in our school feels good about themselves, and we have a peaceful playground.’

Another project worker also pointed out that, unlike peace education, the anti-bullying policy has been considered important in schools although there is a similarity between the two:

‘It’s interesting that all schools must have an anti-bullying policy, and anti-bullying work has been recognised as very important. But peace education is a broader term even though some aspects of the work are very similar to anti-bullying work.’

One project worker noticed that, in the case of WMQPEP, once the project is recommended within a network of schools or learning mentors, it can be spread through the understanding that it supports other similar initiatives in schools:

‘I have the impression that peace education is not common in schools generally, but if WMQPEP is recommended by another school or, for example, a network of learning mentors in a neighbourhood, there are few obstacles for us. Peace education can be seen as supporting an anti-bullying policy, peer mediation and peer mentoring schemes.’

Another project worker pointed out that peace education is practised more in city schools facing more problems than in village schools, although peace education is for everybody to learn necessary skills:

‘In certain areas of the country, particularly like city schools in Birmingham, they see it as valuable. It doesn’t seem to be something that you find in a village school in the countryside. I think at the moment it’s very much an urban thing. Possibly there are fewer problems in the countryside, but it’s not always just for problems. Peace education is to do with giving people a set of skills that we all need.’
Moreover, according to one project worker, whether peace education is practised in schools in the UK may depend on the initiatives existing in the area:

‘In terms of peace education projects being brought in to work in schools, I think that experiences are variable. I think that throughout the country, there are some excellent projects going on and they are very similar to our project. For some reasons, somebody sets up the project and a number of schools in the area do peace education. But there might be a whole area of the country where nobody’s ever heard of it, so not much work has been done. It may be complete luck, like when somebody has a good idea, somebody provides funding for it, and it’s developed.’

On the other hand, another project worker thought that, although ‘peace education’ is not commonly practised in schools, there are other similar practices to peace education:

‘It’s a difficult question to answer because the word ‘peace education’ is rarely used in schools. Certainly peace education hasn’t been practised in schools under that name. However, there is quite a lot of good practice which is fundamental to peace education. Good Circle Time is fundamental to peace education, and it happens in many schools. In about the last 10 years or so, there has been a big establishment of a Circle Time. One of the reasons for the Circle Time is to improve the relationships within a class. So peace education is overlapped by that, but the school doesn’t call it peace education. Also citizenship, which is now compulsory in secondary schools, includes the understanding of democracy and contains a lot of concepts of peace education…Also they have a school council which has representatives from each year group in the school and they meet together to make decisions for various things about schools, not decisions about learning but other things like facilities in the playground or social concerns like raising money for charities and so on.’

The same project worker also explained why the term, ‘peace education’ is not usually used:

‘But all of these are not called peace education, I think because the word, “peace” is seen as very wishy-washy and vague, it’s not seen as a positive thing, it’s seen as a bit left-wing, or not even seen as left-wing but as alternative or opting-out. And “peace” is often seen as the absence of war, rather than “peace” being seen as a positive state, which needs to be worked on. It doesn’t have a strong image…People may think why do we need peace education when we are not in a war? The image of peace education is often associated with anti-Vietnam War protestors, and it’s for middle-class people who’ve got more money and time doing something that is nothing to do with a real world. Some people have a very negative image.’
The Findings from the Pilot Study (8.3)

The following are the findings from the pilot study (in the autumn term 2005), based on an evaluation report by a leading project worker, the interviews with a supply teacher and a supply learning mentor, and written feedback from pupils and the supply teacher.

- **Project Worker’s Report on the Project**
  From the viewpoint of the leading project worker, one of the major issues facing the class was the absence of a class teacher (who was on sick leave). Several supply teachers participated in the project alongside a supply learning mentor and a teaching assistant. The leading project worker described the project and its impact as follows:

  ‘I found the class initially to be very unsettled, with many children showing very little self-control, positive communication or co-operative working and responding to very little other than the threat of getting the Headteacher in!! ... We therefore spent several weeks using a problem-solving approach to identify ‘What stops us working well together?’ and to then agree rules for the group… By week 10, the children… were working co-operatively as a whole group and in smaller (random) groups. Even the children who had regularly required individual support from [a supply learning mentor’s name] were integrated with the group for practically the whole session without any additional support, which was very rewarding!!’ (From the evaluation report by the leading project worker: 2005)

The project worker, in particular, appreciated a supply learning mentor’s support:

  ‘I found [the supply learning mentor’s name] support invaluable as she immediately understood the project’s aims and in particular the value of focussing on the positive. For me, it was fantastic to have [the supply learning mentor’s name] available to give ‘time out of the circle’ to individual children who were struggling with the dynamics of the group. In fact I think that this is the first time that I have really seen ‘time out ’ framed positively as an opportunity which children can use to regain their sense of themselves before re-entering the group. All too often ‘time out’ is equated with a punishment for undesirable behaviour and as such is applied in a very negative way, leaving both adult and child with negative feelings and lowered self-esteem.’ (From the evaluation report by the leading project worker: 2005)

- **Participants’ Perceptions of the Project**
  The following discussion is based on the interviews conducted one month after the project. A supply teacher thought that the project helped pupils to settle down without having a proper class teacher at the beginning of a new academic year. In particular:
‘Children have learnt how to interact with others by realising the inter-relationship, including thinking about others, knowing that their interaction or their actions affect others, which are relevant learning to PHSE.’

Furthermore, a supply learning mentor thought that equal treatment of everyone in the project helped new pupils to feel accepted and build relationships with others in the class:

‘For newcomers who don’t know much about the class and who don’t speak English, the project is very welcoming. As the new pupils are suddenly accepted equally by the classmates through the project, they gain feelings of acceptance from other children as a class through doing activities together. In the project, everybody is treated equally. Therefore, for pupils who are new to the school, they are also equally treated by the class whether they are new, whether they don’t speak English or they have behavioural difficulties. That experience helps children to build their relationships with their classmates.’

The supply learning mentor felt that the project provided pupils with the following learning opportunities:

‘The project gives children responsibilities for their actions. Children get to understand that their actions will affect others. It also gives them the understanding of other people’s actions and feelings.’

‘Through group participation, children have learnt how to work as a whole group.’

The supply learning mentor also noticed that a visual drawing of the time line, which shows the structure of a session, helped the pupils to ‘have the feeling of ownership’ of the project:

‘The structure of the project in each session (drawn as a time line) helps children to enjoy as they know what they are doing. They can have the feeling of ownership, and that the Peacemakers are for them.’

In written feedback (in week 10), pupils’ comments included, ‘I have learnt to be with people whom I have never been with.’, ‘Don’t be scared to ask for help or someone to play with you.’, and ‘I have learned that working together is really important because if you don’t co-operate with them, it will turn into a big fight.’ The supply teacher also wrote, ‘this is a new approach to deal with children who find it difficult to get on with other people.’
On the other hand, the supply teacher felt that the project was not enough for some pupils:

‘But also there are more needs to build on for some children, for instance, children who find it difficult to integrate with others because they are self-centred. They want to stand out from others, and they often want to get adults’ attention. Some children don’t respect adults these days.’

Regarding the way the project deals with pupil’s behaviour, the supply learning mentor supported the idea of emphasising their positive attitudes:

‘There is a good impact of using the behaviour management system only for positive attitudes by giving children smiley faces, not by telling them off and there is no punishment. Children can be defensive when they are accused as they know they will be punished. If they know they won’t be punished, they can be more honest.’

On the other hand, although appreciating this idea, the supply teacher felt that focusing only on positive attitudes is sometimes not effective enough:

‘It’s good to affirm their positive attitudes, and the Peacemakers brought us some useful ideas. But also for teachers, picking up only positive attitudes doesn’t always work. It doesn’t help all the children as some children need restriction, too. So it’s good to mix both ways.’

Furthermore, the supply learning mentor thought that the project was a good opportunity for the pupils to ‘see teachers as normal persons’:

‘While teachers are participating in the project together with children, the children can discover teachers’ new sides. The project creates good opportunities for children to see adults’ different sides, like doing silly things in activities. They can see teachers as normal persons, for example, in one of the activities, persons in pairs had to find what both of them like. When a teacher said, “We both like the Simpsons”, all the children laughed.’

The supply teacher also noticed a positive impact of the project when they did follow-up work:

‘When we had PSHE after the Peacemakers finished, we were impressed with their reflections and what they have learnt from the project. As follow-up work, we are trying to use the similar themes to the project in PSHE lessons. We put up posters of the Peacemaker rules and things which they learned.’
[Appendix L]

The Methods and Resources used in the Project (8.6.2)

(1) Examples of Ongoing Activities
(2) Examples of Specific Activities
The Congruence between the Principles and Practice of WMQPEP (8.6.3)

- Circle Time

As stated in the principles, the actual project mainly used a Circle Time model in which all sit in a circle and take turns in speaking or doing actions. The Circle Time model implies everyone’s participation and the value of equality, such as an equal chance and equal positions. The Circle Time model used by WMQPEP seems to coincide with the general Circle Time principles, which emphasise ‘the quality of the interaction between pupils’ (Stacey and Robinson, 1997: 38) with a view to ‘having fun together, sharing and valuing each other’s experiences and insights and moving forward together as a whole class’ (ibid: 19). To ensure the quality of the interaction, the important aspect in the process is that ‘all contributions are treated with equal respect’ in order to promote ‘inclusiveness, acceptance and a whole-group approach’ (ibid: 18). While the development of speaking and listening skills is at the centre of the Circle Time approach, its advantage is to give pupils, in particular quieter ones, an equal chance to speak or pass as ‘an automatic opportunity to contribute’ (ibid: 18). In the actual project of WMQPEP, in order to ensure equal chances, a project worker always gave another chance to pupils who passed before.

- Child-centred, Experience-based learning with Reflection

As stated in the principles, the actual project used child-centred, experience-based teaching methods in which children’s ideas, thoughts and experiences are valued. Coincidental with the principles, the actual project was based on fun games and activities, sharing ideas and feelings rather than gaining knowledge through writing or reading. Many activities are designed for pupils to interact and co-operate with others, and to learn to take responsibility for their actions. In the principles, reflection is considered an important part of learning. In practice, after experiencing each game and activity, pupils were always asked questions which encouraged them to reflect on what they have done, analyse their actions and consider what can be improved. Moreover, the project worker often asked pupils to explain more about their answers in order to promote reflective thinking. As one aspect of child-centred learning, WMQPEP stated that the project does not set certain targets but builds on where children are. In the actual project, pupils were allowed to learn at their own pace, while no target was set for each session or the whole project.

- Practice of Core Elements of Learning

As expressed in the interview, it was clear that WMQPEP regards communication, co-operation and affirmation as a basis of effective problem-solving and conflict resolution, and as the essential components of human interaction and relationships. In particular, WMQPEP thought that pupils’ experience of working with others raises their self-esteem. The same viewpoint is expressed by Stacey and Robinson (1997):
To approach competence in conflict resolution skills, young people need a developed sense of themselves as a member of a group or team, vocabulary, recognition and understanding of feelings, the ability to express needs, empathy and a willingness to consider another point of view. (Stacey and Robinson, 1997: 137)

In the actual project, most activities were based on various kinds of interaction and a combination of communication, co-operation, affirmation and problem-solving. For example, moving tables and chairs in groups involves communication and co-operation for figuring out how to organise the tables and chairs, along with problem-solving for deciding who is doing what.

**Communication**
There were many opportunities for pupils to communicate with others in pairs and in groups and to practise speaking in front of other people. There was a specific activity for improving listening skills (‘good and bad listening’). There was also an activity to practise speaking and listening while finding out about each other (‘Finding similarities and differences’). Along with verbal communication, non-verbal communication (e.g. eye-contact, smiling) was also promoted (e.g. Circle Mayhem). Pupils were always encouraged to interact with those whom they don’t normally play with. Overall, the project was designed for pupils to get to know each other better and to find something in common as a basis for good relationships, rather than focusing on difference.

In general, these activities are seen as effective in improving general speaking and listening skills, by increasing ‘awareness of others,’ ‘the ability to take turns to listen to people,’ ‘the ability to control impulse’, ‘the ability to concentrate and remember what has been said’ and ‘the ability to interact positively with peers’ at beginner level (Stacey and Robinson, 1997: 39). Similarly, at intermediate level, they develop ‘listening for understanding,’ ‘the ability to retain information and feed back to someone,’ ‘an understanding of what makes a good listener’ and ‘the ability to express thoughts and opinions’ (Stacey and Robinson, 1997: 46). It seems that many activities in WMQPEP’s project provide pupils with the opportunity to practise these elements of communication skills. Some researchers (e.g. Davies, 2004: 134) recognise the importance of starting a ‘listening culture’ at primary level since it can nurture greater confidence and self-esteem while reducing behavioural problems.
Co-operation
Most games and activities in the actual project involved co-operation skills such as turn taking, working as team players and becoming aware of others, as described in the principles. In particular, some activities such as ‘Co-operative Five’ or ‘Koosh Ball’ were designed for pupils to work together as a group, while taking responsibility for their actions as individuals in order to make the game go well. Furthermore, as stated in the principles, there was no competition or tests in these activities and games.

These activities can improve the ability to co-operate based on reciprocal relationships, by establishing ‘a sense of self’ and ‘learning to share, to take turns and to contribute to activities of all kinds’ (Stacey and Robinson, 1997: 86). This ability can be developed toward the improvement of ‘the sense of self as a member of the group and of group cohesion, breaking down barriers of gender, ethnicity etc’ (ibid: 91). While the major foundation work is to teach the value of co-operation, the practice of co-operation in a whole group is particularly regarded as important for ‘developing class cohesion and for countering the effect of sub-groups, cliques and gender or ethnicity divides’ (Stacey and Robinson, 1997: 85).

In accordance with these ideas, the activities provided pupils with the opportunity to co-operate and work towards collaborative success, considering that pupils’ experience of co-operation can improve the conditions of the class, such as separation into different sub-groups based on gender and ethnicity.

Affirmation
As the importance of affirmative attitudes is emphasised in the principles, the project worker always tried to draw out what comes out from pupils, affirmed those who did well in activities or showed good behaviour, and thanked them for their contribution or patience. To practise affirmation skills, pupils and teachers were encouraged to make positive comments about each other in certain activities (e.g. Hotseat) and throughout the project. Similarly, as part of affirmation, some activities (e.g. ‘Human Bingo’) were designed for pupils to get to know each other better. As seen in WMQPEP’s project, the centre of affirmation in a Circle Time is generally to create warm, affirming and supportive atmosphere in which pupils feel able to participate while they start to develop a vocabulary of affirmation and recognise ‘their own, and other people’s, strengths’ (Stacey and Robinson, 1997: 65).
Problem-solving and Conflict resolution
As WMQPEP considers problem-solving and conflict resolution as part of the important elements of learning, several activities in the actual project involved problem-solving skills, such as moving tables and chairs to make a circle, conflict-related activities, and ‘Task Jigsaws’ in which pupils get into groups according to jigsaws and carry out tasks in groups. All these activities were designed for pupils to work co-operatively to deal with problems or tasks by themselves rather than being helped by adults. In conflict-related activities, pupils discussed the nature of conflict and learned different ways of managing conflict without violence, and practised these skills. This coincides with general conflict resolution skills, including ‘an understanding of conflict’, ‘an awareness of personal conflict styles’, ‘an appreciation of the effects of conflict’ and ‘the ability and willingness to see another point of view’ (Stacey and Robinson, 1997: 137). One activity was intended to give pupils real experience of observing a conflict (a big argument), which was acted by a project worker and a teacher as if it was real. The activity was followed by asking the pupils about their reactions to the argument, including their feelings (e.g. fear, excitement, nervousness) and analysis of the situation and its effect.

Since WMQPEP considers that the practice of problem-solving skills should be based on trust, mutual respect, adequately developed speaking and listening skills and feeling awareness (e.g. Stacey and Robinson, 1997: 137), the actual project did not start activities for problem-solving at the early stage. The activities for problem-solving in the project were to provide ‘a framework for problem solving based not on imposed solutions, but on identifying the underlying causes of conflict and the mutual meeting of needs’ (Kingston Friends Workshop Group, 1996: 10). Generally, there are four basic steps involved in the process of problem-solving: defining the problem; recognising and expressing feelings, needs and concerns; creating options; and setting goals, while each step can start by asking a question as follows: 1. ‘What happened?’ 2. ‘How do you feel about it?’ 3. ‘What would you like to see happening?’ 4. ‘What could you actually do?’ (Kingston Friends Workshop Group, 1996: 11). It seems that WMQPEP’s project uses the same approach to promote problem-solving skills and different solutions to a problem.
Appendix M (continued)

- **Pacifism and Non-violent Approach to Conflict**
  Based on the principle of pacifism with a non-violent approach to conflicts, as stated by WMQPEP in the interviews, the actual project promoted non-violent conflict resolution and mediation in which children deal with conflicts arising among their friends by themselves. While there was a concern over the risk of indoctrination of WMQPEP’s belief in pacifism as opposed to the principles of peace education (see Section 7.4), the observation of the actual project found that pupils were asked to make their own choices of their actions rather than being given answers by adults, as stated by WMQPEP. Therefore, while pacifism may inform WMQPEP’s background philosophy, it does not seem to be imposed on the pupils who are encouraged to make up their own minds. The issue of autonomy of pupils is examined in more detail below.

- **Autonomy and Self-control**
  As stated in the principles, the project promoted pupils’ autonomy and self-control over their behaviour rather than trying to control them. In practice, the project worker always asked pupils’ suggestions or opinions, by asking them ‘What choices did you make that helped you to do that?’, rather than telling them what to do. For example, in ‘Koosh Ball’, pupils were asked to make suggestions for a signal to indicate those who have already received the ball. Moreover, the project worker always encouraged pupils to come up with their own ideas for dealing with issues based on their own decisions. For example, the process of making ground rules involved identifying problems and possible solutions to the problems based on the experience of pupils. These practices also coincide with the general ideas of a Circle Time, which support the autonomy of children by encouraging them to recognise their rights and responsibilities, think about others in the group, and become aware of consequences of their actions (Kingston Friends Workshop Group, 1996: 10).

- **Inclusion and Everybody’s Participation**
  In their principles, WMQPEP emphasised the importance of involving everyone to have fun and work together. The principle of inclusion and non-discrimination was practised in many activities using little reading or writing, so that pupils with little English were able to participate. Also, random grouping used in the project presents the principle of non-discrimination. To ensure everybody’s participation, games and activities were designed to include everybody, while some activities included different languages spoken by some pupils, for the practice of greeting and counting numbers (in ‘Five’). Moreover, there were activities (e.g. making ground rules), in which everybody was involved in a decision-making process by discussing ideas in groups and voting on the rules.
Appendix M (continued)

- **Emotional Literacy**
  As stated in the principles, the project aims to promote pupils’ understanding of feelings of their own and those of others through the experience of interacting with others. In practice, the project worker always asked pupils about their feelings in specific situations: ‘How did you feel when someone laughed at you?’ or ‘How do you feel if people only choose their friends?’, and encouraged them to think about the effects of their actions on others. There were also activities focusing on feelings, such as ‘Feeling statues’ in which pupils make statues expressing different feelings. In a conflict-related activity, pupils were asked ‘What are the people feeling?’ when they made drama statues about friends in different relationships.

  Emotional literacy is regarded as an important part of good communication to prevent violence (Stacey and Robinson, 1997: 105). In particular, activities to improve emotional literacy at beginner level mainly focus on the development of self-awareness, the ability to identify different feelings, having the vocabulary to apply to six basic feelings (happy, sad, angry, thoughtful, afraid and disgusted) and the ability to recognise those feelings in others (ibid: 106). The same focus can be found in activities in WMQPEP’s project.

- **Equality**
  As stated in the interviews, WMQPEP believes in people and values each individual equally based on Quakers’ belief that there is God in every person. In accordance with this principle, the idea of equality was practised in the actual project, in particular, in a circle where everybody, including adults, sits in an equal position and was given an equal chance to speak and participate. Also, all the games and activities were designed to get all the pupils involved on an equal basis without competition. For example, in the game ‘Koosh Ball’, a project worker asked pupils to suggest how to ensure that everyone has an equal chance to participate in the game. The project worker was careful in giving everybody equal opportunities to express their opinions. The idea of equality was also reflected in random grouping, rather than selecting pupils in a certain way.

- **Relevance to daily life experience**
  In the interviews, WMQPEP stressed the importance of building peace in daily life experience, believing that peace arises from something that people can relate to. In practice, many activities used situations or topics which are relevant to pupils’ daily life experience. For example, ‘Human Bingo’ in which pupils find out about each other as a basis for good relationships (e.g. by asking their partners what place or person is important to them). Also, in one of the conflict-related activities, pupils posed ‘drama statues’ representing different relationships (e.g. friends having an argument, friends who have fallen out, friends making up) and tried to find out what they felt in each situation. All these statues were relevant to pupils’ daily life experience in school and elsewhere.
Similarly, in another conflict-related activity, pupils discussed different causes of conflict in school, and how conflict gets worse or how it can be solved, based on their experience.

- **Positive Behaviour Management**

In principle, WMQPEP promotes positive behaviour management since they think that strict discipline and punishments may decrease children’s self-esteem and self-control. In line with this principle, the actual project adopted positive ways of managing behaviour and encouraged pupils to take responsibility for their behaviour and make decisions by themselves, rather than using punitive measures. For example, the project worker always affirmed pupils who behaved well or did well in activities by giving them smiling faces or affirming them as good models. Negative behaviour was also managed in positive ways. For example, when some pupils were disturbing others, the project worker never told them off but asked them to swap places with others in order for them to concentrate better. Moreover, when pupils were too excited and became noisy, the project worker tried to get their attention by clapping hands or raising a hand, instead of shouting at them or telling them to be quiet.

- **The Role of a Project Worker**

Since WMQPEP believes in what children already have, such as a sense of fairness or moral sense, the role of a project worker is regarded as a facilitator who draws out what pupils have. The actual project provided a learning environment in which pupils can explore situations and consider issues by themselves with minimum guidance and support. For example, the project worker facilitated the process of making rules that pupils think are important for the project, rather than imposing certain rules. Throughout the project, the project worker encouraged pupils to take responsibility for their behaviour by following the rules agreed by them.

Another role of a project worker, stated by WMQPEP, was to enable pupils to find their own solutions to their problems, rather than setting learning outcomes. In accordance with this principle, the project worker only set broader aims in each session, ensuring that pupils can learn in the process, instead of judging by the result. For example, when pupils became too excited, the project worker tried to make them think about the impact of their behaviour.

Moreover, WMQPEP stressed in the interviews that project workers need to underpin the values and attitudes they wish children to have, such as equality and respect. In practice, the project worker demonstrated equal relationships between children and adults by using first names, and showed respect for every pupil by listening to them carefully, affirming their ideas, and thanking them for what they did. In general, this affirming atmosphere is seen as important in a Circle Time, since ‘thank you for contributions and warm eye contact help build up good feelings’ and ‘focusing on the positive and giving frequent praise helps pupils feel more able to share things’ (Stacey and Robinson, 1997: 19).
• **The Project Worker’s Relationship with Pupils**
Observation of the actual project found that, as stated by WMQPEP in the interviews, the project worker’s relationship with pupils was friendly, informal, non-authoritarian and relatively equal, compared to that of a teacher, which is generally formal, authoritarian and hierarchical. The project intends to support a group process in which individuals become part of a group and build good relationships within the group. In practice, the project worker’s relationship with pupils focused on the whole group, helping to improve group dynamics towards integration through different activities, rather than building a close relationship with individual pupils. Moreover, one of the principles of WMQPEP is to include all members of the group without removing anybody. In practice, the project worker supported pupils to join in or concentrate when they needed help, by sitting next to them or giving them special roles.

• **Tailor-made Programme**
As stated in the principle of tailoring the programme to the ability and needs of each group, these aspects of the class were identified and discussed between a class teacher and the project worker prior to the project, and the needs were reflected in the aims of the actual project (see Appendix L). Each session was also planned by the project worker each week according to the progress of the class.

• **Resources**
As stated in the principles, the resources used in the actual project were simple, minimal and non-technical, functioning as a medium to help pupils interact and involve in activities. For example, badges with everyone’s first names represent the principle of everybody’s participation and inclusion as well as the idea of equality and affirmation. To ensure everyone’s equal chances to speak, a speaking object was passed around in a circle to take turns in talking one at a time. Generally, speaking objects are useful in identifying whose turn it is to speak, to give pupils a focus for listening, and to avoid interruptions (Stacey and Robinson, 1997: 18).

Moreover, in accordance with the principles, the resources were enjoyable, tactile, amusing and beautiful so that pupils can learn in fun ways. While the importance of adopting children’s different ways of learning (i.e. auditory, visual and kinetic) was stated by WMQPEP in the interviews, the actual project used these ways of learning, by repeating the rules, making statues to express different feelings, or using visual materials.