

REPRODUCING OR CHALLENGING POWER RELATIONS? A  
QUALITATIVE STUDY OF THE FIELD OF PEACE EDUCATION IN  
COLOMBIA

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis asks who benefits from peace education in Colombia and how. Asking this question does not mean evaluating the success, or otherwise, of teaching an individual peace education course. Instead, this thesis takes inspiration from the critical and post-critical peace education literature to explore how the teaching and learning of peace education is capable of reproducing or challenging unequal power relations in society. I argue that using Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit of habitus, field, capital, doxa and symbolic violence to identify who benefits from peace education can prevent the individualised and decontextualised analysis that critical peace education scholars have warned against. Interviews I conducted with academics, policymakers and NGO workers identified three forms of capital structuring the field of peace education in Colombia. They are developing the capacity to feel empathy for others, educating for an expanded understanding of peace and relating personal experiences to historical and contemporary events. Case studies undertaken in schools that represent the socio-economic inequality partly responsible for Colombia's history of conflict identified which students can accumulate these forms of capital. I found that the students attending private schools have an advantage over the students from state schools and so peace education contributes to the production of symbolic violence in Colombia. However, I also explore how designers and practitioners of peace education courses can avoid this outcome by increasing the resources available to state schools and changing the dominant form of capital within the field to ensure it is more favourable to the habitus of students from state schools. Employing Bourdieu's theories about power relations to explore who benefits from peace education in Colombia therefore leads to practical suggestions about how peace education can address the conditions responsible for conflict within society.

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## INTRODUCTION

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### 1.1 Introduction

In this thesis, I first argue that the question of what power means and how it exists within the teaching and learning of peace education remains under-theorised within the literature on peace education. I then use Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit to view peace education as a field in which agents are competing for scarce resources to make these power relations visible. The use of Bourdieu's toolkit to analyse peace education is particularly appropriate for Colombia. Economic and social inequality are responsible for causing one of the longest-running conflicts in the western hemisphere (Hylton, 2006; Moser and McIlwaine, 2004), while resolving these inequalities was at the heart of the Havana dialogues that led to the 2016 peace agreement (Gómez-Suárez and Newman, 2013). The mandate for all educational institution to teach towards a culture of peace in Colombia (Ley 1732) makes it even more urgent to understand if peace education is reproducing or challenging the unequal power relations that lie at the heart of the country's history of conflict.

My findings from thirty-six interviews with policymakers, academics and NGO workers, who are experts in peace education reveal the existence of three forms of capital structuring the field of peace education. These are the capacity to:

- 1.) Feel empathy for others
- 2.) acquire knowledge of theories of peace
- 3.) reflect on one's own experiences and position them in relation to Colombia's history of conflict.

Interviews with these experts and then with teachers and students from three schools in Bogotá and Medellín revealed some of the barriers and opportunities for accumulating these forms of capital. These interviews showed how the socio-economically privileged students who attended private schools have access to more resources for learning peace education. However, they also showed that the habitus of these students made them more inclined to accumulate the first two forms of capital. Whereas the less socio-economically privileged students who attended state schools in areas marked by deprivation and violence had a habitus that inclined them towards the third form of capital. These findings indicate that it is the combination of knowledge, values and behaviour associated with learning peace, as well as unequal access to material resources that determines whether peace education is reproducing or challenging the unequal power relations of its context. In the context of Colombia, I conclude that peace education is reproducing the unequal power relations of its context, although with the caveat that this thesis is exploratory and further research is necessary.

## 1.2 Peace Education

Peace education refers to educational programmes that seek to transform individuals and societies away from violence and towards peace. UNICEF's definition captures these essential elements of peace education:

Peace education in UNICEF refers to the process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behaviour

changes that will enable children, youth 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

This definition provides a general summary of the content of peace education as teaching some combination of “knowledge, skills, attitudes and values” (Fountain, 1999: 1).

Moreover, the intended result of teaching this content is developing “behaviour change” (Fountain, 1999: 1) within the learners and resolving “overt and structural” (Fountain, 1999: 1) violence within society.

It is possible to trace education as a means of reducing or resolving violence on an individual and societal level back centuries and even millennia. Nearly all the main religions have teachings that promote and advance peace, while anthropological work has also described conflict resolution traditions that are passed down through generations in indigenous societies (Harris, 2008). All these activities could theoretically come under the umbrella of peace education. During the early twentieth century, Maria Montessori argued for and promoted a new form of education that valued creativity, questioning and love for one another over the blind obedience to teachers that she perceived as being analogous to unquestionably following nationalist ideologies (Harris, 2008). She even created her own curriculum that would promote these values and style of teaching.

However, it was not until after World War II that peace education as a distinct concept gained popularity. Across the United States and Europe, peace education programmes were developed within and outside of formal schooling (Kester & Cremin, 2017). These programmes tended to focus on how schools could create peaceful environments and develop peaceful values in pupils. Due to the widespread fear of nuclear warfare, the intention of these programmes was to develop active and peaceful

citizens who would be crucial for avoiding a Third World War (Harris, 2008; Kester & Cremin, 2017).

Throughout the last century, peace education has meant helping learners to develop some combination of competencies that will help bring a more peaceful world into being and so provide an alternative to the existing forms of violence.

### 1.3 Critical Peace Education and the Question of Power

More recent work – and particularly in the last decade – have created an “internal critique” (Kurian and Kester, 2019: 22) of the field. These critiques are known as Critical Peace Education and more recently Post-Critical Peace Education. Critical Peace Education academics have sought greater understanding of how peace education programmes are potentially complicit within the production and reproduction of the forms of violence that they have been created to resolve. Ilan Gur-Ze’ev (2001; 2010) has questioned the normative assumptions that present peace, education and peace education as positive forces in society. Later scholars have highlighted the risks that peace education can continue historical patterns of privilege and marginalisation (Bajaj, 2015) and become part of the modernist culture they consider responsible for creating conflict and violence in society (Zembylas and Bekerman, 2013).

What unites the Critical Peace Education literature is the call for self-reflection. Kester and Cremin (2017) have called for second-order reflexivity that does not just consider the positionality of the individual researcher and their own internal biases. Instead, they discuss the need to understand how the act of engaging in all forms of peace education from teaching to research produces particular truths and knowledge. By engaging in this self-reflection, academics have been able to identify how peace education is complicit within the reproduction of violence in society. Roozbeh has explored how educational curricula that is supposed to be empowering instead acts as a “democratic

veneer for neoliberal educational projects” (2011: 277). Kurian and Kester have also exposed how the lack of Southern voices in peace education literature “contradicts the ideal of international peacebuilding” (2019: 25). These authors and others do not posit peace education as a universal good. Instead, they begin from the assumption that any intervention will be implicated within the violent structures of the society it is seeking to change (Trifonas and Wright 2012; Williams, 2017).

A further argument for the need to engage in self-reflection and self-criticality is that doing so can expose the power asymmetries within peace education. Critical peace education writers have repeatedly expressed the concern that educating for peace can inadvertently reproduce unequal power relations (Kester, 2017a; Higgins and Novelli, 2018). These writers have argued that it is the vastly unequal power relations both within countries and across the globe that is responsible for starting and perpetuating conflicts (Reardon, 2012). If peace education programmes are to achieve their socially transformative aims – rather than simply changing how individuals feel or think – then they need to readdress these imbalances of power, or at least avoid reproducing them. Critical peace education scholars have therefore sought to understand how these programmes are part of these relations of power within society, rather than assuming they are separate or have a purely transformative effect upon them (Gounari, 2012; Taylor, Rwigema, and Umwali, 2012; Zembylas and Bekerman, 2013).

Understanding this relationship means questioning what power means. Stating that peace education reproduces or transforms power relations in a society is insufficient, as this judgement will change according to whichever framework of power is being used. Instead, it is necessary to precisely define what power means, as well as being clear about any limitations that might arise from employing a particular framework.

Unfortunately, analyses of peace education have often lacked this conceptual clarity. Indeed, there have been repeated statements that peace education as an academic field is under-theorised (Kester 2017c; Zembylas, 2018; Zacharia, 2017). This

is beginning to change as writers on peace education have anchored their analyses in the theoretical frameworks of Bourdieu, Foucault and Practice Theory more generally (Kester 2017b; Harber and Sakade, 2009; Bekerman and Zembylas, 2011). However, these analyses remain the exception rather than the rule. If a key aim of critical peace education is understanding how these programmes form part of the power relations that structure society and are responsible for causing violence within it, then much more work is required.

#### 1.4 Bourdieu's Theoretical Toolkit

My thesis argues that Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit of habitus, capital, field, doxa and symbolic violence can provide a clear theory for explaining what power means and how it is reproduced that is too often lacking in the peace education literature (Kester 2017c; Zembylas, 2018; Zacharia, 2017).

Chapter Three gives fuller definitions of Bourdieu's tools and explores some of their limitations. However, it is useful to summarise their meaning and Bourdieu's approach towards analysing power relations in society. His area of interest as a social theorist was not individual actions or social structures, but social relations. Through his empirically-based analyses of – among others – French educational institutions and Kabylia societies in Algeria, he measured the differences and similarities of these relations (Bourdieu, 1977; 1998). To conduct these analyses, he developed a theoretical toolkit of habitus, capital and field.

Bourdieu defined the distribution of capital in society as the distribution of power (Bourdieu, 1986). There are three main categories of capital: economic, social and cultural (Bourdieu, 1986). The distribution of a specific type of capital constitutes a field. By accumulating more of this type of capital, an agent within the field secures a higher position within it and is able to access its specific profits (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2007).

The limits of a field in time and space are defined by when and where the effects of capital accumulation cease to have an effect (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2007).

The habitus of every individual determines their capacity to accumulate capital within a field. He defined it as the set of dispositions that every individual possesses and which inclines them to think, act and feel in a particular way (Bourdieu, 1990). Bourdieu's use of this tool to analyse social relations marks his break with what he perceived to be the excessive objectivism of Marxism (Lechner and Frosts, 2018).

This set of dispositions increases or reduces an individual's capacity to accumulate the dominant form, or forms, of capital within each field. Bourdieu described this process as "when the habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it finds itself "as a fish in water", it does not feel the weight of water and takes the world about itself for granted" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2007: 43). It is also possible for the capital of one field to be converted into the capital of another field. The similarity of habitus across social groups ensures that the structure of fields – i.e., which agents are able to take dominant positions through the accumulation of capital – does not correspond to individual merit, but pre-existing social hierarchies. By converting the capital from one field into others, dominant social groups maintain unequal social structures across society and over generations (Bourdieu, 1986).

This process of conversion is never perfect, as it allows for individuals to improve their positions within fields relative to their social group. Fields are also dynamic spaces in which the dominant form of capital can be contested and changed by its participants (Bourdieu, 1993). However, the inter-relationship of capital, field and habitus explain how similar social relations are reproduced over time. This reproduction also requires that the dominant forms of capital and the means of accumulating it are considered legitimate by all members of a given field. This means that both agents with a habitus inclined to accumulate its capital – the dominant in Bourdieu's terminology – and those who do not possess such a habitus – the dominated – must accept their position as the result of a

legitimate process (Bourdieu, 1998). It is this acceptance by all agents in a field of an unequal method of producing and reproducing social relations that Bourdieu classifies as symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1998).

Using Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit to explore peace education means beginning with certain presuppositions. Peace education programmes are not just a means of teaching "knowledge, skills, attitudes and values" (Fountain, 1991: 1). Instead, peace education is a field in which the habitus-capital relationship affects the positions held by all the agents within it. Moreover, the capital at stake within the field is a scarce resource that can be converted into the forms of capital that are valuable within other fields.

When exploring the reproduction of power relations within the field of peace education, it is important to remember that Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit has a specific definition of power as the distribution of capital in society (Bourdieu, 1986). I use Bourdieu to explore if peace education is reproducing or challenging the power relations of its context by identifying the forms of capital within the field, the type of habitus that has a disposition towards its accumulation and then how this capital can be converted for use in other fields.

Following this process addresses the challenges identified by critical peace education writers. Kester (2017a; 2018), Cremin (2010; 2016) and Zembylas (2018) have argued that peace education literature needs to develop beyond individualised analyses, which assume that teaching individuals a set of skills or values will lead to peace on a societal level. Applying Bourdieu's tools as theoretical framework avoids this assumption, as he developed these tools to unpack the social relations between agents (Lechner and Frost, 2018). My analytical focus throughout this thesis is therefore not on individual teachers and students, but rather on how the relations between these agents determine their position within the field.

Critical peace education writers have also called for more understanding of how these programmes form part of the "structural and cultural forms of violence" (Bajaj, 2015:



156) within the societies they are meant to change. I analyse peace education as a field in which forms of capital are at stake and can be converted into capital in other fields, which places these programmes within the structures of their society. My analysis does not assume that peace education programmes are separate from their context or only exert a positive effect upon it. Instead, I seek to understand how the same forces that produce inequality in society also affect peace education programmes and if this knowledge can help these programmes avoid producing this effect.

Another gap in peace education research is using empirical evidence to support the theoretical claims that these interventions can reproduce patterns of privilege and marginalisation (Kester and Cremin, 2017; Bajaj, 2015; Zembylas, 2018; Kurian and Kester, 2018). Throughout his work, Bourdieu presented his theoretical tools as methods to guide empirical research (Reay, 2004). I have followed this guidance by using empirical data from interviews to explore power relations within the field of peace education.

Applying Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit to explore if peace education is reproducing or challenging the power relations of its context addresses three key gaps within the critical peace education literature. Bourdieu's emphasis on how cultural capital in the form of educational institutions legitimise and reproduce economic inequality is also particularly suitable for analysing Colombia's history of conflict and the peace education interventions designed to change this history.

## 1.5 Conflict and Peace Education in Colombia

Colombia has a history of conflict that extends back to its creation as a country in 1810. Since that date, there have been civil wars from 1863 to 1880, the war of a thousand days from 1899 to 1903 and the crushing of unions by the military in the 1920s (Berents, 2018). Most analysts, however, trace the origins of the contemporary conflict to the 1950s (Meltzer and Rojas, 2005). This period saw La Violencia, in which partisan followers of

the Conservative and Liberal parties inflicted violence on one another (Pécault, 1987).

The solution to end this violence was the National Front, a formal power sharing agreement between the Conservative and Liberal parties which lasted until 1975. Under this agreement, the political power would alternate between the two main parties. This agreement did reduce the partisan violence, but it also froze the political arrangement within Colombia, as it did not allow new political parties to emerge and ignored the grievances held by some of the liberal guerrilla fighters (Pabón, 2018).

Marxist guerrilla groups emerged in the 1960s in this context of deep inequality, lack of political representation and distrust of the state. These organisations included The EPL (Ejército Popular de Liberación), M-19 (Movimiento 19 de Abril), the ELN (Ejército de Liberación Nacional) and the FARC-EP (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia—Ejército del Pueblo). In response to the guerrilla campaigns, the Colombian government permitted self-defence groups through Decree 3398 (Farcía-Godos and Lid, 2010). These paramilitary groups had unofficial links with the military and civilian elite, and became responsible for the majority of atrocities committed in Colombia (Tate, 2011). Drug cartels also grew in power in the 1970s and 1980s, as Colombia's political leaders took an initially relaxed approach towards the growth of this illegal industry (Pécault, 2013). Profits from drug trafficking fuelled the paramilitaries and the guerrillas as well as the separate cartel organisations. Chapter Four discusses the causes of Colombia's conflict in more detail. Although many factors contributed to this history, there is a consensus among academics that the current conflict and violence among urban and rural communities in Colombia is at least partially the result of embedded social and economic inequalities (Hylton, 2006; Moser and McIlwaine, 2004; Poveda, 2011).

Alongside this history of conflict is the history of peace in Colombia and the many national and local attempts to end the fighting. Governments in Colombia have alternated between pursuing peace through trying to achieve military victory over the guerrillas to negotiating a peaceful end to the fighting. The administrations who have sought the

former approach combined their intensified use of the military with an implementation of repressive security measures and propaganda that portrayed left-leaning individuals and groups as supporters of terrorism (Pabón, 2018; Echavarría, 2013). Peace negotiations were also hampered by a lack of trust between these parties and continued acts of violence from both sides (Nasi, 2012). Underpinning these failed negotiations has been the refusal by successive governments to view guerrillas as political groups with legitimate demands, preferring to brand them as criminals or terrorists. Consequently, the negotiations had not taken seriously their calls to redress the socio-economic inequalities within Colombia and particularly over land ownership (Gómez-Suárez and Newman, 2013).

The Havana peace dialogues that led to the 2016 peace agreement between the FARC-EP and the government were a conscious attempt to break with this history. Despite being the defence minister for President Uribe in the previous administration, which had taken a hard line against the guerrillas, President Santos took a new approach. The peace negotiations had five main areas as well as how to implement the accords. These were agrarian reform, drug trafficking, victims and transitional justice, political participation and an end to the conflict. While these topics precluded a radical re-organisation of Colombian society and its institutions, they did acknowledge the need for structural reform (Nasi, 2018). Importantly, the accords addressed the issue of land inequality and created state-funded programmes for redistributing land to impoverished and landless peasants (Huertas, 2018). Throughout the negotiations, President Santos defended the need to engage with the FARC-EP as combatants in a conflict with legitimate political demands, rather than as lawless terrorists (Caro, 2019). This meant recognising that embedded socio-economic inequality had contributed to the conflict and that the accords should therefore work towards mechanisms for resolving the causes of the conflict rather than simply addressing its symptoms.

Education and peace education had substantial role to play within these negotiations and the wider peacebuilding efforts. The most important effort made by the government was the 1732 law known as the Catedra de la Paz, passed in 2014, and the subsequent Decree 1038 passed in 2015.<sup>1</sup> The Catedra de la Paz makes it mandatory for all educational institutions to teach towards a culture of peace. It states that all educational institutions must "create and consolidate a space for learning, reflection and dialogue about the culture of peace and sustainable development that contributes to the general well-being and the improvement of the population's quality of life." (Ley 1732, paragraph 2). More specifically, schools have to teach from two of twelve potential themes on topics ranging from justice and Human Rights to the sustainable use of natural resources.<sup>2</sup> Scholars and practitioners of peace education have criticised the law for not providing clarity to the schools over what to teach and how, not providing resources for extra training and not evaluating its implementation (Morales and Gebre, 2012; Morales, 2021). However, there is also evidence that schools and universities have started to implement the law (Echavarría and Cremin, 2019; Castiblanco, Guzmán and García, 2019; Caro, 2019).

In summary, the government of Colombia has charged all educational institutions with implementing peace education as part of a wider peacebuilding effort designed to address the socio-economic inequalities that are behind the country's history of conflict, which makes it an excellent case study for this thesis.

## 1.6 Justification of Research and Research Questions

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<sup>1</sup> Chapter Four also explain the content and purpose of this law in more detail.

<sup>2</sup> These twelve topics are peaceful resolution of conflicts, prevention of bullying, political participation, projects with social impact, diversity and plurality, protection of the Nation's cultural riches, historical memory, history of national and international peace agreements, sustainable use of natural resources, protection of the natural riches of the Nation, justice and Human Rights, moral dilemmas, life projects and risk prevention.

The justification for this thesis comes from the gaps in the critical peace education literature and the hope that peace education can help bring an end to Colombia's history of conflict provides. It addresses one overarching research question:

*Is peace education in Colombia reproducing or challenging the power relations of its context?*

I address the different aspects of this question through four separate sub-questions.

These are:

*How do perceptions of the purpose and implementation of peace education vary among experts and practitioners of peace education?*

Answering this question sets out the empirical data from the interviews. It categorises the differing perceptions of peace education that arose from the empirical data.

*What forms of capital do these varying perceptions of peace education represent?*

According to Bourdieu, capital is power (1986). A crucial first step in analysing power relations is therefore to identify the forms of capital that give access to the profits of the field. Through this question I outline the structure of the field of peace education in Colombia.

*Which social classes of students have a habitus that is disposed towards the accumulation of these forms of capital?*

Understanding how power relations function within a field also means exploring which social groups have an advantage or disadvantage for accumulating the forms of capital within it. Bourdieu developed the tool of habitus to explain why some groups possess this advantage or disadvantage (1990). The workings of the habitus connects the structures

that shape society to individual-level interactions. By exploring which groups of students possess a habitus that disposes them towards accumulating the capital of peace education, I explain how existing socio-economic inequalities also shape the field of peace education.

*How does the varying capacity of students to accumulate the capital of peace education contribute to the production of symbolic violence?*

According to Bourdieu, symbolic violence is when all agents in a field perceive an unequal method for determining position-taking as being legitimate. By exploring if and how peace education contributes to symbolic violence, I examine if peace education can reproduce the unequal power relations of its context.

By answering the research questions, my thesis uses original primary data to explain how peace education interventions can be responsible for maintaining unequal power relations within the societies they seek to transform. It builds on the assumption that peacebuilding efforts in Colombia, if they are to be successful, must address the socio-economic inequalities in the country. However, following the critical peace education literature, it does not assume that peace education interventions will automatically achieve this aim. Instead, it uses Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit to provide a conceptualisation of power and how it is reproduced. It then uses interview data with experts on peace education and teachers and pupils in purposively selected schools to explore how peace education forms part of this process of reproduction and what possibilities are open to schools, teachers and students to challenge the process of reproduction.

## 1.7 The Audience of the Thesis

The audience of this thesis is those who believe peace education can make a contribution to the post-conflict reconstruction of society, but do not assume this contribution to be a

fact. I term this audience critical practitioners of peace education. They are practitioners because they are interested in the practicalities of teaching and learning peace education. My thesis uses interviews and cases studies to explore what experts, teachers and students believe should be taught within these spaces. It therefore has an inescapably practical focus, although this does not mean one has to teach peace education to find my thesis relevant. They only have to be interested in how best to teach and learn peace education.

However, they are critical practitioners because they understand that all acts take place within a wider set of power relations that influence what this act means, who is able to participate within it and who benefits from it. It is only by developing an understanding of how peace education is situated within these power relations that practitioners can ensure their interventions do not reproduce the conditions that produced, and may continue to be producing, conflict.

My thesis is therefore for those who want to understand how peace education fits within a broader set of power relations, while maintaining a focus on the practicalities of teaching and learning peace education.

## 1.8 Outline of Thesis

This thesis has ten chapters, which includes the current introduction. Chapter 2 is the *Literature Review*. It situates this thesis in relation to the scholarship of critical peace education writers, who have unpacked and complicated the claims to social transformation that have underpinned the justification for peace education programmes. However, it argues that this literature has only rarely explained what power means and explored how peace education programmes can reproduce or challenge the power relations of their context. Chapter 3 uses the *Theoretical Framework* to address this gap. It explores Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit in greater detail and explains why the contest to accumulate

embodied cultural capital regulates the field of peace education. Chapter 4 is the *Country Context* and it places historical and contemporary peace education programmes in Colombia within the context of its civil conflict. Chapter 5 discusses the methodological approach taken in this thesis for examining the structure of the field of peace education in Colombia. It provides information about the interviews with experts and the purposively selected case studies of schools, as well as a reflection on the ethical choices made in the collection of data.

The remaining chapters introduce the empirical evidence. Chapters 6 and 7 use interviews with experts in peace education to identify the forms of capital from the structure the field of peace education in Colombia. The interviews suggested that the forms of capital are the capacity to 1.) demonstrate engaged thinking over the causes of conflict and possibilities for peace in Colombia 2.) acquire knowledge of theories of peace 3.) position one's own experiences in relation to Colombia's history of conflict. These chapters also show how previously-accumulated economic capital is an advantage for accumulating the capital of peace education. I arrive at this finding as the obstacles for accessing peace education courses were consistently fewer for students attending private schools than state schools.

Chapter 8 explores which students possess a habitus that disposes them towards accumulating the capital of peace education. It identifies the different forms of capital that exist within the field of peace education in a private school and a state school and explores how the students respond to them. I find that the habitus of private school students makes them more disposed to accumulate the capital when it involves learning about others. In contrast the students from the state school have a habitus that inclines them towards reflecting on their own experiences. Comparing these findings to those from the previous chapters, it was evident that students from the private school have an advantage for accumulating the first two forms of capital. Whereas the students from the state school, have an advantage for the third form of capital.



Chapter 9 uses a case study of a state school to explore how peace education can produce symbolic violence. Teachers and students in this school associated peace education with reducing levels of violence within the school. However, there was also a belief that students who are perceived to come from poorer and more violent backgrounds are less able to acquire the necessary skills to behave in a peaceful manner. The bias against students who already suffer from existing disadvantages, due to their home lives, and its acceptance as a legitimate form of peace education by all actors in the field constitutes symbolic violence.

The final chapter concludes the thesis by arguing that the evidence from this thesis indicates that unequal access to material resources and the particular forms of knowledge that constitute capital determine whether peace education reproduces or challenges the power relations of its context. The weight of evidence suggests that peace education in Colombia is reproducing unequal power relations. Although orientating peace education away from learning empathy or definitions of peace and towards self-reflection provides an avenue for changing this outcome. I also use secondary literature to identify the consequences of this conclusion by exploring some of the uses the capital of peace education has within other fields. The conclusion also reflects on the importance of this finding for further peace education research and practice, as well as acknowledging some of the limitations of this study that derived from its analytical frame and qualitative methodology.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

- 2.1. Introduction
- 2.2. Peace education as individually and socially transformative
- 2.3. Critical peace education's interrogation of social transformation
- 2.4. Current challenges in the critical peace education literature
- 2.5. Peace education and power relations
- 2.6. Conclusion

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter argues that using Bourdieu's theoretical framework to explore whether peace education is reproducing or challenging the power relations of its context can address the main challenges within the critical peace education literature. It begins by separating peace education from other forms of post-conflict literature. Although there are clear overlaps with citizenship and sustainable education, amongst others, what distinguishes peace education is its explicit claim to be individually and socially transformative. Section 2.3 explores how critical peace education writers have questioned this claim of achieving social transformation through education. This section distinguishes between one set of literature that has called for more reflection on how peace education programmes can achieve this transformation by teaching students how to be politically active. The second set of writers, in contrast, have identified how peace education programmes can themselves reproduce an unequal and violent status quo in their societies. Within the following section, there is a summary of the main challenges faced by peace education researchers. These are avoiding individualised analysis of peace education programmes, placing these programmes within the structures that cause violence in society and providing empirical evidence to support these theoretical claims. Research that addresses these challenges can explain how a form of education with pacifistic intentions can

inadvertently produce the violence it seeks to remove from society. Such research is also useful for helping peace education programmes avoid this outcome. The final section argues that critical peace education research that addresses these challenges requires a clear framework of power relations, but that such frameworks are mostly lacking in the peace education literature.

## 2.2 Peace education as individually and socially transformative

What defines peace education, and is the focus of this thesis, is the assumption that it should be individually and socially transformative. This means the students who attend these programmes should personally develop a set of attributes that makes them more peaceful. Society as a whole should also become more peaceful as a result of students attending these programmes and acquiring these attributes. There are differences in the particular set of attributes that students should acquire, the process through which learning them will lead to a wider state of peace and, indeed, what defines this state of peace. For example, some focus on education and the environment (Arikan, 2009; Naoufal, 2014), others on human rights (Reardon, 1995; Jones, 2006) or teaching conflict resolution (Fitzduff, Jean and United States Institute of Peace 2011).

Peace education does not, however, refer to a fixed curriculum. Indeed, peace education has been defined as elusive because there is no universal experience of conflict and so particular programmes will adapt to suit the circumstances of the conflict or post-conflict society (Bar-Tal, 2002). The lack of clarity over what constitutes peace education means there are clear overlaps between it and other forms of education, such as education for Human Rights, citizenship education, history education and sustainable education (Ardizzone, 2001; Bajaj and Chiu, 2009). Consequently, this chapter will draw from some of this broader post-conflict literature, especially in light of recent calls for research on these topics to learn from each other (Hajir, Clarke-Habibi and Kurian, 2021).

Nevertheless, all peace education programmes and definitions contain the vital elements of being individually and socially transformative. The previous chapter discussed how UNICEF's definition contained the promise of leading to behavioural changes within its participants and wider social change. Other definitions also contain these two aspects. Cunningham describes some of the skills being taught within peace education as critical thinking, conflict resolution skills, problem-solving and empathy and that developing these skills will contribute to previously-warring communities being able to live in peace (2015). Writers who focus on using peace education to develop political consciousness and activism also include individual and social changes within their definitions. Brantmeier (2011, 356) gives five stages of peace education as:

1. Raising consciousness through dialogue
2. Imagining nonviolent alternatives
3. Providing specific modes of empowerment
4. Transformative action
5. Reflection and re-engagement

By following these stages, the students understand how to change society by engaging in "transformative action" (Brantmeier, 2011: 356) through developing their skills and knowledge. In a similar vein, Bajaj (2016: 109) lists the main competencies of peace education as:

1. Critical thinking and analysis
2. Empathy and Solidarity
3. Individual and collective agency
4. Participatory and democratic engagement
5. Innovative education and communication strategies
6. Conflict-resolution skills
7. Ongoing reflective practice

Again, these competences, such as critical thinking, do not just benefit the learners but all of society as a broad citizenship that possess them should lead to “collective agency” (Bajaj, 2016: 109). In their summary of what peace education means, Kurian and Kester emphasise that “it promotes a form of transformative learning to help individuals and societies acquire the skills, values, attitudes and behaviours required for peaceful living” (2019: 21). A defining aspect of peace education is therefore that it transforms the individual and society.

One strand of peace education research explores how to improve the teaching of individuals. There are many benefits to this research, as there are questions in the literature on peace education over whether it has any identifiable and significant effect, and implicitly whether it is worth funding (UNESCO, 2011; McGlynn et al., 2009). In response to this question, Golan and Shalhoub-Kevorkian (2014) have demonstrated the need, and overwhelming benefits, of providing yearlong courses that engage with the wider community, while Cunningham (2011) has exposed the futility of teaching democratic participation and attendant values of forgiveness and fairness, if the teaching community and school ethos does not enact these principles in their treatment of students. Other significant findings are from Salomon (2004), who has shown that it is possible to change the attitudes and perceptions of each other between members of warring groups, even in contexts where conflict has been ongoing for a considerable amount of time.

Despite the importance of this research, a key unsupported assumption is the expectation that teaching students a set of attributes will diffuse benefits across the whole of society. Golan and Shalhoub-Kevorkian conclude their article on the need to teach students how to engage with each other by stating that, “as leaders of the future, university students are an important target group for peace education. Therefore, changes in student attitudes towards the other, and the creation of a space for transformative learning, can be expected to have a wide-ranging effect on society at large” (2014: 1999). An unproven expectation that changes in education will lead to changes in society lies at

the heart of this article. The strategy for peace laid out by Clarke-Habibi is that an “in-depth, systematic, and sustained education of children, youth, and adults in the principles of peace, [creates] the necessary foundation and structure for a lasting peace within and between various groups and communities” (2005: 42). However, the mechanism for transmitting the principles learned in school to societal level changes is not clear. Even articles that reference the need for education to eliminate structural violence, either admit the link between personal and social transformation is unproven, such as Duckworth et al (2012), or do not address how to achieve peace outside the classroom beyond “making content changes available to a wider audience” (Ashton, 2007: 48).

There are many examples of peace education research that assumes teaching a particular set of skills, values or knowledge will have wider beneficial effects across society. Discussing the importance of teaching students about democracy and Human Rights, Pagen claims that “If reconstruction is affected by these international norms [human rights and democracy], then it is important to understand the different ways that individuals may learn about democracy and human rights in and after conflict” (2011: 102). However, there is no discussion on why peaceful reconstruction is dependent upon students learning about these norms. Instead, it remains an unproven assumption. Similarly, Cunningham states that, “educated individuals are better able than the uneducated to negotiate, compromise, and navigate the social and political terrain in order to achieve their goals. These skills may reduce the likelihood of armed conflict” (Cunningham, 2011: 210). He therefore bases his study upon a statement about the supposed superiority of educated individuals, followed by a clear qualification, as these skills equally may not reduce such a likelihood.

These articles and chapters provide numerous valuable insights about how particular programmes benefit the students who attend them. However, they do not prove that peace education programmes have effects beyond these groups of students. Instead, the authors rely on an assumption that social transformation will happen if enough

individuals possess the correct set of competencies. The critical peace education literature has questioned this assumption in depth and is the focus of the following section.

### 2.3 Critical peace education's interrogation of social transformation

There are two broad categories of critical peace education. The first calls for more reflection on how peace education can achieve social transformation. Developing critical consciousness within students is a frequent solution within this body of literature to the question of how to achieve societal change through peace education. The peace education scholars often use Paulo Freire's problem-posing model of education to justify why developing critical consciousness is so important.

According to Freire, an education system should enable learners to reflect upon and explore the realities of their oppression so they can then act to change their reality (Freire, 1996; 1998). To do this, "listening, dialogue and action" should underpin the teacher-student relationship, as they co-create knowledge together rather than the teacher depositing knowledge within their students to be tested and evaluated (Wallerstein, 1987: 35).<sup>3</sup> This model of education underpins many descriptions of how peace education should function. Tibbitts emphasised the importance of problem-posing and analytical education in post-conflict situations that leads to learners questioning why and how their societies work as they do (2013). Golding (2017) proposes a Freirean framework of problem-posing for educators to explore diverse conceptions of concepts such as justice, democracy and peace to prevent liberal western ideas being imposed upon post-conflict situations.

There are many more peace education scholars who argue that developing the consciousness of students will lead to social change. Brantmeier's first stage of peace

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<sup>3</sup> This is a brief summary of Freire's theories which do not capture the extent of his ideas and how they changed over his life as he engaged with criticism over his flattening of issues of gender and race. For an overview of his pedagogical and theoretical principles, see *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire, 1996). For a critical engagement of his work that brings in gender theory, cultural theory and global relations, see *Paulo Freire: a critical encounter* (Leonard and McLaren, 1993).

education as “Raising consciousness through dialogue” is clearly Freirean (2011: 356), while Bajaj (2015) also draws upon Freire to formulate key questions for peace education of how pedagogical actions can raise critical consciousness among students. Snauwaert (2011) argues that the philosophical foundations of transformational peace education are Freirean concepts of oppression, dehumanisation and liberation. Further scholars who have used Freire’s theories about problem-posing education and critical consciousness are Kester and Booth (2010) McCorckle (2017) and Gill and Niens (2014). Indeed, so great has Freire’s influence been that Reardon stated, “critical pedagogy is the methodology most consistent with the transformative goals of peace education” (2010: 66).

For these authors, social change will occur by helping students learn about injustices and how to act against them. However, the locus for where change should happen is not within an individual’s consciousness but in the relationship that learners have with society and, ultimately, within the structures of society. Consequently, another crucial element in this interpretation of peace education is teaching political activism so students can act upon their knowledge. Gill and Niens (2014) note that a key component of critical peace education is teaching its participants how to work collectively to engage with politics and change society. As examples, Bajaj calls for “participatory and democratic engagement” (2016: 109), Brantmeier includes the aim of “transformative action” (2011: 156), while Lewsader and Myers-Walls use the term “peace in my communities” as a key stage of peace education (2016: 6-7). By making political engagement a key part of peace education, these authors and organisations ensure that change means more than transforming individuals’ perceptions, values and behaviour. Instead, peace education means educating students to change the structures of society that led to conflict.

The second category of critical peace education literature reflects on the relationship between peace education programmes and the causes of violence. They



examine whether these programmes have any culpability in reproducing these structural causes and so are more reflective than the first category (Kurian and Kester, 2019).

Critical authors have identified three ways through which peace education programmes and peace education research can inadvertently have a harmful effect on their societies.

A key critique, from authors such as Gur-Ze'ev, (2001; 2010), is that the claim of peace education to transform individuals works as a smokescreen for preserving unequal relations in society. Zembylas and Bekerman (2013) have developed this analysis to argue that too often conflict is conceptualised as a problem within the set of skills and knowledge possessed by individuals and so needs to be resolved on this level. Technical changes that can be made within schools become the route to peace rather than a readjustment of the power relations within society and so inequality and injustice within the status quo are left untouched.

There are similar arguments that peace education maintains the power of an existing and oppressive state. Bekerman (2007) has argued that mass education is the key conduit for instilling loyalty to the nation-state and establishing the dominance of positivist epistemology and ontology. According to Bekerman, this acceptance of nation-states and individualistic theories of knowledge and being is a key factor in why structural violence and conflict continue to exist. A danger for peace education is therefore that its content and understanding of what peace means will be based upon these concepts and so reproduce their violence. Shiraz (2011) found a similar effect in a study of courses for reducing extremist or radical behaviour in Jordanian secondary schools. Despite rhetoric around the course as empowering students, the students had no say in what empowerment meant both in abstract terms and within the context of the class. The muting of the boys' voices reproduced the structure of oppressor and oppressed.

The second argument is that peace education privileges certain forms of knowledge over others through the particular set of behaviours, skills, values and knowledge that are

associated with teaching and learning peace. The general argument of this set of literature is that these competencies derive from notions of citizenship, Human Rights and peace that come from Western societies (Quaynor, 2015). Associating these competencies with a universal understanding of peace therefore becomes a form of neo-colonialism. Cremin (2016), for example, has argued that one of the main crises facing peace education is the neo-colonialism of its modernist foundations.

Other authors have claimed that because knowledge production has replaced military force as the means of enforcing hegemony, attempts to create universal definitions with applications for all contexts will inevitably centre colonial forms of knowledge (Zakharia, 2017; Zembylas, 2018). The consequences of peace education reproducing colonial relations of power is the exclusion of alternative understandings of peace that do not originate from the global North. Kurian and Kester have extended this critique to encompass the field of peace education research as well as practice. They argue that the lack of voices from the global South leads to the “centring of knowledge production in the Global North [which] contradicts the ideal of international peacebuilding” (2019: 25).

The final, and most under-researched, method is that peace education benefits certain groups or even individuals in society over others. Through detailed ethnographical investigation into United Nations Universities, Kester has shown that students who come from North American – and more generally Western – backgrounds are more comfortable modelling the peaceful actions prized by these institutions (2017b; 2017c). Other researchers have focused on the political interests and dynamics that will inevitably shape the content of peace education programmes. Zakharia, for example, has argued that teaching a universal conception of peace will disguise the political interests of groups or political parties within the societies they are taking place in (2017). It is therefore vital that organisations and individuals designing peace education courses understand these dynamics to ensure their courses “oppose various forms of oppression and bend towards

resistance to the status quo” (2017: 59). Gounari has similarly called for more investigations into how peace education leads to “individuals, concerned with public affairs, are promoting their own special interests” (2015: 82). These authors, and others such as Quaynor (2015) and King (2018), have explored how presenting peace education as teaching a universal set of values, skills, knowledge and behaviour is not politically neutral. Instead, the assumptions and narratives about the reasons for learning these competencies will benefit some economic, ethnic and social groups over others.

Overall, critical peace education has provided a thorough interrogation of the assumption that educating students within a particular set of competencies will lead to a more peaceful society. Instead, they have explored how programmes that rely on this assumption may accidentally reproduce the conditions that produce violence. However, they have also provided an outline of the challenges facing peace education research that can help programmes avoid producing this outcome.

## 2.4 Current challenges in the critical peace education literature

There are three main challenges that critical peace scholars believe future research should address. These are avoiding individualised analysis that places the responsibility for social transformation on individuals; examining how peace education can reproduce or challenge social and economic hierarchies within society; and developing empirical evidence to show how the relationship between peace education programmes and the structures of society exists. My thesis argues that answering whether peace education reproduces or challenges the power relations of its context can address these challenges. I therefore discuss each challenge in depth.

### *Avoiding individualising Analysis*

One of the main challenges in the critical peace education literature is avoiding any analysis that implicitly or explicitly places responsibility on individuals alone for causing

conflict and so for creating peace. Such individual analysis is labelled a “psychologised approach” (Kester, 2017a: 68) or “rational psychosocial approaches” (Kester, Archer and Bryant, 2019: 274). Pupavac (2004) has explained the danger of placing this responsibility onto individuals in an article on peace and justice in Bosnia, which has ramifications for peace education research across the world. She traces the practice of identifying the “social psychology of the population” as the location and cause of violence, trauma and conflict from UNESCO’s post war constitution to influential educational theorists such as Paulo Freire to Betty Reardon (2004: 391). She argues that influential educational theorists such as Paulo Freire to Betty Reardon have placed the location and cause of violence within the “social psychology of the population” (2004: 391). In the case of Bosnia, the UNESCO post-war constitution also blames the conflict upon a violent mindset within the people and so the solution is to change the psychology of the entire country (Pupavac, 2004). Her conclusion that “the international therapeutic paradigm has offered little explanatory value” for either the circumstances that led to conflict or resolving these circumstances has profound consequences for peace education (2004: 394). A paradigm that places the burden for change squarely on the individual implicitly excuses any external conditions, structures or institutions from taking responsibility for the existence of conflict and so needing to change.

Crucially, critical peace education that calls for social change by raising the political consciousness of students also falls into this individualised form of analysis. Authors, such as Tibbitts (2013) and Gill and Niens (2014), argued that students who attend peace education programmes should become more critically aware of injustice and understand how to engage in democratic and civil societies. However, according to this argument, making society more peaceful is still the responsibility of individual students. Placing this responsibility on the participants of peace education leads to the same problems that Pupavac identified (2004) and has since become a central criticism of peace education. This awareness has resulted in some writers on peace education still viewing the raising

of critical consciousness as a key aim but reducing the sphere of change to what happens within schools and pupils' lives (Bekerman and Zembylas, 2011; Harris, 2008).

At the heart of this problem is the assumption that if peace education can change enough individuals, then society will inevitably change as well. Kester has identified this problem and the subsequent "need for a critical review of the power of the multiplying effect in PACS education to contribute to actual institutional and social transformation" (2017a: 72). It does not matter what combination of competencies form the content of peace education. Whether they are purely technical skills, such as learning about Human Rights or more politically engaged material is irrelevant. As long as there is an expectation that social change is dependent upon sufficient numbers of students acquiring them, then peace education will continue to have individualised analysis.

### *Placing Peace Education within the Structures of Society*

The second main challenge is to place peace education society within the structures of their society. Bajaj articulated this aims as:

Critical peace educators would further offer that structural analyses of how educational sites are situated in larger social contexts are necessary and must be ongoing. Both those privileged and those marginalized by current social and economic arrangements need to learn strategies for peace, but attention must be paid to the format, structure, and methods of the peace education process in order to prevent good intentions from causing harm or adverse consequences.

2015: 155

According to Bajaj, it is necessary to understand how social and economic hierarchies function in society. Without an understanding of how groups become privileged and marginalised in society, there is a risk that peace education programmes will reproduce

these same hierarchies. Similar calls for structural analyses have come from Zembylas (2018), Wessels (2005; 2012) and Bajaj and Brantmeier (2011 and 2015). However, what exactly structural analysis means is vague and open to interpretation.

For many academics, structural analysis has meant using Galtung's typology of violence and peace to articulate the aims of peace education programmes. According to Galtung, there are two forms of violence. Direct violence is the result of physical aggression. Indirect violence can be structural or cultural. Structural violence is a reference to inequality in society, whereas cultural violence is when "the symbolic sphere of our existence – exemplified by religion and ideology" (Galtung, 1990: 291) privilege or marginalise particular groups. Similarly, peace also comes in two forms. There is negative and positive peace. Negative peace refers to the absence of direct violence, while positive peace refers to the absence of indirect violence.<sup>4</sup> These ideas are crucial in the field of peace education.

Academics such as Urbain (2016), Gill and Niens (2014), Fountain (1999) and Harris (2004) have defined the purpose of peace education as contributing towards positive peace within society. Indeed, Kester and Cremin have found that his works are "among the most widely cited" in the peace education literature (2017: 10). However, they also criticise over-reliance on Galtung's ideas for preventing reflection on how the practices of peace educators themselves contribute to violence in society. Later work by Hajir and Kester (2020) has also argued that the term structural violence obscures the responsibility of individuals and groups in society for creating conflict. Placing peace education within the structures of society cannot simply mean acknowledging that peace education should aim for more than reducing direct violence in society.

Not all writers on peace education draw solely on Galtung's theories for the structural analyses that Bajaj and other critical peace scholars have argued are necessary. Novelli, Smith, Higgins and Cardozo have built a model for researching peace

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<sup>4</sup> This is a brief summary of Galtung's theories. For more detail, see Galtung (1969; 1990).

education using a Four Rs framework of recognition, redistribution, representation, and reconciliation that builds upon Fraser's theories of justice (1995). Fraser argues that cultural differences combine and work alongside socio-economic inequalities to perpetuate injustice and so creating justice means responding to all types of injustice rather than elevating some over others (1995). According to Novelli, Smith and Cardozo (2017), peace education that does not engage with how institutions, such as education, reproduce interlocking forms of injustice cannot contribute to the individual and social transformations that are necessary for peace. For these authors, structural analyses of peace education mean understanding how institutions create varying forms of injustice and then using this knowledge to prevent any educational intervention contributing to them.

Finally, given the calls for different forms of post-conflict education to learn from each other (Hajir and Kester, 2020), it is possible to draw from the literatures on citizenship and history education in conflict-affected settings. Work in these literatures has emphasised the need for research into how education programmes teach the political causes of conflict. In a review of the literature on history education in areas where there is recent or ongoing conflict and an analysis of the role education plays within Truth Commissions, Paulson has exposed how the political contestation over peace and conflict is often missing (2015; 2017). Within history education, "what is missing is a discussion of the structural causes of the conflict and the histories of collective, contestatory politics" (2015: 27), while peace education is rarely "grounded in an understanding of the past and its legacies in the present" (Paulson and Bellino, 2017: 24). These absences risk the forms of education that occur in conflict-affected areas being disconnected from the lives and experiences of those who attend its courses.

Detailed qualitative research by Bellino (2014; 2015; 2016), Smith (2003), Niens, Connor and Smith (2013) Smith and Worden (2017) and King (2018) has exposed the need for education in conflict-affected areas to show awareness of the varying political narratives surrounding the causes of conflict and the meanings of peace. Bellino's

research into Guatemala has shown textbooks using the idea of a culture of peace to avoid controversial discussions of what caused the war and with the intention of creating a sense of national identity (2014). However, avoiding these issues means that conceptions of peace and national identity are based upon a suppression of the past. It also suppresses present experiences, as fieldwork within two schools from different ethnic backgrounds demonstrated how different experiences and narratives of the violent past within these two school communities have led to “distinct civic narratives, set against the backdrop of particular interpretations of the post-war” (2016: 73) period. Finally, peace education that does not allow space for contested or conflicting form of politics can lead to students forming alternate conceptions of good citizenship that require “disengagement, and self-reliance, or breaking the law in order to access a civic voice” (2015: 22).

Similarly, Smith’s work in Northern Ireland highlights the difficulties that come from teaching citizenship without addressing the realities of a divided past. Smith is sensitive to the reasons why teachers and schools are reluctant to do this. He explains that without adequate training, resources and time, teachers will avoid controversial topics about the conflict in Northern Ireland due to fears about how parents and the wider community might react to such a curriculum (Smith, 2003; Niens, Connor and Smith, 2013). However, purging citizenship education of these elements means children might only access information about the past and its effect on the present from less reliable sources (2017).

Finally, King’s research into Kenya has shown the dominant discourse surrounding youth education and education for peace programmes to be one of “economic logic”, i.e., education is important because it provide young people with the correct skills to find employment and so avoid being drawn into crime and violence (2018: 135). The problem is this discourse “sidesteps many governance and structural constraints that youth raised in interviews and that characterize the reality of the Kenyan landscape” (2018: 148). Again, King has exposed how a purely skills and value-based form of peace education is alien to and can alienate the students who are meant to benefit from it. Moreover, its



apparently depoliticised content reinforces a narrative of the conflict that excuses wealthy elites of blame for violence and places responsibility for peace on those who are poorest. Despite their disparate settings, what unites the work by Bellino, Smith and King is that structural analysis means researching how these programmes intersect with political contests over the meaning of peace and conflict that shape their context.

Within the literature on critical peace education, there is widespread agreement that any analysis of these programmes has to include their relationship with the structures of society. However, there is less agreement on what this analysis entails. For some academics, it has meant acknowledging that peace education programmes should seek to eradicate all forms of violence from society, while for others it has meant an in-depth exploration of how these programmes potentially contribute to interlocking forms of injustice or how they navigate the political contests of their context.

### *Developing Empirical Evidence*

The final challenge within the critical peace education literature is the need to develop empirical evidence to support some of the theoretical claims. A perceived prioritisation of theory over practical concerns, such as how or what to teach within classrooms, has led to criticism of the literature. In a review of a book on critical theory and critical pedagogy, edited by Gur-Ze'ev, Megan Watkins writes that "actual practice, namely what happens in classrooms between teachers and students, is almost entirely absent" (2007: 147). This absence undermines any claims to relevance made by the authors, as the obscurity of their work means it "will have little impact where it counts – in the classroom" (2007: 151).

The criticism of critical peace education as being more interested in abstract theorising that is untethered from the reality of what is happening in classrooms is potentially valid. In one of his articles, Gur-Ze'ev offers a counter vision of peace education. This counter education is described as reintroducing "peace not as a manifestation of a rewarding Nietzschean philosophy of the morning that consumes itself

in worthy loneliness, but as a realization of Love and worthy togetherness with the cosmos, with the Other, with worthy suffering and with one's self" (2010: 337). By integrating suffering as a key part of peace, Gur-Ze'ev avoids the naïve assumption, which he claims other scholars have succumbed to, of peace being non-violent. This vision of education is, perhaps, philosophically coherent. However, it is a long way from being a workable framework for introducing a new educational agenda, let alone a practical guide to providing a peace education course in a conflict or post-conflict context. The article also provides no evidence about how this form of counter-education would work within a classroom.

Critical peace education scholars have recognised the apparent prioritising of theorising over empirical research. A frequent call within the critical peace education literature is for future research to merge theoretical explorations of the relationship between these programmes and the structural inequalities in society with empirical investigations of how this relationship affects the act of teaching and learning. For example, Kester and Cremin ask for more research to "trace the ways in which knowledge about PACS (Peace and Conflict Studies) education is assembled – how particular 'truths' about [PACS education] are produced through empirical studies, how these 'truths' circulate, and how they gain an apparent stability and durability" (2017: 1421). Other academics who have made similar demands are Bajaj (2015), Zembylas (2018) and Kurian and Kester (2019). A key challenge within the critical peace education literature is therefore enriching the discussions of why and how these programmes are part of the structures that produce violence, conflict and injustice within society through empirical studies of their implementation.

The current section has outlined the main challenges within the critical peace education literature. Research that avoids individualised analysis, places peace education programmes within the structures of society and is based upon empirical evidence should

ensure that these programmes are not complicit in producing the violence they have ostensibly been set up to overcome. The final section of this chapter argues that a clear theoretical framework explaining how power works is necessary to produce such research.

## 2.5 Peace education and power relations

One of the main criticisms arising from the critical peace education literature is the lack of a clear theory for explaining how power functions within education systems and within society (Gur-Ze'ev, 2001; 2010). Bekerman and Zembylas have explained why having a clear theory for how power works is important in peace education research. They have argued that “peace education is not a thing (a reified knowledge which can be transmitted); [it] is a set of activities in the world and not a set of abstract ideas in the mind” (2011: 225). As a set of activities within the world, they are acted on by the forces that shape all activities. This means that a relationship exists between the activities of peace education and how power operates across all of society. Without having a framework for understanding this relationship, any research into peace education will separate these programmes from the society they are seeking to change.

Some academics working within the critical peace education literature have used clear definitions of power to underpin their research. Bekerman and Zembylas' use of practice theory is essential for their research into peace education (2011). Drawing upon work by Giddens (1990), Gergen (1992) and Harre and Gillett (1994), their conceptualisation of peace education as a set of practices leads to a focus on how the activities of teachers and students reproduce or challenge the hegemonic narratives of violence in their context. This leads to their conclusion that only “small openings” for challenging these narratives are possible without a radical transformation of all social, political and educational structures (2011: 19). Harber and Sakade (2009) draw upon Foucault and the roles that schools play in disciplining populations to question whether the

emancipatory ideals of peace education can co-exist within the authoritarian structures of mainstream schools.

Higgins and Novelli have also taken care to situate their analysis of peace education programmes within cultural political economy (Higgins and Novelli, 2018; 2020). After arguing that there is too often a “lack of reflexivity about the underlying ontological assumptions of peace education” (2018: 34), they build their work upon two premises. The first is that education is a system of knowledge production and that “the selection and structuring of knowledge is inherently ideological and political, tied to the operation of asymmetrical power relations and particular interests” (Apple, 1990: vii). The second is “the inexhaustible complexity of the social world, which therefore necessitates, as an existential necessity, a process of complexity reduction to enable social agents to “go on in the world” (Sum and Jessop, 2013: 24). There are advantages to being clear that peace education is part of a process of complexity reduction in which reducing all its possible meanings to the particular form it takes will benefit particular groups. For instance, it allows them to show how the production of peace curricula in Sierra Leone contributes to the “geopolitical and biopolitical agendas of the West. Furthermore, it fails to address the structural issues of Sierra Leoneans, pathologizes the nation, blames the poor for their plight” (2020: 17).

Cremin (2016) and Kester and Cremin (2017) have provided a broader reflection on how power functions in the academic field of peace education, instead of just examining its influence on a particular programme. After summarising the crises of legitimation, representation and praxis in studies of peace education, they argue the method for resolving them lies in research that accepts knowledge is socially constructed and dependent upon a contextually determined set of power relations. They offer Bourdieu’s concept of second-order reflexivity for conducting such research, as it demands that

researchers do not just consider their own positionality but reflect on the conditions of the field and the knowledge that is prioritised and valued within it (2017).

These nuanced analyses of what peace education can achieve contrast with the assumption that changing individuals will also lead to society becoming more peaceful. Indeed, the above authors have shown that a theory of how power functions is an integral part of researching peace education. Using practice theory, cultural political economy and ideas from Foucault and Bourdieu, they have explained why changing how individuals behave or think will not lead to social transformation. Instead, they have shown how peace education programmes can perpetuate forms of violence and inequality. A clear theoretical framework explaining what power means and how power relations function is necessary to avoid “locating the key challenge of peacebuilding in the psyches and personal predispositions” of the people who attend peace education programmes (Higgins and Novelli, 2018: 48).

Critical peace education scholars have also emphasised that recent research has only started to draw upon social theories of power and that many more productive research topics exist. Kester and Cremin conclude their article with the statement that, “there is now a need to develop concepts such as post-structural violence and second-order reflexivity in order to critically and compassionately address the limitations of the foundational concepts of structural and cultural violence” (2017: 1423). Higgins and Novelli have also re-iterated the need for research to clarify exactly what power means and how it is being used. Their work into peace education in Sierra Leone “draws attention to peace education as a form of knowledge production structured by power relations between international and local actors, an issue overlooked within commentary that assumes its wholly benign and disinterested agenda” (2018: 49). Bajaj and Brantmeier have also called for future peace education research to draw upon “critical approaches to education and social theory” (2011: 223).

While a theory of power is necessary for researching peace education, it is also important to be clear about the implications of any definition. Power is an amorphous concept and how one defines it will affect any analysis of its relationship with peace education. Moreover, there is no correct conceptualisation of how power works and each definition will have its limitations, blind-spots and drawbacks. The following are relatively crude conceptualisations of rich academic traditions, but they demonstrate the changing analytic foci that result from different conceptualisations of power. For those ascribing to a broadly neo-liberal understanding with individuals as rational actors, the benefits of peace education would have to align with what individuals perceive to be in their own interest. Without this alignment, any attempt to educate for peace would be doomed to failure and so research must focus on how to present peace as being in everyone's interest.

This definition of power and subsequent research priority contrasts with how one might apply Luke's three faces of power to an analysis of peace education (Hay, 2002). Viewing power as decision-making would result in an emphasis on how to secure the support of formal political institutions for peace education through laws and regulations. Expanding the scope to agenda-setting would mean researching how the process of exercising political authority affects the range of conceivable outcomes that peace education could play in the public realm. It would also require investigating how different groups seek to control the range of possibilities to suit their interests. Finally, a preference-shaping definition of power would further expand the research scope to an investigation of the preferences and preconceptions among the population about peace, education, justice and other factors that could affect peace education. Having this knowledge would allow researchers to understand the state's ideological hegemony over the meaning of peace and any possibilities for challenging it.

The above are just brief sketches of how varying the definition of power would affect the research priorities for analysing its relationship with peace education. Other methods could include using Actor-Network theory (Latour, 2005) to map out the human

and non-human actants that constitute peace education and explore how these relationships determines what happens in this network. Alternatively, Foucault's theories (1975) about states using education to assert hegemonic control over their populations could be used to explain contradictions and tensions within any peace education that takes place in state schools. Together these examples serve to demonstrate how changing the conception of power has implications for researching the challenges that face peace education and its route to changing society.

In this thesis I draw upon Bourdieu's theoretical framework. I argue that using this work to answer whether and how peace education reproduces or challenges the power relations of its context can address the three main challenges within the critical peace education literature. The following chapter defines Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit and describes how he used these tools to explain the reproduction of unequal power relations. I then explain how using his toolkit to answer the research question produces work that avoids individualised analysis, places peace education within the structures of society and is based upon empirical evidence.

## 2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that answering the research question of whether peace education reproduces or challenges the power relations of its context in Colombia addresses three gaps in the critical peace education literature. These gaps are avoiding individualised analysis of peace education programmes, placing these programmes within the structures of their society and developing empirical evidence. Critical peace education writers have argued that answering these gaps is crucial for assessing if peace education is contributing to the transformation of society as well as individuals. This thesis is therefore a vital step in developing an understanding of whether peace education programmes can claim to be changing more than just the individuals who attend them. Given the centrality of social transformation within the justification of these programmes, this thesis is an

important contribution to the critical peace education literature. The following chapter provides a more detailed discussion of Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit and how this thesis uses it to answer whether peace education in Colombia is reproducing or challenging the power relations of its context.



## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

- 3.1. Introduction
- 3.2. Bourdieu's Toolkit of Habitus, Field and Capital
- 3.3. Symbolic Violence, Doxa and the Reproduction of Unequal Power Relations
- 3.4. Bourdieu and Critical Peace Education
- 3.5. Applying Bourdieu's Theoretical Toolkit to Peace Education in Colombia
- 3.6. Shortcomings and Criticisms of Bourdieu's Theoretical Toolkit
- 3.7. Conclusion

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter defines Bourdieu's theoretical tools of habitus, capital, field, symbolic violence and doxa. It then explains how my thesis uses these tools to explore whether peace education in Colombia is reproducing or challenging the power relations of its context. It begins by discussing how Bourdieu used his tools of habitus, capital and field to explain the reproduction of unequal power relations in society across generations. The second section introduces Bourdieu's concepts of symbolic violence and doxa and their crucial role in legitimising the unequal distribution of power. The following section argues that Bourdieu's focus on social relations makes his toolkit ideal for addressing the three challenges in the critical peace education literature that the *Literature Review* identified. I then explain that applying Bourdieu's toolkit to researching power relations in peace education means understanding how the symbolic hierarchy of the field of peace education works. This means identifying the form of embodied cultural capital regulating position-taking in the field and which social groups possess a habitus that disposes them towards its accumulation. There is a discussion about the common criticisms of Bourdieu's tools, particularly the accusation that his work ignores the possibility that social

structures change. However, the chapter concludes by summarising the benefits of his toolkit for answering the research question.

### 3.2 Bourdieu's Theoretical Toolkit of Habitus, Field and Capital

Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit is well-known within the educational and sociological literatures. Yet, I argue that these tools can help answer whether peace education in Colombia is reproducing or challenging the power relations of its context. It is therefore important for my argument to explain what Bourdieu's tools mean and how he used them to analyse the structures of society. This section will define the key terms of habitus, field and capital and explain how they were a result of his work to overcome what he perceived to be the fruitless structure-agency duality.

In abstract terms, the overall purpose of Bourdieu's work was to reveal "a model of the social division of the labor of domination that obtains in advanced societies where a diversity of forms of power coexist and vie for supremacy" (Wacquant, 1996: xii). In more empirical terms, this meant working to understand how an arbitrary social hierarchy is transformed – in the perception of both those who dominate and those who are dominated – into a social order that is apparently reflective of human skill or excellence. The mechanisms of this transformation have gone from a feudal system in which birth almost directly guaranteed position to the current illusion of meritocracy whereby the education system enables "the ruling class [to] maintain and mask itself" (Wacquant, 1996: xi). In these statements, it is possible to see Bourdieu's attention to the multiple forms that power can take, the necessity of power disguising its true purpose and the continual struggle to impose dominance. This nuanced and intensive focus on what power means and how it works is often missing from studies of peace education and is at the heart of my contribution to the wider research field.

Bourdieu developed his tools of habitus, capital and field to examine the distribution of power within society and explain how unequal power relations are maintained. These concepts only make sense and have analytical utility when they are used together (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2007: 96). Bourdieu defined habitus multiple times throughout his career and even expressed frustration at being asked to do so yet again (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2007: 120).<sup>5</sup> Keeping with *The Logic of Practice*, the habitus is explained as:

The conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce habitus, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. Objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor.

(1990: 54)

There are multiple relevant consequences for the habitus that come from this definition:

1. It is “durable and transposable” (1990:54). The dispositions that are generated from birth last throughout a lifetime, although they are not immune to change, and transfer across fields.

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<sup>5</sup> Bourdieu also gave definitions of habitus in *Distinction* (2010: 166), *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (2016: 72) *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (1992: 122-123) and *The Field of Cultural Production* (Johnson, 1993: 5).

2. It is both a system of “structured structures” and “structuring structures” (1990:54).

This means an individual’s set of dispositions respond to the conditions in which they exist and then perpetuate these conditions through the responses they engender.

3. It allows for “history to be embodied in practice” (1989: 138). Each individual’s “schemes of perception, thought and action” are a product of collective history, the conditions of which they work to reproduce.

4. Without ignoring the possibility of strategic action, it first acts according to an unconscious sense of “things to do or not to do, things to say or not to say, in relation to a probable, 'upcoming' future” (1990:54).

These are the key aspects of the habitus. However, Bourdieu was clear that his tools are only analytically useful when applied as a whole (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2007).

The workings of field and capital will be discussed together as they are so entwined, before the different types of capital are described. A social field has many characteristics in Bourdieu’s work. Each field is “a structured space with its own laws of functioning” (Bourdieu, 1993: 6). Both the structure of a field and its internal laws function using capital. The structure of a field is relational as it is defined by a network of “relations between positions” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2007: 97). These positions depend upon the volume, composition and trajectory of capital that each agent within it possesses (Bourdieu, 1987).

So, to simplify, the “structure of the field is nothing other than the structure of the distribution of the capital of specific properties which governs success in the field” (Bourdieu, 1993: 30). The law of any field is that possessing higher amounts of capital within it gives access to proportionally greater of the “specific profits that are at stake in the field” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2007: 97). The final two points to make about fields are that they are sites of struggle and that multiple fields exist in any given society. Each field is a space of struggle “to transform or conserve the field of forces” (Bourdieu, 1993: 30) and so to impose a “principle of hierarchization” that is most favourable to one’s own

habitus (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2007: 97). However, this struggle is uneven. Those who dominate within a field are more able to make it function according to their benefit than those who are dominated. Finally, each society consists of multiple fields. The boundaries of a field is where its laws cease to have any effect and these boundaries are also subject to contestation and struggle (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2007).

Given the above discussion of how fields work, capital, for Bourdieu, is synonymous with power. Indeed, “the structure of the distribution of the different types and subtypes of capital at a given moment in time represents the immanent structure of the social world” (1986: 241). However, capital is not a homogenous force, but exists in series of types and sub-types. There are three principal forms: cultural, social and economic. Cultural capital also has three forms: embodied capital - i.e., existing within durable dispositions – objectified capital - i.e. existing as cultural goods books – and institutionalised capital - i.e. existing as qualifications that are conferred upon individuals. Social capital is the resources that come from being part of a network or group, membership of which provides access to “collectively- owned capital, a “credential” which entitles them to credit” (Bourdieu, 1986: 21). Economic capital is the simplest form as it gives access to goods or services with no secondary costs. According to Bourdieu (1986), an individual can exchange one form of capital for another; for example, economic capital can become cultural capital. This process is not perfect, as the following section discusses, but the inefficiencies of capital exchange are vital for cultural capital to have legitimacy among all agents within a field.

It is though these tools working together that Bourdieu perceived and analysed current, historical and even future power relations. As stated above, the structure of a field is the structure of the distribution of capital among the agents who participate within it. However, this capital is neither evenly nor randomly distributed. Instead, the accumulation – or lack thereof – of a particular form of capital within an individual or group is the result of historical processes that are brought into the present, and then into the future, through

each individual's habitus. Those who dominate in a field are able to control which form of capital is required in order to obtain a higher position within it. Inevitably, the habitus of those from the dominant class in a field is an advantage for acquiring this favoured form of capital. It is through this process that capital, and thus power, is transmitted across generations.

### 3.3 Symbolic Violence, Doxa and the Reproduction of Unequal Power Relations

The basis of all power relations lies in the denial of their existence. As Bourdieu puts it, "all genuine power acts as symbolic power, the basis of which is, paradoxically, denial?" (1998: 383). This is a point he repeated and emphasised throughout his work.

*Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* opens with the statement that every power declares itself "as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force" (Bourdieu and Passeron, 2000: 4).<sup>6</sup> To understand why the denial of power relations is so important to their reproduction, it is necessary to define symbolic violence and doxa, as well as explain their relationship to habitus, field and capital.

Bourdieu defined symbolic violence as the process through which the dominated agents of a field consent to their own domination by competing for success in fields where they are systematically disadvantaged (Bourdieu, 1998: 4). For Bourdieu, the education system in any society is a field that produces symbolic violence. Indeed, he described education systems as "one of the foundations of domination and of the legitimation of domination" (1998: 5).

The production of symbolic violence within an education system requires the inter-relationship of habitus, capital and field. The education system "rests on an implicit definition of excellence that, by granting superiority to the qualities socially conferred upon

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<sup>6</sup> See also *The Forms of Capital* (1986) where Bourdieu discusses the need for economic relations to be disguised through symbolic capital and the discussion in *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977) on how all hierarchies work to naturalise their arbitrariness.

those who are socially dominant, consecrates both their way of being and their state” (1998: 37). In other words, the process of determining and celebrating academic excellence merely rewards socially advantaged pupils for possessing the qualities that result from their upbringing. This process is not a conscious strategy designed to perpetuate class inequalities. Indeed, if it were, it would cease to work. Instead, it results from the system of dispositions and perceptions that constitute the habitus of those who come from a socially advantaged class being advantageous for navigating the categorisations and hierarchisations that occur within the educational field. According to Bourdieu, for agents whose habitus “encounters a social world of which it is the product, it is like a “fish in water”” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2007: 127). Throughout *The State Nobility*, he uses school reports, records of prize-winners and even obituaries to provide evidence of this process working in practice throughout the education system. The result is that “ability, or “gifts,” is also the product of an investment in time and cultural capital” (1998: 275). By sanctioning – or in Bourdieu’s terms ‘consecrating’ – this transference of cultural capital through the awarding or withholding of qualifications, the state uses the education system to “exercise its monopoly on legitimate symbolic violence” (1998: 377).

The key point that Bourdieu emphasises throughout *The State Nobility* (1998) is that symbolic violence would be ineffective if it was recognised as such. This method of perpetuating an unequal power structure is only effective when those who benefit and those who suffer from it perceive the regulating mechanism of the field – i.e., the dominant form of capital – to be legitimate. Again, it is the operations of the habitus that permits this legitimation to take place. Evidence from across the education system in France demonstrates how actions that work “to establish a close correspondence between the entry- classification and the exit classification” (Bourdieu, 1998: 36) are disguised so as to deny this function. A crucial part of this misrecognition is the movement of enough students into exit classifications that would not be predicted from their entry classifications, thus allowing the fiction of meritocracy to be maintained.

In *The Forms of Capital* (1986), Bourdieu compares the effective but transparent mechanisms of transferring economic capital across generations with the more complex strategies that are necessary to do the same for cultural capital. In the economic field, there is the advantage of simplicity, as one generation can simply pass on its monetary wealth to the next and so ensure their dominance by virtue of continuing to possess economic capital. However, it comes at the cost of revealing the arbitrariness of the hierarchy within this field. The generation that inherits wealth has done nothing to justify possessing it and so the arbitrary nature of how individuals achieve a high position within this field is revealed both to its dominated members, but also to those who dominate. In contrast, using the education system to convert economic capital into cultural capital requires time as well as labour and does not have a full guarantee of success. However, as a method for reproducing social structures, their inefficiencies are justified by introducing the principle of misrecognition, which conceals the arbitrariness of the social hierarchy.

Despite this explanation of how dominance is created and then legitimated, Bourdieu does not exclude the possibility for change within his model of power relations. Fields are sites of constant struggle and the educational field is no different. This manifests as, “constant struggles for the power to impose the dominant principle of domination — and hence, either the preservation or the transformation of the structure of the forms of power” (1998: 388). The role of doxa is key for understanding how the struggle to define a particular “principle of domination” works in practice (ibid). Doxa represents “the fundamental presuppositions of the field” (1990: 68). These presuppositions are “established in practice between a habitus and the field to which it is attuned, the pre-verbal taking-for-granted of the world that flows from practical sense” (1990: 68). Changing what is taken-for-granted or what is presupposed-as-normal changes the relationship between habitus and field, which affects the type of habitus that is at ease and so able to acquire capital within it. Ultimately, it affects who is likely to be at



the top of the hierarchy that defines the field. This struggle to change the doxa of a field is uneven. Those who are dominated have to not only overcome the active resistance from those who dominate within a field, but also their own “dispositions that incline them toward this complicity” with their domination (1998: 4). However, these obstacles do not preclude the possibility of success and changing the power relations within a field.

### 3.4 Bourdieu and Critical Peace Education

Bourdieu has provided a systematic analysis of how power functions within education systems. His use of habitus, capital, fields, symbolic violence and doxa explains how education contributes to the reproduction and legitimisation of an unequal social structure. This thesis takes these tools and uses them to explore whether peace education in Colombia is reproducing or challenging the power relations of its context. I argue in this section that my analysis helps address the three gaps in the critical peace education literature identified in the *Literature Review* of avoiding individualised analysis, placing peace education within the structures of society and developing empirical evidence.

#### *Avoiding Individualised Analysis*

Critical peace education academics have demanded more interrogation of the assumption that changing how individuals behave will lead to social change (Kester, 2017a). Bourdieu’s theoretical toolkit explains why this assumption is faulty due to his focus on social relations rather than individual actions.

Bourdieu took great care to position his work as a means to overcome what he perceived to be the artificial structure-agency divide. He equally condemned the objectivists who “fall into the fetishism of social laws” (1990: 41) and the subjectivists who “create the meaning of the world de novo, at every moment, and which can find continuity

and constancy only in the faithfulness to oneself" (1990: 46). The former leave no room for human action or changes within social laws, while the latter are incapable of identifying, let alone explaining, the regularities and patterns that structure social life. As set out in *The Logic of Practice*, a social scientist:

has to escape from the realism of the structure, to which objectivism, a necessary stage in breaking with primary experience and constructing the objective relationships, necessarily leads when it hypostatizes these relations by treating them as realities already constituted outside of the history of the group - without falling back into subjectivism, which is quite incapable of giving an account of the necessity of the social world.<sup>7</sup>

(1990: 52)

Following Bourdieu's logic, the reason why the assumption that changing individuals will not lead to a changed society is that it ignores the social world in which these actions take place. Indeed, it is the similarities and differences – or homology and distinction – between these actions that constitute the social world.

Bourdieu's solution for analysing the social world without resorting to objectivism is to study the science of practices, which is the site where the incorporated and objectified products of structure and agency meet. This study of practices requires using and understanding the inter-related concepts of habitus, field and capital. These conceptual tools ensure that, "the research focus is always broader than the specific focus under study" (Reay, 2004: 439), as their aim is to uncover how "the structure of [the research site] is already pre-defined by broader racial, gender and class relations" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2007: 144). Using these tools to explore how peace education reproduces or

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<sup>7</sup> This need to escape the subjective-objective dualism is discussed in Bourdieu and Wacquant (1989: 120-124) Same dilemma is addressed: (give examples)

challenges the power relations of its context will therefore avoid individualised analysis that ignores the significance of the social world in which these programmes take place.

### *Placing Peace Education within the Structures of Society*

Employing Bourdieu's toolkit also address the second challenge in the critical peace education literature. Bajaj has argued that peace education research requires more "structural analyses of how educational sites are situated in larger social contexts" (2015: 155) to prevent programmes reproducing violent and unequal structures. The focus of Bourdieu's research was uncovering "the most deeply buried structures of the different social worlds that make up the social universe, as well as the 'mechanisms' that tend to ensure their reproduction or transformation" (Bourdieu, 1996, p 1). Using his work to explore how peace education programmes form part of these contexts therefore makes sense. Critical peace education also suffers from a lack of clarity over what this "structural analysis" entails (Bajaj: 2015: 155). Using Bourdieu's theoretical framework provides a clear conceptualisation of structures in society and an explanation for why peace education research needs to contextualise programmes as part of these structures.

For Bourdieu, the structure of society is the distribution of capital. He explains that "the structure of the distribution of the different types and subtypes of capital at a given moment in time represents the immanent structure of the social world" (1986: 241). As explained above, capital is not a homogenous force, but exists in series of types and subtypes. There are three principle forms: cultural, social and economic. Cultural capital also has three forms: embodied capital - i.e., existing within durable dispositions – objectified capital - i.e. existing as cultural goods books – and institutionalised capital - i.e. existing as qualifications that are conferred upon individuals. Social capital is the resources that come from being part of a network or group, membership of which provides access to "collectively- owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit" (Bourdieu, 1986:

21). Economic capital is the simplest form as it gives access to goods or services with no secondary costs.

Each society is structured according to the position each individual takes within the fields that define society, such as the financial, educational and cultural fields. This position-taking is determined by the capacity of each individual within a field to accumulate its dominant form of capital. Dominant groups have a habitus that helps them accumulate capital within the fields that constitute society. The acceptance of this advantage by dominant and dominated groups creates symbolic violence and it reproduces and legitimises the unequal distribution of power relations across society. If the purpose of peace education is to be socially as well as individually transformative, then there needs to be research into how these programmes contribute to – or challenge – the reproduction of unequal power relations. By using Bourdieu's toolkit to explore this question, my thesis responds to this gap in the critical peace education literature for a coherent analysis of how these programmes form part of the structures of their social context (Bajaj, 2015; Zembylas, 2018; Wessels, 2012 and Bajaj and Brantmeier, 2011).

### *Developing Empirical Evidence*

Using Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit for this purpose also combines a framework for explaining how power relations function in society with empirical evidence. Throughout his career, Bourdieu drew upon empirical investigations in contexts as diverse as rural Kabylia villages in Algeria and elite French educational institutions. Regardless of the context, these investigations sought to discover "the main factors of differentiation which account for the differences observed in a given social universe" (Bourdieu, 1987: 3). Broadly put, this meant identifying the dominant forms of capital in a field, the type of habitus required to accumulate it and the consequences of this uneven accumulation of capital.

Answering these questions demanded empirical data as much as the theoretical work needed to develop his toolkit. For Bourdieu, theory and empirical data are inseparable and do not make sense without each other and he presented his conceptual tools as methods to be used for research rather than ideas for abstract debate (Reay, 2004). Using his theoretical toolkit to answer the research question therefore requires both empirical data over the dominant form of capital in the field and its accumulation as well as a coherent theoretical explanation of how power reproduces in society. This addresses the gap in the critical peace education literature for developing empirical evidence to support the theoretical arguments that these programmes are capable of inadvertently causing harm (Kester and Cremin, 2017; Zembylas 2018; Kurian and Kester, 2019).

### 3.5 Applying Bourdieu's Theoretical Toolkit to Peace Education in Colombia

This section explains how I apply Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit to explore whether peace education in Colombia is reproducing or challenging the power relations of its context. Exploring these power relations mean identifying how the symbolic hierarchy of the field of peace education in Colombia functions and who benefits from the competing principals of domination.

Analysing the symbolic hierarchy of the field of peace education means uncovering what makes an individual, i.e., a student, better or worse at peace education than other individuals. What determines the position of an individual within the field, i.e., how 'good' they are at peace education, is the "organising logic" (Leander, 2010: 4) that determines the symbolic hierarchy of the field. The organising logic must be specific to the field of peace education, as each field has a specific set of effects that determine position-taking and that differentiate it from all other fields in society (Bourdieu, 1990). Moreover, this logic is not fixed, but subject to a constant struggle to impose a definition that will help

particular groups or individuals to obtain the capital that are the profits of the field (Bourdieu, 1993).

As Bourdieu acknowledges, understanding how symbolic hierarchies work within fields is difficult (1993: 47-48). To do so, it is necessary to identify the dominant forms of capital within a field in order to understand its structure because fields are structured through the accumulation of capital (Bourdieu, 1993). The capital of peace education is different to that of the mainstream education system in which objectified cultural capital in the form of qualifications structures the position of agents (Bourdieu, 1986). Instead, peace education in Colombia seeks to permanently change the knowledge, values and feelings of its participants and so the field is structured by embodied cultural capital, as it exists as a set of durable dispositions. Identifying the embodied cultural capital that structures the field of peace education in Colombia was the first step in answering whether it reproduces the power relations of its context.

However, the capacity to accumulate this capital within the field of peace education is not simply a reflection of an individual's innate ability or the quality of teaching they receive. Instead, it is the habitus-capital-field relationship which conditions an individual's capacity to accumulate capital within any field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2007). A habitus that is disposed to accumulate capital in one field is the consequence of "accumulated labour" – potentially over generations – from other fields" (Bourdieu, 1986: 15). These dispositions – or their absence – for accumulating capital make the habitus:

a socialised body. A structured body, a body which has incorporated the immanent structures of a world or of a particular sector of that world – a field – and which structures the perception of that world as well as action in that world.

Bourdieu, 1998: 81

Understanding how the habitus-capital relationship forms the symbolic hierarchy of the field of peace education reveals how the “immanent structures of the world” affect the positions that individuals take within it – i.e., how successful they are likely to be at learning the competencies associated with peace. This structured and structuring aspect of the habitus is why it allows a researcher the “means of viewing structure as occurring within small-scale interactions” (Reay, 2004: 439), such as those between peace education teacher and learner. In other words, understanding how the symbolic hierarchy of peace education functions requires research into which social groups possess a habitus that inclines them towards accumulating the embodied cultural capital that regulates position-taking.

According to Bourdieu, it was not just the benefitting of the already-privileged through the habitus-capital relationship that reproduced unequal power relations. Both dominant and dominated groups within a field must accept the dominant form of capital as legitimate (Bourdieu, 1998; Bourdieu and Passeron, 2000). To address this question of symbolic violence, I also explore whether teachers and students believe a form of peace education is legitimate, even when it disadvantages an already-disadvantaged social group in the school.

Finally, all fields exist in relation to each other. Those who dominate – and historically have dominated – one field are able to dominate others and so maintain and legitimise an unequal societal structure across multiple fields through capital exchange (Bourdieu, 1986). Indeed, it is through this process of exchanging capital that Bourdieu examined how education systems legitimise unequal social relations. The final step of researching the symbolic hierarchy of the field of peace education was to explore the value of its dominant form of capital and so identify the consequences of its uneven accumulation.

By researching how the symbolic hierarchy of peace education functions, this thesis explores whether peace education reproduces or challenges the power relations of its

context. Answering this research question explains why the assumption that simply changing individuals will simply result in a transformed society is faulty. It uses Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit to show how the profits of peace education are unevenly distributed across society and can contribute to the legitimisation and reproduction of unequal social relations. Moreover, this analysis uses empirical evidence of how schools have implemented peace education to situate these programmes within the social structures of their context and so avoid individualised analysis. Doing so addresses the three main gaps within the critical peace education literature.

Nevertheless, there are clear contextual and conceptual differences between where and when Bourdieu developed his theoretical toolkit and peace education in Colombia. It is therefore necessary to justify the use of Bourdieu's work within the Colombian context. There are obviously large differences between the French and Algerian societies from which Bourdieu drew his empirical materials and Colombia. Moreover, one of his closest collaborators has remarked, it is "doggedly Francocentric in empirical substance and scope" (Wacquant, 1998: ix). The question therefore remains about the extent to which Bourdieu's work is relevant in other contexts and, specifically, the Colombian one.

However, Bourdieu's analytical purpose was not just to explore how power relations work within the education system in France, but to use evidence from France to expose how power relations work within education systems. Indeed, Wacquant also emphasised that *The State Nobility* was "irrepressibly universalizing in analytical intent and reach" (1998: ix). Moreover, the concepts of habitus, field, capital, symbolic violence and doxa do not rely on a specifically French context for their validity. Instead, it is their inter-relationship rather than their relationship with an external factor that Bourdieu repeatedly emphasised as being necessary (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2007, 96). It is therefore against neither the spirit nor purpose of Bourdieu's work to use these concepts within new



contexts. A point proved by the diversity of contexts in which his ideas have been applied.<sup>8</sup>

### 3.6 Shortcomings and Criticisms of Bourdieu's Theoretical Toolkit

There are a number of criticisms of Bourdieu work, and it is only right to consider how some of the most relevant affect this thesis. My thesis explores how peace education can reproduce or challenge the power relations of their context. I therefore assume the possibility of change within a social structure. Yet, a key criticism of Bourdieu's work is that his toolkit does not permit this possibility. Some critics have argued that Bourdieu's toolkit essentially freezes the social world along clearly differentiated class boundaries.<sup>9</sup> If this argument were correct, then peace education could never successfully challenge the power relations of society and the answer to my research question would have been determined by the theoretical lens being used to explore it.

This interpretation of Bourdieu's work incorrectly diminishes the importance he assigned to contestation and struggle (Mead, 2015). The power relations within a field are not fixed, but can change as a result of practice, although practice is constrained by the field-habitus relationship and the accompanying sense of how the world should be. Indeed, "for Bourdieu the world is somewhat pliable, that its logic follows what he calls the 'causality of the probable'" (Mead, 2015: 67). It is this 'somewhat pliability' that captures the possibility of changing social structures while recognising the difficulty of doing so, which makes Bourdieu so useful for researching peace education.

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<sup>8</sup> A search of the literature provides examples of Bourdieu being used to analyse the contemporary field of music production across the world (Prior, 2008), the transition from vocational to higher education in the UK (Katartzi and Hayward, 2019) and the relationship between educational policy and globalisation within educational sectors in all countries (Lingard et al, 2005; Lingard, 2009).

<sup>9</sup> See Archer (2012) and Haber (2004) for more detailed criticism of Bourdieu's work along these lines.

### 3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has described the theoretical framework used to define power and explained how I use them to explore if peace education in Colombia is reproducing or challenging the power relations of its context. Any definition of an abstract term such as power has limits. However, there are many advantages to using Bourdieu's toolkit. It provides a clear method for identifying the power relations of peace education by uncovering how the symbolic hierarchy of the field functions. Applying his tools to the research question also leaves open the possibility of peace education challenging the power relations of their context, as fields are dynamic sites in which there is a contest over the dominant form of capital.

Using Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit to research how power relations within peace education programmes can also address the main challenges in the critical peace education literature. My thesis does not rely on a theory of change that assumes changing individuals will inevitably lead to changing society. This assumption places the responsibility on individuals to achieve peace, ignores the structural causes of conflict and reproduces an atomistic vision of education, the self and society that has its roots in western colonialism (Cremin, 2016). I also use empirical evidence of how peace education programmes are being implemented to situate them within the structures of their context, thus addressing another gap in the literature (Kester and Cremin, 2017; Zembylas, 2018).

Finally, Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit does not rely on blaming bad or incompetent individuals for the reproduction of unequal power relations. Instead, his system of interlocking concepts of field, habitus, capital, symbolic violence and doxa explain how the inter-relationship between structural forces and individual actions reproduce unequal social structures. Importantly, this thesis avoids blaming teachers, students or practitioners of peace education for reproducing unequal power relations.

Having described how this thesis applies Bourdieu's theoretical framework to answer the research question, the following chapter will explore the context in which this analysis takes place. It traces the roots of Colombia's history of conflict to the country's high levels of socio-economic inequality. The recognition in the 2016 peace accords of the FARC's demands to address this inequality is what distinguished it from previous negotiations. By foregrounding socio-economic inequality as one of the main causes of conflict in Colombia, this chapter will justify why this thesis explores which social groups benefit most from peace education programmes and how.

## COUNTRY CONTEXT

### 4.1. Introduction

### 4.2. Inequality as a Cause of Conflict in Colombia

### 4.3. Inequality, Violence and Education

### 4.4. The Havana Peace Negotiations and the 2016 Peace Accords

### 4.5. Peace Education and the Catedra de la Paz Law

### 4.6. Critical Peace Education and the Importance of Bourdieu's Theoretical Toolkit for research into Peace Education in Colombia

### 4.7. Conclusion

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter argues that there is a need for more research within the critical peace education tradition in Colombia due to the role of the country's socio-economic inequality in causing its history of conflict, as well as other forms of violence. It is therefore vital that peace education avoids reproducing the structural conditions that generated conflict. The chapter begins with a brief outline of Colombia's history of conflict. While some scholars have emphasised different factors, there is a general consensus in the academic literature that unequal ownership of land and wealth has driven Colombia's conflict and the current forms of violence in society. Section 4.4 introduces Colombia's history of peace negotiations. What separated the 2016 peace accords, and the Havana negotiations that preceded them, is that addressing – even imperfectly – the FARC's grievances over inequality was part of the process and eventual agreement. The following section explores the role of peace education within these peacebuilding efforts. It discusses the 2014 Catedra de la Paz law that mandated teaching towards a culture of peace in all educational institutions. There has been research into this law and proposals on how to

improve its implementation, as well as the obstacles it faces (Morales, 2021). However, the final section argues that more research within the critical peace education tradition is necessary. This research should focus on understanding how and if peace education is reproducing the inequalities that have caused conflict in Colombia, and whether it is possible for these programmes to challenge the power relations that are responsible for upholding these inequalities. The chapter concludes with a justification of why Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit is useful for undertaking this research.

#### 4.2 Inequality as a Cause of Conflict in Colombia

Colombia has a long history of conflict, which goes back to its founding in the early nineteenth century. Peace education is an attempt to overcome this past and so only makes sense when set in relation to it. Since the founding of Gran Colombia in 1810, the inhabitants of Colombia have lived through the civil wars that took place between 1863 and 1880; the war of a thousand days from 1899-1903, the use of armed forces to crush union protests in the 1920s; La Violencia which saw supporters of the conservative and liberal political parties perform acts of extreme cruelty on each other and led to an estimated 200,000 deaths (Berents, 2018). The current conflict has its origins in the political, social and economic inequalities of Colombian society in the 1950s (Meltzer and Rojas, 2005: 1). These inequalities led to the appearance of the Marxist guerrilla groups National Liberation Army (Ejército de Liberación Nacional; ELN), and the FARC. The conflict between these Marxist groups and the state expanded into a protracted conflict that has incorporated guerrilla warfare, domestic terrorism, drug-trafficking, widespread paramilitary killings and collusion between these groups and the armed forces (Sanchez and del Mar Palau, 2006).

The uniqueness of the conflict, as the longest lasting in the Western hemisphere (Hylton, 2006), has led to research into the causes of its longevity. There are two broad

schools of thought about the causes of Colombia's conflict. The first one emphasises the role of the drug trade while the second identifies socio-economic inequality as the main driver of conflict. Academics in the first group have argued that the Colombian conflict is "essentially due to the drug-trafficking, the difficult topography and a weak state" (Berry, 2017: 283). Colombian researchers such as Richani (2013), Rubio (1999) and Salazar and Castillo (2001) have also explained the longevity of Colombia's conflict as a result of rebel groups profiting from the drug trade. However, this thesis proceeds within the second school of thought, which has analysed how socio-economic inequality not only caused conflict between armed groups and the state in Colombia but is also responsible for the other forms of violence that currently exist.

According to the second school of thought, the Marxist guerrilla groups that emerged in the 1960s were responding to the endemic inequality in Colombian society, particularly over land ownership, but also inequality of income, access to justice and economic policies that favoured the rich (Pabón, 2018). Berents (2018) has located the origins of Colombia's current conflict in the violent resistance by Colombia's elite against any threat of land reform or political redistribution. The assassination of the Liberal presidential candidate, Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, in 1948 was an attempt by the political and economic elite to protect their privileges and led to immediate rioting in Bogotá, as well as the events of La Violencia (Berents, 2018). The frozen political situation, in which power alternated between the Liberal and Conservative parties, which came after La Violencia was an attempt to stop the cycle of violence being committed by partisans on either side. However, this political agreement removed the possibility of any new political parties from emerging and further entrenched the political power of existing elites (Meltzer and Rojas, 2005; Moser and McIlwaine, 2004; Hylton, 2006).

Further academic analyses have identified economic inequality as the key factor sustaining Colombia's conflict. Berry (2017) has argued that unusually high levels of inequality in land ownership and income in Colombia have contributed to Colombia's

conflict. He demonstrates that only a small proportion of large properties in Colombia – 10 to 25 per cent depending on the definitions used – have been acquired through legitimate means. All the rest are the result of bribery, coercion and violence. This inequality extends to income as well as land ownership. From 1997 to 2010, “the top 1% of income earners received 20% of total national (disposable) income” (Berry, 2017: 280). Indeed, as measured by the Gini Coefficient, Colombia has had one of the highest levels of economic inequality in the world throughout the course of Colombian conflict (Berry, 2017). These record levels of inequality correlate with high levels of violence, as measured by annual homicides per capita and the numbers of internal displacements. Berry concludes that of all the factors contributing to Colombia’s waves of violence, “a prominent role – possibly the definitive role – has been played by a combination of inequality in access to land and a deeply ingrained pattern of injustice” (2017: 291).

Inequality was not just a prime cause of Colombia’s conflict. It is also a current threat to peacebuilding after the 2016 peace agreement. A recent paper has argued that the “intersection between continued poverty, insecurity and exclusion has adversely impacted the prospects for sustainable peace in Colombia” (Gordon, et al, 2020: 698). The authors show that recent policies of coca eradication and the scandal of false positives, in which soldiers murdered young male peasants then pretended they were guerrilla fighters in order to claim a bounty from the government, disproportionately affected impoverished Colombian citizens. Without policies that explicitly redress Colombia’s continuing high levels of socio-economic inequality, the authors argue that a sustainable peace will be unachievable (Gordon et al, 2020).

High levels of inequality are not just responsible for causing conflict in Colombia. It has influenced the groups affected by conflict as well. Research into the effects of the decades-long conflict upon Colombia’s population has shown that violence was disproportionately borne by those from indigenous communities, rural communities, Afro-Caribbean people and marginalised urban communities (Echavarría, 2013). These effects

have manifested as forced internal displacements, forced recruitment into armed groups, ever-present threats of assassination, kidnapping or sexual violence, and having to live in conditions of financial, physical and emotional insecurity (Berents, 2018). While the profits from drug trafficking have fuelled and given greater financial power to the armed groups, it is Colombia's political, social and economic inequality that has caused sustained its conflict (Caro, 2019). Ultimately, economic inequality is a prime cause of the conflict in Colombia and responsible for determining which communities have suffered its consequences.

#### 4.3 Inequality, Violence and Education

Economic and social inequality did not just lead to the conflict between rebel groups, paramilitaries and the state, which mostly took place in rural areas (Hylton, 2006). It is also responsible for violence in urban areas (Poveda, 2011a).

Urban violence in Colombia is distinct from the history of conflict between the government and the guerrillas. Nevertheless, both are rooted in the same phenomenon of socio-economic inequality (Valenzuela, 2002, Rubio, 2000). Moreover, the aim of peace education programmes across the world is to assist in the eradication of all forms of violence (Fountain, 1999). Colombian peace education programmes also share this aim. The 2014 Catedra de la Paz law, discussed in more detail later in this chapter, states that it aims to "guarantee and strengthen the creation of a culture of peace in Colombia" (Ley 1732: article 1). For the law to be successful, it has to avoid reproducing the conditions that lead to urban violence as well as the history of conflict between guerrillas and the government.

Previous research has shown that key indicators of inequality in urban areas, such as the Gini index, unsatisfied basic needs and poverty "are likely to generate higher rates of crime and violence" (Poveda, 2011a: 460-1) and are "strong predictors of homicide



rates in the seven Colombian cities” (453). Indeed, the same academic has found that increasing economic inequality in urban areas is correlated with an increase in the homicide rate (Poveda, 2011b). This finding that inequality in urban areas is highly correlated with forms of violence is not an outlier. Bourguignon, Nuñez and Sanchez (2002) have also used unequal income distribution to explain high levels of crime in the seven largest cities in Colombia. Other researchers have similarly concluded that increasing urban inequality leads to an increase in violence (Poveda, 2011b, Gutierrez and Gallo, 2002). A “culture of peace” (Ley 1732: article 1) is incompatible with rising levels of violence. It is therefore essential to research how implementing the Catedra de la Paz can avoid reproducing the conditions that lead to violence.

### *The Colombian Education System*

Socio-economic inequality also affects the education system in Colombia. A recent OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) report identified socio-economic inequities in the education system as one of the major educational challenges (OECD, 2016).

A brief overview of the education system in Colombia can help explain why inequality is a problem within it. Every individual has the right to education in Colombia. There are five stages of education, of which basic and high school are compulsory:

- early childhood education
- preschool education
- basic education (five grades of primary and four grades of secondary – often referred to as lower secondary)
- high school education (two grades – often referred to as higher secondary)
- higher education

The central government has the responsibility for determining the curriculum and regulating all schools and inspecting for quality and compliance (Ministerio de Educación, 2015; Carroll, 2020).

Despite the state's role in regulation, the education system in Colombia is highly decentralised. Municipal, rather than central, governments have extensive responsibilities over "directing, planning and providing educational services at the pre-school, primary and middle-school levels with equal access, efficiency and good quality" (Faguet and Sanchez, 2014: 231). Section 4.5 will discuss the Catedra de la Paz in more detail, but this decentralised system means that the central government will determine the overall curriculum while the municipal governments will have control over its implementation.

There are private institutions at all five stages of the Colombian education system. Private schools are mostly located in urban areas and have more resources and staff than state schools, which are often poorly funded (Carroll, 2020). Although there are some low-cost private schools that cater to a range of students, most private schools are for wealthier families. In 2018, 18% of students in lower secondary and 26% of students in higher secondary attended private schools (Carroll, 2020).

The widespread use of private schools within Colombia has contributed to an unequal in terms of quantity and quality of schooling. Detailed analysis by the Inter-American Development Bank has described the inequalities facing Colombian students (Duarte, Soledad Bos, and Martín Moreno, 2012). They have found that students from the poorest sections of society suffer from a reduced quantity of education:

71% of children from the poorest quintile attend preschool, 88% of children from the richest quintile do. In secondary school, 77% of students ages 13 to 17 from the poorest quintile attend school, while 92% of young people from the richest quintile do.

Duarte, Soledad Bos, and Martín Moreno, 2012: 3

Socio-economic inequality also affects the quality of students' education and their educational performance. The same study found that "there is a high relationship between the SABER (Systems Approach for Better Educational Results) test results and students' socio-economic status" (Duarte, Soledad Bos, and Martín Moreno, 2012: 19). This effect is most pronounced for the richest and poorest students, meaning that the lowest quintiles disproportionately suffer and the richest quintiles disproportionately benefit from socio-economic background affecting educational performance.

Other research has identified educational segregation as a factor that affects student achievement and leads to underperformance in mathematics and languages among state schools (Reimers, 2000). Part of this effect is due to the use of private schools by the richest sectors of Colombian society. Students who come from wealthy backgrounds (stratum 6) overwhelmingly attend private schools, while students from the poorest backgrounds (stratum 1) attend state schools (García-Villegas and Quiroz-López, 2011). Indeed, Caro states that "in stratum 6 there are 99 times more pupils in private schools [than there are from other strata]" (2019: 68). Attending a private school is therefore the preserve of the richest students in society and confers significant educational benefit upon them.

Overall, economic and social Inequality is the main cause of conflict and violence in Colombian society. It has also produced an education system in which socio-economic background has a statistically significant effect upon students' educational performance and even their chance of attending school. Given this reality, it is not surprising that addressing inequality was a key, but controversial, part of the 2016 peace accords and the preceding Havana negotiations.

#### 4.4 The Havana Peace Negotiations and the 2016 Peace Accords

This history of conflict has led to multiple attempts to negotiate an end to it. Central governments have attempted peace negotiations with insurgents in 1987-88, 1991-92, and 1998-99 with little success (Hylton, 2006). Pre-Havana negotiations between the Colombian government and the guerrilla groups were stymied for many reasons. Some of these factors were the continuation of violence between the government and the guerrilla groups during negotiations. One particularly damaging example was under the Pastrana administration (1998-2002), when the FARC hijacked a plane with a Senator onboard, which led to the termination of the ongoing peace talks (Posso, 2004). There was also a lack of trust between the negotiating parties themselves, and also a lack of faith of the Colombian people in the chances of a successful negotiation (Berents, 2018). A key reason for this lack of success was the delegitimization of the guerrillas as political actors. Indeed, it was not until 2010 and the election of President Santos that the armed conflict was formally recognised as such (Berents, 2018). Previous administrations had classified the FARC-EP, the ELN and other guerrilla groups as terrorists or criminals and the conflict as an issue of law and order (Echavarría, 2013). Consequently, successive governments ignored any demands to address the inequality that had caused and continued to fuel the conflict.

The Havana negotiations that led to the 2016 peace accords were a conscious attempt to break with this history. During these negotiations, the Santos government recognised the violence between the government armed forces and the guerrillas as an armed conflict and so recognised the FARC as a political group with a specific ideology (Caro, 2019). Accepting the FARC as political actors also meant accepting their political demands as legitimate, although not necessarily acceding to them. Consequently, the 2016 peace accords contained measures to address inequality in Colombia, although not the replacement of capitalism or even the re-organisation of the institutions of Colombian

society (Nasi, 2018). It does, however, include provisions to address inequality. These include the creation of a state body to buy and redistribute land to peasants in areas affected by the conflict (Colombia's Agreement, 2016). There is also a tribunal to formally recognise landholdings (Colombia's Agreement, 2016). Due to the largely rural focus of the conflict between the FARC and successive Colombian governments, the peace accords mostly focus on agrarian issues. However, the overall aim of the peace accords is "the construction of a stable and long-lasting peace" that will improve quality of life for all Colombians and so it is relevant for urban areas as well (Colombia's Agreement, 2016: 5).

The peace accords also contain measures to improve access to political representation for all Colombians through improving the transparency of elections, providing access to mass media for opposition parties and giving representatives of the FARC guaranteed seats in both houses of Congress (Colombia's Agreement, 2016). There are criticisms of these measures within the peace accords for being insufficient to address poverty and inequality in Colombia (Nasi, 2018) or for not being implemented (Ahumada, 2020). Nevertheless, what distinguishes the Havana negotiations and subsequent peace accords from previous failed attempts is the enshrining of peace as addressing the causes of conflict and so not being limited to simply ending armed fighting.

This interpretation of peace is controversial in Colombia. In contrast with the subsequent Santos administration, the Uribe governments of 2002-2010 adopted a Democratic Security Policy (DSP). This meant aggressively pursuing military victory over the guerrillas alongside reconciliation measures for paramilitaries (Echavarría, 2013). Drawing from discourse theory, Echavarría has demonstrated how the DSP co-opted all citizens into the fight for security, labelled dissidents as terrorists and criminals, excluded alternative understandings of peace and ultimately reproduced the forms of violence it claimed to uniquely be able to halt. Successors of the 2002-2008 right-wing Uribe administration continued to present any negotiations with the FARC, or other guerrilla groups, as surrendering to a dangerous internal enemy. President Santos' opponent in

the 2012 presidential election promised to end the negotiations and portrayed the FARC as terrorists and criminals (Caro, 2019).

More recent elections have also shown the power of this narrative and the politically contested nature of peace in Colombia. In 2016 the Colombian people voted against implementing the peace accords between the government and the FARC by 50.2% to 49.8% on a 37.4% turnout.<sup>10</sup> Former President Uribe was a leading figure in the successful no campaign. He popularised the idea that Santos was surrendering to the FARC and the guerrillas would face no punishments for any war crimes (Gomez-Suarez, 2017). On the day Santos signed the agreement, Uribe proclaimed at a demonstration, “today Santos offers guarantees to terrorism. Maduro and Castro, and the FARC are swaggering freely round Cartagena” (Uribe, quoted in Gomez-Suarez, 2017: 468). The victory of the no campaign, albeit on the thinnest of margins, demonstrated the potency of Uribe’s narrative that peace is only possible through military victory over the guerrillas and that anything else is a capitulation to terrorists.

This elision of peace with an exclusive vision of national security continued with the election of Iván Duque in May 2018. During the presidential campaign he presented himself as “a vociferous critic of the peace process” (Echavarría and Cremin, 2019: 319). His actions as president have cemented this perception. During my fieldwork in 2019, there were widespread protests against Duque’s government. One prominent protest was a Minga – roughly translated as a collective meeting – of indigenous people that blocked the Pan-American highway and called for Duque to meet them and begin implementing the 2016 peace agreement. In response, Duque labelled the protestors as terrorists and a threat to security and peace.<sup>11</sup> The demands of the protestors and the response of

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<sup>10</sup> The peace agreement was later ratified despite its rejection after the Colombian government revised some of the terms, then sent it to Congress for ratification rather than holding another referendum.

<sup>11</sup> See reporting by Laurent (2019), Cauca (2019) for more information about this episode and Duque’s statement (Duque, 2019), which emphasised the illegality of the action and accused the Minga of being infiltrated by armed groups.

President Duque illustrate the contrasting attitudes towards the peace agreement and the meaning of peace in Colombia.

Contemporary events in Colombia have shown that peace and conflict are politically contested terms. Indeed, Piccolino and Ruetten-Orihuela have outlined how the official approaches to peace have changed between the Uribe, Santos and Duque administrations (2020). These political contestations over the meaning of peace in Colombia demonstrate the fragility of peacebuilding efforts in Colombia. Nevertheless, the Santos administration has convinced a substantial proportion of the population that peacebuilding must mean addressing the conditions that led to conflict by reducing inequality and poverty (Davalos et al, 2018; Liendo and Braithwaite, 2018). Peace education efforts are a crucial part of this wider peacebuilding agenda, as the following section will explore.

#### 4.5 Peace Education and the Catedra de la Paz Law

There was an expectation from the Santos administration that teaching peace education across all schools in the country would lead to a culture of peace in Colombia.<sup>12</sup> The government legislated for this belief through the Catedra de la Paz law. However, the history of educating for peace in Colombia extends before the Santos administration and is not confined to government-sanctioned programmes. What unites these programmes is the belief that changing the particular set of competencies possessed by Colombian citizens will result in a more peaceful country. This expectation suffers from the problems identified in the *Literature Review* of placing too much responsibility on individuals, while

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<sup>12</sup> There was also an assumption by the Santos government that increased access to quality education will reduce conflict. This assumption is separate from peace education and so is not the focus of this thesis. However, more information about it can be found in the 2014-2018 National Development Plan (PND, 2014), which has education as one of its three inter-connected pillars – alongside peace and equality – and justifies this importance from the assumption that improving education will lead to economic growth and social equality. World Bank and OECD documents also make similar claims (OECD, 2016; World Bank, 2016).

excusing structural conditions that led to conflict from having to change (Bajaj, 2015; Cremin, 2016).

The implementation of the Catedra de la Paz has generated significant recent scholarship on peace education in Colombia (Morales, 2021), but there are many other examples of Colombian peace education programmes. These programmes share the expectation that teaching peace education will promote peace by embedding in Colombian citizens the values, skills, knowledge and behaviours to help them participate in politics and live in harmony with one another. The internationally renowned Escuela Nueva programme states that “it has put emphasis on the processes and content that encourage education for peace, coexistence, tolerance and learning” (EAU: 23). Under the mayorship of Antanus Mockus from 1995-1997, there were a series of educational initiatives designed to create a culture of harmony and respect between citizens that would reduce urban violence (Montezuma, 2005). These initiatives have continued in Bogotá through organisations such as Proyecto Escuelas de Perdón y Reconciliación, Aulas en Paz and Proyecto Escuelas de Paz (Rangel, Casas-casas and Mejía, 2011).

On a national level, the Estandares Basicos de Competencias Ciudadanas (2006) - designed to provide guidelines for schools on what to teach within Colombia’s highly decentralised education system – give their core aim as developing “competencies and knowledge that children and young people need to exercise their right to act as active agents and in a constructive manner in society” (2006: 154). Finally, various international and national charities have created peace education programmes that focus on teaching peaceful skills to Colombian students.<sup>13</sup> The peace agreement also calls for the promotion of peace education in relevant municipalities, although without much detail on what this entails (Colombia’s agreement, 2016: 78). All these programmes derive their purpose

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<sup>13</sup> Examples of these peace education programmes are ones by the Prem Rawat Foundation (TPRF), ones funded by the German Institute for Cultural Relations (Silva) and a partnership between New York University’s Peace Research and Education Programme and the Escuela Superior de Administración Pública (NYUSPS).



from the belief that teaching young people, or indeed any participant, a particular set of values, skills, knowledge and behaviours will lead to a more peaceful society.

This belief also justifies arguably the most important legislation regarding peace education in Colombia. This is the 2014 Catedra de la Paz – peace lecture – law.<sup>14</sup> The purpose of this law was “the creation and strengthening of a culture of peace in Colombia [by] establishing ‘lectures of peace’ in all educational institutions” (Ley 1732: article 1). Establishing these lectures is mandatory for all educational institutions, although higher education institutions have more autonomy for creating their own curriculums. A later decree in 2015 (Decreto, 1038), provided more details about what creating a culture of peace means in practice, as well as regulations about how to ensure its implementation. This decree clarified the purpose of the Catedra de la Paz as 1.) helping the citizens of Colombia to live together peacefully and democratically and 2.) ensuring that the citizens of Colombia possess the knowledge and competencies to live together peacefully, democratically and in respect for Human Rights laws (Echavarría and Cremin, 2019). It also provided a list of twelve potential topics - separated into six categories - from which schools have to choose two. These twelve topics are

1. Peaceful resolution of conflicts
2. Prevention of bullying
3. Political participation
4. Projects with social impact
5. Diversity and plurality
6. Protection of the Nation’s cultural riches
7. Historical memory
8. History of national and international peace agreements
9. Sustainable use of natural resources and Protection of the natural riches of the Nation

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<sup>14</sup> This is not, however, the first legislative attempt to integrate peace education into the education system. See Romero (2017) for information about how the 1991 constitution, law 115 in 1994 and the National Development Plan of 1996-2005, which all sought to embed principles of peace, Human Rights and democracy in schools throughout Colombia.

10. Justice and Human Rights

11. Moral dilemmas

12. Life projects and risk prevention

However, the government does not provide detailed guidelines for how to teach each topic. Schools should, instead, adapt their chosen topics for their own context (Morales and Gebre, 2021). According to the law, teaching towards a culture of peace should also underpin all activities within the institution rather than being confined to one subject.

The implementation of this law has faced several difficulties. Despite the clarifications from the Decree (Decreto, 1038), there is still considerable uncertainty surrounding what educational institutions should be teaching, how or if they will be evaluated and whether any training will be provided (Castiblanco, Guzmán and García, 2019). This uncertainty is partially attributable to the decentralised nature of the education system in Colombia and the desire to ensure that teaching peace reflects the cultural specificities and histories of each region. An inevitable side-effect of this intention has therefore been to place the onus on already-busy schools and individual teachers to interpret this law (Álvarez and Padilla, 2016; Morales and Gebre, 2021).

This section has shown that through the Catedra de la Paz, schools have the responsibility to ensure that pupils possess the correct set of competencies for co-existing harmoniously and being able to participate in the political life of the country. The same expectation that changing the skills, value and knowledge that students acquire can lead to widespread peace animates previous legislation on education and peace education programmes across the country. However, critical peace education authors have shown that there are significant problems with this expectation. As the *Literature Review* discussed, it can lead to peace education programmes acting as state propaganda by deliberately – or otherwise – excluding structural changes in society as a requirement for peace (Zembylas and Bekerman, 2013), benefitting particular groups in society over

others (Kester 2017b; 2017) and even reproducing the conditions that originally led to conflict (Cremin, 2016).

Given the legislative requirement for all educational institutions to educate for peace, there is a clear need for critical analyses of peace education within Colombia. Despite this need, the majority of the literature on peace education in Colombia – as the following section will demonstrate – shares the assumption that changing individuals will lead to a more peaceful society. Moreover, given that socio-economic inequality is a main cause of the conflict in Colombia, the following section will also explain why research into whether peace education reproduces or challenges the power relations of its context can address this gap.

#### 4.6 Critical Peace Education and the Importance of Bourdieu's Theoretical Toolkit for research into Peace Education in Colombia

There is an existing, and fast-increasing, body of literature on peace education in Colombia and on the Catedra de la Paz in particular. This research has identified many findings that can assist its implementation, as well as highlighting the multiple obstacles it faces (Morales, 2021). However, this literature assumes that changing individual competencies will lead to a social transformation. There is therefore a gap in the literature for research that explores how peace education reproduces the inequality that is responsible for conflict in Colombia, but also has the potential to challenge it.

The passing of the Catedra de la Paz legislation has led to practical research into the law's effects. Throughout the work by these authors, there is the clear implication that if the population of Colombia were to possess the correct set of skills and knowledge, then Colombia would become a more peaceful nation. The academics who focused on practical research into peace education present a culture of peace as being a natural consequence of learners acquiring a set of peaceful competencies.

An example of this form of research is an investigation into how videogames can teach students the process of engaging in politics (Sánchez and Gómez, 2017). Further research has explored the importance of active participation for helping students acquire the “skills and values (e.g., conflict resolution techniques, tolerance) that aim to promote a culture of peace” (Gordillo, 2020: 12). Other academics have identified the obstacles facing teacher and students. Castiblanco, Guzmán and García (2019) found that teachers lack training in teaching peace, while students do not know how to apply the concept of peace to their lives. Romero (2017) has identified the difficulty of teaching a concept, such as peace, that contradicts the violent reality of pupils’ lives. This practical research into peace education in Colombia is not limited to the Catedra de la Paz. A collection of works draws lessons from a series of education for peace initiatives in Bogotá (Rangel, Casas-casas and Mejía, 2011). These authors use examples of interventions in urban contexts to argue that peace education can reduce physical aggression between students, encourage atmospheres of mutual respect and help teachers use more participatory pedagogies. Some of these authors, such as Romero (2017), do acknowledge the political divisions in Colombia. However, they present peace education as a means of acquiring politically neutral skills and values.

These studies have focused on how schools are implementing the law, identifying its impact and exploring measures to improve its implementation. The findings from this body of research are clearly valuable. Yet, their focus on improving individual competencies “pathologiz[es] the individual as the locus for social change” (Kester 2017a: 69) through the “expectation that changing people’s everyday thinking can lay the basis for cumulative and systematic social change” (Kester 2017a: 72). As previous critical peace education scholars have explored, this expectation excuses structural conditions from having to change (Pupavac, 2004).

There are scholars writing on peace education in Colombia who address the country’s political divides and so offer a clearer route to social change. According to their

logic, successful peace education programmes would result in learners rejecting the DSP narrative about conflict. Gomez-Suarez (2017) has argued that the success of the DSP's narrative in the no campaign was a result of failures in the education system, and that peace education should counter this narrative. There are examples of courses the author ran during and before the referendum and the government's belated attempt to use education to inform the populace about the reality of the peace agreement. However, Gomez-Suarez decries these efforts as insufficient. Instead, sustained formal and informal education initiatives that provide all citizens with the critical thinking skills necessary for seeing through disinformation are necessary to generate public support for the peace process.

Other researchers have presented a similar argument. Hernández (2018) writes that peace education could have been a mechanism for teaching the truth of the peace agreement but was underutilised by the yes campaign in the 2016 referendum. Roa Barrera (2018) focuses on how universities can develop people who want to construct a culture of peace. Gómez and Bello (2017) discuss how education can be used to support the peace process by creating politically active and aware citizens. Hernández (2018) explores how peace education can help people overcome the desire for vengeance and hate that led to the victory of the no campaign.

These important analyses take account of the political context in Colombia and give suggestions about how peace education could lead to political change within the country. The advice given by these authors shares similarities with peace education writers who have argued for programmes to raise the political consciousness of students and citizens (Gill and Niens, 2014; Lewsader and Myers-Walls, 2016). For all these authors, the locus for social change" (Kester, 2017a: 69) is in the individual's relationship with society rather than just within the individual. Nevertheless, there is still the expectation that changing individuals will lead to social transformation, even if there are more details about how this

change should happen. What these analyses also lack is a reflection on the relationship between these programmes and the structural conditions that are responsible for conflict.

Not all academics have placed on peace education the duty to counter a particular narrative. Grounded in the 'Many Peaces' philosophy of Wolfgang Dietrich, Echavarría and Cremin (2019) explicitly acknowledge the polarised political landscape of Colombia and the DSP security narrative as a threat to peace. By beginning from the position that there is no one correct version of peace and viewing conflict as beneficial if it leads to transformation, their approach to peace education allows for the existence of contradictory perspectives. However, all of the work by these academics share the assumption that individual change will result in social transformation. They therefore contain the flaws identified by critical peace education writers. These are that only analysing changes within individual behaviours ignores not only the structural causes of conflict, but also the possibility that these programmes are themselves complicit in their reproduction (Kurian and Kester, 2019).

This lack of research within the critical peace education literature is particularly problematic in Colombia. As this chapter has discussed, socio-economic inequality has caused Colombia's history of conflict and violence. The peacebuilding agenda promoted by the Santos government aims to bring about a sustainable peace through addressing the conditions which have led to conflict. Research into peace education cannot therefore simply assume that a more peaceful society is an inevitable consequence of teaching individual learners to improve a set of competencies. Instead, there needs to be research that investigates whether and how peace education programmes potentially reproduce the inequality that is responsible for conflict. My thesis addresses this gap by using Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit to answer whether peace education in Colombia reproduces or challenges the power relations of its context.

Applying this toolkit means viewing peace education in Colombia as a field. There is evidence the Catedra de la Paz has led to an increased commitment to peace education

in schools (Echavarría and Cremin, 2019; Castiblanco, Guzmán and García, 2019; Sánchez and Gómez, 2017; Caro, 2019). Using Bourdieu's toolkit to analyse data from experts in peace education and purposely chosen schools can reveal the consequences of this increased activity. Analysing peace education in Colombia as a field means identifying the dominant form of capital within it and identifying what form of habitus find the accumulation of capital within this field natural. It also means exploring whether peace education contributes to symbolic violence through the legitimation of a process of capital-accumulation that disadvantages dominated social groups.

Through this analysis, it will be possible to understand whether the Catedra de la Paz legislation – and peace education programmes more broadly – are benefitting particular social groups in Colombia over others. In particular, it will be possible to explore the relationship between peace education and the socio-economic inequality that is responsible for conflict, as well as other forms of violence, in Colombia. By using Bourdieu's toolkit, this thesis will be able to explore whether peace education in Colombia is reproducing the power relations that have contributed to decades of conflict or challenging them.

#### 4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has explained why researching whether peace education reproduces or challenges the power relations of its context is important within Colombia. The country's history of conflict and other forms of violence are a result of the socio-economic inequality that affects rural and urban areas across the nation. The 2016 peace accords explicitly acknowledge this inequality and so contains measures to address it in order to construct a durable peace. Although not part of the peace accords, the Catedra de la Paz is a crucial part of the government's peacebuilding efforts, designed to ensure that future citizens of Colombia are able to co-exist harmoniously and participate in politics. However, most of

the research into the Catedra de la Paz – and peace education more broadly in Colombia – focuses on how to improve the capacity of schools to teach the competencies of peace and for students to learn them. There is a lack of research within the critical peace education literature on whether these programmes contribute to the structural inequalities responsible for conflict and violence in Colombia. It is through using Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit to conceptualise power relations and then explore how peace education contributes to their reproduction, or has the capacity to challenge them, that this thesis addresses a crucial research gap. The following chapter sets out the sites where the data collection for answering this question took place.



## RESEARCH METHODS

### 5.1. Introduction

### 5.2. Research Design and Epistemology

### 5.3. Research Choices

### 5.4. Interviews with Experts

### 5.5. School Case Studies

### 5.6. Data Analysis

### 5.7. Ethics

### 5.8. Positionality

### 5.9. Limitations of Theoretical Framework, Methodology and Findings

#### 5.1 Introduction

The purpose of my thesis is to explore if peace education in Colombia is reproducing or challenging the power relations of its context. Using Bourdieu's theoretical framework of power, I wanted to identify which forms of capital regulate position-taking within the field and which students are able to accumulate these forms of capital. Answering these questions meant finding information about peace education across Colombia, particularly the Catedra de la Paz, and then exploring its implementation within purposely chosen schools that reflect the economic inequality in Colombia. I focused on economic inequality, as opposed to other forms of inequality such as gender or racially based ones, due to its role in causing and prolonging Colombia's history of conflict.

#### 5.2 Research Design and Epistemology

I chose a qualitative research design because it suited the theory-building purpose of this thesis as well as offering the practical flexibility that is necessary for completing research

in a foreign country and on an original topic. From the data, I wanted to build theory about how the power relations that structure Colombian society also affect peace education within the country. Qualitative research methods are useful for theory building. They give detailed insights into the actions, feelings and events that describe a phenomenon in one context. By identifying patterns in the data and then developing codes and categories from these patterns, a qualitative researcher can build a theory that explains how and why the phenomenon exists rather than just describing what exists (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, 2011). I used theoretical extension in this thesis, as I utilised new empirical research to “broaden the relevance of an existing theory” of how power relations work in a different context to the original research (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, 2011: 259).

Qualitative research methods were useful due to their inherent flexibility. They do not have to begin with a hypothesis and then gather the data needed to test it. Instead, qualitative research methods allow researchers to enter the field and begin the process of data collection and preliminary data analysis before narrowing their research questions and precise methods (Taylor, Bogdan, DeVault, 2016). This flexibility was useful for me, as I knew that my research topic was on peace education in Colombia and the relationship between its interpretation and structural inequalities within the country. These interests came from the critical peace education literature that called for more research into how peace education can reproduce forms of violence (Bajaj, 2015; Kester and Cremin, 2017; Zembylas and Bekerman, 2018). However, it was not until completing my first fieldwork trip in May 2018 where I had discussions about which students could access peace education resources that I narrowed my focus to power relations and Bourdieu’s framework for defining them. The inherent flexibility of qualitative research allowed me to refine my research topic through my increasing knowledge of the peace education literature, the Colombian context, and Bourdieu’s theories (1990; 1993).

I used interviews with experts in peace education and case studies of three purposely chosen schools. The interviews answered the first two sub-questions:

- How do perceptions of the content and implementation of peace education vary among experts and practitioners of peace education?
- What forms of capital do these varying perceptions of peace education represent?

I wanted to understand what it means to teach and learn peace education across Colombia, with a particular focus on the implementation of the Catedra de la Paz law, due to its policy importance (Morales, 2021). To achieve this, I conducted semi-structured interviews with experts on peace education. The experts represent multiple perspectives on peace education as they come from academic, policy and NGO backgrounds. Through their interviews, I wanted to understand what it means to become good at peace education in Colombia and so begin to uncover the forms of capital regulating positions within the field. I also compared the results of the interviews with documents for the Catedra de la Paz law.

The school case studies answered the third and fourth sub-questions:

- Which students have a habitus that is disposed towards the accumulation of these forms of capital?
- How does the varying capacity of students to accumulate the capital of peace education contribute to the production of symbolic violence?

Case studies are useful for intensive research into a phenomenon within a particular context (Bryman, 2016). For case studies, it is vitally important to be clear about what constitutes the case or the unit of analysis (Bryman, 2016). For this thesis, the case is the peace education programmes within each school. Through interviews with teachers and students as well as guided tours, participating in meetings and participant observations, I was able to develop an insight into what it means for teachers and students to engage in peace education in their context.

The epistemology underlying this thesis is critical realism. Critical realists accept that an objective form of reality exists, but the categories used to understand and explain these structures are provisional (Bhaskar, 1975; 1989). This epistemological stance is

relevant for my thesis because my research proceeds from the basis that unequal power relations structure Colombian society and constitute an objective form of reality. However, the theoretical framework used to define and identify power relations will affect any analysis of this structure and so an objective accounting of their true relations is impossible. Using Bourdieu's theoretical framework will therefore affect the interpretation of power relations. However, this would be the case for any framework and so what matters is being clear about which framework is used and why. Critical realism also posits that understanding these structures makes their transformation possible. Through this thesis, I aim to provide policy suggestions for how peace education in Colombia can challenge the unequal power relations structuring society.

### 5.3 Research Choices

I had to make numerous theoretical and methodological choices through the course of researching this thesis. The major choices involved the choice of case study schools, avoiding reflexive and ethnographic methods and the organization of findings by site rather than theme. The limitations of these decisions and potential alternatives are discussed later in this chapter in section 5.8.

The major decision to make over the case study schools was whether to focus on urban schools or to include a comparison between urban and rural schools. Initially, my plan was to include a comparison between urban and rural schools due to the conflict in Colombia mostly affecting rural areas (Hylton, 2006). However, as my thesis developed and I decided to use Bourdieu's theoretical framework, my focus shifted to exploring the effect of socio-economic inequality on the teaching and learning of peace education. I wanted schools that represented the embedded socio-economic inequality in Colombian society. Finding schools that represented this inequality became the determining factor in my case selection rather than an urban-rural comparison. A contrast between a private

and state school was the clear choice, as it would allow me to explore how the contrasting resources and family backgrounds affected perceptions and implementation of peace education. Private schools are mostly situated in urban areas in Colombia (Carroll, 2020) and so I chose to focus on urban schools. Section 5.5 describes the case studies and explains why the schools represent the socio-economic inequality that is the focus of my thesis. As the rural-urban divide was not the analytical focus of my thesis, it was unnecessary to spend significant time acquiring access to a rural school.

Within the schools, I had a choice of whether to employ ethnographic methods in the schools or to use interviews with teachers and students in order to collect data. The advantage of ethnographic methods is they enable observers or participant observers to develop a thick description of the research object (Geertz, 1973). However, ethnographic methods require time to gain the trust of the community within which the researcher is located and for the participants to act naturally (Brewer, 2000). This is particularly true within schools. I have previously worked as a secondary school teacher and so am acutely aware that students act differently when they are under observation. To get students used to my presence would have taken many weeks if not longer. Otherwise, I would have been gathering artificial data.

My research design required me to gather data from multiple schools. Within my research timeframe it would not have been possible to use ethnographic methods effectively within each school. Consequently, I chose to use semi-structured interviews. Through semi-structured interviews, I was able to explore the various perceptions of the purpose and implementation of peace education within each of the schools. This was the data I was interested in, as it enabled me to identify how the capital of peace education varied across locations and theorise about the habitus required to accumulate it. Using semi-structured interviews meant I could collect this data across multiple locations.

When writing up the findings, I have chosen to present my data and conclusions within the empirical chapters rather than explicitly situating my own positionality within

them. My decision was again guided by my choice of using Bourdieu's theoretical framework. Bourdieu developed his toolkit of habitus, capital and field as he thought that classical Marxism was too deterministic and ignored human subjectivity (Lechner and Frosts, 2018). Despite this critique, his work never deviated from the assumption derived from the Marxist analytical tradition that it is possible to uncover the objective relations between social actors (Bourdieu, 1990; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2007). By using Bourdieu's theoretical framework, my work also continues in this analytical tradition. As a result, the empirical chapters present my analysis of the objective power relations within the field of peace education overall and then in the selected case study schools. The focus of these chapters is therefore on uncovering this objective set of relations rather than reflecting on my own subjective positionality within the schools.

The final choice was over the organisation of the findings. My empirical chapters are organised by sites rather than themes. I made this choice because I wanted to explore the various perceptions of peace education within each site and then uncover the symbolic hierarchy of the field from these perceptions. This meant I had to organise the chapters by site rather than by theme.

#### 5.4 Interviews with Experts

The first two empirical chapters contain the results of my interviews with experts on peace education. I use the data from these interviews to answer the first two sub-questions of 1.) How do perceptions of the purpose and implementation of peace education vary among experts and practitioners of peace education? 2.) What forms of capital do these varying perceptions of peace education represent? To answer these questions, I wanted interviews with experts in peace education as well as those with expertise in peace and conflict more broadly within Colombia. I also wanted the experts to be from universities, the civil service and the charitable sector to ensure a range of perspectives. The varied

work experience of these interviewees gave them the authority to discuss the purpose of peace education programmes in Colombia and how these programmes have sought to achieve their aims.

I conducted interviews with the experts across two fieldwork trips. The first took place in May 2018 and the second from February to April 2019. In total, I conducted thirty-six interviews with experts in peace education.

*Table 1: Total Interviews with experts*

Profession	First Fieldwork	Second Fieldwork	Total
	Trip	Trip	
University	18	0	18
NGO	2	14	16
Civil Service	0	2	2
Total	20	16	<b>36</b>

I obtained the data through snowballing as I used pre-existing contacts to obtain an initial round of interviews and then pursued more contacts from these interviews. Using the principle of saturation, I continued pursuing interviews until participants began to repeat points and ideas from previous interviewees (Charmaz, 2006). This proved easier for university participants, rather than for charity and civil service workers. The close proximity of academics meant it was possible to conduct more than one interview within a morning or afternoon. Also, being researchers themselves, it was possible that they were more willing to give up their time for a PhD student. This was also true for the charity workers, who were happy to talk but could not always find time to complete the interview. It was only people who worked in the Ministry of Education who did not initially reply to requests for interviews.

However, following up previous contacts, I was able to speak to two ex-employees of the Ministry of Education. One is retired but had occupied senior posts in the ministry. They provided an invaluable historical account of how successive governments had

perceived the relationship between education and conflict. The other had worked for the ministry more recently and so was able to give a more up to date overview of policies within the ministry as they related to peace education. Together they were able to provide a comprehensive description of the Ministry of Educations' changing attitudes towards peace education.

Some interviewees straddled more than one role. For example, two of the NGO workers are part of an investigation team for a university in Medellín, but their main role is helping an educational project that helps schools teach peace and so fulfil the requirements of the Catedra de la Paz law. Two further NGO workers also worked for the civil service and universities. I therefore had to decide which category most accurately reflected their work.

The interviews followed intensive interviewing guidelines by focusing on research participants with relevant first-hand experience, and then using open-ended questions to gather their perspective of peace education, experience of relevant efforts and how they constructed their perceptions of peace and peace education (Charmaz, 2014, 56). The purpose of the interviews was to understand how people with a professional interest in peace education defined its purpose, the change they expected to see as a result of their work and the obstacles facing this success. The interviews were semi-structured with a set of questions that reflected these areas of interest, but with the flexibility to add follow-up or further questions if I thought it necessary. The interviews were in Spanish or English. The typical questions I used were about:

- What work they have done on peace education
- What successful peace education means to them
- What peace means to them
- The obstacles facing these goals
- [depending on their role] the purpose and impact of the Catedra de la Paz legislation.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> See Appendix 3a for the interview schedule for the experts.



By interviewing experts, I obtained information about the forms of capital that regulate position-taking within the field of peace education and so determine its structure.

There was an advantage to conducting the interviews over two fieldwork trips. By staggering the data collection between two trips, I was able to code, analyse and reflect on the initial data collection before embarking on the second round of fieldwork. From the initial set of interviews, the influence of non-Colombian, and especially Galtung's, theories about peace, the potential for people to feel excluded from peace education and the difficulties of making peace education accessible for all students seemed important due to their re-occurrence and so needing further investigation. I therefore continued with the initial questions, but added ones on these topics, depending to a certain degree on the expertise of the participant.

The first fieldwork trip also enabled me to develop links for more extensive fieldwork the following year. I used the interviews with experts to develop contacts with particular schools that became the research sites for my school case studies. Finally, the most obvious conclusion from this fieldwork was that I needed more interviews with people who worked in relevant charities and for the civil service. This was therefore a key target for the second fieldwork trip.

## 5.5 School Case Studies

Case studies from three schools form the basis of the third and fourth empirical chapters.

These chapters answer the third and fourth sub-questions:

- which social classes of students have a habitus that is disposed towards the accumulation of these forms of capital?
- How does the varying capacity of students to accumulate the capital of peace education contribute to the production of symbolic violence?

They argue that socio-economic conditions affect the position of students within the wider field of peace education in Colombia. I therefore wanted to conduct my case studies in schools that represented the socio-economic inequalities in Colombia. Consequently, it is crucial to understand the context and communities in which these schools operate.

### *Context of Schools One and Two*

Chapter eight focuses on the two schools in Bogotá and so it makes sense to discuss their context together.

Bogotá is the capital city of Colombia. It has a population of over 7 million and its growth is a direct result of Colombia's conflict, as internal displacement has driven the increase in population (Rieken, García-Sánchez and Bear, 2020). Despite being the economic and political centre of Colombia, there are many poor neighbourhoods that experience high levels of violence (Beckett and Godoy, 2010). High levels of poverty and violence in turn have an effect on education, as educators have reported the normalisation of aggression among their students (Rangel, Casas-Casas and Mejía, 2008; Chaux, 2009).

The two schools are on opposite sides of the same road, and it is possible to look from the staff room of one into the staff room of the other. Despite being geographically adjacent, they operate in entirely different socio-economic realities. The first school is an elite all-boys private school catering to students from across Bogotá, while the second is a state school serving the local population. Both schools had students from basic education to high school education. Exploring the teaching and learning of peace education in these schools allowed me to analyse the effect of socio-economic inequality on its interpretation and implementation.

A vital part of the context is the strata of the school population. There are six strata in Colombia and each city is organised through these levels. They denote different socio-economic levels with house types, proximity to education, health services and job

opportunities that vary, determining strata. The highest strata is six and the lowest is one. The students attending School One come from zones in Bogota that are in strata six, whereas School Two is in strata one. The information below explains how the different socio-economic backgrounds of the students affects every aspect of the two schools.

It is important to iterate that schools One was not just a private school in Colombia. It is a private school catering to students from some of the wealthiest families in the country. The highly exclusive nature of the student population was first apparent from the security surrounding the school. There were high walls, topped by barbed wire fence. Additionally, there is a private security detail at each entrance. Due to the presence of certain students from very high-profile families<sup>16</sup>, there were also military units stationed around the school, bomb-sniffer dogs with police handlers at the entrance and members of the secret service within the school grounds to ensure their safety. Entering the school was akin to entering a militarised compound that viewed the outside community as a threat.

The extreme privilege enjoyed by the students was also evident in the resources and opportunities on offer. Within the school grounds, there were three grass football pitches, an observatory, an extensive library, an indoor sports arena and a chapel. During my weeks at the school, students from year 11 were preparing for a school trip to Europe, which is an annual occurrence. From conversations with the teachers, I was informed that students would expect to work in politics, government or their family's business and that the vast majority would go on to attend university either in Colombia or abroad.

The contrast with School Two was extreme. It also has a wall and some barbed wire. However, instead of representatives from three security institutions (the police, military and secret service), I only saw one security guard. The differences continued within the school, where there was a single concrete playground. All the students lived in the local area, and it served as an extension and reflection of the local community rather

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<sup>16</sup> To retain the anonymity of the school, I will not name the students.

than being literally and metaphorically walled off from it. The teachers informed me that some students would go on to attend university but that the financial barriers were often prohibitive. Instead, many of the students would work in the informal economy.

The final area of contrast was in the manner and demeanour of the students. The students in School One were polite and showed an interest in who I was, but it was clear that they were familiar with many people from outside of Colombia and South America. In School Two, my status as a white westerner was a novelty and my presence was continually remarked on by the students. Finally, School Two had many recent immigrants from Venezuela while there were none in School One.

Schools One and Two were clear examples of the extreme socio-economic inequality that pervaded Colombian society. By locating my case studies in these schools, I could explore how the contrasting backgrounds of these students affected the purpose and implementation of peace education. It was then by interpreting this evidence through Bourdieu's theoretical framework that I could theorise about which social groups might benefit from peace education.

### *Context of School Three*

Chapter nine uses data from a third school in *comuna* 12 in Medellín. Medellín is the second largest city in Colombia with a population of around two and a half million. During the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s, Medellín experienced exceptionally high levels of violence, especially homicides (Cerdá, 2012). The rise of drug cartels, the response of the state and the incursion of paramilitary and guerrilla groups into the city were the main causes of this violence (Moncada, 2016). These groups had armed wings in some of the neighbourhoods of Medellín, including the one where this school is located. This history and its location made it an ideal site to explore the effect of poverty and violence on the interpretation and implementation of peace education.

Immediately prior to visiting the school, the whole staff had attended a day of training at a pedagogical museum on how to teach peace education. The city authorities ordered the staff to attend this extra training in response to a media storm after a pupil from their school had been photographed wearing a t-shirt commemorating Pablo Escobar. This photo had been taken on the day Escobar's former safe house was destroyed to prevent it becoming a tourist location. The school itself is in two locations, which are on opposite sides of the road (henceforth called School 3A and 3B).

Despite being split over two locations, School Three was very similar to School Two. They are both mixed state schools that serve their local community and have students from basic to high school education. School Three also had security gates and walls that had a single or security guard present at them. The physical resources were similar, as both had a single concrete area for breaks and sports in each location. Another area of similarity was the limited teaching resources, as teachers in both schools spoke about the difficulty of having over thirty children in one class and having to teach almost non-stop throughout the day without breaks.

There was also a noticeable parallel in my own experience of walking around both schools. Students were visibly interested in my presence and would come up and talk to me. A lesson would also immediately stop if I was brought in, which the teachers explained was a result of the rarity for students of interacting with someone from my background.

However, the crucial point of similarity was that both schools serve the local community. Driving up to the school, it was clear that the residents had mostly constructed the houses from cinder blocks and corrugated roofs. Conversations with the teachers revealed that drug gangs and armed groups continued to have a presence in the area and that many students would have been affected by them. But these conversations also touched on the students' desire not to be defined by this history of violence in Medellín and their comuna. The school had recently been renamed after a local political notable for

his pioneering work for peace in the city and the interviews in chapter nine do indeed show students keenly interested in subjects around peace and violence.<sup>17</sup>

Conducting interviews in this school allowed me to understand how pupils and teachers exposed to endemic violence and poverty perceived the meaning and value of peace education. By interpreting this data through Bourdieu's theoretical framework, I could explore if and how peace education was contributing to production of symbolic violence within the school.

### *Data Collection in Schools One, Two and Three*

The process of data collection in each school was very similar and so I will combine this information for all schools in one sub-section.

In schools One and Two, I interviewed the social sciences department, other relevant teachers and year 11 pupils in each school. I interviewed the social sciences department, as they had greater responsibility for teaching the history of conflict and were responsible for responding to the Catedra de la Paz legislation. There were also interviews with some teachers who had a relevant responsibility, for example the member of leadership in School Two who managed the students' behaviour, or were interested in this topic, such as the science teacher in School One.

*Table 2: Interviews in School One and Two*

<b>Location</b>	<b>Interview Type</b>	<b>No. of Interviewees</b>
<i>School One</i>	Teacher	8
<i>School One</i>	Student	9
<i>School Two</i>	Teacher	5
<i>School Two</i>	Student	6

<sup>17</sup> This name cannot be stated due to the need to preserve the anonymity of the school.

I selected year 11 pupils as School One has focused most of its peace education efforts on years 10 and 11, meaning they will have experienced close to two years of learning about conflict and peace. Due to their age, they are also more likely to be able to provide thoughtful answers due to of their age. I interviewed students in groups of three as from my experience students are more willing to talk when with their peers rather than in 1-1 situations with an adult. The teachers selected the pupils for interviews. I asked for pupils who represented a range of academic abilities. I focused on interviews rather than observations, as I was only at the schools for a limited amount of time. I therefore would not have been able to observe a representative sample of lessons. From my experience as a secondary school teacher, I am also keenly aware that it is possible to teach a one-off lesson when an observer is present, which is not an accurate representation of the teaching or learning that normally takes place. Seeking to understand perceptions of the meaning and worth of peace education through interviews seemed a more productive method for answering the research questions.

I used the interviews to identify what peace education activities were taking place in the school, how students were responding to them and any obstacles that prevented students from successfully taking part in peace education activities. Consequently, each interview with a teacher had questions about:<sup>18</sup>

- Peace education activities in the school
- Changes as a result of the Catedra de la Paz legislation
- The purpose of peace education
- The definitions of successful peace education
- Obstacles facing peace education
- How the students respond to peace education

Each interview with a student had questions about:

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<sup>18</sup> See appendix 3b and 3c for the interview schedules for the teachers and students

- Attitude towards peace education
- Understanding of peace
- Perceptions of their role and responsibility to work for peace

From these interviews, I had data on the activities being conducted in each school for the Catedra de la Paz and the practical obstacles facing teachers and students in these schools when trying to implement peace education. By analysing and then comparing this data, I was able to identify the forms of capital structuring the field of peace education in each school and how students from very different socio-economic contexts were able to accumulate this capital.

Within the third school, I followed the same process of interviewing the social sciences department and year 11 pupils, and for the same reasons. However, I also interviewed pupils from year 10 and some who were about to enter secondary school. As there was no comparative element between schools, I was able to conduct a wider range of perspectives from within one school.

*Table 3: Interviews in School Three*

<b>Teachers</b>	5
<b>Pupils</b>	
Year 11	8
Year 10	2
Year 6	6

The purpose of the interviews remained the same from the previous schools, but I changed the format for the primary school students, by using similar but simpler questions and asking them to write down their answers. The interviews were all conducted in one day, as it was the final day before Semana Santa when the school was closing for a week. I had to leave Medellín and so it was the only day I could spend at the school.

The main focus of data gathering during these case studies was through interviews for the reasons given above. However, in all schools, I went on a guided tour, attended a



relevant class and observed team meetings. While data from these experiences do not inform the bulk of my analysis, I kept a diary in which I made notes from these experiences about perceptions of the purpose and implementation of peace education in each school. Keeping this diary allowed me to reflect daily on my experiences with each school and begin to identify themes that I felt were important. However, the empirical chapters draw on the data from the interviews for their findings and conclusions.

## 5.6 Data Analysis

There were a total of eighty-three interviews<sup>19</sup> during the two rounds of fieldwork. I assigned a code to each interviewee based on their profession. These interviews generated a large quantity of qualitative data. I used Qualitative Thematic Analysis (henceforth QTA) to analyse these data but using Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit as a framework to guide my analysis. As stated previously, this constituted a form of theoretical extension (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, 2011). Combining QTA with Bourdieu meant three stages of analysis. The first was an initial reading through for context and translation. The second stage was reading for patterns and coding the patterns into categories. The final stage was developing the categories into the concepts of capital, habitus and field for an analysis of the power relations of peace education in Colombia.

The data analysis for each chapter began with a reading for context and familiarisation. QTA emphasises the importance of a first reading to establish familiarity with what the interviewees said and understanding the context without establishing firm codes (Vaismoradi et al, 2016). As the majority of my transcripts were in Spanish, I completed the first reading several times and consulted with Spanish-speaking colleagues if there were phrases that I had not previously come across. Although the purpose of this reading was not to establish patterns, I did begin to make notes on themes that seemed to

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<sup>19</sup> See Appendix Five for the codes assigned to each interviewee

be consistently important. At this stage of the analysis, they were: *‘Correct interpretations of Peace, Teaching Positionality, Politics of Peace, Access.*

The second and third stages of analysis were slightly different for the first and last two empirical chapters, as they were answering different sub-questions and so related to different aspect of Bourdieu’s theoretical toolkit. For the first two chapters, I was trying to identify the forms of capital structuring the wider field of peace education in Colombia, which is often the first step of a field analysis (Leander, 2010). However, my initial focus was simply to establish patterns in the data and use these patterns to create codes. The initial act of coding qualitative data means, “naming segments of data with a label that simultaneously categorizes, summarizes and accounts for each piece of data” (Charmaz, 2014: 111). This stage of data analysis is more descriptive of the data before moving onto the creation of more abstract themes in the following stage (Vaismoradi et al, 2016). I used NVivo for this stage of the analysis and did not begin with a pre-established set of codes from the peace education literature. Instead, I chose the themes from the data due to the exploratory nature of this (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2016). The initial set of codes and sub-codes for the interviews with experts were:

*Table 4: Codes and sub-codes for First Empirical Chapter*

<b>Code</b>	<b>Sub-code</b>	<b>Sub-code 2</b>
Purpose of Peace Education	Theories of Peace	Galtung
		Other
		Criticism
	Politicising Peace	
	Teaching Positionality	Activism / social change
		Personal understanding
	Reflexivity	
	Beyond Direct Peace	

	Empathy	Understanding
		Reducing violence
Meaning of Peace	Local peaces	
	End of fighting	
	Justice or revenge	
Limitations of Peace	Private schools and state	Bureaucracy
Education	schools	
		Resources
	Teacher training	Knowledge
		Access
		Willingness
	State neglect	
	Funding	
	Cultural bias	
	Economic inequality	
	Change of government	
	Long term change	

From this data analysis, I was developing a sense about how these experts thought peace education could assist with peacebuilding in Colombia, the competencies that peace education should teach and the obstacles facing the wider implementation of these courses. At this point, I found it useful to return to the literature. I explored literature on the 2016 referendum, more recent analysis of the Catedra de la Paz and also the critical peace education literature.

The final stage of analysis for these two chapters involved the combining of codes to create themes. Braun and Clarke (2006) explain that creating these themes requires

finding connections between codes to develop broader and more abstract categories from the data that go beyond describing it. As I was using Bourdieu's theoretical framework to explore power relations within peace education, these themes were the forms of embodied cultural capital structuring the field. I went back to the data to start finding connections between the sub-codes. When identifying each form of capital, I went over all the data that supported their existence to consider if they were similar or could be grouped under a separate form of capital. Overall, I used the evidence from these interviews to theorise about the forms of capital structuring the field of peace education in Colombia and the advantages or disadvantages that affect if students can accumulate it.

For the second two chapters I was using the data to identify how the capital-habitus relationship determines the hierarchy of the field of peace education in each case study. This was more difficult as the habitus is a more conceptually vague concept than capital (Reay, 2004; Crossley, 2013). Nevertheless, I also began by reading for context, then for patterns to group the data into codes and sub-codes.<sup>20</sup> I then combined these codes into broader concepts about the forms of capital that regulate position-taking in each context, again taking care to review the data supporting each type of capital. By comparing which forms of capital are dominant in each context and why the students and teachers felt they were important, I was able to theorise about the shared habitus among the students in each school and their wider social group. Finally, I could also compare the dominant forms of capital with those in the previous chapters and so discuss the position of the students in each school in relation to the wider field of peace education.

## 5.7 Ethics

The process of acting ethically meant fulfilling institutional requirements and my personal sense of morality. There was an overlap between these ethical areas, but also some key

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<sup>20</sup> See Appendix 6 for a table with the codes and sub-codes for all chapters and NVivo images.

differences. Both stages of the fieldwork passed the ethical board's approval.<sup>21</sup> For the first phase of fieldwork, the approval was quick. I was interviewing adults about their work and professional interests, rather than their personal experiences, and within their offices. I had to obtain informed consent for participation and for recording the interview, follow GDPR protocols by storing my data on the University's web servers and provide an information sheet with my contact details. I also promised confidentiality to the participants, rather than anonymity. This meant that I would not disclose identifiable information without permission, avoid discussing the content of the interviews and present my findings in a way that does not reveal any participants' identity (Wiles et al, 2008). When analysing the data and when presenting the data, I gave codenames to each participant and each research site, for example Teacher 3 from School 2. However, their identities were not anonymous, as I knew the identity of the participants.

The second phase of fieldwork included interviews with children. This meant extra thought about gaining informed consent, locations for the interview and conduct during the interview. For acquiring informed consent, my contact in School One, who works as a teacher there explained to his year 11 pupils that I would be arriving and conducting some interviews prior to the fieldwork beginning. He explained the general outlines of my research and told the students there was no requirement to participate in the interviews. I re-iterated this message to the pupils before the interviews commenced and went through the information sheet and consent forms in more detail than with the adults. I also checked to ensure understanding of the documents, which I would not do with adults due to the risk of appearing patronising and so alienating the interviewee. For Schools Two and Three, I only obtained access when I was in the country. When the teachers selected the pupils, I asked them to explain the voluntary nature of the research and that they could leave at any point; points that I again went through before signing the consent forms. I did not want to conduct the interviews in the presence of a teacher, as that would have likely

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<sup>21</sup> The ethical approval form is available in Appendix 1

altered the students' responses. However, I wanted a familiar adult to be available at all points. Before the interviews started, I therefore explained to the children where one of their teachers would be and that they could go and speak to them at any point.

The ethical approval process was useful for considering the formal procedures of conducting research, such as interviewing participants and analysis data. However, it did not encompass all the issues that arose. This is not a criticism of the ethical approval process, as it would be impossible to foresee and plan for everything that occurs during fieldwork. Instead, it was useful to have a framework for guiding decisions and actions. The ESRC provides six core principles for ethical research. The two most relevant principles for everyday actions are:

- the rights and dignity of individuals and groups should be respected
- research should be conducted with integrity and transparency

(ESRC, 2015)

These principles affected how I viewed my relationship with the people who participated in my research. There have been extensive concerns for some time about the potential for research to exploit vulnerable communities, such as indigenous peoples (Smith, 2013; Bishop, 2011) and people who attend counselling (McLeod, 2011). To some extent, all research in this thesis is based upon exploitation. There is a reason that I – a white, British, relatively wealthy and educated male – am able to conduct research in Colombia that has nothing to do with any personal qualities I may or may not possess. I am the beneficiary of an economic system that works to enrich the core at the expense of peripheral nations and has done so for centuries.<sup>22</sup> Simply put, I would not be conducting this research if I had been born into the economic, political and social situation of many of my interviews. It would be wilfully ignorant not to recognise this fact. Equally, as a

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<sup>22</sup> Some would contest this interpretation of world economic systems, but such a debate is outside the boundaries of this thesis. For more information, see post-development theorists such as Escobar (2007).

conscientious researcher, I have a duty not to perpetuate this exploitation through my own acts.

Reflective researchers have discussed the need to give back to the communities they work with (Millum, 2011) and build enduring relationships with their participants (Brydon, 2006) while recognising the multiple roles that a researcher may play from friend to observer to collaborator and learner (de Laine, 2000). As the above references indicate, this dilemma is not limited to research in social sciences but extends to medical research as well. However, it is also necessary to recognise the limitations of what I have to offer to my research participants. Believing that I have some power to improve the lives of the people I interviewed derives from a belief in western superiority that is the hallmark of exploitative research. Moreover, many of the interviewees who worked in universities, schools and NGOs were older and in far more senior positions than me in terms of career. In agreeing to the interview, they were granting me a favour and the idea that I could offer them some benefit by virtue of being a junior foreign researcher would have been patronising, if not offensive. In this context, respecting the dignity of my interviewees meant expressing my thanks for their time and offering them the opportunity to keep in touch.

The situations I encountered in Schools Two and Three presented a different ethical problem. Students and teachers spoke about the endemic insecurity and poverty of the neighbourhood, their desire to attend university or acquire well-paying jobs and the obstacles facing these hopes. I did not want to extract data from them and then leave. However, I am in no position to transform their situation and believing that I am or letting the teachers or pupils believe this would have been far worse than not developing any long-term relationship. The, possibly unsatisfactory, answer I came to was relying on integrity and transparency. This entailed being transparent about the fact that participating in the interview would likely have no effect on their lives. It also meant foregrounding their own importance within this thesis, as without their voices and interviews it would not exist,

and so they should value their own experience and knowledge. After the interviews, some students asked me what the solution was to the problems we had been discussing of violence and conflict. My response was that they should not be asking me but asking themselves as their knowledge was far more important than any insight I might have.

Finally, acting ethically meant keeping open the possibility of future collaboration. As a result of my fieldwork, I have written a chapter for a book on post-critical peace education with one of the interview participants. By keeping in touch and letting my participants know when the thesis will be finished, there is also the possibility of future collaborations.

## 5.8 Positionality

It is impossible to be a neutral or objective researcher (Mason, 2002; Bourke, 2014). Instead, it is important to reflect upon how one's own identity affects the research process (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, 2011). My multiple and overlapping identities as a university-educated, white, foreign, male researcher undoubtedly had an effect on questions of access, participant responses and my interpretation of the interviews. My previous experiences as a teacher also affected my perceptions of what is important and how I interacted with the staff and students in the schools.

There was undoubtedly a benefit to being a white, male foreigner when conducting fieldwork in School One. Despite the extreme security measures, I was able to enter without question as long as my contact was with me. Although this is counter-factual, it is likely access would have been harder if my personal profile were different. The other schools also welcomed my presence and being a 'gringo'<sup>23</sup> meant pupils seemed eager to talk to me, as I represented someone new and different. It was also true that being an ex-

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<sup>23</sup> Informal term for a white person in much of Latin America. Can be used insultingly, but it has highly contextual associations.



teacher helped me build rapport with the staff and teachers. I was keen to emphasise that I was not just a researcher but have experienced the stresses of being in a classroom. Having this common experience meant that teachers were more willing to be open with me about the difficulties of implementing peace education, especially as I could give similar examples from having to teach British values within the English education system.

I also needed to consider how my personal characteristics might affect how the interview participants responded. I was particularly aware that my positionality as a foreign adult might affect the interviews with students because they are students and so used to thinking about what is the right answer and being judged upon their ability to provide it. Within my thesis, the analytical focus is not on uncovering the truth of what these students really believe about peace and peace education, but rather uncovering the emphases and interpretations placed upon peace education within the school. For this purpose, whether the students truly believe what they are saying is immaterial, as even if they are repeating their teachers' thoughts by rote, it is still indicative of perceptions of peace education within the school and so relevant data for examining the power relations through a Bourdieuan framework. They may also have been suspicious of my relationship with their teachers and whether I would share their answers post-interview. This is a common concern when interviewing children (van Blerk, 2006: 55) and so I gave reassurances about both these issues before beginning, but I have no way of knowing if they believed me.

I was also conscious of my status as a university researcher. For many of the interviews this was less relevant as a barrier for building rapport, as I was interviewing academics or people who had graduated from elite universities in Colombia. However, this was not the case for all the participants and I was aware that presenting oneself as a researcher can inhibit people who have left education early (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, 2011). I therefore always introduced myself first as someone interested in peace

education and peace and conflict more generally in Colombia. By doing this, I hoped to establish common interests between the interviewees and myself.

The final concern was the fact I am not a native Spanish speaker. I speak Spanish and conducted many of the interviews in Spanish. For the most part, reading and interpreting the Spanish-language interviews was not an issue, except that it took much longer than for the English-language ones. However, local idioms, expressions and phrases proved more of a problem, with some participants referring to papayas or local flora to explain particular points. Fortunately, I was able to consult with Spanish-speaking colleagues whenever I had problems with a particular phrase. Nevertheless, there remains a possibility of misinterpretation. This risk is an inevitable by-product of conducting research in a second language and I could only mitigate it by careful re-checking of the original data.

## 5.9 Limitations of Theoretical Framework, Methodology and Findings

As with all research projects, the choices I made about the theoretical framework and methodology have imposed limitations on the findings.

I found many advantages to using Bourdieu's theoretical framework to define and analyse power relations, which I discussed at length in Chapter 3. It also has some key criticisms, which I have explored in Section 3.6, and comes with limitations. It would be impossible for a thesis to include an analysis of all possible dimensions of power. Instead, it is important to be honest about where the limitations of the thesis lie. My analytical focus was on how pre-existing socio-economic inequality helps determine the structure of the field of peace education in Colombia. I have justified the choice to focus on socio-economic inequality due to its role in Colombia's history of conflict, which I discussed in Chapter 4. Nevertheless, there are many other aspects of power relations that will be excluded from this analysis. Pre-existing inequalities regarding gender, ethnicity or

language, among others, may also determine the structure of the field of peace education in Colombia. Yet, this thesis cannot shed light on whether this is the case or not.

It would, however, be possible to apply a relatively similar theoretical framework to explore, for example, the relationship between gender inequality and peace education. Another option would be to use a different theoretical framework for defining power altogether. Bourdieu's toolkit of habitus, field, capital symbolic violence and doxa were useful for giving a precise definition to power and explaining how power relations are structured within a social space. I found this valuable, as I was aiming to counter the criticism of peace education literature that it too often lacks these definitions (Gur'Ze-ev, 2001; 2010). Another researcher might find this imposition of strict definitions of power relations to be limiting and prefer a more amorphous or inclusive definition.

The methods I employed have also imposed limitations on the findings in this thesis. The interviews with experts are not representative of the views of all experts in peace education. I interviewed experts from a range of professions to ensure I obtained a range of views and then triangulated their evidence with secondary data from Colombia on the implementation of peace education programmes across Colombia. Yet, there may have been experts with different perspectives on peace education whose views are not included within the thesis. Similarly, the schools do not represent all urban schools in Colombia, let alone all schools. I selected schools that represented Colombia's socio-economic inequality and exposure to violence and poverty to explore how these factors affect the structure of the field of peace education within these spaces. However, to conclusively prove that economic class determines which students accumulate the capital of peace education and so whether these programmes reproduce the power relations of their context, these samples would have to be representative. This research approach was not possible within the confines of a PhD.

The choice of case study schools also imposed limitations. As I discussed in section 5.3 and 5.5, I purposefully chose urban schools that catered to students from

contrasting socio-economic backgrounds. From this data, I was able to identify sufficient patterns about how perceptions of peace education change within different socio-economic contexts to extend Bourdieu's theories to the Colombian context. However, I could – and so did not – make any conclusions about how rural communities might benefit from or be excluded from peace education. Given that Colombia's conflict happened largely within rural communities (Hylton, 2006), this would be valuable research, but is outside the remit of this thesis.

Similarly, utilising ethnographic research methods would be valuable. It would, perhaps, be difficult to include a comparative element or the expert interviews within a thesis. However, these would be compensated for by a richer description of how peace education is conducted and perceived by all participants within a particular institution.

Finally, I discussed in section 5.3 why I have avoided reflexive methods within the empirical chapters. This has allowed me to focus on uncovering the social relations between actors in the field of peace education. Yet, it comes at the expense of situating myself and my own positionality within the findings. It has also meant not participating in the debate within the peace education literature on reflexivity, and in particular second-order reflexivity (Kester and Cremin, 2017).

The focus in the peace education literature on reflexivity, and in particular second-order reflexivity is a result of awareness that unequal power relations within peace education extend to the practice of researching peace education as well. What the field of academia chooses to research and find valuable about peace education is conditioned by unequal global relations of power and has the potential to reproduce forms of violence. According to this argument, it is therefore necessary to reflect on the wider position of the research in relation to unequal global power relations as well as the position of the researcher in relation to the object of research (Kester and Cremin, 2017). By choosing to focus on the relations of power within the field of peace education in Colombia, rather than

the position of my research within this field, my thesis does not contribute to the debate on second-order reflexivity.

There is a rich and growing literature on power relations within peace education with room for multiple contributions. By acknowledging and being clear about these limitations, I hope to set out where my thesis does and does not make a contribution within this literature.

## EDUCATING FOR EMPATHY AND AN EXPANDED UNDERSTANDING OF PEACE: TWO FORMS OF CAPITAL STRUCTURING THE FIELD OF PEACE EDUCATION

### 6.1. Introduction

### 6.2. Peace Education as a Field

### 6.3. The Capital of Peace Education in Colombia

### 6.4. The Obstacles for Accumulating the Capital of Peace Education

### 6.5 The Uneven Distribution of Obstacles within Colombian Society

### 6.6 Reproducing Unequal Power Relations in the Field of Peace Education

### 6.7 Conclusion

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter uses interviews with experts on peace education to identify forms of capital that structure the field of peace education in Colombia. It is the first step in uncovering how the symbolic hierarchy of the of the field of peace education works and so beginning to answer whether peace education reproduces or challenges the power relations of its context. After the introduction, it explains why identifying the dominant form of capital within a field is vital for understanding how power is reproduced and maintained within Bourdieu's framework of power. The third section discusses the two key purposes of peace education within Colombia, according to the interviewees, and their connection to the polarised political narratives over conflict and peace in the country. These purposes are teaching empathy for different perspectives on Colombia's history of conflict and teaching students that peace means more than an end to fighting. These interviews suggest that the dominant form of capital in the field of peace education across Colombia is therefore embodied cultural capital that requires learners to demonstrate these particular skills and knowledge.

The remainder of the chapter explores which students are likely to have the capacity to accumulate this capital and so acquire dominant positions within this field. Sections 6.4 and 6.5 identify the obstacles preventing effective implementation of peace education. They are a lack of resources leading to confusion about what to teach and the perception that learning peace theories is not relevant for people's lives. However, data from the interviews indicated that students who go to private schools and are able to attend universities are most able to overcome these obstacles. The final sections interpret these findings through Bourdieu's theoretical framework of field relations and capital exchange to explain how previously accumulated economic capital helps students acquire dominant positions within the field of peace education.

## 6.2 Peace Education as a Field

The *Literature Review* argued that one of the key challenges within the critical peace education literature is understanding if and how these courses reproduce the structures of their society (Bajaj, 2015). Without this analysis, there is an implicit assumption that correctly educated individuals will be able to change society from a state of conflict to a state of peace. This assumption excuses structures from having to change (Pupavac, 2004) and is a form of neo-colonialism due to its automatic assumption of the individual as the unit of analysis (Cremin, 2016). However, these arguments have mostly remained theoretical and so there have been calls for empirical evidence to substantiate their claims (Bajaj, 2015; Zembylas, 2018, Kurian and Kester, 2018). My thesis addresses this gap by using Bourdieu's toolkit to explore whether peace education is reproducing or challenging the power relations of its context. Analysing peace education does not therefore mean assessing the extent to which an individual or set of individuals have become competent in performing a set of attributes. Instead, it means exploring how peace education functions as part of the process through which the current power structure of society is legitimised

and reproduced, as well as bringing to light the possibilities for challenging these structures.

This chapter takes the first steps in this research process by identifying the forms of capital that structures the field of peace education and who has the capacity to accumulate it (Leander, 2010). It is necessary to identify the dominant forms of capital within a field in order to understand its structure because fields are structured through the accumulation of capital (Bourdieu, 1993). Crucially, the capacity to accumulate this capital within the field of peace education is not simply a reflection of an individual's innate ability or the quality of teaching they receive. Instead, it is the habitus-capital-field relationship which conditions an individual's capacity to accumulate capital within any field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2007). A habitus that is disposed to accumulate capital in one field is the consequence of "accumulated labour" – potentially over generations – from other fields (Bourdieu, 1986: 15). Those who dominate – and historically have dominated – one field are able to dominate others and so maintain and legitimise an unequal societal structure across multiple fields through capital exchange (Bourdieu, 1986). Researching how the field of peace education is structured through the accumulation of capital can reveal the role that peace education plays in reproducing – or potentially challenging – the power relations that structure the whole of Colombian society.

I identified the capital that structures the field of peace education in Colombia by interviewing twenty experts in peace education about their perceptions of its purpose. The interviews provided an insight into what students of peace education should be able to do, think or feel after having studied it. The interview data was also triangulated with secondary literature on the Catedra de la Paz, specifically guidance from the government and NGOs about what schools should be teaching to fulfil its criteria. The capital of peace education is different to that of the mainstream education system in which objectified cultural capital in the form of qualifications structures the position of agents (Bourdieu, 1986). Instead, peace education in Colombia seeks to permanently change the



knowledge, values and feelings of its participants and so the field is structured by embodied cultural capital.<sup>24</sup> Specifically, there were two key purposes that represented the forms of embodied cultural capital structuring the field of peace education.

### 6.3 The Capital of Peace Education in Colombia

The interviews with experts revealed two main purposes of peace education in Colombia. These are teaching empathy and teaching that peace has other meanings beyond an end to fighting between the government and the guerrillas. The interviewees perceived both purposes to be necessary due to the contested political narratives over the meaning of conflict in Colombia, which the *Country Context* discussed. They also correspond to common interpretations of the purpose of peace education in academic literature and grey literature on the Catedra de la Paz. In this section, I argue that these two purposes constitute forms of embodied cultural capital. Accumulating this capital will ensure that an individual has a high position within the hierarchy of the field. By identifying the capital that regulates position-taking within the field, this begins the process of using Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit to explore whether peace education is reproducing or challenging the power relations of its context.

#### *Educating for Empathy*

From the interview data, there is clear evidence that teaching empathy is considered to be a key purpose of peace education. Teaching empathy has long been recognised as a vital part of peace education across the globe (Bar-Tal and Rosen, 2009; Danesh, 2008;

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<sup>24</sup> See the *Theoretical Framework*, section 3.2 for a discussion on the different forms of capital in Bourdieu's framework.

Zembylas, 2007) and within Colombia (Chaux and Velasquez, n.d.). The data from the interviews reflected the importance of empathy for peace education.

Many of the interviewees<sup>25</sup> explained that peace has multiple meanings in Colombia. Expert 11, who specialises in conflict and peace in a university in Bogotá, repeatedly emphasised this point, as he stated that “there are infinite expressions of peace in Colombia”; “In the different regions there are distinct expressions of peace” and “in just one region, there can exist various expressions of peace, but they are in conflict with each other at the same time”. Participants of the group interview, who are participants of a regular workshop on peacebuilding in Colombia, also brought up this point, as they claimed that “there are of course many interpretations about what peace means in Colombia” and “there are many different versions and interpretations of peace. People are not in agreement about what peace means because there are different interpretations”. Expert 12, who specialises in education, was also clear on this point when she said that “the peace is not one thing, there are many concepts of peace depending on who has made this [form of] peace”. Expert 17 also identified separate definitions of peace within the Colombian population, as she described the process and challenges of re-integrating ex-guerrillas into society and then stated that “the majority of people inside and outside of Colombia when they talk of peace, only see this angle”. This perspective is then contrasted with an approach to peace that considers the causes of violence and the theme of memory.

The multiplicity of meanings associated with the peace and conflict in Colombia are a result of contesting political narratives rather than just personal differences. The *Country Context* chapter explained that politicians aligned with the Democratic Security Party had presented peace as a result of militarily defeating criminals and terrorists (Echavarría, 2013; Nasi, 2018). In contrast, the Santos administration recognised the FARC as a political group with legitimate demands (Caro, 2019). Indeed, Expert 14 also

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<sup>25</sup> See Appendix Five for a full list of interviewee codes

discussed how approaches to peace can depend upon the political and religious orientations of an individual. According to them, the Catholic Church associates peace with reconciliation, those aligned with Uribe link peace to eliminating criminals, the Santos government approaches peace within the framework of Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration and the left opposition uses structural violence to define peace.

Given the existence of these contrasting political narratives, the interviewees emphasised that teaching empathy would help Colombians to understand why people might disagree with their own perspective on what has caused conflict and how to achieve peace. Expert 19 outlined this purpose of peace education in most detail. This participant had been a senior member of the Ministry of Education for decades and was responsible for developing the Competencias Ciudadanas, which were a precursor to the Catedra de la Paz. As a widely respected figure within peace education, they were well-placed to comment on how it could contribute to peace-building. In the interview, they emphasised that peace education could lead to a situation where, “people do understand the importance of listening to each other and working together of putting their affections openly on the table and saying I don’t feel good when you say these things”. Further emphasising this point, they recounted an anecdote of when they had, somewhat unsuccessfully, attempted to convey to President Uribe the central purpose of their work:

When we were doing the forum for the Competencias Ciudadanas in 2004, I had to go with Uribe to Cartagena and so I was put on the same plane with him. At the end of the evening, by 6 o’clock we went out from the forum and he said ok tell me if you had to say in a sentence what is Competencias Ciudadanas all about, what would you say. I said well listening and he said I agree completely with you, I keep telling the people in congress to listen to what I have to say. I said well if you want to be listened you need to listen yourself. I think he never heard it.

President Uribe may not have wanted to hear this sentiment, but it is clear that a core component of peace education – according to someone who has influenced its development across Colombia – is teaching people to listen to one another without judging them for how they feel and think.

There were similar interpretations of the purpose of peace education from the other interviewees. Another employee of the Ministry of Education expressed a similar view. They were also working with a charity that specialises in teaching forgiveness and reconciliation and that helps pupils to process differences non-violently (Expert 20). One of the interviewees who teaches and studies peace education spoke about the need “to change the feeling that we can do whatever we want and that we won’t have to respect the values of other people” (Expert 1). Finally, an academic who works in the faculty of education and leads a research group with teachers in Bogotá emphasises that peace meant “the possibility of being able to live together despite differences, a plurality of opinions and with respect” (Expert 12).

In a similar vein, Expert 2 stated that, “you cannot continue with hating, hatred in speech, hatred in a way of living and feeding this hate. So I think in the schools and in the education system, we are trying to do that like stop hating and trying to forgive”. Despite centring forgiveness rather than empathy, its purpose of helping students move beyond a cycle of hatred is the same as the previous interviewees. Participants from the group interview and Expert 15 also emphasised that peace education should teach students the listening and empathetic values necessary for countering desires for hatred and revenge. In all these accounts, the purpose of peace education is helping students recognise that opposing experiences and beliefs about Colombia’s history of conflict are legitimate and then being able to discuss – and potentially resolve these differences – in a manner that reduces rather than escalates tension.

It is not just the interviewees who believe that teaching empathy is a central purpose of peace education in Colombia. Extensive grey and academic literature discuss

the central role of teaching empathy as part of peace education in Colombia. Guidelines published to help schools implement the Catedra de la Paz identity teaching empathy an essential skill for creating a culture of peace and fundamental for learning the rest of the competencies (Chaux and Velasquez, n.d.: 51-54). The internationally recognised Escuela Nueva programme has taught empathy for decades as part of its education for peacebuilding (Freitas, 2017). USAID sponsored programmes in Colombia have also concluded that teaching young people to be empathetic is a crucial component of peacebuilding (USAID, 2014).

Academic research has re-iterated the importance of empathy. For example, an article by Gomez-Suarez (2017) that reflects on his experience in workshops and undergraduate and postgraduate courses also emphasises the importance of teaching empathetic understanding of different actors in the peace process. Further research has underlined the importance of teaching empathy. An investigation into how the Catedra de la Paz can incorporate problem-based learning emphasised that more than any other value or skill, peace education should impart the capacity to feel empathy within students (Wilson and Eleazar, 2021). A qualitative study on the impact of the Catedra de la Paz determined that teaching empathy can decrease physical and verbal abuse (Perdomo et al, 2018). Indeed, teaching empathy emerges as the key purpose of peace education within the literature on the Catedra de la Paz (Villa Gómez et al, 2019; Vásquez-Russi, 2020). The experts in peace education interviewed for this chapter are therefore part of a wider literature that asserts the importance of teaching empathy for peacebuilding in Colombia.

A secondary reason for teaching empathy and listening skills centred on its impact upon pupil behaviour. For the interviewees who discussed this point, peace education is important because it can provide pupils with the skills to resolve personal, rather than political, differences through dialogue rather than fighting. The interview with one of the key architects of much of the guidance for the Catedra de la Paz spoke in depth about

how the Aulas en Paz programme had evaluated their success.<sup>26</sup> They explained that “we [Aulas en Paz] are able to stop that increase in aggression and promote other ways like more assertive ways of relating to each other. We are seeing many more pro-social behaviours among children and we are also seeing more friendships” (Expert 18). This definition of success through improved pupil behaviour was similar to how a Ministry of Education employee who was providing consultancy work for a charity that focused on peace education evaluated their progress. In an observation of a team meeting dedicated to this subject, the chair gave examples of how pupils behaving in a more respectful and less conflictual manner with each other could serve as evidence of their programme having an impact (Research Notes from Meeting). Although disputes over political ideology and playground arguments between children are clearly different, the advocates of peace education interviewed for this chapter suggest that both can be resolved through teaching empathy and listening skills.

From the interviews and the secondary literature, it is possible to conclude that a key purpose of peace education in Colombia is teaching empathy. According to the interviewees, improving pupils’ capacity to be empathetic will help them to treat all political opinions with respect even when they differ from their own. This is particularly important due to the polarised political narratives that exist in Colombia over the causes of the conflict and the route for achieving peace (Echavarría, 2013; Gomez-Suarez, 2017; Liendo and Braithwaite, 2018). By teaching its participants to listen and develop empathy, these interviewees felt that peace education can help people to treat all political opinions as legitimate, even when they contrast with their own. A secondary and non-political benefit of this purpose of peace education was teaching pupils to behave in a more peaceful manner within schools and to be able to resolve conflict without resorting to violence.

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<sup>26</sup> This translates as Classrooms in Peace

*Educating for an Expanded Understanding of Peace*

The second main interpretation of the purpose of peace education was the need to teach the wider population that peace means more than an end to fighting between the government and the guerrillas. This expanded meaning of peace was usually – although not exclusively – associated with Galtung’s concept of positive peace.

The interviewees thought this purpose was important because it counters the narrative that peace means a stop to fighting between the government and the guerrillas. The interviewees and literature on Colombian peace education associate this narrative of peace with the Uribe led Democratic Security Party (Gomez-Suarez, 2017). In work by Roa Barrera (2018) and Gomez-Suarez (2017), hostility to the 2016 peace agreement and – more broadly – support for the Democratic Security party results from the belief that peace means a military victory over the insurgents. It is therefore the role of peace education to convince Colombians of the validity of an alternative narrative that associates peace with the social transformation of Colombia. The participants who articulated this purpose placed some of the blame for the rejection of the peace referendum and the potential victory of Duque on most people having this limited conception of peace.<sup>27</sup> The expectation was therefore that changing how individuals perceive peace would change which political parties are able to win power within the country. Teaching students that peace means transforming society as well as bringing an end to the fighting had a more explicitly political purpose than educating for empathy.

A vital role of peace education was introducing a more sophisticated conceptualisation of the meaning of peace to a wider audience. The individual who teaches and studies peace education described contrasting perceptions of peace in Colombia as:

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<sup>27</sup> With the exception of interviews 19 and 20, this fieldwork took place in 2018 during the presidential campaign.

Most people in this country feel that peace is the absence of war. So there are a lot of people that feel that peace is the absence of war and some people feel that peace would be a situation in which these people are not around. The people in the academic world here in Colombia and most people that are working in peace education actually get that peace is the presence of several conditions.

Expert 1

This statement clearly draws a contrast between the majority opinion of peace as a simple state of no war and the educated elite who “get that” peace is more than an absence and is in fact a series of conditions. The most unequivocal delineation of Colombia into two populations – one who associate peace with a stop to fighting and one who associate it with a broader vision of equality and justice – came from the academic who works to train teachers. According to their account:

The majority of people think that the construction of peace is here (referring to description of direct peace in their notebook) but it has to be there, there and there (referring to cultural and structural peace in notebook) . . . in order to improve the culture of citizenship, in order to improve the ability to live together, the way of approaching these conflicts and preventing violence and participating politically. And so, what is the project of education for peace that this country has? Now, we start to enter peace education.

Expert 17

This interviewee, who has years of practical and academic experience of peace education in Colombia, unambiguously states that the majority of people in Colombia do not have the correct understanding of peace. According to the above interviewees, the simplistic association of peace with an absence of war leads to a lack of focus on the structural conditions that perpetuate inequality and ultimately fosters more conflict. A core purpose of peace education is therefore to educate people about the correct form of peace.



Both these interviewees thought that all Colombians should be aware of Galtung's positive peace (Galtung, 1969; 1990). The discussion with the academic who also trains teachers was structured around how the history and goals of peace movements and peace education in Colombia related to Galtung's "three grand levels of peace". It began with the statement that "If we take the classical definition of Galtung, I will explain it to you and around it, I will explain to you the components of education for peace" (Expert 17). From this interview, it was clear that Galtung's definition of positive peace is the normative framework for outlining what a peaceful Colombian society means. Similarly, the individual who studies and teaches peace education replied to questions about what peace is with, "we are talking about direct peace and structural peace and cultural peace. We can go a bit deeper and talk about this from the perspective of positive peace" (interview 1). Again, Galtung's ideas are the framework for conceptualising peace and peace education and so students need to be aware of these concepts in order to achieve a state of positive peace. Experienced academics also identified a divide between how peace is defined using Galtung's typology within the academic world and how it is perceived outside of these institutions. The university professor described how "those of us in the field of peace and conflict resort to a much broader definition, which is basically Galtung" (Expert 15). Expert 11, another experienced academic in Conflict Studies, saw this dominance as harmful because it restricted the development of Colombian epistemologies of peace also accepted that most Colombian academics and experts used these definitions.

The above interpretation of the purpose of peace education is similar to the Colombian literature that explores why the no campaign was victorious in the 2016 peace agreement referendum. Authors such as Gómez, Bello and López (2018), Roa Barrera (2018) and Hernández (2018) identified one of the causes of this failure as a majority of the population opposing the vision of peace in this agreement. They have argued that peace education should have played a larger role teaching Colombians that peace means

more than ending fighting between the government and guerrilla groups. Although these authors do not use Galtung's framework to conceptualise peace, they agree on the need to teach the Colombian population that peace means transforming society and not just militarily defeating the guerrillas. Doing so – according to this logic – would delegitimise the DSP narrative that peace can only be won through military strength and so reduce support for their party (Hernández, 2018). The interviewees' views about the purpose of peace education therefore belong to an established interpretation of its role in creating a peaceful Colombian society.

Not all the interviewees who viewed the purpose of peace education as teaching an expanded meaning of peace used Galtung's definition of positive peace as the correct version. Within the group interview, one of the participants contrasted how “for some victims, peace is forgiveness and reconciliation. For others it is justice, punishment, prison” (Group Interview). This is not a division between a minimal and maximal vision of peace, but rather between one that emphasises accepting and moving beyond conflict and one that prioritises retribution for crimes. From the discussion it was clear that the first version of peace was viewed as preferable and also more difficult to achieve due to the difficulty of not wanting to see people who have potentially committed crimes being punished. The members of the group discussion drew on concepts of justice and reconciliation to define their understanding of peace rather than Galtung's typology. Nevertheless, they also felt that the purpose of peace education is to equip students with a more advanced understanding of peace than they would otherwise possess.

Finally, another academic thought that peace education can lead to peace by helping people to “unlearn violence and to start to learn other forms of relating between ourselves and constructing peace” (Expert 12). They explained that “practices of violence” are normal throughout Colombian society and so it is necessary to promote a “culture of peace” through education. These interviewees may not have presented Galtung's theory of positive peace as the correct meaning for this term. However, they have all posited a

divide between various meanings of peace and the role of education in convincing other Colombians of the need to expand their understanding of what peace means.

These perceptions of the purpose of peace education assume that the majority of Colombians hold a narrow and simplistic understanding of what peace means. This incorrect version associates peace with an absence of war and does not address the structural causes of the conflict, such as inequality. In contrast, the correct version of peace broadly corresponds to Galtung's concept of positive peace. Those who have studied peace and conflict studies at a university or who have participated in peace education programmes possess this correct version of peace and it is their duty to spread this knowledge about what peace means. Colombian writers and practitioners of peace education have produced similar interpretations of this purpose of peace education (Roa Barrera, 2018; Gomez-Suarez, 2017). This interpretation of the purpose of peace education differs from educating for empathy for two reasons. It emphasises changing the knowledge that individuals possess rather than their capacity to feel and is more explicit about the political consequences of this form of peace education.

Despite these differences, both conceptualise the purpose of peace education as changing the competencies of individuals and so creating a more peaceful society. However, the *Literature Review* argued that it is necessary to situate peace education within the structures of their society (Bajaj, 2015) to avoid the assumption that simply changing the characteristics of individual learners will result in a transformed society (Kester, 2017a; Kester, Archer and Bryant, 2019). The following section starts to address this gap by using Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit to conceptualise these two purposes as the capital of the field of peace education. This will enable analysis on whether peace education in Colombia is reproducing or challenging the power relations of its context.

### *The Capital of Peace Education*

This chapter has so far identified the two key perceptions among experts of the purpose of peace education. These purposes are educating for empathy and educating for an expanded understanding of peace. The two perceptions emerged from interviews with policymakers and academics who have decades of experience in determining the policy of peace education in Colombia and helping schools and charities to implement it. They are therefore in an authoritative position for describing what peace education in Colombia should set out to achieve. Their interpretations of the purpose of peace education also align with the secondary literature on the intentions of the Catedra de la Paz and academic analyses of the peace education programmes. Guidelines produced by the government and other organisations about how to implement the Catedra de la Paz identify empathy as one of its main aims (Chaux and Velasquez). Reflections on the success of peace education programmes by academics and practitioners have also identified the need to change how Colombians think about peace (Gómez, Bello and López, 2018).

There are similar interpretations of the purpose of peace education courses in other contexts apart from Colombia. Teaching students to develop empathy for people with differing perspectives has long been an established aim of peace education (Bar-Tal and Rosen, 2009; Danesh, 2008). Teaching students that peace means eliminating all forms of violence also has parallels with the courses that help learners to reflect on the causes of injustice and violence in their societies (Tibbitts, 2013; Golding, 2017). These similarities suggest that peace education in Colombia is similar to courses across the world. However, the *Literature Review* discussed the limitations of expecting individuals to change society and the subsequent need for research that situates these courses within the structures responsible for violence (Gur'Ze-ev, 2001; 2010; Bajaj, 2015; Kester, 2017a; 2017b).

To address this gap, this chapter – and the rest of the thesis – conceptualises these purposes as the capital of the field of peace education. This means that the structure of

this field is organised according to which agents are capable of accumulating its dominant form of capital. Given the alignment between the perceptions of the purpose of peace education by the experts interviewed for this chapter and the secondary literature, it is reasonable to claim that these two purposes constitute at least part of the dominant form of capital in this field. Bourdieu described the different forms that capital can take (1986).<sup>28</sup> The capital that structures the field of peace education is a form of embodied cultural capital, because it exists as a set of durable dispositions. Participants of peace education programmes who can show empathy for why people disagree with their own opinion of the conflict or who associate peace with a social transformation as well as ending direct fighting will have accumulated the capital of this field.

Having established that the field of peace education is structured by forms of embodied cultural capital, the next question is who is able to accumulate this capital. Answering this question is key for understanding the power relations within this field and then whether this field is reproducing or challenging the power relations of Colombian society as a whole (Leander, 2010). As discussed in the *Theoretical Framework*, the capacity to accumulate capital within any field is dependent upon an individual's habitus and whether its dispositions are aligned with the dominant capital in a field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2007). However, the habitus-capital relationship is neither random nor meritocratic. Instead, this relationship functions as a form of "accumulated labour" (Bourdieu, 1986: 15), as capital from one field can be exchanged over time – and imperfectly – into capital in other fields. The consequence of this relationship is that the same group or category of people have higher positions across multiple fields and so secure their dominant positions across society, while simultaneously disguising it as the result of meritocratic achievements. Understanding the obstacles and opportunities for accumulating capital within the field of peace education can reveal how the field is

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<sup>28</sup> See the *Theoretical Framework* chapter, Section 3.2 for a discussion on the different forms of capital in Bourdieu's framework.

structured and so shed light on whether it is reproducing or challenging the power relations of its context.

#### 6.4 Obstacles for Accumulating the Capital of Peace Education

Data from the interviews identified two obstacles that prevent students from accumulating the capital of peace education. The first obstacle is a lack of training and resources over how to implement the Catedra de la Paz, which leads to teachers being confused about what they should teach and how. The second obstacle is the feeling that learning about peace has little relevance for people's lives. A consequence of these obstacles is a lack of progress in schools across Colombia at implementing the Catedra de la Paz.

Teaching peace education is difficult, as it requires experimenting with new pedagogies and approaching controversial topics (Lattimer and Kelly, 2013). A review of previous research into the Catedra de la Paz has identified the need for schools to receive clear instructions, training and resources on how to implement it (Morales, 2021). Without access to training and resources, schools and teachers will not have a clear understanding of what the Catedra de la Paz requires them to do and so be reluctant to teach it (Villada and Estrada, 2018).

Interview data with the experts aligned with the finding that teachers are confused at what the law is asking schools to do. Interviewee 20 described their experience of teachers ignoring peace education in favour of "doing what they know how to do". Other interviewees who described the confusion that teachers face when being asked to teach peace were Expert 16, who stated that "the institutions do not really know about the themes of convivencia and peace nor do they know about the reality of conflict in their institutions". Expert 12 spoke about the importance of teachers, "learning about peace, conceptualising it, studying it, learning about the pedagogies for peace because they do not know about this".

These interviewees are all describing the same situation. They are articulating the confusion facing teachers who are suddenly facing a law demanding that they teach peace, but with little clarification over what this means or how they should do it. The consequence of this confusion is that some schools ignore their obligation to include peace education within their curriculum and so pupils cannot accumulate the embodied cultural capital that secures a high position within the field.

It was not just a lack of resources, however, that the interviewees identified as an obstacle to implementing peace education. A professor who specialises in Human Rights but has worked on several peace education projects described the experience of these projects as:

You come with a decree saying you have to educate for peace and this is what they told me. This is exactly what they told me that we just can't. We don't know if we should give this to the history teacher, we don't know what we do and so yes Galtung, yes whatever but they don't see how they can make that become a plan for them.

Expert 13

Their description of the projects alludes to the practical difficulties of imposing extra responsibilities on already over-burdened teachers. Yet, they also explain how a form of learning that requires learning about western theorists, such as Galtung, does not make sense for teachers and students. According to this interviewee, in "at least ten places" the response of teachers to new peace education projects had been, "it is nice to talk about peace theory and all that, but our problem is how do you make this become real" (Expert 13). Teaching a form of peace that requires engaging with abstract theories is simply not real for the teacher who have to implement it.

Overall, the interviewees described two key obstacles preventing the implementation of peace education. These are a lack of resources and the sense that peace education lacks relevance for people's lives. These obstacles meant that there has

been little progress in implementing the Catedra de la Paz. There were multiple statements that emphasised how few schools have implemented the law. During the interview with the individual who worked for the Ministry of Education, they stated that:

the Catedras in Colombia have never worked and I think that no part of a law or decree that says 'this is what you have to learn' that doesn't work, the teachers continue doing what they know how to do and in the manner that they know how to do it.

Expert 20

A very similar overview about the lack of progress came from someone who worked with schools to implement the Catedra de la Paz. He declared that:

Today we do not find a single institution in this country that has implemented the Catedra de la Paz. What they [the government] do is make it transversal and give little tasks to the teachers in each subject, but there is no important impact.

Expert 16

These two quotes from individuals with decades of experience in peace education in Colombia speak to the lack of progress that has been made in implementing the Catedra de la Paz.

There are two important caveats to note. The first is that this law only passed in 2014 with a Decree in 2015 that provided more detail. It would therefore be unrealistic to expect noticeable impact in the four years between the law passing and the fieldwork taking place. Yet, Expert 20 frames this failure as part of a longer history of schools ignoring similar laws and Expert 16 also refers to laws since 1994 that have not been implemented. It is also worth noting that both these interviewees work for organisations that support schools in implementing the Catedra de la Paz. It might not therefore be surprising that they believe schools are not capable of applying this law on their own and so require help, as this finding justifies their work. However, there were similar comments



from Expert 19 who is retired and who worked to embed peace education across Colombia in their career. Experts 1 and 13 – who work within schools and universities – also commented on the lack of impact of this law. Taken together, these interviews demonstrate at the very least the perception that the Catedra de la Paz has not had its desired impact. Moreover, their comments reflect similar findings from literature on peace education in Colombia (Romero, 2017).

### 6.5 The Uneven Distribution of Obstacles within Colombian Society

The interviews also demonstrated that not all students in Colombia experience these obstacles equally. Students who attend private schools or go to universities are more able to overcome the obstacles identified in the previous section. The inequality of the Colombian education system (OECD, 2016) therefore affects which students can accumulate the capital of peace education.

The experts gave examples of successful peace education within private schools. The first interviewee, who is a teacher as well as a PhD student, gave detailed examples of the work done by their school to teach the pupils about competing theories of peace and how to manage disagreements over the history of Colombia's conflict. Their private school has relatively small class sizes and access to resources from institutions outside of the school. These advantages mean the teachers have been able to include peace education within the curriculum as well as researching and conducting extra-curricular workshops.

Similarly, Expert 19 – in a discussion about peace education initiatives – explained that it is “the upper-class schools, certainly in Bogotá but also elsewhere are the ones that implement it and use it”. Their background as one of the most senior civil servants in the Ministry of Education gave them credibility to make this claim about peace education across the country. The example that interviewee 20 gave of successful peace education

also came from a private school in Manizales. In all these interviews, coming from a family that can afford private education is a helpful condition for acquiring the capital of peace education. The extra resources in terms of teacher's time, class sizes and connections with organisations that specialise in peace education mean these schools are better able to implement peace education. As a result, pupils attending these schools would have more opportunities to accumulate the capital of the field of peace education.

The comparative advantage of teaching peace education in private schools was clear when interviewees described the difficulties of teaching peace in economically under-privileged contexts. The academic who oversees peace education in Tumaco remarked how the initial response of students to peace education is to think, "you are going to teach us peace, ok good luck with that. They don't really believe sometimes this is possible. They have their days like a rollercoaster sometimes, but when you see murders every day, and it is every day, it is difficult to believe that peace will arrive" (Expert 2).<sup>29</sup> The experience of poverty, neglect and violence conditions the pupils in Tumaco to reject the premise that education can lead to peace. According to this interviewee, teaching pupils to feel empathy for others is made difficult by the perceptions that they have been neglected and ignored by the state.

The evidence from these interviewees suggests that while implementing peace education across schools in Colombia is challenging, private schools have an advantage. Students who attend these schools would therefore have more opportunities to accumulate the capital of the field of peace education. If we extrapolate from this evidence, the structure of the field of peace education – i.e. its distribution of capital – would therefore be determined by the inequality of the education system in Colombia.

It was also clear that not all schools and institutions faced the same difficulty of how to make learning peace theories seem relevant for their students' lives. The interview with

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<sup>29</sup> Tumaco is a city in the South of Colombia. It is poor and heavily affected by the conflict.

a professor who has taught conflict and peace studies in a prestigious university for over a decade explained that for those who teach within the university, peace refers to positive peace:

I: Those of us in the field of peace and conflict resort to a much broader definition, which is basically Galtung. Basically Galtung, although with some reservation now.

Expert 15

When asked how the students react to learning about Galtung, they explained that students “get very excited when they realise that this guy says there is much more to peace than the absence of war, so yeah the reaction is very positive in general terms” (Expert 15). The reason for this excitement is that “all the broad cultural parameters are western, the language, the religion, the political ideals, be it liberal democracy or Marxism” (Expert 15). The students, who mostly come from an urban and western-influenced background, are consequently very receptive to Galtung’s ideas. Ultimately, the professor explained that “we are in an urban Latin American context that is very western” (expert 15) and so learning western theories about peace is natural for the students.

The receptiveness of university students in urban contexts to learning about Galtung stood in stark contrast to interviewees who had taught peace education outside of these areas. One of the interviewees with extensive experience of peace education projects in rural areas discussed their dislike of European theorists of peace. Explaining why, they stated that:

I don’t like [Galtung and Lederach] them because they are an expression of Eurocentrism and I don’t like it because when I am working with the communities and they have created their own peaces without Lederach, without Galtung, I cannot say to them now, with your theatre for peace I now present to you Galtung. This is not recognisable to them.

Peace education courses that demand knowledge of theoretical frameworks by foreign academics are simply not accessible for the people they work with. These comments are similar to those from expert 14, who described the difficulties of making peace education seem real to teachers and students. According to both academics, a form of peace education that emphasises learning theories of peace is not a realistic option for communities who live in poorer, rural areas. Their opinion contrasts with the professor who described the enthusiasm with which students attending a prestigious urban university have embraced learning abstract concepts about peace.

Access to university in Colombia is highly dependent upon a student's socio-economic background. Previous research has shown that an individual's socio-economic background directly impacts their chances of entering higher education (Cuenca, 2016). There is also evidence that women without economic capital are the most disadvantaged group for accessing university (Ceballos-Bedoya, 2021). The interview data suggest that students who attend universities and so benefit from this wealth inequality are more likely to embrace learning theories of peace. Economic inequality therefore affects whether students can overcome the obstacles that are preventing the effective implementation of peace education.

As the *Country Context* discusses, Colombia is a highly socio-economically unequal country (Berry, 2017). Inequality also affects the education system, as a recent OECD report identified socio-economic inequities in the education system as one of the major educational challenges (OECD, 2016).<sup>30</sup> Moreover, students who come from wealthy backgrounds (stratum 6) are far more likely to attend private schools, while almost all from the lowest socio-economic stratum go to state schools (García-Villegas and Quiroz-López, 2011). There is little previous research into the effect of this educational

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<sup>30</sup> See IDB report for more information about inequality in the Colombian education system (Duarte, Soledad Bos, and Martín Moreno, 2012)

segregation on peace education. However, the findings from these interviews indicate that students who benefit from this inequality are more likely to overcome the obstacles that prevent effective implementation of peace education.

The final section interprets these findings through Bourdieu's theory about how power functions within fields to shed light on whether and how peace education reproduces or challenges the power relations of its context.

## 6.6 Reproducing Unequal Power Relations in the Field of Peace Education

The data from interviews with twenty experts in peace education is clear that – in their perception – pupils who come from sufficiently wealthy backgrounds to afford private schools are in the best position to accumulate the embodied cultural capital of peace education. Interpreting this finding through Bourdieu's framework of power relations can situate peace education in Colombia within the structures that produce violence.

The interviews with experts have suggested that the hierarchical structure of other fields in Colombia, such as the fields of education and economic wealth, also influence the structure of the field of peace education. There is evidence of this effect, as previously accumulated economic capital is necessary for students to attend private school.

Moreover, students who come from families with greater quantities of economic capital are both more likely to go to university and to attend a prestigious institution (Cuenca, 2016).

Interviews with the experts indicated that private schools and universities are more able to overcome the obstacles that prevent effective implementation of peace education.

Students at these institutions would be in a better position to accumulate the capital of peace education. If these provisional findings were reflected across Colombia, previously accumulated economic capital would shape the structure of the field of peace education by influencing who is and who is not able to accumulate its capital. The structure of the

field of peace education would therefore reflect the structural inequalities of Colombian society.

It is important to note that this mechanism of capital exchange is not an intentional strategy on behalf of wealthy elites in Colombia. Nevertheless, it opens a route through which those who benefit from wealth inequality are also most able to become the most peaceful, according to the peace education criteria for measuring success. Consequently, peace education has the potential to be another method through which the hierarchies that structure Colombian society are reproduced and this process of reproduction is disguised. This reproduction happens because, within Bourdieu's framework of power, the similarity of structures between fields is not coincidental. Instead, this similarity exists because accumulated capital in one field can be invested in another. During this process of capital exchange, individual agents can lose capital and the positions that it bestows. However, the net effect is to strengthen and legitimise an unequal society (Bourdieu, 1986; 1998). The inequality is strengthened because the social groups that benefit from economic inequality are also able to dominate other fields.

This chapter has begun to explore whether peace education works to strengthen and legitimise unequal power relations through the crucial first step of identifying the forms of capital that regulate position-taking within the field. Through interviews with experts, I have identified the capital of the field of peace education as the capacity of individuals to either feel empathy or learn about theories of peace. It has then theorised that the structure of the field of peace education is determined by existing inequalities as those who are most able to acquire these peaceful characteristics will be those who already benefit from the current structure of society. Without understanding how this effect works and how to potentially counteract it, peace education will maintain the current hierarchical structure of society. Peace education programmes might therefore successfully transform individuals, but they will also maintain the societal structures that originally led to conflict.

This finding is particularly important for Colombia because its high levels of socio-economic inequality is responsible for its history of conflict and violence (Meltzer and Rojas, 2005; Moser and McIlwaine, 2004; Hylton, 2006). Moreover, the peacebuilding agenda enshrined in the 2016 peace accords aims to address the causes of violence in Colombian society rather than simply ending fighting between the guerrillas and the government (Nasi, 2018; Caro, 2019). The Catedra de la Paz, which mandates peace education for all educational institutions in the country, is a crucial part of peacebuilding within the country (Echavarría and Cremin, 2019; Morales and Gebre, 2021). It is therefore vital to understand how the inequalities that led to conflict also affect peace education programmes rather than assuming these programmes are separate from the structures that shape their surrounding society.

By identifying the importance of previously accumulated economic capital for acquiring a high position within the field of peace education in Colombia, this chapter has avoided the individualised analysis that critical peace education scholars have criticised (Kester, 2017a). There is a consequent “need for a critical review of the power of the multiplying effect in PACS education to contribute to actual institutional and social transformation” (Kester, 2017a: 72).

A crucial part of this “critical review” (ibid) is clearly establishing a framework for defining what structures exist in society and explaining their reproduction. Addressing this gap, this chapter has identified how the most economically privileged groups in Colombia are most able to benefit from peace education. It has then used Bourdieu’s framework of field relations and capital exchange to theorise that the net effect is to reproduce existing inequality. Finally, this chapter has not separated the theoretical analysis of the relationship between peace education and power from the empirical evidence of how it is taught and learned. By doing so, it has responded to the urgent need in this literature to build the theory of this relationship from evidence of its implementation (Kester and Cremin, 2017; Bajaj, 2015; Zembylas, 2018; Kurian and Kester, 2018).

## 6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has used interviews with policymakers and academics in Colombia on their perceptions of the purpose of peace education to identify the capital that structures this field. They have shown that two main purposes are developing the capacity to feel empathy for others, especially if they disagree on the causes of the conflict or how to achieve peace and associating peace with the transformation of Colombian society rather than merely ending fighting. The urgency of these purposes stem from Colombia's polarised political context and the perceived need to resist the DSP's narrative of the conflict as a war against terrorists. However, this chapter has not characterised these purposes as individual attributes and so explored how peace education programmes should best teach these competencies. Instead, it has conceptualised these purposes as the embodied cultural capital of peace education and so analysed which social groups are most able to accumulate it. Discussions about the obstacles facing the implementation of peace education uncovered the forms of economic capital that condition which students can achieve a high position within its field. Through the mechanism of capital exchange, it is possible to advance an explanation of how the wealth inequalities that structure Colombian society and are responsible for conflict also help determine the structure of the field of peace education. This leads to the tentative conclusion that peace education is reproducing the power relations of its context. The next chapters triangulate what form of capital structures the field of peace education through interviews with practitioners.



## ENCOURAGING REFLECTION ON PERSONAL EXPERIENCE: A THIRD FORM OF CAPITAL STRUCTURING THE FIELD OF PEACE EDUCATION

### 7.1. Introduction

### 7.2. The Dynamic Field of Peace Education

### 7.3. Competing Capitals within the Field of Peace Education

### 7.4. Obstacles that prevent the accumulation of the capital of Peace Education

### 7.5. The advantages of previously accumulated capital for position-taking in the field of Peace Education

### 7.6. Peace Education as a Mechanism for Reproducing and Challenging the Power Relations of its Context

### 7.7. Conclusion

### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter builds on the previous one to provide further evidence of how the inequalities responsible for conflict in Colombia are also able to structure the field of peace education and so reproduce the power relations of its context. However, it also introduces how Bourdieu conceptualised change within fields through competing forms of capital and so discusses the possibility of peace education challenging these power relations. It begins by justifying the need for further interviews about perceptions of the purpose and implementation of peace education. It explains the importance attached within Bourdieu's theoretical understanding of power to identifying the capital that structures position-taking within the field. The second section contains the findings from interviews with employees of NGOs that deliver peace education courses about their perceptions of the purpose of their work. These interviewees identified the need for students to reflect on one's own position in relation to Colombia's history of conflict as the interviewees thought it would

lead to the development of political consciousness. Triangulated with the previous chapter, these findings demonstrate the existence of three distinct forms of embodied cultural capital competing to structure the field of peace education in Colombia. The following section presents evidence about the obstacles that have impeded the implementation of peace education. According to the interviewees, a lack of state investment and interest in peace education means that teachers lack the necessary skills and knowledge, while students perceive violence to be an unchangeable part of their experience. In this context of state neglect, the fourth section uses the interviewees' perceptions of the implementation of peace education to identify the forms of economic and social capital that are helpful for accumulating the capital of peace education. When triangulated with the previous chapter, there is evidence that the inequalities of Colombian society affect which learners are able to accumulate the capital of peace education. It also uses Bourdieu's theory of fields as dynamic spaces to explore how competition over the dominant form of capital could lead to peace education challenging the power relations of its context.

## 7.2 The Dynamic Field of Peace Education

The previous chapter showed how it is possible that the inequalities structuring Colombian society, and its education system, can also affect the structure of the field of peace education. However, there is a methodological and a theoretical reason to examine further which forms of capital structure the field of peace education and which students are able to accumulate it.

The methodological reason is that the previous chapter used interviews with academics and policy-makers – as well as secondary literature – to identify the capital structuring the field of peace education. Some of these interviewees did have practical experience implementing peace education, but this was not consistent across the entire

group. While this group could provide information about the objectives of peace education across the country, they were less able to give an insight into how particular organisations were interpreting and teaching peace education. To make robust claims about what form of capital is dominant within the field of peace education, it made sense to interview people with more practical experience of implementing these courses. For this reason, this chapter focuses on interviewees who work for NGOs that have teaching peace education as their main purpose or part of their mission.

The theoretical reason comes from my contribution to the critical peace education literature. The *Literature Review* argued that a crucial challenge within the literature is to research how these programmes are part of the structures that cause violence in society. Only by understanding how these structures change, is it possible to identify how peace education can contribute to change in society. This research is also necessary because unreformed education systems in post-conflict settings can reproduce the conditions that led to conflict (Novelli, Lopes Cardoso and Smith, 2017). In Colombia, the Catedra de la Paz has mandated that peace education becomes part of the education system. It is therefore vital to understand how peace education reproduces the inequalities that are responsible for conflict in Colombia.

This thesis uses Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit to conceptualise the structures of society and explore if peace education is reproducing or challenging the unequal structures that are responsible for conflict. According to this theoretical framework, the structures of society are the differing forms of capital within it. Specifically, "the structure of the distribution of the different types and subtypes of capital at a given moment in time represents the immanent structure of the social world" (1986: 241). It is therefore vital to identify the forms of capital – acquisition of which controls position-taking – that structure the field of peace education. The previous chapter identified two forms of capital that structure the field of peace education. These are 'developing the capacity to feel empathy for others' and 'acquiring an expanded understanding of peace'.

However, it is vital to capture all the forms of capital that regulate position-taking in the field of peace education. The contest to determine which form of capital is dominant in a field affects which social group is able to dominate the field and so whether power relations within the field are changing and if the field is contributing to societal change. Understanding how societies change is a key purpose of Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit, despite criticism of his work for being insufficiently attentive to this issue (Mead, 2016). He did not conceptualise fields as static spaces in which previously accumulated capital is transformed into new forms of capital that allow for dominant groups to reproduce their power in perpetuity. Instead, fields are dynamic spaces of contest, in which there is constant competition to determine the dominant form of capital (Bourdieu, 1993).

This contest affects who is able to accumulate capital within the field and the relationship of the field with other fields in society (Reay, 2004; Leander; 2010). Changing the dominant form of capital will also change the form of habitus that is most disposed to accumulate it, which affects the groups of people who are able to achieve higher positions within the hierarchical structure of the field. Each field also has a specific relationship with the overall field of power in society that is determined by the relative value attached to the dominant form of capital within these fields (Bourdieu, 1986). Changing the dominant form of capital in each field therefore also changes its value in terms of the form and quantity of capital that it can be exchanged for in other fields and so its relation to the overall field of power in society. For Bourdieu, society changes when new forms of capital become dominant – which previously dominated groups are more disposed to be able to accumulate – and when this capital attains value insofar as its relationship with the capital of other fields.

Identifying all the forms of capital in the field of peace education is therefore necessary to explore whether peace education is challenging or reproducing the power relations of its context. The need to identify the main forms of capital within the field of peace education in Colombia justifies this chapter focusing on how employees of relevant

NGOs perceived the purpose of peace education. Data from these interviews provides further evidence of the forms of embodied cultural capital that are competing to structure the field of peace education in Colombia. This data leads to a clearer picture of the field's structure on a national level and which students are likely to be able to acquire a dominant position. It also allows the following empirical chapters to more accurately compare the structure of peace education within purposely chosen schools to the structure of the national field.

### 7.3 Competing Capitals within the Field of Peace Education

Analysis of the interviews with NGOs specialising in peace education identified clear interpretations of the purpose of peace education, which I have termed 'Relating Personal Experiences to Historical and Contemporary Events'. Its purpose stemmed from the perception that multiple interpretations of peace exist in Colombia. Given this multiplicity of interpretations, the organisations felt that a key task was to provide students with the space and knowledge to reflect on how their own experiences of violence connected to Colombia's history of conflict and how this might differ from the experiences of others. The interviewees then expressed the hope that reflecting on this relationship would lead to students wanting – and having the capacity – to participate actively in politics. This section therefore concludes that the evidence within the thesis shows the existence of three competing forms of embodied cultural within the field of peace education.

#### *Relating Personal Experiences to Historical and Contemporary Events*

The NGO workers repeatedly stressed the importance of teaching pupils to relate their personal experiences to historical and contemporary events. This importance derived

from the multiple experiences of conflict and interpretations of peace that exist in Colombia.

Academics have previously argued that diverse experiences of conflict and multiple interpretations of peace co-exist in Colombia (Iglesias, 2020; Velez, 2021). The NGO workers agreed with this perspective, as they emphasised that a crucial part of peace education is working out and communicating what peace means within the community where it is taking place. NGOs 12 and 13 explained that “of course there are many meanings of peace. In a country as diverse and unequal, of course there are”. This diversity of meanings has implications for the content of peace education courses. One of the interviewees who works for a religious charity spoke about how the content of their courses varies because “a lot depends on the context of the territory . . . it has to be a very contextualised subject” (NGO 9). They then explored how the dynamics of the conflict and the role of community leaders in Tumaco and Tibú, which are at opposite ends of the country, are very different and that this would have an impact on how the charity approaches their course in each context.

NGOs 7 and 8 also reiterated that the idea of many peaces or experiences of peace underpinned their work, as they worked with schools to teach peace in a contextually suitable way. They gave examples of how themes that would be suitable in a rural context, such as about the environment, would seem less important within an urban school. They also warned against taking proposals and ideas that might have been successful within a particular community or place, such as an indigenous society, and then applying it elsewhere. When discussing how to approach sensitive and difficult topics, one of the researchers put herself in the position of a teacher and explained the process of deciding what to teach, as thinking to oneself, “What knowledge should I choose? Should I go with history? No. Should I go with geography? No. Should I go with anthropology? No. I should go with the experience” (NGOs 7 and 8). According to them, teachers and students could only make sense of horrors such as impalement or displacement by

beginning with their own experiences rather than starting with theories of peace or the experiences of other people.

This emphasis on there being many interpretations of peace in Colombia is similar to the previous chapter. The policymakers and academics felt the existence of many interpretations of peace in Colombia meant there is a need to teach empathy for opposing perspectives. However, the NGO workers thought it underlined the need for students to reflect more deeply on their own experience of conflict. For the employees of the museum, connecting individuals to their place in history is a key part of their mission. In an interview with an employee from the museum, they stated that one of the main tasks for the museum is, “to connect personal history with the history of the country. To understand the connection between individual and collective memory” (NGO 2). The other employee emphasised that, “we do not make historical memory. We construct stories with the memories of the people . . . for that reason it is said that it [an exhibition] is unfinished and in constant construction” (NGO 1). According to these employees, the job of their museum is helping the people who attend the museum move from passive recipients of historical knowledge to actively constructing the memories and histories on display from their own experience. Their pedagogical work with schools, teachers and students plays a key role in helping them achieve these aims. There is a:

‘Teacher Exhibition’ [where] we try to recover the teacher as a historical subject so that the teacher can understand him or herself as a historical subject and can help the students understand themselves as historical subjects.

NGO 2

This interpretation of the purpose of peace education constitutes a distinct form of embodied cultural capital to the ones encountered in the previous chapter. Instead of learning to feel empathy or an expanded definition of peace, it is accumulated by understanding how one’s own experiences have been shaped by Colombia’s history of

conflict. This interpretation of the purpose of peace education was not unique to the museum but common among the other NGOs.

The NGO that helps to train teachers expressed the aims of peace education in almost identical terms to the museum. A crucial aspect of their work is forging a link between individual and community experiences. When discussing the purpose of the NGO, one of the workers explained that “what we were saying is that it is like the students were passive in that history, and having them active is what seems to me is lacking” (NGO 6). One of the four elements that structure the organisation’s courses is ensuring that students understand their role in history by helping teachers think about the context in which their schools operate. One of the instructors for their courses explained this process in depth. They first described how the first objective of the course is to teach its participants about the experiences of children who have participated in conflict in Medellín. The second objective is:

Through this knowledge of history, to be able to create reflections around what we live today with our students in the classroom. The children in Medellín have grown up in a very violent environment. Medellín is a city that has historically been very violent and so the children really need this. This is my role because the students do not need a teacher who fills them up with content, but one who understands their reality and from that allows them to create different worlds.

NGO 5

This quotation summarises the purpose of peace education within this teacher training NGO as helping students to value their own experiences by understanding how they are connected to national events and Colombia’s history of violence.

The NGO that works on peace and reconciliation strategies in schools shared this interpretation of the purpose of peace education. The employees of this NGO lamented that schools barely taught Colombia’s history of armed conflict and so students simply do



not know the basic facts about it, let alone its relevance for their lives. For these NGO workers, this information is necessary because without it, “it is very difficult to understand the present and much more difficult to project a plan together as a nation . . . the construction of memory and the construction of multiple truths are very important for recognising as a country what we have been through” (NGOs 12 and 13). These three NGOs all interpret the purpose of peace education as being related to the diverse experiences of conflict in Colombia. The role of peace education is to help students learn about how their own lives are shaped by this collective experience of conflict by understanding how and why their experiences differ and align with those of others.

The NGO workers expressed the expectation that teaching students to reflect on their relationship with Colombia’s history would improve their ability to think critically. This expectation is similar to the arguments in the critical peace education literature that developing critical consciousness is necessary for social change and so should be a key component of peace education programmes. Often building on the theories of Freire, scholars such as Tibbitts (2013) and Snauwaert (2011) have called for peace education programmes to develop the critical consciousness of their participants. The interviewees made similar arguments as, according to the teacher training NGO, there is the need for “critical thinking” (NGO 6) or “subjects that think about themselves” (NGO 3). The employees of the museum were similarly forthright about this need for critical thinking, but more specific about its meaning and gave a more expansive reason for its importance. For one of the employees, “the principle objective of peace education is the training of critical subjects, who are reflexive and responsible within their environment” (NGO 2). Being critical here means more than just possessing an academic skill. It also requires acting in a “responsible” way within their environment, which implies a certain social responsibility. In a summary of the philosophy underpinning the museum’s work with teachers and students, he framed these educational efforts as, “we say that the spirit of education is emancipating the subject” (NGO 2). The language of emancipating has a

clear Freirean heritage due to the central role of emancipation within his pedagogy (Vlieghe, 2018). For these influential NGOs in Medellín, successful peace education means imbuing students with the capacity to think critically, which should encourage them to participate in political or social activities for transforming their communities.

The religious charity also emphasised the need for peace education to foment critical students but were more explicit about the Freirean framework of this pedagogical work and its political implications. One of the interviewees stated outright that “we continue working according to Paulo Freire” (NGO 9). This influence was evident in the employees’ emphasis on the importance of creating critical subjects. For the religious charity workers, “the change we want to see is that boys and girls become critical subjects about their reality, about what is happening in the country, about what is happening in their environment, that they can assume a political position towards their context and that with this base they can promote actions that lead to peace” (NGO 10). Becoming a political subject did not just mean understanding why violence or poverty existed in their lives but wanting to actively participate in politics to change this reality. Indeed, the purpose of the NGO was “to educate young people so they can learn how to participate in their communities” (NGO 9). This NGO interpreted the purpose of peace education as teaching students to become critical subjects, who are willing and able to engage in the political life of their communities and country. Interpreted through Bourdieu’s theoretical toolkit, students developing this willingness and ability is them “obtain[ing] profits proportionate to their mastery” (1986: 20) of the field’s embodied cultural capital.

The museum, religious charity and – to a slightly lesser extent the teacher training NGO – all have a similar interpretation of the purpose of peace education. They all highlighted the importance of students being able to make connections between their own experiences of conflict, peace and violence and wider histories of these experiences throughout the country. By making these connections, there was an expectation that students would understand the conditions that had led to their experiences of violence and

so want to change these conditions. This would result in the students becoming politically active and so demanding change. These interpretations of the purpose of peace education is similar to the critical peace education literature that foregrounds the role of raising the political consciousness of students (Snauwaert, 2011; Gill and Niens, 2014; Bajaj, 2016). They also align with how Colombian researchers have framed the purpose of peace education. Gordillo has shown how schools are helping students “to move forward towards an active participation to peace” (2020: 12). Similarly, Sánchez and Gómez have explored how schools are using videogames to equip students with the capacity to participate in a democracy. These scholars, as well as others such as Castiblanco, Guzmán, and García (2019) and Hernández (2018) and the interviewees have interpreted the purpose of peace education as being more than teaching a set of competencies or skills. Instead, it should result in the transformation of society, which can only happen if enough students become critically aware and politically engaged.

This chapter has identified a further form of capital that structures the field of peace education. Accumulating this capital requires an understanding of how one’s own life has been affected by Colombia’s history of conflict. This form of capital is distinct from the ones identified in the previous chapter. This thesis has therefore identified three distinct forms of capital in the field of peace education. They are developing empathy, relating personal experiences to historical and contemporary events and educating for an expanded understanding of peace. Each is a form of embodied cultural capital as they actualise within long-lasting dispositions of the students who have attended peace education courses (Bourdieu, 1986).

#### 7.4 Obstacles that prevent the accumulation of the capital of Peace Education

This thesis has identified three forms of capital in the field of peace education in Colombia. They share commonalities with the aims of peace education programmes across the world

and within Colombia. Developing the capacity to feel empathy is a commonly stated aim of peace education (Bar-Tal and Rosen, 2009; Danesh, 2008; Zembylas, 2007). It is presented as an essential aspect of implementing the Catedra de la Paz as well (Chaux and Velasquez). Colombian scholars have also discussed the need to teach the Colombia population an expanded definition of peace to counter the DSP's narrative about the conflict (Gómez, Bello and López, 2018; Roa Barrera, 2018 and Hernández, 2018). Teaching students how to position their own experiences of conflict within their country's history is perhaps less common than the other two, but there are still peace education programmes that state this as their objective.<sup>31</sup> This secondary literature gives credence to the conclusion that,

- Developing the capacity to feel empathy for others
- Educating for an expanded understanding of peace
- Relating Personal Experiences to Historical and Contemporary Events

are the main forms of capital structuring the field of peace education in Colombia.

However, this thesis does not rely on the assumption that teaching students to acquire these dispositions will lead to a transformation in society. The *Literature Review* discussed the tendency in the peace education literature to rely on the assumption that teaching a particular set of competencies is a social good and should help transform society (Pagen, 2011; Cunningham, 2011; Golan and Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2014). It also argued that a strand of the critical peace education literature relies on the same assumption. Scholars, such as Snauwaert (2011), Gill and Niens (2014) and Bajaj (2016), who have called for more reflection on how these programmes can contribute to social change, see raising the critical consciousness of students as a route to transforming society. Interestingly, the interviewees in this chapter seemed to agree with this latter position. However, this thesis responds to the critical peace education literature that calls

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<sup>31</sup> See Facing History and Ourselves (2008) as an example of this purpose of peace education.

for more “internal critique” (Kurian and Kester, 2019: 22) of how these programmes contribute to the perpetuation of violent structures in society.

Consequently, it explores how the teaching of peace education is capable of challenging the power relations of a society that has produced Colombia’s history of violence or if it is reproducing these relations. Using Bourdieu’s theoretical framework of how power is reproduced means researching who is most and least capable of accumulating the capital of the field and so uncovering its structure. The interviews with NGO employees on their perceptions of the implementation of peace education identified the scale of the challenges facing their organisations as they seek to teach peace education.<sup>32</sup> This section will explain how the obstacles to successful implementation of peace education – in the perception of these interviewees – derives from a lack of state investment. It is in this context of minimal state investment and interest in peace education that previously accumulated forms of economic and social capital can potentially facilitate the accumulation of the capital of peace education

### *Lack of state investment*

The interviewees made clear, that there is a lack of state interest in, and even hostility towards, peace education. NGOs 7 and 8 commented on the oddity of their work being funded by the Swiss government and how this reflected foreign governments being more

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<sup>32</sup> It is also important to acknowledge some of these organisations’ success in implementing a politicised form of peace education. The museum employee explained that the museum can demonstrate best practise methods of teaching peace. He felt particularly proud that the museum had showed teachers that “they do not need an enormous space with a mountain of technology to achieve good experiences in relation to memory”. Indeed, by working with teachers who go on to teach multiple generations of students, they “have impacted a great quantity of the population” (NGO 5). This impact is multiplied, as “the museum is beginning to be a sort of web connecting them [teachers] and is a way of replicating the work they do” (NGO 5). Other examples of successful implementation were NGOs 12 and 13 identifying how they had helped schools to implement “a model of learning to write but with a component of forgiveness and reconciliation”. The religious charity that their educational programmes had helped “in the formation of communities, having communities that come together, that share things, history and spirituality” (NGO 9) and that work together to demand better public services. The teacher training NGO also thought that they had had some successes in “being a space for constructing political subjectivities” (NGO 3). There is an element of marking one’s own homework, as the interviewees are discussing their own successes, but they do demonstrate what is perceived to be possible even in unfavourable circumstances.

interested in Colombian peace education than their own political leaders. One of the museum employees also spoke about the lack of funding for their work as, “we continue to be very small for the task that we have” (NGO 2). A similar problem was evident in the teaching training NGO, as they claimed the state “needs to invest more resources” (NGO 5). In other interviews, people felt that the state is not just indifferent towards peace education but actively wants to thwart it. One of the interviewees explained how, “this government of Ivan Duque, you know that the theme of peace has been stopped and now it is called legality” (NGO 9), indicating the change in government priorities. Other interviewees spoke about how “the Colombian state doesn’t help you; it doesn’t take care about this task, it prefers to hide it” (NGO 11) or referenced the debate in congress about limiting teachers’ freedom to discuss politics in school for fear they might be indoctrinating their students (NGO 1). These interviewees all commented on the difficulty of organising peace education in a country where the government is hostile to their aims and so does not provide adequate funding. This perception is unsurprising given Duque’s well publicised hostility to the 2016 Peace Agreement (Echavarría and Cremin, 2019).

Finally, there were numerous off the record comments about the unsuitability of recent appointments to institutions across Colombia. The only recorded comment came from someone who worked for the teacher training NGO, who said that “there are civil servants for the National Centre for Historical Memory, the archives and the National Museum who say that they want to delete history” (NGO 3). For this current government, according to this interviewee, history and memory are only valuable so long as they can be used to advance their political agenda. Despite these fears over the intention of the Duque government, the common perception across these interviews is that while rhetorical commitment to peace education may vary – with the Santos government seen as being more favourable than the current one – a lack of state investment has remained consistent across administrations. Again, their perception of state disinterest in their work aligns with the Duque governments public pronouncements about peace meaning order

(Echavarría and Cremin 2019) and more longstanding concerns that the lofty aims of the Catedra de la Paz and previous legislation has not been matched with the government investment necessary for meeting their aims (Gomez-Suarez, 2017; Romero, 2017).

*Teachers lack the skills and knowledge necessary for teaching Peace Education*

The main consequence of this lack of state investment – according to the interviewees – is that teachers in Colombia lack access to the specific training necessary for teaching peace education. This obstacle came up in every interview in Medellín. There is reason to be sceptical of these claims, as the interviewees could have been justifying their own work. If teachers did not require this training, then the organisations they work for would not need to employ them to work with schools and teachers. However, the consistency of viewpoints across individuals from different organisations and the fact there was no advantage to themselves for making these claims all help make their claims credible.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, academic literature on peace education in general and in Colombia support the claims made by the interviewees. Academics writing on peace education have emphasised the need for teacher training due to the demands of experimenting with new pedagogies training (Bar-Tal and Rosen, 2009). Similarly, research into the Catedra de la Paz has shown that teachers and administrators need training “to overcome the new challenges demanded of them” by the law” (Huertas et al, 2018: 103). Other researchers working on peace education in Colombia have reached the same conclusion (Castiblanco, Guzmán and García, 2019; Gordillo, 2021; Yepes, 2018).

Echoing this literature, the interviewees frequently raised the issue of teachers lacking training and so the skills and knowledge to teach peace education. The museum employees spoke about their experiences with teachers from a personal and professional

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<sup>33</sup> As an anonymous interview with a foreigner who is not part of any evaluation team for a thesis that will be published in another language, there was no benefit beyond personal validation for making up claims about the lack of teacher training.

perspective. One of them described how the requirements to be a teacher are low, leading to many people viewing it as an alternative career in case they do not succeed in their chosen profession. This results in many teachers who view their job as, “I simply go and say the things that I have to say and that the curriculum tells me to say because it is my obligation” (NGO 1). Without a sense of passion for their job, this interviewee felt that it is impossible for teachers to approach themes of peace and conflict. It is important to note that this employee did not lay the blame on individual teachers, but rather called on the government to “dignify the labour of teachers and to restructure the educational model” as currently too many teachers do not have sufficient training (NGO 1).

The other museum employee re-iterated the point about insufficient training, as “many teachers arrive saying ‘I want to’ but ‘I don’t know how to’” in relation to teaching peace. Interviews from the organisation working to train teachers supported this view that teacher training in Medellin does not adequately prepare teachers for teaching peace. One of the interviewees explained that in Colombia, “we have a very rigid education system” (NGO 3). A result of this rigid system is that teachers are trained to teach and pupils are taught to learn “in a very fragmented manner, different types of knowledge are not integrated with each other” (NGO 3). Consequently, teachers who only focus on their subject are not equipped to deal with a topic, such as peace, that should not be isolated to one area of the curriculum, as the Catedra de la Paz explicitly warns against happening, but should influence all subjects<sup>34</sup>. However, the rigid education system means that teachers either “don’t have the strategy or the tools” (NGO 4) to teach peace.

Further interviews explored how teachers do not know how to make memories and experiences of conflict relevant for their students (NGO 11); how overworked and underpaid teachers do not have the knowledge – or the time to acquire the knowledge – to successfully implement the Catedra de la Paz (NGO 7 and 8 NGO 10); and that a lack of

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<sup>34</sup> Decree 1038, which adds more detail to the Catedra de la Paz legislation states that schools should create a plan of studies that sets out how social sciences – which includes history and geography – natural sciences and ethics will incorporate teaching “a culture of peace and sustainable development” (Decreto, 2015:3).



motivation among teachers means some simply repeat information to their students instead of actively teaching them (NGO 9). The NGO that works directly with schools to implement the Catedra de la Paz stated that “in terms of having knowledge about the pedagogies of peace, not a single teacher, none of them, has the competencies or is trained to generate these processes inside of their institution” (NGO 14). This is clearly a very strong statement but is consistent with the other interviewees who all felt that teachers lacked sufficient training in pedagogical strategies for teaching peace. Moreover, these concerns about the lack of teacher training for peace education correspond with Colombian authors who have also identified this issue as a key obstacle that needs to be addressed if peace education is to be implemented effectively (Castiblanco, Guzmán and García, 2019; Gordillo, 2021; Yepes, 2018).

Closely related to the above concern was the common complaint that teachers lack the necessary historical knowledge about conflict in Colombia. One of the interviewees with the Teacher Training organisation spoke about how, “one [of the problems] is a lack of knowledge about the history of our country, students, families and other teachers don’t know the history or know very little” (NGO 3). The interviews with the museum employees supported this perspective. They stated that, “what can surprise you a lot is to find, for example, teachers who specialise in history but don’t know anything about the conflict” (NGO 2) and that “there is a very large problem we have in our country and it is that we don’t teach memory” (NGO 1). Without this focus on memory and the history of the conflict in schools, students would lack all but the most basic knowledge of Colombia’s recent past. Reflecting on his own experiences, one of the researchers described how,

in my personal experience, it was very common that – and my training is in politics – to be very advanced in my studies before I knew who were the actors in the conflict, who was a paramilitary, who were the army, who were the guerrillas, or understood the differences between paramilitaries and guerrillas

What little knowledge students have of the conflict comes from the media (NGO 3), social media or television (NGO 11), which only offer limited or partial perspectives on the past. Without this knowledge, the interviewees expressed their fear that students and teachers are unable to approach topics of peace and conflict in a way that goes beyond teaching the basic facts and chronology of Colombia's history.

These interviewees have raised concerns that the level of training offered to teachers means they lack the pedagogical capacity and knowledge to implement peace education in a manner that is consistent with the aims of developing empathy, encouraging students to reflect on their position in relation to the conflict and raising their political consciousness. The coherence between the comments made by the interviewees and the literature on Colombian peace education also lends validity to their claims (Castiblanco, Guzmán and García, 2019; Gordillo, 2021; Yepes, 2018).

### *Students perceive their violent context as normal and unchangeable*

According to the interviewees, the consequence of a lack of state investment diminishing the capacity of teachers to implement peace education is that students perceive their violent context as normal and unchangeable. These interviewees spoke about how the everyday experience of violence has normalised it for many of the young people in Medellín. As one of the employees of the Teacher Training NGO put it, "the children always see deaths, assassinations, robberies . . . and that becomes part of their everyday life" (NGO 64). Comments by NGOs 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 all reiterated the fact that experiences of violence is an unavoidable aspect of growing up in Medellín. The consistency of these statements is perhaps unsurprising given that previous research by Moser and McIlwaine in urban areas of Colombia found that intra-familial violence is normalised, the lure of organised violence is ever-present and a "pervasive sense of

exclusion [is] experienced by young people” (2004: 149). Medellín experienced particularly high levels of violence, even in relation to other Colombian cities, although the rates of homicides have reduced in recent years (Cerdá, 2012). This endemic violence makes peace education more difficult from a practical perspective, as working in contexts where the paramilitaries are the dominant force entails having to negotiate with them over what can be taught or can lead to teachers being in physical danger (NGO 9).

Aside from the physical threats, living within a violent context has made students believe peace to be an unrealistic and utopian dream. One of the researchers spoke about the contrast between an education, “that is orientated towards the peace process, while what we live is orientated towards being educated about war” (NGO 11). Educating for peace is made difficult because “we don’t know how to live in peace” and “we have never lived peace” (NGO 11). Peace is something immaterial and far off, while violence is concrete and always close. As one of the museum employees explained, “for us as a country it [peace] has always been a utopia” (NGO 1). In this context, “children still have the mentality of narco-traffickers” and the challenge is “making them abandon this idea” (NGO 4). The NGO employees who work with schools also spoke about how “it is very complex to speak of peace in areas where the conflict is still alive” (NGO 7 and 8). For these interviewees, without a form of peace education that allows students to connect historical events and national conditions with their own experiences, they will continue to think of peace as a phenomenon that has no relevance for their lives. Lacking the belief that their lives can become less violent, these students will also have less reason to actively participate in politics to demand and work for such a change.

These interviews have made clear the paramount importance of state investment in peace education, and education more generally. Without this investment, teachers lack the training to implement peace education in a manner that goes beyond teaching the basic facts and chronology of Colombia’s conflict. According to the interviewees, students will therefore continue to perceive their experiences of violence as normal and

unchangeable aspects of their existence, rather than being empowered to work for a more peaceful Colombia. The existence of these obstacles is also corroborated by previous research into peace education in Colombia (Castiblanco, Guzmán and García, 2019; Gordillo, 2021; Yepes, 2018). These obstacles make accumulating the capital of peace education difficult. However, certain conditions make its accumulation more likely. As the next section will explore, these conditions are the possession of previously accumulated economic and social capital.

### 7.5 The advantages of previously accumulated capital for position-taking in the field of Peace Education

The evidence in this chapter has shown how the lack of state investment in peace education has meant that voluntary organisations have taken the lead in working with schools, teachers and students. However, not every school, teacher and individual has the same capacity to work with these organisations. All the interviewees spoke in depth about how their organisations struggle to offer their resources to the citizens and young people of Medellín and Bogotá on an equitable basis. The individual, who has worked for multiple organisations was able to give an overview of the opportunities for peace education in Medellín. They stated that, “we have a lot of spaces to talk about the conflict, in Medellín there are a lot of spaces, but there is no connection with the schools, nor with the educational projects of the country, not even with the National University” (NGO 11). This lack of connection means that “the young people [who] do not have much access to these spaces” rely instead on television, social media and their own experiences to understand the conflict. The interviewees discussed who their organisations are and are not able to work with and so revealed the forms of previously accumulated capital that makes it easier for some students to acquire the capital of the field of peace education.

*Economic capital needed to accumulate the cultural capital of peace education*

Bourdieu stated that economic capital was the easiest to define of the three forms of capital that he used in his theoretical framework, as it simply referred to the financial resources that an agent possessed (Bourdieu, 1986). Possessing this capital was an advantage for accessing the available resources for peace education.

The museum did more pedagogical work with private schools than state schools due to private schools having fewer bureaucratic obstacles to attending these courses. As explained in one of the interviews, “the majority of the institutions that visit us are private institutions because the private institutions have the advantage of being able to bring their pupils in a bus and not having to ask permission from the secretary of education” (NGO 1). The greater independence afforded to private schools means there are fewer administrative hurdles to visiting the museum and they do not have to worry about whether the content aligns with the political ideologies of the current administration. The same interviewee was very concerned about the consequences of this segmentation and worried that “educating for peace also means educating in democracy and that is not democratic as it is converted into an elitist question and that is not the museum” (NGO 1). Coming from a family that is able to afford the fees for a private school is therefore an advantage for accessing the resources that lead to accumulating the capital of peace education. This is clearly an important finding, as the museum works with hundreds of schools every year and so if there is bias towards private schools, then over time a far greater proportion of private school pupils will receive the benefit of their training.<sup>35</sup>

It was not just the museum, where having access to economic capital was beneficial for accessing peace education. The religious charity that works directly with students struggled to include pupils who had caring responsibilities for younger siblings,

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<sup>35</sup> NGO 2 stated that the museum had visited between 150 and 200 schools in the last 6 years and had worked more extensively with at least 15.

as their extra caring duties meant they were often absent and so missed out on the charity's peace education courses. The courses are also delivered over the internet and so schools with no or intermittent access to electricity could not participate (NGO 9). Finally, both interviewees from this charity discussed how students with discipline problems could not attend or had to leave the course (NGO 9 and 10). The consequence of these findings is that students who come from families where the parents were missing or worked irregular hours and so were invariably poorer than their peers are more likely to miss the charity's peace education courses.

The teacher training NGO also relied on teachers using their free time in order to attend their courses. The NGO is aware that its voluntary ethos might limit who attends and so have made efforts to be flexible by putting on the same courses in the morning and the afternoon to help teachers fit attendance around their timetables (NGO 5). However, desertion rates from the courses are still high, at around 50 to 60%. Given the poor remuneration state-school teachers receive, working in a second job is widespread (Sánchez Solarte and Obando Guerrero, 2008; Skinner, 2020). Teachers in this position would find it more difficult to be able to attend and so would be likely to miss out on peace education training. Again, given the scale of training being offered by this NGO, if there were a bias towards private school teachers, it would result in far more private school pupils benefiting from peace education.<sup>36</sup>

Together, these examples demonstrate the importance of previously accumulated economic capital for accessing the limited resources available for peace education. In their 4Rs framework, Novelli, Lopes Cardoso and Smith (2017) warn that without transformation, education in a post-conflict setting will continue to contribute to the injustices that caused conflict. This chapter has provided evidence that peace education can produce the same effect. The interviewees uniformly stated that successful peace

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<sup>36</sup> NGO 3 stated that the NGO is open and free for all teachers in the city and that although they had only just opened, they had the intention and capacity to deliver 4 workshops every morning and afternoon. The workshop I attended had 15 participants.

education should result in politically engaged and aware students. However, if students who come from backgrounds wealthy enough to afford private schools are more able to access peace education, as the data from this chapter and the previous one indicates, then they will disproportionately reap the benefits of these courses. The economic inequality that is responsible for Colombia's history of conflict (Hylton, 2006; Poveda, 2011a; Poveda, 2011b) also helps determine who develops the capacities associated with peace education. In Bourdieuan terms, students with accumulated economic capital are also more able to "obtain profits proportionate to their mastery" of the embodied capital of peace education (Bourdieu, 1986: 20).

#### *Social capital needed to accumulate the cultural capital of peace education*

For Bourdieu, social capital meant the network of connections and associated benefits that are unique to a particular social grouping (Bourdieu, 1986). Possessing this capital confers a certain set of benefits, as what happens to any individual within it reflects on the whole group and so there is an incentive to protect and work to further the interests of other members (Bourdieu, 1986). There were two forms of social capital that helped students and teachers access peace education.

The first is a consequence of the voluntary nature of the peace education training. The courses provided by the organisation working to train teachers are all free, voluntary and do not contribute to master's credits (NGO 3). This means teachers have to be interested enough in improving their practice to attend the courses, which has created difficulties, as one of the interviewees remarked, "because we still do not have many teachers who are aware of the need to improve their training" (NGO 5). Regardless of the innovation and expertise offered by this institution, they only reach teachers who have information about the available courses and are committed enough to improving their pedagogical skills for teaching peace to attend them in their spare time. Students of

teachers who do not meet these characteristics will not benefit from the teacher training offered by this organisation. The same is true for the museum, the religious charity and the NGO that works directly with schools, as they all only work with schools and teachers who voluntarily choose to access their resources.<sup>37</sup>

However, knowledge about these resources was shared through informal networks, as interviews with employees of the museum and teacher training NGO attested. These informal networks constituted people who had a connection to the main universities in Medellín or had a prior interest in peacebuilding and conflict studies. One of the employees of the teacher training organisation stated that the voluntary nature of their courses meant they had to start a communications campaign to raise awareness of what they offered (NGO 3). To increase attendance, they had begun inviting teachers who are already attending courses at the main universities in Medellín (NGO 4). The museum employee also discussed the limited awareness of the resources offered by the museum to teachers and schools (NGO 1). As a result, most of the schools and teachers who they worked with already had an existing interest in issues of conflict and peacebuilding. The religious charity faced the same problem, as participating teachers had to give up their time for no extra money and so they worked with schools and teachers who are already interested in themes of peace and democratic participation (NGO 10). For both these organisations, they mostly worked with a self-selecting group of teachers and schools. The interviews indicate that being part of two identified networks increases the likelihood that a teacher will participate in peace education training. These networks constitute teachers who have attended or are attending one of the main universities in Medellín and are already interested in topics around Colombia's conflict and peacebuilding.

Without access to these networks, schools or teachers could not take advantage of peace education training, even if there were a desire and the available resources to do so,

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<sup>37</sup> One exception to this rule is the school I conducted interviews with that forms the fourth empirical chapter. However, as this chapter will discuss, the circumstance that led to this training were exceptional.



as they simply would not have the knowledge to access them. Being part of these networks constitutes a form of social capital, as it confers a particular benefit in the form of access to peace education training and is only available to a particular social group. The question of whether the reputation of any individual within the group has ramifications for the entire group is outside the parameters of this thesis. There is, however, enough evidence to state that possessing this form of social capital gives access to information about what peace education resources are available.

There was also a form of religious social capital evident from the religious charity. This charity was not exclusively Catholic, but the influence of its religious values upon the courses' content meant the programme worked well with foundations, schools or individuals who shared these values, but could alienate those who wanted civil society to be removed from religious organisation (NGO 9). Having Catholic beliefs, or at least being comfortable with them, was therefore a clear advantage for participating in their courses. Being Catholic is again a form of social capital as it confers the particular benefit of access to peace education courses and is only available to a discrete social group. It is more likely that individual and group reputations are entwined for Catholics than is the case for the previous social group, but it is impossible to assert this statement definitively. What can be asserted is that possessing the social capital that is unique to being a Catholic is an advantage for accessing the peace education courses being offered by this organisation.

This section has provided evidence that not all students are equally able to access peace education. Instead, the interviews have shown how the structure of the field of peace education is affected by the accumulated capital of other fields. It can be theorised that existing economic and social hierarchies influence which students are able to accumulate the capital of peace education in Colombia and so access its profits.

## 7.6 Peace Education as a Mechanism for Reproducing and Challenging the Power

### Relations of its Context

The critical peace education literature has argued that expecting peace education programmes to change society by teaching a particular set of competencies without understanding how these programmes form part of the structures of society is a faulty and potentially harmful assumption (Kester, 2017a; Kester, Archer and Bryant, 2019). The findings from the first two chapters have shown why this assumption of individual change leading to social transformation requires an analysis of power relations within society. The available evidence from this chapter and the previous one has shown how success in the field of peace education is not determined solely by the innate ability of students. Instead, existing inequalities – particularly economic but also social – play a part in determining who is able to accumulate the three forms of capital, possession of which structures the field of peace education in Colombia. To be more precise my findings indicate that a student will be more likely to accumulate the capital of peace education if their families have sufficient economic capital to send them to a private school, their teachers have social capital in the form of networks that gives access to information about peace education resources, or they have the social capital that comes from being a practising Catholic.

Through this finding, we can see evidence of Bourdieu's statement that "ability or talent is itself the product of an investment of time" (1986: 17). What Bourdieu meant by this statement is that performing a skill well is not the result of – or at least not just the result of – individual talent. Instead, this performance results from the investment of time and labour that has led to accumulated economic wealth. Applying this insight to peace education, the embodied cultural capital structuring the field exists as a form of accumulated labour. This means that being able to demonstrate empathy, acquire an expanded knowledge of peace or reflect on one's relationship to Colombia's history of

conflict is not dependent upon an individual's innate skill but on their position within economic and social fields. The accumulated labour that exists as economic and social capital can be converted into the capital of the field of peace education. Consequently, the inequality that is responsible for conflict in Colombia also helps determine the structure of the field of peace education by affecting who is and is not able to accumulate its capital. Moreover, the specific profits of this field, which according to the interviewees is learning how to become politically active, will disproportionately belong to students who come from socio-economically privileged backgrounds. Specifically, the pupils from the highest socio-economic stratum who are 99 times more likely to attend private schools than pupils from the lowest stratum will have access to these profits of the field (Caro, 2019).

This theorisation based on my findings is important because it provides an explanation of why teaching students to become critically aware of the causes of conflict and politically active within their communities is not enough for social transformation within these societies. The peace education organisations interviewed for this thesis and peace education scholars such as Lewsader and Myers-Walls (2016), Bajaj (2016) and Gill and Niens (2014) share these transformative aims. But without understanding who is able to access peace education resources, there is a risk that this form of education will only benefit students who already benefit from the unequal structures of their society. Novelli, Lopes Cardoso and Smith (2017) have argued that unreformed education systems can reinforce injustice, but these chapters have shown that peace education in Colombia is also capable of reproducing inequality. It is therefore not enough just to analyse the performance of individuals within these courses and so the extent to which students are learning the desired characteristics, but also the relationship between these courses and the power relations of their context. Analysing this relationship can move the peace education literature beyond its previous emphasis on problem-solving (Novelli and Cardozo, 2008) and provide empirical evidence of how courses that aim to teach empathy, critical thinking and political awareness can contribute to the reproduction of an unequal

social order (Gur-Ze'ev, 2001; 2010; Bekerman and Zembylas, 2013; Hantzopoulos, 2011).

However, the structure of a field is not just dependent upon who is able to access resources within it. According to Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit, it is the habitus-capital-field relationship that also determines position-taking. The capacity to accumulate capital is not random. Instead, within any field the habitus of some groups in society will be more attuned to the dominant form of capital than other groups. Therefore, it will always be in the interest of some groups to keep the dominant form of capital as it is, and for other groups to change it (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2007). It is here that the importance of there being three forms of capital in the field of peace education becomes apparent. Bourdieu also allowed for the possibility of social change within his theoretical framework through the contestation of capital within fields. Within a field, the power relations can change due to the contest to determine the dominant form of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). The following chapters will therefore use purposively selected case studies to explore which groups in society have a habitus that disposes them to accumulate these different forms of capital. Understanding the habitus-capital relationship for these different forms of capital will provide further evidence about which groups in society benefit from peace education and if there is a possibility for changing this relationship by contesting the form of capital that is dominant within the field.

Through understanding the habitus-capital relationship of the different forms of capital, this thesis will be able to answer if peace education in Colombia is reproducing or challenging the power relations of its context. This will provide empirical evidence for how forms of education, which have the aim of teaching for peace, can still reproduce the societal structures that originally led to conflict (Gur-Ze'ev, 2001; 2010; Bekerman and Zembylas, 2011; Hantzopoulos, 2011).

## 7.7 Conclusion

This chapter has provided more evidence about how the field of peace education in Colombia is structured and how this structure is produced by the power relations of its context. It has also developed theoretical arguments, to be explored in the subsequent chapters, about how peace education is capable of reproducing and challenging these power relations. Building on the previous chapter, it has identified three forms of capital within the field of peace education. They are developing empathy, relating personal experiences to historical and contemporary events and raising political consciousness. However, the interviews also explained that due to a lack of state investment there is limited access for schools, teachers and students to the available resources that are perceived to be necessary for teaching this form of peace education. According to this evidence, students that have access to previously accumulated economic and social capital are more likely to be able to accumulate the capital of the field of peace education. From this evidence, I theorised that the structure of the field of peace education therefore reproduces the inequalities in wealth and power that were originally responsible for conflict in Colombia. However, Bourdieu's theory of capital contestation also gives a mechanism through which peace education can challenge their reproduction. The subsequent chapters turn to case studies to explore how and if these mechanisms for the reproduction and challenging of power exist within the teaching of peace education in schools in Colombia.

LEARNING TO HELP OTHERS OR TO REFLECT ON ONE'S EXPERIENCES: HOW  
THE DIFFERING HABITUS OF STUDENTS CAN LEAD TO PEACE EDUCATION  
REPRODUCING OR CHALLENGING POWER RELATIONS

8.1. Introduction

8.2. Material Resources

8.3. Resources available for Implementing Peace Education in Schools One and Two

8.4. The importance of previously accumulated economic capital

8.5. The Contrasting Forms of Capital within Schools One and Two

8.6. The Habitus-Capital-Field Relationship and Reproducing Unequal Power Relations

8.7. Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter uses a case study of two schools to explore how inequality in Colombian society can determine the structure of the field of peace education. The schools represent the high levels of socio-economic inequality in Colombian society, which affects the quantity and quality of peace education resources available to the students and the form of embodied cultural capital that has value in each field. Section 8.2 provides information on the two schools and why they represent the socio-economic inequality that exists in Colombian society. The chapter then focuses on how access to resources affects the field of peace education. The interviews with teachers and students from these schools clearly show that material resources affected the implementation of peace education in each school. The elite private school is able to dedicate workshops and teacher training resources to implementing the Catedra de la Paz. In contrast, the state school gives no direction to its teachers on how to fulfil the requirements on this legislation. Consequently,

the pupils who attend the private school benefit from these superior resources and so are more likely to accumulate the capital of peace education.

Sections 8.5 and 8.6 explore the differing forms of embodied cultural capital that structure the field of peace education in each school. These sections discuss how each school interpreted the purpose of peace education differently, which changed the dominant form of capital structuring the field in each context. In both schools, there was an emphasis on teaching students to feel empathy for people different from themselves. Yet, for the private school, accumulating the capital of peace education meant acquiring knowledge about peace and conflict and the desire to work for the benefit of others. Whereas, for the state school, accumulating the capital of peace education meant being able to reflect on their own positionality in relation to the conflict and the possibility for peace.

The final section reflects on the importance of these findings in relation to those from previous chapters. It explores the consequences of the habitus of students from school One – who come from stratum 6, the highest socio-economic class – disposing them towards accumulating the first two forms of capital identified in the previous chapters. Whereas the students from school Two – who come from stratum 1, the poorest socio-economic class – have a habitus that disposes them towards the third form of capital. This finding indicates that it is the form of knowledge and behaviours that constitute peace – as well as access to resources – which condition who is able to achieve higher positions within the hierarchy of the field and so profit from the accumulation of its capital. However, it also means that peace education can potentially challenge the power relations of its context by changing the dominant form of capital so that the habitus of students from socio-economically deprived backgrounds are more disposed to accumulate it.

## 8.2 Material Resources

The previous chapters have identified forms of capital that structure the field of peace education in Colombia. These three forms of capital are:

- Developing the capacity to feel empathy for others
- Educating for an expanded understanding of peace
- Relating Personal Experiences to Historical and Contemporary Events

They have also provided evidence that access to previously accumulated economic and cultural capital determine who is able to access the resources of peace education and so accumulate the capital of the field. This finding is important because it demonstrates how it is possible that the socio-economic inequalities responsible for Colombia's history of conflict can also affect who is able to benefit from peace education. It also adds weight to recent criticisms of the psychologised approach to peace education, which assumes that if an education programme changes individual attributes it will eventually also change society (Kester, 2018; Bekerman and Zembylas, 2017). Instead, these chapters have demonstrated that without an understanding of who is able to access peace education courses, these programmes will reproduce the unequal power relations of their context.

This chapter builds on the previous ones to offer an in-depth exploration of peace education within two schools that represent the economic inequality in Colombian society. The *Methodology* chapter has given a full description of these schools. However, it is useful to briefly reiterate their main features. School One is an elite, private, all-male school. The pupils have access to extensive resources and receive their education in Spanish and English. They expect to go to university and then to work in either their family business, politics or other high-status jobs (Teacher 1c). School Two is less than 10 metres from School One but is a mixed state school with limited resources and pupils who come from the local area. Their parents mostly work in the informal markets, although some have professional careers, such as nurses and teachers, and the pupils



expect to have similar careers as their parents. Illegal markets, and particularly drug-selling, has a large presence in the community (Teacher 2e).

The clear disparity in family wealth, educational provision and future expectations between the pupils who attend these two schools means they are representative of the socio-economic inequalities that are responsible for conflict in Colombia (Richani, 2013; Hylton, 2006). Interviews with teachers and students in these schools explored the purpose and implementation of peace education in each context. From these interviews, it was clear that students attending School One had access to far greater quantity and quality of peace education resources than students in School Two. The previously-accumulated economic capital that enables the students' families to pay the fees for School One therefore also helps the students to accumulate the capital of peace education. Through this mechanism, the socio-economic inequalities that structure Colombian society also structure the field of peace education.

### 8.3 Resources available for Implementing Peace Education in School One and Two

The material resources available to each school affected the teacher-training offered to teachers and both the quality and quantity of peace education available to students within each school. Despite these differences, implementing the *Catedra de la Paz* has been a challenge for teachers within both schools. Teachers in both schools identified the lack of support from senior management, the pressure of exams and the lack of guidance from the government as significant obstacles (Teacher 1g; 2b). Nevertheless, the teachers from School One received training workshops, the pupils received extra-curricular workshops and social sciences classes, and some from other disciplines, that had been specifically designed in light of the *Catedra de la Paz* legislation. None of these resources were available to teachers or students from School Two, who also had larger class sizes and more classes.

The result of this disparity in material resources is that pupils from School One were more likely to be able to accumulate the capital of peace education. If this finding is extrapolated across the entire education system, then pupils who come from families with access to sufficient economic capital to be able to afford private schools fees will accumulate more of the capital of peace education.<sup>38</sup> This section therefore provides evidence that teaching peace education has the potential to compound existing inequality. In making this argument, it builds on the work of critical scholars, who have highlighted the naivety of “psychologised approaches” (Kester, 2018: 1) to peace education, which assume that changing individuals will result in a transformed society.

### *School One*

Implementing peace education is difficult in any circumstance. Previous research has identified common problems as a lack of training for teachers, a lack of interest in the subject from teachers and students and differences between the values being taught within these courses and the environment in which students live – or even the rest of the education system (Bickmore, Kaderi and Guerra-Sua, 2017; Novelli and Sayed, 2016; Smith, 2003; 2013; Skinner, 2020). These difficulties existed for the teachers trying to implement the Catedra de la Paz in School One. They spoke about the lack of support from management, the pressure to focus on exam results and the government’s rhetoric of associating peace with military victory as impediments towards embedding peace education within the curriculum (Teacher 1g). Despite these obstacles, the teachers were able to describe three significant successes.

#### 1.) Training and working with teachers across the school

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<sup>38</sup> This is an extrapolation, but this chapter and the previous two ones have consistently found that private schools are more able to access and implement peace education resources.

The social sciences department had run workshops for teachers about the requirements of the Catedra de la Paz and how all subjects could incorporate peace education within their classes. Although, the social sciences teachers emphasised the need for more of this training, they were also aware that having the opportunity to do so is relatively rare even among other private schools and particularly, in the perception of some teachers, within state schools (Teacher 1c; 1g).

## 2.) Implementing workshops and in-class activities for students

Students had also received extra-curricular workshops on peace education. These workshops taught students about the history of conflict in Colombia, explored different perspectives on peace and discussed the importance of empathy and conflict-reduction skills. These workshops made use of resources from Colombia's Centro de Memoria Historica (Teacher 1c; Teacher 1g). Teachers from different departments had also implemented peace education activities within their classes. These were mainly evident in the social sciences department, where students discussed theories of peace and applied them to analysing Colombia's history of conflict. However, the sciences department had also integrated requirements from the Catedra de la Paz in their classes. They discussed the environmental impact of Colombia's conflict and related the scientific processes from their curriculum to contemporary political debates, such as the controversy over the use of glyphosate (Teacher 1h).<sup>39</sup>

## 3.) Connecting the Catedra de la Paz with the school's ethical and academic practices

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<sup>39</sup> See article by Collins (2020) on the controversy over the government's decision to use glyphosate

The teachers and management also described how existing activities by the school were consistent with the demands of the Catedra de la Paz. The rector spoke about how students worked with the school's foundation, which conducts charitable work in Ciudad Bolivar.<sup>40</sup> By working with this foundation, this rector felt that the students could demonstrate and develop the desire to work for others. He then explained that "here [the school] the component of a social promise, the commitment to the country and to reconciliation, is very important and relevant . . . It is something that is in the essence of this school and is something that it is famous for, and has a tradition going back more than 70 years" (Teacher 1h). The desire expressed by the teachers to ensure their pupils worked for peace was not therefore new or different for the pupils but rather part of a wider commitment among the school to embed a social conscience within the students.

The head of the social sciences department also explained that the school's academic priorities were similar to the Catedra de la Paz legislation. In particular, critical thinking was promoted by the school as being key for all academic disciplines. This teacher explained that his department was able to experiment with peace education activities that considered different interpretations of Colombia's conflict. These activities had received some complaints from parents who had accused the teachers of indoctrinating their sons into communism (Teacher 1c). However, the teachers were able to defend and justify these activities as developing the critical faculties of their students. Through this justification, they were able to fulfil the requirements of the Catedra de la Paz.

These successes and activities demonstrate that despite the difficulties of implementing peace education, the school has been able to provide a significant set of resources to help integrate the Catedra de la Paz throughout the curriculum.

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<sup>40</sup> A socially deprived neighbourhood in Bogotá. These articles describe some of the characteristics of Ciudad Bolivar, such as high levels of violence against women (Julieta, Sandra and Hernán, 2014), and post-traumatic stress due to displacement (Sinisterra Mosquera, et al, 2010).

*School Two*

The teachers from School Two described some similar challenges for implementing peace education, such as the pressure to focus on helping student pass exams rather than developing materials for peace education. However, what differentiated the challenges faced by these teachers is that School Two is operating with far fewer resources than School One. Teachers in this school have classes of 40 students and teach at least 5 one-hour classes a day. This is a punishing schedule and so makes any extra requirements, such as the Catedra de la Paz legislation, very hard to fulfil. Without this extra investment, all the expectations and demands for education to help transform the country remains empty rhetoric, which was evident in the school's approach to the Catedra de la Paz. When discussing whether the government had provided any extra help to implement it, the co-ordinator of the school said, "No – the government fund the Catedra (i.e. pass the law) and nothing else: they publish, communicate and complete it: they said do it and that's it" (Teacher 2e). Another teacher from the social sciences department supported this statement, as the government "started generating a series of laws . . . but they don't give the resources or the capacity to deal with these situations [teaching peace education]" (Teacher 2d). This lack of resources and capacity-building had affected the implementation of peace education, as the social sciences teachers emphasised the difficulty of adapting their normal teaching in light of the Catedra de la Paz's requirements.

A second challenge that was unique to School Two and absent from School One was the perceived confrontational relationship between the teachers and the state. There was a clear feeling of mistrust and outright hostility from all the teachers in the social sciences department, quoted below, towards the state in general and the Duque government in particular. This antipathy primarily stemmed from suspicions that the government were using the Catedra de la Paz to force them to teach propaganda instead

of history. There were many references in the interviews to an “official version” of history that simplified the reality and cast the government as heroes in a fight against those who wanted to hurt the people (Teacher 2b). The most detailed reflection on this matter explicitly contrasts what the state does and does not want included:

In this official version, they want to forget the reasons that created the conflict, the problem of the land in Colombia, the problem of the enormous inequality in our country, the problem of the excessive centralisation of riches in the hands of very few and the role that the state has had in the conflict. And so the version that they sell of the conflict is one in which the state emerges victorious, in which the state has not committed any violations of human rights and they have tried to make the teachers use this version.

Teacher 2b

A similar set of complaints repeatedly came up: that the official version of history is “very far from the truth”, that the government wants “to deny the conflict” (group interview) and that official textbooks lionise Álvaro Uribe as a “a hero, when this man is listed as number 89 on the list of the world’s biggest narco-traffickers . . . was sponsored economically by the biggest economic groups in the country and fomented para militarism” (teacher 2a). The teachers perceived legislation such as the Catedra de la Paz and the previous legislation of the Competencias Ciudadanos as the latest in a long line of attempts by various governments to reinforce an official narrative of the conflict. Regardless of whether this was the intention behind these pieces of legislation, this perception was strongly held by the teachers at School Two.

Indeed, the teachers also discussed how their resistance to teaching this official narrative had recently brought their teaching into conflict with the government. As one of the social sciences teachers explained, “we are not disposed to only give one version of the conflict, we want to give multiple versions, and the problems comes from there” (group

interview). These problems mainly consisted of being cast as ideologues intent on indoctrinating their students into having sympathy with communism, or as one of the teachers put it, “they accuse us of promoting leftist ideas with the children” (group interview). While the teachers from School One also spoke about the same fear, accusation about indoctrination came from parents rather than the government. Moreover, these accusations did not affect their willingness to implement the Catedra de la Paz. Instead, they felt enthused that their teaching was having an impact, as students were discussing ideas about peace and conflict with their parents.

In contrast, the teachers from School Two felt they could not trust any government actions, including the Catedra de la Paz. They expressed concern about a potential law that was being discussed in the media and in Congress. This law would apparently prevent children from being indoctrinated, but the teachers thought it was designed to suppress their freedom of speech and ability to teach anything other than officially approved history of the conflict.<sup>41</sup> The precise worry was that the decree “would prevent us teachers speaking about politics or that would prevent us from expressing a political ideology” (Teacher 2b). Combined, this suspicion of how the government wanted them to portray Colombia’s conflict and their resentment at being cast as dangerous ideologues made the teachers wary of following the government’s mandate to teach peace.

Overall, these constraints had led to a lack of implementation of the Catedra de la Paz in this school. Indeed, the students spoke about their desire for the school to expand and develop its peace education curriculum (Student Group 2b). There were no teacher training or extracurricular workshops offered to students or teachers, as there were in School One. There were also no connections with organisations such as the Centro de Memoria Historica, which teachers in the first school were using. Instead, the social sciences teachers characterised peace education as teaching their own subjects to the

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<sup>41</sup> These newspapers articles contain examples of this debate, as they accuse teachers of indoctrinating students under the rubric of peace (Carillo, 2021). This article also refers to the difficulty and controversy teachers face when addressing the role of ex-President Uribe in Colombia’s history of conflict (Martinez, 2021).

best of their ability (Teacher 2c). Given the lack of assistance provided by the state and their own antagonistic relationship with it, this was the maximum they felt that could be expected of them.

The interviews with teachers and students demonstrated a clear contrast between the first school, where some specific activities and workshops had been introduced and the curriculum amended as a result of the Catedra de la Paz and the second school, where no such attempts had been made.

#### 8.4 The importance of previously accumulated economic capital

The different scale of resources available to each school for implementing the Catedra de la Paz provides empirical evidence of the flaws inherent within the “psychologised approach” (Kester, 2018: 1) to peace education. Critical peace education authors have argued that only analysing how peace education can change an individual’s psychological state ignores the potential harm that these courses can do on a societal level (Bekerman, 2007; Zembylas and Bekerman, 2013). Consequently, multiple peace education scholars have called for more exploration of the relationship between these courses and the forms of inequality they seek to transform (Zembylas and Bekerman, 2013; Hajir and Kester, 2020; Cremin, 2016; Kester, 2017a; Wessells, 2012). The evidence presented so far in this chapter gives an empirical basis and theoretical mechanism for explaining how peace education interventions can reproduce the inequality responsible for conflict in Colombia.

Scholars of Colombia’s conflict unanimously argue that its high levels of inequality are, at the very least, partially responsible for producing and perpetuating the country’s history of conflict (Richani, 2013; Hylton, 2006). From this chapter, it is possible to see how peace education can reproduce the unequal power relations that sustain the inequality within Colombian society. The pupils attending School One receive far more dedicated peace education resources than the pupils in School Two. Moreover, this



differential is a direct result of School One being an elite private school and so having access to financial resources that are not available to School Two. Interpreting this finding through Bourdieu's framework of power shows that previously accumulated economic capital is beneficial for accumulating the embodied cultural capital, which determines an agent's position within the field of peace education. Interviews from experts in peace education in the previous chapters indicated that this finding might be the case. However, the evidence from this chapter gives a direct example of how economic capital affects the structure of the field of peace education.

The importance of this finding derives from the representative nature of the two schools that form the case studies in this chapter. Colombia is a highly socio-economically unequal country (Berry, 2017). The *Country Context* chapter described how the education system in Colombia reflects and reproduces this inequality (Duarte, Soledad Bos, and Martín Moreno, 2012). A key part of educational inequality is the divide between which strata are able to access private schools and the consequences of this divide in terms of educational outcomes (García-Villegas and Quiroz-López, 2011). The *Research Methods* chapter then demonstrated that Schools One and Two reflect this inequality despite being metres apart. Finally, this chapter has shown that the unequal resources available to teachers and students in each school means that students in the first one have far more opportunities to accumulate the capital of peace education.

Extrapolating from these findings, the field of peace education in Colombia would be dominated by pupils who had attended private schools. The concluding chapter discusses in more detail the question of how these pupils are able to use the capital of peace education. However, it is important to note that accumulating capital in one field is never an end in itself but instead is used to secure an agent's position in relation to the field of power that structures relations within society (Bourdieu, 1986). Through the mechanism of capital exchange, peace education will therefore reproduce the unequal power relations of its context.

The accumulation of the profits of peace education within specific groups in Colombian society provides empirical evidence of the need to move away from analysing the individual “mind alone as the site of social change” (Kester, 2018: 6). This finding builds on the warning by Novelli and Cardozo (2017) that peace education can potentially contribute to the interlocking forms of injustice that exist in society. Developing Fraser’s theories of justice, they have argued that educational interventions in post-conflict settings need to have a strategy for transforming processes of recognition, redistribution, representation, and reconciliation to prevent the intervention reproducing the injustice that led to conflict in the first place.

My thesis uses Bourdieu’s theoretical framework to explore the relationship between peace education and power, rather than Fraser’s theories of justice. However, it too has shown the need to locate peace education interventions “within a well-developed cultural, political, economic, and conflict analysis of the particular places and spaces being examined” (2017: 26). Using Bourdieu’s framework has shown how peace education can reproduce unequal power relations and so contribute to inequality, as students from wealthier backgrounds disproportionately access the “specific profits” of the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2007: 97).

Despite the importance of this finding, it does come with a theoretically simple, although practically complicated, solution. If pupils were equally able to access peace education resources, regardless of their family’s background, then previously-accumulated economic capital would not determine the structure of the field of peace education. The benefits of peace education would then be more equally distributed and it would no longer reproduce the unequal power relations of its context. However, the rest of the chapter explains why the contest to determine the dominant form of capital within the field also affects whether peace education is reproducing or challenging the power relations of its context.

## 8.5 The Contrasting Forms of Capital within Schools One and Two

The following sections present the second mechanism through which peace education reproduces the power relations of its context. It shows how the habitus of pupils from the private school are more disposed to accumulate some, although crucially not all, of the forms of capital that structure the field.

Scholars working on post-conflict education have recognised that it is not only unequal access that causes education to reproduce inequality, but also the content of curricula (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000). Even the content of programmes designed specifically to create harmonious relations between citizens is not equally accessible to all students and so can inadvertently reproduce the hierarchical structures in society that are responsible for conflict (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; King, 2013). Peace education academics have also explored how the meanings associated with peace, conflict and peace education are predicated upon and perpetuate histories of violence and colonialism (Gur-Ze'ev, 2001; Zembylas and Bekerman, 2013; Golding, 2017; Cremin, 2016; Kester and Cremin, 2017). Consequently, it is the valorisation of particular forms of knowledge and being that reproduce inequality as well as the material limitations imposed upon who can access them. However, for peace education, these arguments also mostly remain theoretical rather than being derived from empirical evidence (Bajaj, 2015; Kester and Cremin, 2017). By interpreting the different perceptions of the purpose of the Catedra de la Paz in Schools One and Two through Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit, this chapter is able to provide evidence of how the prioritisation of particular forms of knowledge leads to peace education reproducing the power relations of its context.

The interviews with teachers and students in these two schools about the purpose of the Catedra de la Paz revealed the forms of capital that structure the field of peace education in each school. In School One, accumulating this capital meant acquiring the capacity to feel empathy for those less well off than themselves and having knowledge

about the causes of peace and conflict in Colombian society. In School Two accumulating this capital also meant developing empathy and respect, as well as reflecting on the pupils' positionality in relation to the conflict and the possibility for peace. Teachers in School Two also made an equivalence between teaching peace education and improving the material conditions of the pupils' lives.

The differences between the forms of capital in each school, and the reluctance of students from School One to reflect on their own positionality in relation to Colombia's conflict, suggest evidence of the habitus-capital relationship. Students from School One – and by extension those from a similar socio-economic background – have a habitus that disposes them towards the first two forms of capital identified in previous chapters. Whereas students from School Two – and again by extension those from a similar socio-economic background – have a habitus that disposes them towards the third form of capital identified in the previous chapters. The importance of this finding is that changing the dominant form of capital within the field of peace education could affect which socio-economic group is more likely to be able to dominate the field.

### *School One*

#### *Acquiring the capacity to feel empathy for those less well off than themselves*

The first form of embodied cultural capital in School One was helping students to feel empathy, predominantly for those less well off than themselves. There were clear overlaps between this form of capital and the importance of educating for empathy that the experts in peace education discussed in the first empirical chapter.

A common statement from the teachers in School One referred to the wealth of the students' families (Teacher 1f) or their likely prospects working in high-income jobs (Teacher 1a; Teacher 1c; Teacher 1g). According to the teachers, a consequence of their

students' backgrounds is an insulation from the rest of Colombian society and especially from the experiences of conflict. One of the teachers who has directed the peace education efforts in the school explained that the students "are never going to suffer what other people have suffered. The conflict has never touched them directly" (Teacher 1g). Another teacher who works in the languages department, but has previously worked for Humans Rights organisations, also commented on her pupils' isolation from the rest of society, as "they don't mix much with people who don't look like them or dress like them" (Teacher 1e).

The perceived privilege of these students and their consequent isolation from the rest of Colombian society meant the teachers interpreted the purpose of peace education as ensuring students felt empathy for, or at least awareness of, how most Colombians live. One of the teachers who organises peace education across the school described this purpose as building empathy with those who had been affected by the conflict. They said that:

The ideal is for them to be empathetic about it [the conflict] and understand that there are people that the conflict has touched and understand that they should be treated with the same respect and tolerance as any of their peers. To be able to put yourself in the other's shoes. That is it. That is the major goal.

Teacher 1g

According to this teacher, if their students possess empathy for people who are not so privileged, they might work for a "peaceful society" rather than for their own enrichment. Another social sciences teacher stated more directly that their pupils "have to start thinking about something else beside their own benefit" (Teacher 1a), later commenting that "I think that they have been growing in empathy" (Teacher 1a). Finally, the head of social sciences explained the purpose of the Catedra de la Paz as, "the only way to evolve in a very good manner for this country is to think about others and make them visible"

(Teacher 1c). Throughout all these observations, it is clear that a key purpose of the Catedra de la Paz, as it is interpreted by the teachers in School One, is ensuring their students are aware of the difficulties faced by Colombians who have either been affected by the conflict or are less financially well-off than themselves and feel empathy for their situation.

Interviews with the students indicated an awareness that their upbringing, education and subsequent opportunities are not available to many other Colombians and a desire to ensure all students have similar advantages. A student from the second group gave the most detailed response, when he said that:

This country has given us the best education, food, a home, families that love us and so the least we can do to compensate for this, to the universe or to god, is to return the favour. I feel that returning the favour is trying to make sure that the largest part of the population can enjoy the same conditions that we live, even improve them a little bit and so I believe I have responsibility.

Student Group 1b

In this quote the student details the exact advantages he and his peers possess, recognises that these advantages have been given rather than earned, expresses a desire for all Colombians to enjoy similar benefits and describes working for this aim as a responsibility.

Whether or not this student – and those from other students in school one who expressed similar sentiments – truly believe this statement or will act upon it later in life is impossible to say. However, it shows that at least some students have internalised their teachers' desire for them to feel empathy for Colombians who do not come from the same privileged background as they do. Both teachers and students attached great importance to acquiring empathy for others and so being able to demonstrate it is a form of embodied cultural capital that will ensure a high position in the field of peace education in the school.

The experts discussed in the first empirical chapter also spoke about the need for Colombians to learn empathy. There is therefore a clear correlation between the capital that has value in the field of peace education in School One and – according to the interviewed experts – in the national field.

*Having knowledge about the causes of peace and conflict in Colombian society*

The second form of embodied cultural capital that emerged from the interviews in School One was using peace education to teach pupils about the causes of peace and conflict in Colombian society. Again, there was a similarity between this form of capital and the need for an expanded understanding of peace identified in the first empirical chapter.

The teachers emphasised the need for peace education to teach the pupils about the reasons why conflict existed in Colombia and the possibilities of transforming the country towards peace. For some teachers, this meant exploring some of the theoretical concepts underpinning peace studies. As one of the social sciences teachers explained, “I for instance have related those abilities to teachings by Lederach in the liberal imagination” (Teacher 1a). Other teachers focused on discussing different perspectives on the Colombian conflict. The head of social sciences described the purpose of the Catedra de la Paz as, “getting the kids to understand the history of the country but not from one path but giving them the whole vision of all the actors involved in the history of Colombia” (Teacher 1c). This focus on teaching the causes of conflict in Colombia was also evident from two more social sciences teachers (Teacher 1g; Teacher 1d). These teachers all emphasised a key purpose of the Catedra de la Paz as equipping their students with the theoretical and historical knowledge to understand why conflict has existed in Colombia.

From the student interviews, there was evidence they had acquired this understanding. The students explained that “we have specialised in approaching the

theme of peace, we have learnt about John Paul Lederach, who I have found very useful, and with other works we have explored in depth the theme of peace” (Student Group 1c). Student groups 1a and 1b also identified learning about theories of peace and violence as a core part of their studies. The experts in the first empirical chapter also spoke about the importance of learning about these theories for peace education, even when they disagreed with the value attached to them. Again, the evidence points to an equivalence between what capital secures a high position within the field of peace education in School One and within the national field.

From these interviews it was clear that the field of peace education in this school is a structured space in which an agent’s position is determined by their capacity to accumulate two forms of embodied cultural capital. In School One, embodied cultural capital encompasses the capacity to feel empathy for those less well off than themselves and acquiring knowledge about the causes of peace and conflict in Colombian society. The capacity of students to acquire both capacities regulates position-taking in the field of peace education

## *6.2 School Two*

### *Developing tolerance and respect*

One of the forms of capital in the field of peace education in School Two is acquiring the capacity to demonstrate respect and tolerance of other people. The need to acquire this capital is due to the levels of physical violence the students experience, rather than their perceived isolation from the rest of Colombian society as is the case in School One. This form of capital was similar to the importance attached to developing empathy in the first empirical chapter. However, tolerance and respect are not the same as empathy, which indicates less coherence between the structure of the field of peace education in School



Two and the national structure of the field, according to the experts in the first empirical chapter.

One of the social science teachers described their belief that “peace is many other things, it is teaching tolerance, and here we educate them about that” (Teacher 2d). This need for tolerance is due to the students’ exposure to physical violence. As explained by one of the co-ordinators of the school, “the [students and families of students] have a tendency to resolve conflict in a very inadequate way – through fighting and with bad words, and so that is what they see outside, that they live with their families and in the streets, in a way which is reflected in the school” (Teacher 2e). In interviews with these teachers and others (Teacher 2b), the purpose of peace education is helping their students to reduce and manage the acts of violence they experience every day by teaching them tolerance and respect for others.

The students made similar points about the importance of teaching these values. One of them discussed the need to teach respect, as it should not be “dependent upon what strata you come from or the traditions you have, or the colour of the skin or what race you are” (Student Group 2b). Another spoke about the importance of not judging each other on background, as “we are all equal and have the same capacities, and not because someone is the son of someone [important]” (Student Group 2b). A third student linked peace with respect and that “we respect each other as we are and not based on if we are different or come from different families” (Student Group 2b). A final student who equated peace with these values spoke about the need for education to develop “harmony and acceptance, accepting differences and the different personalities that it is possible to encounter” (Student Group 2a). All these statements show that the students in this school felt that peace education should teach them the values, such as respect, that will help them live together peacefully.

This interpretation of the purpose of peace education is similar, although not identical to the focus in School One on developing empathy. The experts in the first

empirical chapter articulated the purpose of peace education as teaching empathy, which grey literature on the Catedra de la Paz reiterated (Chaux and Velasquez, n.d.). In School Two, the emphasis is on acquiring the capacity to show respect and tolerance for others, rather than feeling empathy for them. Tolerance and respect do not require an individual to understand why someone may feel or think differently to oneself. They only require an individual to accept that differences exist and not seek to change them. The data from these interviews therefore indicates a slight difference between the embodied cultural capital structuring the field of peace education in School Two and within the national field.

*Reflecting on their own positionality in relation to conflict and peace*

The second form of capital that structures the field of peace education in School Two was acquiring the capacity to reflect on the students' own positionality in relation to conflict and peace. There was a clear parallel between this form of capital and how the NGO practitioners described the importance of developing critical consciousness within students.

Teachers from this school emphasised the need for peace education to make connections between historical and contemporary conflict in Colombia and the pupils' own lives. One of the teachers from the social sciences department made this point when they described how:

very few students recognise that this armed and social conflict has anything to do with them, that it forms part of their own national identity, they do not feel that they are linked with this problem. The work that I do is to make it possible that students realise that it has something to do with them . . . that they have to make a solution together.

Teacher 2b

This comment summarises points made by other teachers. It begins with a common answer from the teachers that they wanted the students to realise the conflict in Colombia did not just mean the armed conflict between the government and various guerrilla groups. Instead, the purpose of peace education is firstly to embed the understanding that the causes of conflict and violence have “something to do with them” and then that all students have a role to play in “making a solution” to this problem (Teacher 2b).

Other teachers echoed the argument that: “peace is very relative, it is not only knowing about the armed conflict, the armed conflict is not our peace” and “peace is not just a question of armed groups” (Teacher 2e; Teacher 2d). Rather than using peace education to teach about the armed conflict, they wanted to root their lessons in the students’ own lives. One teacher explained that lessons about peace begin “with the analysis of what they live everyday” (Teacher 2d), while another said that “we look for the quotidian experiences that students are able to live with each other” (Teacher 2a). It was clear from the interviews that these teachers felt a key task of peace education is exploring how violence and conflict manifest in the students’ lives.

Once this connection had been made, the teachers saw the purpose of peace education as ensuring their students feel their lives and opinions are important for thinking about how to transform Colombia away from conflict and towards peace. Two teachers discussed their understanding of what it means to teach peace in exactly these terms. One stated that, “my expectation of peace . . . is that they perceive themselves as an important person, valued in society, and that they can go further” (Teacher 2c). Another responded with, “What does peace mean? It is about generating a critical conscience in the student about their reality, their past and the position that they occupy in the present” (Teacher 2b). For both these teachers, a necessary element of teaching peace was ensuring that students evaluate and recognise the importance of their own lives for studying concepts of peace and conflict. By framing peace in such a way “so that they [the students] can understand it” (Teacher 2d) the teachers from School Two are placing

their own students, who come from financially and socially disadvantaged backgrounds, at the centre of what it means to create a peaceful society.

The students also perceived the purpose of peace education as teaching them how their lives have been affected by conflict and how to work for peace. Discussing what they learn about peace and conflict, one student explained they are taught about problems, “in our environment [and] we can realise the problems of our city and when we are in class we can relate them to these themes in political and social sciences” (Student Group 2a). The students are learning to position the problems of their own environment in relation to wider themes of peace and conflict, and so understand how their own experiences have been conditioned by Colombia’s history of war. By understanding this connection, the students saw an incentive to demand and work for a peaceful society. As one student exclaimed, “I think that participation is essential for peace because we are the new generation” (Student Group 2a). This desire to participate in efforts to make their country more peaceful reveals their understanding of the purpose of peace education as learning how they can have an impact on their country’s future.

Both teachers and students identified a key purpose of peace education as teaching the students to think about their own positionality in relation to the conflict. Acquiring the capacity to reflect on their positionality in relation to conflict and peace in Colombia was therefore the second form of embodied cultural capital in the field of peace education in the second school.

In the second empirical chapter, the experts discussed the purpose of peace education in similar terms. They also spoke about how peace education programmes should teach students to reflect on how their experiences of violence and peace intersect with Colombia’s history of conflict. Reflecting on this relationship should inspire students to take political action, according to the experts. In both sets of data, the experts, teachers and students have discussed why it is important for students to explore how conflict and

violence have affected their lives and then consider what they can do to work for peace in Colombia.

*Improving the material conditions of the pupils' lives*

There was one more significant interpretation of the purpose of peace education in School Two. This mostly came from conversations with the teachers outside of the interviews, as they provided tours of the school. During these conversations, they emphasised that peace education was not a discrete subject, but an educational effort that improves the lives of their pupils. This interpretation of the purpose of peace education did not correlate to any of the findings from previous chapters and seemed instead to be a form of institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986)

The clearest example of this interpretation of the purpose of peace education came from teacher 2c, who gave me a guided tour of the school. During this tour, they equated the state's provision of free meals with peace education. Their explanation was that this provision helped the students concentrate and so made teaching easier. Consequently, students were able to achieve higher grades, access stable jobs and so avoid becoming entangled in criminality. For this teacher, this act of providing free school means was a better definition of peace education than teaching any combination of knowledge, values or skills.

Another teacher gave similar logic during an interview, when he described "peace is an act that improves their quality of life" (Teacher 2a). Developing this theme, he discussed the dreams and ambitions of the students at the school, using as an example a student who wants to study psychiatry. He next turned to explaining how difficult it is to attain a degree, as public universities require an exam that most of the students cannot pass due to the poor state of public education, while private universities cost money that their families simply do not have. The majority therefore simply finish their education after

secondary school and so work in the informal or illegal economies. Compounding this difficulty are the other demands placed upon their time, as “they must eat, need to help their mum with their younger siblings, help in the house and so the necessities take over the dreams and ambitions and so they must go to work” (Teacher 2a). When explaining this situation, the teacher kept returning to the phrase “the state doesn’t facilitate” (Teacher 2a). By this he meant that the state might not be actively blocking their aspirations, but it does nothing to reduce the daunting barriers they face for secure lives and successful careers. A result of this reality is that, according to the teacher, students are forced into petty crimes, prostitution and working for gangs, as they see no alternative method for achieving the money, respect and security that they desire. For this teacher, peace education means the state actively intervening to improve the material conditions of the pupils’ lives.

It was clear from spending time with the teachers of School Two that peace education meant more to them than imparting a particular set of values, skills and behaviours. Instead, it meant helping students to improve the conditions in which they live by providing them the education to obtain a job. However, this interpretation of the purpose of peace education is not reducible to a form of embodied cultural capital. Bourdieu described embodied cultural capital as residing in the durable dispositions of an individual (1986). Instead, the teachers were describing the importance of students acquiring formal education qualifications, which Bourdieu associated with institutionalised cultural capital (1986). Their association of peace education with formal education seems to parallel a previous finding that a key obstacle of successful peace education is a “broad conceptualization that essentially equates all educational activities with peacebuilding” (Novelli and Cardozo, 2017: 21). Again, this finding highlights a difference between the forms of capital structuring the field of peace education in School Two and the national field.

## 8.6: The Habitus-Capital-Field Relationship and Reproducing Unequal Power Relations

The data presented above has shown very different forms of capital structuring the field of peace education in each school. In School One, accumulating the dominant form of capital means developing an interest in the lives of people affected by Colombia's conflict or learning about its causes. In School Two, accumulating the dominant form of capital means the students explore the significance of their own experiences in relation to the existence of conflict and violence. I conclude this chapter by interpreting the different forms of capital through Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit to show how changes to the content of peace education can benefit some groups over others. This analysis is a theorisation based on extrapolating the evidence in this chapter rather than a description of peace education in schools across Colombia.

However, this theorisation provides empirical evidence, called for by Bajaj (2015), Kester and Cremin (2017) and Zembylas (2018), that peace education favours particular groups in society over others. Its theoretical explanation of how peace education programmes form part of the power relations of their context also helps the literature move away from the harmful assumption, discussed by Gur-Ze'ev (2001; 2010), Pupavac (2004) and Kester (2017a), that changing individuals will transform societies.

It is the habitus-capital relationship that determines position-taking within any field. As Bourdieu explained, "when the habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it finds itself "as a fish in water", it does not feel the weight of water and takes the world about itself for granted" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2007: 127). Accumulating capital is therefore far easier and more natural for agents whose habitus matches the requirements for accumulating capital. As a result, it is the particular form of capital that is dominant within a field that also affects its structure (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2007). Within each field, there will consequently be a struggle "to impose the principle of hierarchization most favourable to their own product" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2007:

101). Bourdieu further argued that dominant groups in a field cause the dominant forms of capital in the field to be aligned with their habitus (Bourdieu, 1998).

Interpreting the findings of this chapter through this theoretical lens means that the different perceptions of the purpose of peace education in each school is not the result of the individual preferences of teachers and management. Instead, using habitus as a conceptual tool to interpret the reasons for this difference can show “structures as occurring within small-scale interactions”, such as the teaching of peace education (Reay, 2004: 439). These structures become visible because the habitus of a social group reproduces the conditions that produced the group, specifically by disposing the individuals that constitute it towards the practical mastery that allows them to dominate a particular field (Reay, 2004; Crossley, 2013; Bourdieu, 1990 and Nice, 1993). This practical mastery is an instinctual feel for the “rules of the game” within a field, which has been conditioned by the upbringing and experiences that are common to a dominant social group but alien to a dominated one (Leander, 2010: 2).

### *Reproducing Power Relations*

Alongside the findings from previous chapters, Bourdieu’s explanation of how the habitus works can reveal how peace education reproduces unequal power relations. I argue that the particular forms of capital that I identified in each school are dominant because they match the habitus that is common among the social group of the students. Their habitus then helps the students accumulate the particular forms of capital that are dominant in each context.

According to this theorisation, students who come from a similar socio-economic background to the students from School One would find it easier to accumulate the capital of peace education if it involves developing empathy for others or their knowledge of the conflict. Similarly, students who come from a similar socio-economic background to the



students from School Two would find it easier to accumulate the capital of peace education if it involves reflecting on their own experiences. Conversely, students from School One would find it difficult to accumulate the capital dominant in the field of peace education in School Two, and vice versa.

Combining this conclusion with the findings from previous chapters shows that students from the private school have a habitus that is more advantageous for securing a high position within the national field of peace education. Previous empirical chapters identified three forms of embodied cultural capital within the national field of peace education across Colombia. They are:

- Developing the capacity to feel empathy for others
- Educating for an expanded understanding of peace
- Relating Personal Experiences to Historical and Contemporary Events

The elite private school clearly teaches students the first two forms of capital and the students possess a habitus that disposes them towards its accumulation. Whereas the state school teaches tolerance and respect, rather than empathy. While they are similar, the expert interviewees and grey literature (Chaux and Velasquez, n.d.) emphasised the importance of empathy rather than respect or tolerance. There was also no discussion of educating for an expanded version of peace in the second school and a conceptualisation of peace education that previous literature has identified as an obstacle (Novelli and Cardozo, 2017).

The greater similarity between the forms of capital in School One and the national field of peace education indicates that the habitus of its students gives them a greater practical mastery of the field than the habitus of students from the state school. Combined with the first schools' advantage in material resources, students who attend elite private schools are more likely to dominate the field of peace education by accumulating the capital that secures a high position within it. Extrapolating from this finding, it is possible to theorise that students from a socio-economic class similar to School One will have a

structural advantage in the field of peace education over students from a socio-economic class similar to students from School Two.

It is possible to reduce this advantage through extra training and resources for state schools. However, if accumulating the capital of peace education predominantly requires learning about others, then the habitus-capital relationship will ensure this advantage remains. Consequently, the previously-accumulated economic capital that allows students to attend private schools will determine the structure of the field of peace education. Peace education therefore reproduces the power relations of its context and so reinforces the economic inequality responsible for Colombia's history of conflict and violence (Hylton, 2006; Berry, 2017).

This section has developed the argument from previous critical scholars that peace education has the potential to prioritise the teaching of a euro-centric set of values that masquerade as being universal (Gur-Ze'ev, 2001; Zembylas and Bekerman, 2013; Golding, 2017). The implication of these arguments is that the particular set of competencies associated with peace education are not equally accessible to all students. Interpreting the difference in perceptions of the purpose of peace education through Bourdieu's toolkit has given further empirical weight to the argument that the competencies associated with peace education are not neutral. Specifically, within the Colombian context, peace education that focuses on learning about others through teaching empathy or an expanded understanding of peace have the potential to favour students from a sufficiently economically privileged background to afford private schools.

### *Challenging Power Relations*

However, the findings from this chapter also indicate that it is possible for peace education to challenge the power relations of its context. The teachers and students from School Two were far more willing to reflect on their own experiences in relation to conflict than the

teachers and students from School One. Indeed, there was evidence from the interviews that the students from School One would struggle to reflect on how their experiences relate to Colombia's history of conflict. The students from this school emphasised that they wanted to help work for peace even though they were not responsible for there being violence and conflict in Colombia. When discussing their desire to help others, two pupils from the first group stated that "I don't say this because I have necessarily affected anyone or because I am directly affected by the conflict" (Student Group 1a). Another student emphasised that "I feel that I am not directly responsible for the problems that are happening" (Student Group 1a). In the other interviews with students (Student Groups 1b; 1c), it was clear they also perceived Colombia's conflict as something to be learned about rather than as something that had directly affected them or that they had affected. While, on an individual level, this is obviously true, there was no reflection on how the privileges they freely admitted enjoying might be the result of the same socio-economic inequality also responsible for conflict in Colombia.

I theorise that the reluctance to reflect on their positionality is not unique to the above students, but reflective of a class habitus that views the conflict as an object to be learned about. They feel discomfort – or to reverse Bourdieu's phrase – as a fish out of water when asked to reflect on how Colombia's conflict has shaped their own experiences and lives. Indeed, one of the teachers from the second school even pointed at the first school during our tour of the grounds and exclaimed "how can they teach peace when their families are responsible for war?" (Teacher 2c). No such unwillingness or discomfort arose during the interviews with students from School Two, which suggests their habitus inclines them towards accumulating this form of embodied cultural capital.

This understanding of how the habitus-capital relationship works for these two social groups can then show how the field of peace education in Colombia is able to challenge the power relations of the wider society. Bourdieu conceptualised fields as dynamic spaces in which there is a contest to determine the dominant form of capital

(Bourdieu, 1998). Emphasising this dynamic nature, Leander defined fields as, “constantly evolving, dynamic terrains of struggles and change and argued that people and organizations in a field struggle over the relative value of different forms of ‘capital’” (2010: 5). Winning this struggle is important because if the dominant form of capital matches the habitus of a particular social group, then individuals from this group will be more able to acquire a higher position within the structure of the field and so secure its “specific profits” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2007: 97). Moreover, power relations in a field change when a different form of capital becomes dominant, which is easier for a previously-dominated social group to accumulate (Bourdieu, 1998; Mead, 2015).

The findings from this chapter suggest that previously-accumulated economic capital is not an advantage for accumulating a form of embodied cultural capital that requires self-reflection about Colombia’s conflict. In plainer language, the students who come from families wealthy enough to afford an elite private school are less willing to reflect on their positionality within Colombia’s conflict than students who attend a state school. The previous chapters have identified this reflective capacity as a key form of capital in the national field of peace education. However, if it were the dominant – or perhaps even the only one – then peace education across Colombia would be more likely to challenge the power relations of its context. The students who have benefitted from the socio-economic inequality that contributed to conflict in Colombia would feel discomfited, as their habitus no longer disposed them to an instinctive understanding of “rules of the game” within the field (Leander, 2010: 2).

This chapter has further affirmed the need to move away from the assumption that transforming personal competencies will transform society. My thesis has called for a clearer conceptualisation of what power means and how power relations are reproduced to inform analysis of the role peace education courses play in this reproduction. It has then used Bourdieu’s theories to conceptualise the structure of society as the distribution

of capital and explored which groups in society have the capacity to accumulate the capital of peace education.

My analysis has explored how peace education can reproduce the wealth inequality that is responsible for Colombia's history of conflict. However, it has also argued that changing the dominant form of capital can reduce the power of previously accumulated economic capital to determine the structure of the field of peace education and so who can access its profits. A form of peace education that emphasises helping students to reflect on how their own experiences relate to Colombia's history of conflict has the potential to challenge the unequal power relations of Colombian society. Using a clear conceptualisation of power to explore if peace education is reproducing or challenging the power relations of its context does not necessarily mean divorcing this analysis from practical concerns of what to teach.

The final empirical chapter takes this analysis a step further. It not only shows that pupils from wealthier backgrounds benefit from the current structure of the field of peace education. It uses Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence to explore how peace education can legitimise as well as reproduce unequal social structures.

## 8.7 Conclusion

This chapter has built upon the argument from the previous two chapters that peace education is a field structured by the accumulation of three distinct forms of embodied cultural capital. Through exploring the material resources available to each school for implementing the Catedra de la Paz, it has shown that students attending the private school have a clear advantage for accumulating the capital of peace education. However, it also argued that this advantage extends to the particular form of competencies associated with learning peace. Using Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit, it was possible to explain how students attending the private school are more disposed to accumulate the

capital of peace education when it involves learning about others. In contrast, the students attending the state school had an advantage when it involves reflecting on their own experience in relation to Colombia's history of conflict. Extrapolating from these findings means that changing the dominant form of capital will affect if peace education is reproducing or challenging the power relations of its context. By exposing how the different competencies associated with peace education can favour different socio-economic groups, this chapter has contributed to the previous literature on peace education, and post-conflict education more broadly, on how these courses reproduce the structural causes of conflict.

PEDIR PERAS AL OLMO: HOW PEACE EDUCATION PRODUCES SYMBOLIC  
VIOLENCE WITHIN A SCHOOL IN MEDELLÍN

9.1. Introduction

9.2. Critical Peace Education and Symbolic Violence

9.3. Perceptions of the Purpose of Peace Education

9.4. Perceptions of the Implementation of Peace Education

9.5. The Legitimacy of Peace Education in the school

9.6. Producing Symbolic Violence: how peace education divides students into pears and  
elms

9.7. Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This chapter argues that the differing capacities for students to accumulate the capital of peace education in a school in Medellín leads to the production of symbolic violence. The first section argues that Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence is useful for explaining how peace education has effects beyond the individual mind of participating students and so can contribute to the ongoing de-psychologising of the literature. The following sections discuss the interpretation of peace education by teachers and pupils in a purposely selected school in Medellín. Peace education in this school means transforming individuals so their behaviour improves. Students and teachers identified the purpose of peace education as helping pupils to reduce and manage the conflicts they experience. The implementation of peace education reflected this purpose, as examples of successful activities were based on building trust and respect between pupils. Even teachers and students who criticised the school's implementation of peace education agreed that its primary purpose was to improve pupil behaviour.

Sections 9.4 and 9.5 then use Bourdieu's toolkit to explain how this interpretation of peace education produces symbolic violence. From the interviews, it was clear that this perception of peace education had created a hierarchy within the school. Teachers and students consistently claimed that pupils from backgrounds that are perceived to be less stable simply could not acquire the skills that denote being peaceful.<sup>42</sup> This systematic disadvantaging of students who already suffer from existing disadvantages, due to their home lives, and its acceptance as a legitimate form of peace education by all actors in the field constitutes symbolic violence. Without the necessary training to counter this perception, it is possible that schools across Colombia will create the same effect as they implement the Catedra de la Paz.

This chapter finishes the empirical analysis of the thesis by demonstrating how peace education can reproduce unequal power relations. Through this analysis, the chapter provides empirical evidence of why the assumption that changing how individuals behave will transform the rest of society is misguided (Bajaj, 2015; Zembylas, 2018; Kurian and Kester, 2019).

## 9.2 Critical Peace Education and Symbolic Violence

Bourdieu defined symbolic violence as the process through which the dominated agents of a field consent to their own domination by competing for success in fields where they are systematically disadvantaged (Bourdieu, 1998: 4). By viewing the rules that govern the field as taken for granted aspects of it, they legitimise the creation of a hierarchy within the field that ultimately reproduces the relations of an unequal society. Crucially, symbolic violence is not just a set of accepted rules governing a field that are biased against those who already suffer from pre-existing forms of exclusion. It is the acceptance of these rules

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<sup>42</sup> 'Less stable' is a deliberately vague term that refers to the students who the interview participants perceived to be less able to learn the conflict-resolution skills that are associated with peace education due to their family circumstances. These family circumstances are discussed in this chapter, but it encompasses students who experience violence regularly in their home lives or have parents who are uninterested in their school work.



by all actors in the field as legitimate, which creates symbolic violence. By exploring how a particular interpretation of peace education produces and legitimises bias against a particular set of pupils within this school, this chapter will show that peace education can produce symbolic violence.

Teachers and students in this school consistently interpreted peace education to mean teaching Conflict Resolution Skills (henceforth CRS). Valuable as these skills are for individual learners, implementing this form of peace education was also reinforcing existing biases about students from less stable backgrounds. It was the widespread acceptance of this discrimination as a legitimate part of peace education that produced symbolic violence within the school, and potentially within the Colombian education system.

The *Research Methods* chapter has provided a description of this school and the students who attend it. However, it is useful to briefly recap some of the most important features. The staff have some training and experience of peace education because they had recently attended a day of training at the Museo Casa de la Memoria on how to teach the history of conflict in Medellín and the wider country.<sup>43</sup> The city authorities ordered the staff to attend this extra training in response to a media story after a pupil from their school had been photographed wearing a t-shirt commemorating Pablo Escobar on the day his former safe house was destroyed. The school itself is located high up in the hills of Medellín in one of the poorer areas of the city. The students live in the same area as the school, which is classified as economic zone 6 and so is at the bottom of the official socio-economic framework used to organise Colombian society.<sup>44</sup>

Despite living in the same socio-economic stratum, the students in the school come from a variety of backgrounds and this variety affects which pupils are able to accumulate the capital of the field of peace education. According to the interviews with teachers and

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<sup>43</sup> I also attended this training at the invitation of the museum

<sup>44</sup> See section 5.3 of the Research Methods chapter for a description of the stratas

pupils, the students who come from families that are either neglectful or absent cause behavioural problems in the school. These same pupils are also perceived to be less able to acquire the conflict-resolution skills that are associated with peace education. As a result of these perceptions, within the structured space of the field of peace education, histories of neglect and even violence affect the position these students hold. By limiting the possibility of achieving a dominant position for students from these backgrounds, the field of peace education produces symbolic violence and reproduces the unequal power relations of its context.

### 9.3 Perceptions of the Purpose of Peace Education

Perceptions of the purpose of peace education by teachers and students in this school aligned with the peace education literature on teaching CRS. CRS are an important part of peace education courses (Reardon and Cabezudo, 2002; Bajaj, 2010; Harris, 2008; Salomon, 2004; Johnson and Johnson, 2006). Johnson and Johnson (2006) describe the distinct steps in their conflict resolution programme. The first step is helping students to recognise that conflicts are a necessary part of relationships, but that they do not have to result in violence. They then need to recognise when a conflict is happening, identify whether their main aim within the conflict is to achieve their goal or to maintain the relationship. Students then learn how to engage in negotiations that are fair to all members of the dispute and how to mediate the conflicts of others.<sup>45</sup> Suggested examples of teaching conflict resolutions include asking students to reflect on their own experiences of conflict and think about why they occurred, how the incident affected their relationships and what they learned from it (Reardon and Cabezudo, 2002). Students with

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<sup>45</sup> Johnson and Johnson advocate six key steps within the negotiations of "(1) describing what you want, (2) describing how you feel, (3) describing the reasons for your wants and feelings, (4) taking the other's perspective and summarising your understanding of what the other person wants, how the other person feels and the reasons underlying both, (5) inventing three optional plans to resolve the conflict that maximize joint benefits, and (6) choosing the wisest course of action to implement" (2006: 166).

CRS skills should then experience less violence and be better able to resist joining illegal armed groups (Pinzon-Salcedo and Torres-Cuello, 2018).

There are criticisms of CRS. In their broader critique of peace education, Higgins and Novelli describe one of the common problems as the “technical focus on conflict-resolution, involving a “narrow recipe book approach...heavily dependent on workshop training in mediation and negotiation skills” (2018: 34). In a similar vein, Andreotti calls for reduced focus on teaching CRS and greater reflection on how the skills and values associated with peace education reflect Euro-centric paradigms (2011). The teachers and students in School Three consistently discussed peace education in terms that reflect the CRS literature.

### *Students' Perceptions of the Purpose of Peace Education*

The students perceived peace in very personal terms as feeling safe in the school environment and where they live. This desire to reduce violence meant they thought the school should teach conflict resolution skills as part of peace education.

A consistent feature of how the students understood the meaning of peace was that it had to be relevant for their lives. One of the year 11 students expressed this sentiment as, “the guerrillas, the armed groups; no. Feeling tranquil where you are . . . for me that is peace” (student group 3b). For this student, peace is meaningless unless it is associated with a feeling of security and safety within their own lives. Unless this is present, then peace does not exist, regardless of what is being negotiated between the government and rebel groups. Not every student articulated the need for peace to affect their own lives as clearly as the above student, but nearly all of them described peace in similarly personal terms.

A logical consequence of this association of peace with their own situation was it being synonymous with feeling secure in the school. The clearest example was a student

who related peace to his own experience of being treated differently for being overweight.

He described how:

as I am overweight, it is very difficult to live in peace because I think that others are going to criticise me, that they are going to find me disgusting, because there are many hypocritical people who always say, 'that fatty is not good for anything' . . . it is very difficult to live in peace.

Student group 3a

Peace is expressed in purely personal terms in this quote and its presence or absence is entirely dependent upon how other pupils react to him.

Other students used less personal examples, but still equated peace with a tranquil atmosphere in schools. Four of the year 11 students used examples from how students interact in the school to define peace or its absence. These examples ranged from not being worried about one's hairstyle is perceived to the need to reduce bullying and the importance of wearing uniform as it disguises inequalities of wealth between families (student groups 3a; 3b). The most detailed expression came from a student who said that:

I think that I live in peace in the school, because if something happens one day, then I can resolve it by talking with the person, telling them that what they are doing annoys me and I think that the other person would stop doing it, because there is a mutual respect because we live in peace, in harmony, and we feel comfortable with each other and without rivalries.

Student group 3a

The meaning of peace here entirely revolves around how students interact with each other and their ability to resolve disputes through dialogue rather than violence. For these students, peace meant being able to attend school without experiencing violence, bullying or being made to feel threatened.

The students extended this personal perception of peace to also mean being safe where they lived. They described the dangers they experienced on a daily basis, such as being robbed or attacked, and explained that these threats would not exist if the country were at peace. There were several comments that contrasted peace with their exposure to violence and criminality. For one student:

It is the tranquillity that we need because it is not comfortable to walk through streets in the centre and be thinking that in whatever moment something could happen behind you; they might want to rob you, there could be an assassination, your family might be in danger, your family might be in the country and they are going to displace them.

Student group 3b

Other students agreed with this perspective, as they defined peace as feeling secure that “nothing bad is going to happen, not being worried about being followed, robbed or killed”; “trusting in the security of the place where you are”; “having the certainty that, in the place where you are, nothing bad is going to happen” (student groups 3a, 3b, 3c). The extent of these comments about peace meaning safety is indicative of the dangers these students face every day and their ever-present worry that they or someone they know could become victims of crime at any moment. It also shows their understanding of peace is entwined with their own experience of living in a vulnerable and highly crime-affected context. For them, peace could not be separated from reducing the insecurity associated with this context.

This association of peace with feeling secure within the school and community led to the belief that peace education meant teaching conflict-resolution skills, although they did not use this precise phrase. Instead, they expressed a sense that individuals had to act correctly in order to achieve peace. One student stated that, “if each one of us implemented peace in our way of living and avoided unnecessary conflicts, which often are completely unnecessary, we could change the country” (student group 3b). This

student believes that the key for achieving peace lies within how individuals act and if interpersonal conflicts could be avoided, then peace for the whole country is possible. While this aim might seem a bit hyperbolic, it aligns with the literature on teaching CRS in Colombia. Previously published work has argued that teaching CRS to young learners should reduce levels of violence across the country by making violent illegal gangs seem less attractive (Pinzon-Salcedo and Torres-Cuello, 2018).

Further statements by students emphasised this point that peace was dependent upon individuals acting in the correct manner. One student thought that, “from when a person is born, they can teach them to apply values, for example, and they can fight every day to do what is right” (student group 3b). Another believed that “if you exacerbate small problems, then you won’t achieve a better environment and that will be obvious because peace depends a lot on each person” (student group 3b). Each of these students articulated a responsibility on themselves, and everyone else, to behave according to a set of peaceful values, which would reduce the levels of violence and so help create a peaceful environment. It is therefore incumbent on the school to teach these peaceful values.

Other students echoed this perspective, stating that peace “comes from each one of us and the values they [the school] have taught us” and that “it is possible to teach it because I understand peace as a value that they have taught us since we were young” (student group 3b). Overall, these students were clear that the school should teach students values and skills to ensure that they behave well towards each other and are able to resolve conflicts through dialogue rather than violence. The students’ perception of the purpose of peace education was very similar to the literature on CRS. This literature emphasises the importance of teaching students how to recognise conflict and then manage it to ensure that it does not escalate into violence (Johnson and Johnson, 2006; Harris, 2008). If students acquire these skills, then schools should become the non-

violent and mutually respectful places that the students from this school associate with peace.

### *Teachers' perceptions of the Purpose of Peace Education*

The teachers also perceived the purpose of peace education as teaching students a set of values that would help them manage their behaviour.

There was a clear consensus that teaching peace had to encompass teaching values that shape how pupils behave. The social sciences teacher with responsibility for the older year groups summarised this succinctly in her statement that peace meant “teaching about values” (teacher 3e). The reason given for this emphasis on values was that “if the children have good foundations, it makes everything easier and improves how they live together” (teacher 3e). The social sciences teacher with responsibility for the middle and younger age groups echoed this perspective. Again, they spoke extensively on the need to educate students about how to behave in class and in wider society. They felt that “as teachers we have to speak about peace, but first we have to speak about ethics, as values comes from there” (teacher 3d).

The reasoning given for this emphasis on values and ethics was that they shape behaviour:

we can speak to the students about their behaviour in society, because peace is part of how humans behave in society. If I have good values and I promote them, I am going to be ok and be a promotor of peace in my environment.

Teacher 3d

According to this teacher, teaching students to act and behave well is an integral part of creating a more peaceful society. Finally, one of the language teachers expressed a similar sentiment. For them, teaching pupils to be good people was more important than

teaching them to be good students. The role of schools in enabling students to be good people meant teaching them, “to learn to respect the other, to use dialogue as a mediator through conflict and trying to ensure that difficulties do not leave the school” (teacher 3b). If the students are able to adopt and use these skills, then they will not resort to violence and so the school will be teaching peace. The interviews demonstrated a clear consensus among the teachers that peace education meant equipping pupils with values and skills that would reduce inter-personal conflict.

This section has demonstrated clear similarities between how students and teachers perceived the purpose of peace education. The students discussed in more detail the need for peace to be relevant for their lives, but both sets of interviewees agreed that peace education should teach a set of values that will help pupils to manage their behaviour in a way that reduces and resolves interpersonal violence. Although neither students nor teachers expressly used this term, their interpretation of the purpose of peace education largely aligns with the literature on teaching conflict resolution skills (Reardon and Cabezudo, 2002; UNESCO, 1995; Johnson and Johnson, 2006). The following section will show that this purpose of peace education is also reflected in how the school is perceived to implement it.

#### 9.4 Perceptions of the Implementation of Peace Education

Students and teachers were able to identify multiple activities for teaching peace within the school. There were tasks and project-based work that mostly referred to work done out of normal class hours, strategies to reduce inter-personal conflict and work completed in classes that referenced Colombia’s history of peace and conflict. The school had even recently changed its name to that of a local politician revered for his campaigning for peace and reconciliation. As part of this change, the school honours his memory by



“starting to work towards the vision that he had and all his ideas and projects that were to do with peace” (teacher 3a).

### *Students' Perceptions of the Implementation of Peace Education*

The students gave consistent descriptions of how the school implements peace education. They spoke about how the school used dialogue as a means to resolve conflict, promoted campaigns and activities to foster a sense of unity and also emphasised the importance of sporting events for a similar purpose.

The primary school students spoke in very similar terms about the emphasis the school places on avoiding conflicts or using dialogue, instead of violence, to resolve them. A typical quote from one of these students is, “I think they teach us here about peace, living together and citizenship, that everything can be resolved without violence” (student group 3d). Other students spoke in similar terms about, “having to avoid arguments, problems, dislikes” or “not having to resolve everything with punches or maybe with wars” (student group 3d). Instead of using violence, the students explained that “here in the school, they teach us to use dialogue to not cause conflicts and fights” (student group 3d). Similarly, another student felt that “we can resolve everything here with dialogue” (student group 3d). These quotations from different students suggest that the school is implementing peace education activities targeted at reducing violence between pupils, either by avoiding it altogether or using dialogue to resolve it. Using dialogue to resolve conflict is an integral part of teaching CRS. In a study of peace education initiatives in Liberia, Quaynor (2015) found that most focused on reducing conflict through interpersonal communication. Similarly, Reardon and Cabezudo (2002) in their peace education curriculum devote an entire unit on teaching constructive communication as a method to reduce violence in their examples of practical peace education. Gürsel-Bilgin (2020) has also argued that promoting dialogue should be an integral part of peace

education, particularly when it is taught through formal schooling. The school's emphasis on teaching students to reduce conflict through dialogue is therefore similar to peace education programmes across the globe.

A second type of activity that the students described as peace education were campaigns by the school to foment a sense of unity and togetherness. The literature on CRS also identifies this as a key aim. Droisy and Gaudron (2003) have argued that teaching students CRS will create more harmonious atmospheres in schools, as students learn to live together and embrace diversity. The Association for Conflict Resolution also asserts that their programmes "create safe and welcoming communities" in schools (Association for Conflict Resolution, 2002: 1). The students spoke in similar terms about peace education activities leading to an improved atmosphere in the school.

For the year 10 students, they thought there was peace education in the school, "because they do campaigns so that we feel well, and so that we know it is better when we are united as a school" (student group 3c). This quote is vague, in that the student does not identify particular campaigns by the school or what happens in them. Nevertheless, it does give the sense that there is an organised effort by the school to create an atmosphere of harmony between the pupils and that this effort is perceived as peace education. A year 11 student provided a bit more detail about these campaigns, as "normally every Wednesday we do many group activities about how to live together" (student group 3a). They described a typical activity as, "there are times when we play games, such as when they give us a ball of wool and one person has it and throws it to a friend while saying a value or something good that the person has and we continue in that way until we have made a spider web" (student group 3a). Another student gave a further example of a similar activity: "they have given us games when we tie each other's' hands up to understand what it means to work in a team and a pair . . . we have to try and untie the knot" (student group 3a). The school has clearly put time and resources into peace education activities that have their purpose as creating a sense of togetherness.

The students also identified sports and physical education as a key part of the school's efforts to teach peace. In discussions over how the school teaches peace, three students from one of the year 11 groups discussed the importance of playing sports. One of them explained that "in the breaks we do many physical activities that foment the feeling of togetherness with the other grades, for example the football, volleyball and basketball tournaments" (student group 3a). Other students concurred with this perspective, as "this year we have created a project with the physical education teacher in which the purpose is to generate a feeling of being able to live together. We have created many sports tournaments and leisure activities to generate it [feeling of togetherness] between ourselves" (student group 3a). Finally, another student pointed to how, "in the week of 'convivencia' they do games, sports and leisure activities, with everyone together" (student group 3a). These sporting activities and other games lead to 'convivencia', according to the students, which broadly translates as the ability to live with one another and in the students' answers appeared to be synonymous with peace.

Overall, the students perceived that the school was implementing a range of peace education activities. These activities to promote the use of dialogue for resolving conflict and to foment a sense of unity among the pupils clearly correspond with the perceived purpose of peace education in the previous section and the literature on CRS.

### *Teachers' Perceptions of the Implementation of Peace Education*

The teachers also described a wide range of peace education activities. The social science teachers confirmed that the school runs multiple schemes based around peace, as one explained that, "we have various projects in the school" (teacher 3d), while another described how the Catedra de la Paz law "is converted into small projects where . . . they put tasks in front of the students" (teacher 3c). Similarly to the students, they identified activities to promote dialogue as a key part of how the school implements peace

education. However, they also discussed measures the school has taken to provide students with a sense of purpose in their studying and teaching Colombia's conflict as coming under peace education.

The teachers emphasised the importance of strategies to reduce inter-personal conflict through dialogue. One of these strategies was 'tables of reconciliation'. Through this strategy, the teachers hoped "to teach the children that before they act, [they need] to think, to breathe . . . so that we don't respond to an aggression with another aggression" (teacher 3a). The languages teacher also described how in the school "we have a weekly space to have dialogue with the children and evaluate the difficulties we have had in the week" (teacher 3b). They also gave details about another project, called 'values for living', in which every 15 days or so students complete an activity that goes into a folder, which the students keep with them as they progress through the school years. The activities are age-dependent and include topics such as learning how to communicate assertively, learning how to resolve conflicts inside the classroom and key points about how to live together.

It is not possible to comment on the success of these activities and doing so was not the purpose of the fieldwork. However, it is possible to assert that there is a clear connection between the perceived purpose of peace education and the activities being implemented under its name. Both teachers and students justified the peace education activities on the basis that teaching these values and skills will lead to a harmonious atmosphere in the school. Many of the activities being implemented as peace education are similar to those described by the literature on how to resolve interpersonal violence by teaching CRS. This was particularly true for activities based upon dialogue and fostering a sense of unity among the student body (Quaynor, 2015; Reardon and Cabezudo, 2002; Association for Conflict Resolution, 2002). There is therefore enough empirical evidence to claim that peace education in this school means helping students acquire conflict resolution skills that will prevent or reduce violent behaviour.

## 9.5 The Legitimacy of Peace Education in the School

Problem-solving analysis of peace education would ask how to improve the delivery of CRS in this school. However, as critical peace scholars have argued, such analysis would ignore how and if peace education in this school is reproducing the unequal power relations that are responsible for conflict and themselves constitute a form of violence (Novelli and Cardozo, 2008; Kester, 2017a; Kester and Cremin, 2017). Instead of researching how to improve the delivery of CRS, this chapter explores if the school's implementation of peace education is reproducing symbolic violence. To answer this question, it is crucial to understand if the agents of the field consider its rules to be legitimate. Bourdieu termed these rules as *doxa* and defined them as "the fundamental presuppositions of the field" and accepting them is a precondition for entry into the field (Bourdieu, 1990: 68). In this school, the *doxa* of peace education meant associating peacefulness with students acquiring a set of skills for reducing inter-personal violence. The previous section showed widespread acceptance of this interpretation of peace education as legitimate among students and teachers. However, there was also criticisms of the school's interpretation of peace education, which affected its legitimacy.

There were three types of criticisms identified by the students and teachers. The first set is the constraints preventing successful implementation of peace education. This refers to the lack of resources identified by the teachers and the harmful influence of families and the local communities that the students discussed. This criticism is common among the literature on CRS (Johnson and Johnson, 1996). Within the school, the students and teachers voicing this concern accept the *doxa* of peace education as legitimate and only wish it were easier to implement.

The second set of criticisms referred to the insufficiency of the aims of the school's interpretation of peace education. Students portrayed the values and skills-based peace

education as irrelevant if people are forced to commit crimes due to their economic circumstances. Crucially, these students accepted the school's teaching of peace education as valid but did not think it would lead to a material change in their lives.

Finally, two teachers gave a robust attack on the school's whole approach to peace education, denigrating it as imposing a series of small tasks to ensure the school complies with the Catedra de la Paz legislation and that the pupils behave. Their criticisms aligned with those levelled by critical peace education scholars (Gur'Ze'ev, 2001; 2010; 2015; Andreotti, 2011). However, the teachers themselves stated that school management ignored their concerns and that few other teachers and students shared them. Overall, these criticisms suggest that the majority of students and teachers believe the school's interpretation of peace education is valid, meaning that the agents of the field accept the doxa as legitimate.

### *Insufficient Resources*

Both teachers and students identified limited resource as a key factor impeding the teaching of peace education within the school. These comments support the work by previous peace education scholars that acknowledges the constraints imposed by a lack of time and resources available to teachers (Johnson and Johnson, 1996). They also reflect the criticisms from peace education experts in the first empirical chapter.

For the teachers, the most common complaints related to a lack of resources within the school and the prevalence of aggressive and anti-social behaviour outside the school. In their review of CRS in schools, Johnson and Johnson (1996) identified the need for resources to ensure peer mediation successfully resolves disputes and that a lack of resources is one of the most common problems facing educators. The teachers discussed similar concerns. When asked to talk about the difficulties of teaching peace, one of the social sciences teachers explained that "we have groups of 36, of 40, up to 50

and that is too many . . . if the groups are smaller it would be much easier to work with them” (teacher 3a). The social science teacher with responsibility for the middle and lower grades also spoke about the lack of resources. They described how “teachers want to make a change through education, but it is very difficult because we don’t have the resources” (teacher 3d). As an example, they discussed the role of social media in amplifying hatred and rumours, as “they [the rectors of the school] do not lend us the resources that allow them to work with this technology” (teacher 3d). Without computers or some other form of electronic resource, the teacher felt that it would be almost impossible to teach about the dangers of social media.

Another obstacle identified by the teachers and students was the disparity between the school’s emphasis on being able to live together peacefully and the prevalence or even valorisation of violence in the rest of the students’ lives. Scholars have also identified this disparity as a key obstacle preventing peace education from being successful (Wessels, 2012). As previously explained, all teachers and support staff had to attend a day of training at the ‘museo casa de la memoria’ after a student from the school attended the demolition of a house that used to belong to Escobar with a T-shirt bearing the ex-drug lord’s face. One of the social sciences teachers described how this attitude was far from an isolated phenomenon, as “they [the students] say that Pablo Escobar is a reference for their life and it is very difficult for us teachers to change that mentality” (teacher 3d). The difficult circumstances experienced by the students and the lack of opportunities available to them, aside from participating in drug trafficking, led to some of the teachers expressing a sense of futility about teaching peace. The teacher for social sciences with responsibility for the higher grades expressed this sentiment, as “I think that we do a lot here, with tasks and other things, speaking to them. But, when they leave? They return to the same” (teacher 3e). Without a more fundamental change in the circumstances and future opportunities open to these students, the teachers felt they would struggle to teach them how to live together peacefully.

The students also spoke about the contrast between what happens inside and outside of the school. For one of the year 10 students:

Sadly we live in an era of violence, we live with discrimination, one does not respect the other, and so it is also very difficult to create things in the school that outside you are not going to see.

Student group 3c

The sentiment expressed here closely reflects the teachers' thoughts that the outside environment inhibits their ability to teach peace. For these students, the school's efforts to teach CRS effectively is made more difficult by levels of violence in the community.

The students and teachers are not criticising the purpose and implementation of peace education in the school. Indeed, they accept it as valid, but are pointing out constraints that are limiting its chances of success. Consequently, they accept the doxa of the field, which associates peacefulness with students acquiring a set of skills for reducing inter-personal violence, as legitimate.

### *Insufficient aims*

The second category of criticisms were intrinsic flaws in the school's interpretation of peace education. Students told me that learning CRS would not lead to any meaningful changes in their lives and communities. They spoke about how the lack of employment opportunities meant people are forced into criminality regardless of their personal values and skills. One of them expressed this scepticism about peace education leading to change most clearly when he gave the example of why someone might commit a robbery in the future:

For example, in the future a person might commit a robbery, I don't think he does it because he didn't have an education. For me, maybe he does it because he doesn't have ways of solving his personal problems and looking



for those types of solutions, and so for me it is forming people and maybe more opportunities for work.

Student group 3b

For this student, providing an education is unlikely to prevent someone committing violent crimes if there are no other opportunities to work and provide a living. Another year 11 student reinforced this point about the need for legal opportunities to work:

And giving more opportunities for work, because if a person has work, he is not going to look for other ways of earning money, he is going to continue in his work. And so we need more opportunities for work, and forgiveness and forgetting the past.

Student group 3b

Both these students are commenting on how peace education that focuses on reducing inter-personal conflict cannot overcome the structural causes of violence that afflict their lives and communities. Instead, the security they associate with peace needs to encompass measures that increase access to jobs, as well as improving how people interact with each other. Teaching values and skills to improve the learning atmosphere in the school or reduce interpersonal violence between students may be important but it does not lead to peace outside the confines of the school. Crucially, these students are questioning the assumption that CRS will make their lives more secure outside the school, but not whether learning them is important within the school. It is therefore possible to claim these criticisms do not show the students questioning the legitimacy of the doxa of peace education in the school.

### *Harmful Aims*

The only interviewees who genuinely questioned the legitimacy of the doxa of peace education were two social sciences teachers, as they perceived the school's peace

education efforts to be actively harmful. They described peace education in the school as a “mechanical act” (teacher 3c) and only existing to “complete requirements” (teacher 3d) from the government. The reason for this damning description is that the school uses the rhetoric of peace to exercise control over its students.

Their interpretation of peace education within the school was similar to critical peace education scholars, who have argued that it can help instil loyalty to the nation-state (Bekerman, 2007) or reproduce obedience to law and order (Gur'Ze-ev, 2001; 2010).

Education in the school is described as:

totally traditional, totally repressive and so for them [school leadership] the concept of having a good education is through punishment, repression, expelling students . . . And so what they have is control over the student population and so apparently the school is very good.

Teacher 3c

This focus on ensuring students behave means that teaching peace becomes nothing more than leading students through a series of small tasks and projects to ensure compliance with government rules. Regarding the Catedra de la Paz, one of the social sciences teachers complained that “we teachers cannot work on this project as we want; instead we have to follow the patterns that the director tells us to follow” (teacher 3d).

The other teacher put this Catedra into historical context with similar legislation from previous governments, and explained that, regardless of the original intention, within the school, “it converts into small projects that are completed because the state says so, because they are obligatory and so they put in front of the kids a task for them to do” (teacher 3c). According to the same teacher, all these Catedras and governmental decrees ultimately result in a teacher saying to students “come here, do this small task here in a group, discuss that and that’s it” (teacher 3c). The students therefore learn to follow instructions, which helps the school manage behaviour. However, they learn nothing about the wider political situation of Colombian society or what might be needed to

change it. Consequently, “the schools teach economics and politics, but in reality this is a Catedra that does not address whether there is democracy and how it develops” (teacher 3c). The result of peace education in this school is therefore a cohort of pupils who know how to behave but not how to work towards a peaceful and democratic society.

These teachers have interpreted the purpose and implementation of peace education in this school as being actively harmful for the students and, potentially, all of Colombian society. This is because the school’s focus on teaching values and skills for reducing conflict results in students who are able to follow orders but are ill-equipped to understand the causes of violence in Colombian society or any potential solutions to this problem. It is clear that these teachers do not accept the doxa of peace education within the school as legitimate. However, these teachers also bemoaned their lack of influence to change how the school implements peace education. They specifically asked for reassurances that their comments would be confidential and not shared with the school leadership because they knew their views would not be welcome. Interviewee 3d went so far so to claim that “we are not autonomous when working on it [peace education]” and suspected that they had been demoted to teaching a lower year group due to the school management’s unhappiness over their approach. While their criticism of peace education in the school was striking, no other teacher or student shared it. Combined with their own wariness about whether the data would be shared with the school leadership, this suggests it did not extend much beyond these two teachers.

This section has revealed different perceptions of the value of the school’s interpretation of peace education. However, all of the interviewees agreed that the school educates for peace by teaching values and skills for reducing violence between pupils. They offered different opinions on why the school teaches peace in this way and the effect that it has on the students, but none questioned that peace education means teaching CRS. As a result, it is possible to claim both that the doxa of peace education in this school means associating peace with students acquiring CRS and that teachers and

students find this doxa to be legitimate, i.e. they do not question its intrinsic value. Having established the doxa of peace education in this school, the following section will explore how it produces symbolic violence.

#### 9.6 Producing Symbolic Violence: how peace education divides students into pears and elms

Bourdieu conceptualised symbolic violence as the legitimisation by those who dominate and those who are dominated of a hierarchising principle that systematically disadvantages those who are dominated both within the field in question and the wider field of power (Bourdieu, 1998). To answer whether peace education in this school is producing symbolic violence, it is necessary to know 1.) what the hierarchising principle of the field is, 2.) is it considered legitimate and 3.) how it disadvantages the dominated actors within the field.

The hierarchising principle of the field of peace education in this school is the capacity to learn and demonstrate CRS. The previous sections have demonstrated that peace meant feeling secure and non-threatened and so educating for peace meant teaching students how to resolve conflicts without resorting to physical violence. The above evidence also suggests that teachers and students in the school largely find this interpretation of peace education to be legitimate. While there were substantial criticisms, most interviewees did not question that the school was right to teach CRS. They merely wished that the school had the resources to implement it further. There were clearly two teachers who wanted to change how the school implements peace education, but they also expressed their frustration at not being able to do so. While the possibility for challenging the legitimacy of this hierarchising principle exists among the agents of the field, it is likely that only a minority of the staff and students feel the need to do so.

So far, this chapter has demonstrated that teaching CRS as peace education enjoys wide legitimacy in the school. It is necessary to recognise the value and difficulty of this form of peace education. There were comments from teachers and students that suggested peace education had been successful in reducing tension and violence within the school. This is an impressive and worthwhile achievement, especially in light of the violent incidents that interviewees perceived to plague other schools in Medellín and the local community (teacher 3b). Comments in interviews with teachers 3b and 3e and student group 3a and 3b also discussed how peace education efforts had led to reduced tensions between pupils in the school. These comments align with the CRS literature on how this form of education can be valuable for all schools, and particularly ones in post-conflict or conflict-affected contexts (Johnson and Johnson, 1996; Clayton, Ballif-Spanvill, and Hunsaker, 2001).

However, the interviews also revealed that teaching CRS can reinforce existing biases about the students who come from family backgrounds characterised by neglect and violence. All but one of the teachers discussed how their students' home lives could make teaching peace more difficult. The social sciences teacher with responsibility for the middle and younger grades summarised this position most succinctly when she stated that, "the children we are educating do not have much of a foundation in values because they have dysfunctional families" (teacher 3d).

Another social sciences teacher gave more detail about what constituted dysfunctional families and contrasted them with functional families, but the essential point remained the same. Those students with families, "that accompany them, that listen to them, that love them a lot; with those students the work is much easier". Whereas with other students who come from households where "they have violence for breakfast . . . because if they haven't got up when being called they [the parents] hit them, it is much more difficult". The final social sciences teacher agreed that the ever-present nature of

violence in some of their students' lives makes teaching peace more difficult. When asked directly this question, she replied:

Of course, it is more difficult because for them it is almost as if conflict is their reality . . . speaking to them about the conflict, it is as if it is nothing because they are living it every day, even up to their own homes.

Teacher 3a

A year 11 student also replicated the idea that the success of teaching peace depends largely upon the family dynamic. This student contrasted two types of families:

A lot depends upon the family, because they always create values and principles and those principles and values are those that they use when making decisions, but there are also many students that are not taught anything about that.

Student group 3b

For students who are so accustomed to violence, teaching them about peace and how to live together without violence is an almost insurmountably difficult obstacle. This situation was summarised by the languages teacher, who described it using a common colloquialism in Colombia of "pedir peras al olmo" (teacher 3b). This translates to asking for pears from an elm tree. For this teacher, some of the students are fundamentally incapable of producing peaceful behaviour as they have been brought up in households and environments where violence and conflict are normalised. Asking them to behave peacefully is therefore as likely to be as successful as asking a non-fruit tree to produce fruit.

Reframing this finding using Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence, the hierarchising principle disadvantages those students who come from a background where they regularly experience violence or neglect. According to Bourdieu's theoretical framework, a field is a structured space in which position-taking is determined by the extent to which an agent accumulates the resources of the field (Bourdieu, 1993; 1990).

In this case, the resources are acquiring and displaying CRS. Students who come from a background that is considered to be more stable are more able to acquire these resources. In contrast, students who are already disadvantaged through coming from neglectful or violent backgrounds are less able to acquire these resources and so occupy a dominated position in the field. In less abstract terms, the pupils able to perform CRS receive rewards in the form of recognition and praise from their teachers, while those who are unable to do so receive punishments instead. Teachers 3c and 3d outlined the disciplinary procedures of the school as isolation and expulsion.

The symbolic violence of peace education is therefore the exclusion and disciplining of those who are already disadvantaged, while legitimising this operation under the rubric of teaching peace. According to the evidence from the interviews, the structure of the field of peace education in this school is determined by the social structure of the surrounding community. Using Bourdieu's theorisation of symbolic violence has shown how peace education can act as a sorting system that organises pupils according to their background, while disguising this function (Bourdieu, 1998: 36). It does not fulfil this role perfectly, as there will be some misalignment between background and outcome, but it does so in a manner that is legitimate to those who occupy dominant and dominated positions (Bourdieu, 1998: 374).

Using Bourdieu's theories to interpret the evidence from these interviews has underlined why it is important to move beyond the assumption that peace education interventions affecting individual learners will result in social transformation. This traditional blind spot within the peace education literature has led to reductive analyses that situates the cause and solution to conflict within the mind and actions of individuals (Pupavac, 2004). To counter these reductive analyses, there are repeated calls in the critical peace education literature for research into how interventions can inadvertently reproduce forms of violence (Gur-Ze'ev, 2001; 2010; Bajaj, 2015). However, there is both a lack of empirical evidence over how interventions can have this effect and a lack of

theoretical attention to how interventions form part of a wider network of power relations (Kester and Cremin, 2016; Kester, 2017a; Zembylas and Bekerman, 2018). This chapter has begun to address these gaps.

It has begun from the premise that peace education is fundamentally a practical subject and so needs to explore the realities of what it means to teach and learn peace (Watkins, 2007). Yet, it has used Bourdieu's theoretical framework of power to explain how the inequalities within the surrounding community affect which students are more or less able to benefit from the implementation of peace education. Ultimately peace education in the school, which is based on teaching CRS, reproduces symbolic violence by disadvantaging students who come from backgrounds characterised by neglect and violence. The inequality of the surrounding community helps determine the hierarchy of the field of peace education within the school and so which students are punished or rewarded. Disguising this effect under the rubric of teaching peace further legitimises the punishment of these students and makes challenging it more difficult. This effect would be particularly harmful if the conditions observed in this school are repeated across the education system in Colombia, although making such a claim is outside the limits of this thesis. Even without extrapolating from the data to the rest of Colombia, the findings from this chapter are an important step in understanding how peace education interventions have the potential to reproduce "structures of violence" (Bajaj, 2015: 156)

There are, however, potential solutions to the problem of symbolic violence identified in this chapter. The most obvious solution to this problem seems to be training for schools and teachers on implementing peace education. This training would not just demonstrate how to teach CRS but would also explore why there is a common conception that some students cannot acquire these skills and what the consequences are of this conception. Previous research into peace education in Colombia, and CRS within multiple contexts, has identified training as a pre-requisite for successful interventions (Akgun and Araz, 2014; Morales, 2021). Indeed, interviewees in the previous chapters also stated the



need for training. However, this chapter has shown that adequate training is not just essential for helping schools implement effective peace education. It is also necessary to help prevent these interventions producing violence.

Moreover, the school had actually received training in peace education the day before I conducted the interviews and yet there was still a consistent perception that some students cannot acquire CRS. It would therefore seem that ongoing and targeted training is necessary to prevent peace education in this school – and potentially in other ones – from producing symbolic violence. Such training, of course, requires economic resources and the availability of competent peace education practitioners. The government in Colombia is financially constrained with many other competing demands.<sup>46</sup> Its current government is also ideologically hostile to the 2016 peace agreement and the related peacebuilding agenda of the Santos government, which includes the *Cathedra de la Paz* law making peace education mandatory (Caro, 2019). Providing adequate training across the Colombian education system would therefore seem to be an unlikely priority. A review of the implementation of the *Catedra de la Paz* also highlighted that schools require guidance on what to teach and training in how to educate for peace (Morales, 2021). Without this training, there are risks that peace education interventions in schools across Colombia are also reproducing the inequalities and violence of their context.

## 9.7 Conclusion

This chapter has drawn upon evidence from interviews with students and teachers about their perceptions of the purpose and implementation of peace education to show how it produces symbolic violence within a school in Medellín. These interviews demonstrated a coherent interpretation of peace education within School Three. Teaching peace within

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<sup>46</sup> These articles summarise the current economic situation in Colombia and emphasises high levels of debt and pressure to reduce public spending (World Bank, 2021; Id4D, 2021).

the school meant imparting a set of values and skills that improve inter-personal relations between the pupils, leading to reduced violence and ultimately an improved atmosphere for learning. Even the students who saw the limitations of this form of peace education perceived these aims as valid, while the teachers who criticised it most vociferously also spoke about their inability to change it. From this evidence, I argued that the doxa of the field is the association of peacefulness with students acquiring a set of skills for reducing inter-personal violence and that all actors within it, i.e., the teachers and students, consider it to be legitimate. The final section used evidence from the interviewees' perceptions of which students can and cannot acquire CRS to argue that peace education in this school produces symbolic violence.

Ultimately, this chapter has used empirical evidence and a coherent theoretical framework of power relations to explain how peace education interventions can become complicit in reproducing the forms of violence and inequality that affect their context. Through this analysis, the chapter has addressed a gap in the critical peace education literature on why it is important to situate interventions within the "structures of violence" (Bajaj, 2015: 146) of their context. Without training for schools on how to educate for peace, there is a risk of this finding being replicated across the country as the Catedra de la Paz is implemented.

## CONCLUSION

### 10.1. Summary of Findings

### 10.2. Contribution of Findings

### 10.3. Policy Recommendations

### 10.4. Value of the Capital of Peace Education

### 10.5. Further Research

#### 10.1 Summary of Findings

This thesis has explored whether peace education in Colombia is reproducing or challenging the power relations of its context. I have answered this question by using Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit to identify the power relations that structure the field of peace education in Colombia.

Conceptualising peace education as a field has meant viewing it as a structured space in which agents compete to secure limited resources in the form of embodied cultural capital. My interviews with experts of peace education about its purpose and implementation revealed three competing forms of embodied cultural capital. They are:

- Developing the capacity to feel empathy for others
- Educating for an expanded understanding of peace
- Relating Personal Experiences to Historical and Contemporary Events

These interviews and a case study of a private and state school in Bogota shed light on which social groups are able to accumulate these forms of capital. A consistent theme across the interviews and the comparative case study was that private school students had access to superior peace education resources. Students attending these schools would therefore be more likely to accumulate the capital of peace education.

The advantage of private school pupils extended beyond having access to more resources. The comparative case study explored how the habitus of students attending an elite private school disposes them to accumulate the first two forms of capital but not the third. In contrast, students attending a state school possess a habitus disposing them towards accumulating the third form of capital.

The final empirical chapter explored how implementing the Catedra de la Paz can lead to the production of symbolic violence by focusing on a school in Medellín. Under the guise of teaching conflict-resolution skills, teachers and students were discriminating against students who came from backgrounds where violence and neglect were common.

Together, these findings provide an explanation of how existing economic and social inequality in Colombia can determine structure of the field of peace education.

## 10.2 Contribution of Findings

The main contribution of this thesis is explaining how the choices made about what to teach for peace education and how to teach it can affect the power relations that structure Colombian society. Making this argument has addressed the gaps in the peace education literature that stem from its previous focus on individuals and the gaps in the critical peace education literature about how to conceptualise interventions as part of the power relations structuring society.

The peace education literature has explored how best to teach a set of competencies associated with peace (McGlynn et al, 2009; Golan and Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2014). Novelli has characterised this research as problem-solving for its assumption that implementing peace education will solve the problem of conflict (Novelli, 2008). He argued that this research incorrectly places peace education interventions outside of the forces causing conflict in society and so ignores the institutional and structural changes needed to bring about peace. Other academics have also criticised the

underlying assumption within the peace education literature that changing individuals will lead to a transformed society (Kester, 2017a). They have argued that only looking at what students are learning and how ignores the possibility that peace education interventions will reproduce the conditions that originally led to conflict and violence.

This thesis has addressed the peace education literature's excessive focus on individuals by using Bourdieu's theoretical framework as a lens to answer whether these courses are reproducing or challenging the power relations of their context. For Bourdieu, the identity of an individual is "dynamically dependent on social relations with other agents. The principal unit of analysis thus is not individual action or even social action but social relations" (Lechner and Frost, 2018: 64). Applying this framework to the question of peace education and power relations means it is not important whether an individual possesses a certain set of competencies associated with peace. What matters is how and why particular individuals, or social groups, are able to improve their position within the field of peace education by possessing these competencies. By exploring what affects position-taking, rather than measuring if an individual has changed, the unit of analysis has moved from individuals to social relations. This thesis has therefore developed a method for moving the literature away from a "psychologised approach" (Kester, 2017a: 68) or "rational psychosocial approaches" (Kester, Archer and Bryant, 2019: 274) and towards an analysis of how these courses can perpetuate or change the structural conditions responsible for conflict.

Answering how peace education reproduces the power relations of its context clearly situates this thesis within the critical peace education literature. Scholars working within this literature have called for more research that explores how interventions form part of the structures of society (Bajaj, 2015) and whether they are inadvertently reproducing these structures (Kurian and Kester, 2019). However, there is an under-theorisation of what constitutes the structures of society and empirical evidence about how peace education interventions can reproduce or change them. Kester (2017a; 2017b)

and Gur-Ze'ev (2001; 2010) have argued that research into peace education requires clearer definitions of power and explanations of how peace education courses are affected by pre-existing power relations in society.

Using Bourdieu's theoretical framework to explore if peace education is reproducing or challenging the power relations of its context again addresses this gap. Bourdieu was clear that any distribution of capital was a field and so constituted the structure of society. He observed that "the structure of the distribution of the different types and subtypes of capital at a given moment in time represents the immanent structure of the social world" (1986: 241). Researching if peace education is reproducing the power relations of its context therefore requires identifying the dominant forms of capital within the field, researching which social groups are able to accumulate it, and the value of the capital in relation to other fields. Using Bourdieu's theoretical framework has provided clear and workable definitions of structures in society that allows for research into the position of peace education in relation to these structures.

In turn, this clear theoretical framework has led to empirical evidence over how peace education is reproducing unequal power relations in Colombia as well as identifying the possibilities for changing this outcome. Empirical evidence is often lacking in the debate in peace education literature on how these courses reproduce violence and conflict. Kester and Cremin (2017) have called for empirical evidence that explores how peace education can perpetuate historical patterns of marginalisation and privilege. This thesis has shown that the habitus of students from an economically privileged background inclines them towards accumulating the capital of the field when it involves learning about others. Combined with the advantages of accessing resources, the habitus-capital interaction leads to pre-existing economic inequality mediating the reproduction of capital in the field. A theory-building exercise then pointed to the value of this embodied cultural capital in other fields and so we can see how peace education courses can inadvertently produce structural homology across Colombian society. Changing the dominant form of

capital in the field so it requires reflecting on one's own experiences could stop the habitus-capital relationship from producing this effect. Combining Bourdieu's theoretical framework with empirical evidence has explained how peace education can reproduce and challenge the power relations of its context and so addresses a key gap in the literature.

The findings of this thesis are also relevant for the wider literature on post-conflict education. Scholars writing on post-conflict education have argued that because inequality causes conflict and education systems reproduce inequality, an important peacebuilding task is reforming education systems (Cederman, Buhaug and Gleditsch, 2013). This logic has been used in research on how to make sure that access to education is equal across demographic groups (Stewart and Langer, 2008). However, this study lends weight to the idea that it is not only unequal access that causes education to reproduce inequality, but also the content of curricula (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000). Even the content of programmes designed specifically to create harmonious relations between citizens is not equally accessible to all students and so can inadvertently reproduce the hierarchical structures in society that are responsible for conflict (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; King, 2013). Consequently, more research is necessary into how to ensure that the content of education being delivered in post-conflict contexts helps change the inequalities that structure these contexts.

Finally, these findings are relevant for the Colombian peacebuilding literature and on the implementation of the Catedra de la Paz in particular. There is a growing body of literature on how to implement the terms of the 2016 Peace Accords, especially during the term of an administration hostile to this agreement (Pabón, 2018). Although the Catedra de la Paz is separate to the Peace Accords, it was a fundamental part of the Santos government's peacebuilding agenda. Consequently, there is increasing scholarship on how schools have implemented this law and recommendations on how schools can most effectively educate for peace (Echavarría and Cremin, 2019; Morales, 2021). The findings

of this thesis serve as a reminder that demanding schools teach a set of competencies and then expecting this law to change society is not realistic. Pre-existing economic inequalities will help determine which groups of students benefit from peace education and so access the profits of the field. Unless there is economic reform that accompanies the law, the Catedra de la Paz is unlikely to change the economic inequalities that led to conflict in Colombia and may even legitimise them by disguising structural inequalities as the result of individual merit.

### 10.3 Policy Recommendations

There are three policy recommendations from this thesis about how to implement peace education in Colombia. These recommendations are 1.) The main priority for peace education should be helping learners reflect on how their experiences are shaped by Colombia's history of conflict and peace. 2.) More training for schools about how to implement the Catedra de la Paz. 3.) Increasing economic investment in state schools. Following these recommendations should help ensure that peace education in Colombia challenges the power relations that structure society and led to its decades of conflict.

*1.) The main priority for peace education should be helping learners reflect on how their experiences are shaped by Colombia's history of conflict and peace*

A key finding from this thesis is that the students attending the elite private school were not willing to reflect on how their experiences relate to Colombia's history of conflict. In contrast, the students from the state school were willing to engage in these reflections. With the assumption that this finding is true in private and state schools across Colombia, this finding points to how peace education can challenge established power relations. Bourdieu conceptualised fields as dynamic spaces in where there is a constant contest to



determine the dominant form of capital to ensure one social group is more able to dominate the field (Bourdieu, 1990). The analysis from this thesis suggests that if the capacity to make these reflections were to be the dominant form of capital in the field of peace education, it would benefit students from state schools and disadvantage students from elite private schools. Following through on this policy recommendation would mean schools include these reflections as a key part of the Catedra de la Paz. Organisations that already do similar work, such as the museo casa de la memoria and MOVA in the second empirical chapter, could also work closely with schools. Ensuring that this form of embodied cultural capital is dominant would mean that pre-existing economic inequality has less effect on determining the hierarchical structure of the field of peace education in Colombia.

## *2.) More training for schools about how to implement the Catedra de la Paz*

This thesis also demonstrates the need for more training for schools about how to implement the Catedra de la Paz. Guidance for schools does exist (Chaux and Velasquez; ECC, 2015) and there are examples of schools working with external organisations to create innovative peace education programmes (Echavarría and Cremin, 2019). However, the Colombian literature also points to widespread confusion among schools about what teaching peace means (Morales, 2021). The interviews with experts in the first two empirical chapters certainly supported this conclusion and the subsequent need for training and resources. However, the fourth chapter explored the consequences of teaching peace with minimal training. It showed how a school in Medellin can produce symbolic violence through peace education. The teaching of peace in this school was reinforcing stereotypes about students from backgrounds of poverty or violence. Students from such a background were systematically disadvantaged within the field of peace education and so unable to access the profits of the field. Again, assuming that the

findings from this school are replicated across schools in Colombia, this case study highlights the need for schools to receive training about how to implement peace education. This training would focus on the content of peace education and pedagogies for teaching peace. However, it would also explore how schools can ensure that all students are able to benefit from implementing the Catedra de la Paz. Moreover, the school had actually received a day of training from a local institution. This fact emphasises how training should not be one-off, but should ideally form part of a long-term commitment between the school and a training organisation. By passing a law making peace education mandatory without providing training, and the resources for training, there is risk of legitimising the production of symbolic violence within schools rather than challenging it.

### *3.) Increasing economic investment in state schools*

The final policy recommendation from this thesis points to the need for peace education to accompany wider economic reforms in order to contribute to peacebuilding. Each chapter has shown how peace education tends to reproduce economic inequalities through unequal access or the forms of knowledge that have value in the field. These economic inequalities are responsible for conflict in Colombia (Hylton, 2006; Moser and McIlwaine, 2004; Poveda, 2011) and addressing them is a vital part of peacebuilding in Colombia (Nasi, 2018). Mandating that all schools have to teach a set of competencies with the expectation of building a “culture of peace” does not seem realistic if it is not accompanied by wide economic reform in general and greater investment in state schools in particular. In their 4Rs framework, Novelli and Cardoso (2017) have argued that post-conflict education requires institutional reforms across society in order for it to be successful. In the case of Colombia, reforming education by increasing investment in state schools would give them more resources to dedicate to the Catedra de la Paz. Interviewees

across the chapters spoke about the difficulties of educating for peace in schools that lack resources and where teachers lack time. The disparity between the resources available to state and private schools was particularly stark in the third empirical chapter. Closing this gap would remove the advantage that private school students receive.

Together, these recommendations would help ensure that students from all economic backgrounds are able to accumulate the capital of peace education. Pre-existing economic inequality would have less effect on determining the structure of the field and so the profits of the field would be open to students who do not necessarily dominate other fields. Following these recommendations would therefore help peace education challenge rather than reproduce the power relations of Colombian society.

#### 10.4 The value of peace education within other fields

The focus of my thesis has been on the structure of the field of peace education in Colombia. My interviews and case studies have shown that existing and unequal power relations – in the form of previously-accumulated economic capital is an advantage for position-taking within the field of peace education. However, Bourdieu did not conceptualise capital accumulation within one field as an end in and of itself. Instead, capital in one field is only valuable to the extent that it can be exchanged for capital in other fields.

What follows is a brief exploration of the value of the capital of peace education in other fields within Colombia. It is a theory-building exercise that uses secondary literature and is useful for directing future research, rather than being a core part of the findings from this thesis.

The concept of capital exchange is an important part of Bourdieu's theorisation of the reproduction of power relations in society. He argues that there is a "structural homology" (Bourdieu, 1998: 263) between all fields and between the field of education and

the field of power in particular. Structural homology means that the composition of fields are similar as the same social groups dominate across multiple fields. This domination across multiple fields happens because it is possible to exchange capital between fields. If it were not possible then – within Bourdieu’s theoretical framework – there would be no mechanism for a dominant position in one field to affect one’s position in another field. Consequently, the structure of society, i.e., the distribution of capital, would be the result of coincidence. Instead, it is the possibility of transforming one form of capital into another that creates the unequal distribution of power relations across society.

Understanding the value of the capital of peace education in relation to other fields affect whether these courses are socially transformative. Indeed, the claim to be educating for peace rests on the assumption that successful interventions will not just change the learners attending the course but society as well (Fountain, 1999; Cunningham, 2015). According to this logic, conflict is a result of pre-existing power relations in society and so changing who has power is essential to prevent conflict from re-occurring. Peace education can only contribute to this peacebuilding agenda if its courses lead to a redistribution of power. Moreover, there are calls by critical peace education scholars to situate these interventions within existing power relations to ensure they are not reproducing structural violence (Bajaj, 2015; Zembylas, 2018; Wessels, 2012). Exploring these issues requires a clear theory of power and explanation of how peace education can reproduce or challenge existing power relations.

Conceptualising peace education as a field in which agents compete for scarce resources that have value in other fields has provided a method for addressing these gaps. The four empirical chapters have shown that students who attend a private school and so come from a privileged socio-economic background are likely to dominate the field of peace education.<sup>47</sup> They have more access to peace education resources within their

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<sup>47</sup> Of the total population of students attending state schools, only 0.8% come from the highest strata, whereas, a student from the highest strata is 99 time more likely to attend a private school than a state school (Caro, 2019).

schools and through outside programmes. Their habitus also disposes them to accumulate two of the three forms of embodied cultural capital, possession of which determines position-taking in the field. The question remains, however, about the benefits to these students of dominating the field of peace education in Colombia. I present evidence from secondary literature that the capital of peace education has value within the fields of business and the wider educational field.

### *The field of business*

Secondary business literature describes the importance of many of the dispositions that are valuable within the field of peace education. Empathy is certainly valuable in the field of business, but so is the capacity to be self-reflective.

The experts in peace education repeatedly emphasised the importance of teaching empathy in the first empirical chapter and so did teachers in both schools in the third empirical chapters. There is some evidence to suggest that teaching empathy can help students be less aggressive and reduce harmful stereotypes about enemy combatants (Lockwood, 2014; Sagy, 2017). However, there is also considerable literature on the importance of empathy within business.

The business literature defines empathy as “being able to understand how others feel” (Holt, Marques, Hu and Wood, 2017: 4). It is an important value for business leaders to possess because it helps them better understand their teams and so be able to increase their performance (Bass, 1960) and to develop useful networks (Riggio and Reichard, 2008). Indeed, being an empathetic individual is part of becoming an effective business leader (Kayworth and Leidner, 2002; Rahman and Castelli, 2013). There is so much perceived worth in developing empathy that books and courses have been set up to teach business leaders how to improve their empathetic capacities. Miyashiro (2011) set out a framework for businesses to improve levels of empathy and so increase their

productivity, innovation, and ultimately their profitability. Organisations as diverse as the Open University (OU, n.d.), LinkedIn (Siegler, n.d.) and Business websites (Business Training Works) all sell courses designed to increase empathy for business.

The previous literature describes the importance of empathy for business leaders in general. Yet, there is also evidence that acquiring empathy is important within the Colombian business environment. Strategies to improve businesses in Colombia have identified empathy as key for improving how small and medium enterprises function (Mejia Sarmiento, Jimenez Ibañez and Chavarria Devia, 2014). Companies that prioritise this value within staff will also find they become more competitive (Lozano-Correa, Pérez-Uribe and Ocampo-Guzman, 2020). Being empathetic is therefore important for business and so possessing this characteristic is a competitive advantage for business leaders in general and in the specific context of Colombia.

The capacity to be reflective is also valuable within the field of business. The practitioners of peace education in the second empirical chapter and the teachers from the state school in the third chapter emphasised the importance of this aspect of peace education. They hoped that helping students to make this connection between their own lives and Colombia's history would underline the importance of the students' experiences and inspire them to take action to reduce violence and work for peace.

The businesses literature also explains the value of being self-reflective. A qualitative study of business students showed that the ability to be self-reflective closely predicted their performance at Dynamic Decision-Making (DDM) and led to more consistent planning (Guess, Donovan and Naslund, 2015). The authors recommend that organisations "establish and promote a culture that values time set aside for self-reflection" (Guess, Donovan and Naslund, 2015: 293). Ryan et al (2019) argue that being able to engage in authentic self-reflection is a pre-requisite for developing the resilience that businesses value within their employees. Many other books and articles identify self-reflection as a vital attribute of businesses leaders. These range from a book on values-

based leadership that identifies self-reflection as one of the four key principles of effective leadership (Kraemer, 2011) to articles that argued for self-reflection as a means for preventing institutional orthodoxies from ignoring new perspectives (Tatli, 2012). The business literature clearly indicates that the capacity to be self-reflective is not just valuable within the field of peace education. It is also valuable within the field of business.

The secondary business literature suggests that the competencies developed in peace education are also valuable in business. However, the empirical chapters demonstrated how economic and social inequality in Colombian society affects who can acquire these competencies. Through capital exchange, Bourdieu's theories explain not only how the inequality responsible for conflict in Colombia affects the structure of the field of peace education. They also explain how peace education reproduces inequality across society, as the same social group can dominate multiple fields.

### *The field of education*

There is some evidence that becoming proficient at peace education helps students within the wider educational field. This potential finding is worth exploring due to the importance Bourdieu attached to the field of education for reproducing unequal power relation.

Through research into the French education system, he argued that academic excellence is not the product of individual talent or ability. Instead, it is the product of an upbringing that is only available to those with considerable economic means. (Bourdieu, 1998). The education system then institutionalises this academic excellence through the awarding of certificates and qualifications that are necessary for successful completion of mainstream education (Bourdieu, 1998; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). Economic capital therefore becomes cultural capital, which in turn becomes economic capital. Through this conversion of different forms of capital, Bourdieu explained how education systems reproduce and legitimise unequal economic hierarchies. This description of how

education systems reproduce inequality. It is relevant because developing an expanded understanding of peace helps individuals gain institutionalised cultural capital.

Many of the prestigious universities in Colombia offer Masters Courses or undergraduate modules in peacebuilding or peace and conflict studies. A key part of these courses is learning the theories of peace that the interviewees perceived to be a vital aspect of successful peace education. For example, Los Andes University in Bogotá offers a Masters in Construction of Peace. For the compulsory elements, the first objective is to “become familiar with the main definitions of peace and conflict that have been developed in the different academic disciplines and within the main organizations involved in the peacebuilding process” (Universidad Los Andes). This learning objective for the Masters clearly correlates with the perceived purpose of peace education as teaching an expanded understanding of peace.

The Los Andes Masters is not alone in emphasising that teaching theories of peace is one of the main parts of their course. The first aim of the Masters in Peace and Conflict offered by the University of Medellín is about the “theories and metatheories” of conflict and peace (Universidad de Medellín). Similarly, undergraduate politics courses at the University Javeriana and the National University – both in Bogotá – position learning theories about conflict and peace as a major element of their degrees (Universidad Javeriana). These universities are some of the most prestigious in Colombia and understanding that peace means more than an end to fighting is a requirement for successfully completing undergraduate and postgraduate courses at these institutions.

These documents suggest that the second form of embodied cultural capital can be converted into a form of institutionalised cultural capital within the educational field. Becoming proficient in peace education therefore helps students attain institutionalised cultural capital, which exists as certificates rather than just dispositions, and so carry with them the reputation of these institutions (Bourdieu, 1986).



### *Importance of exchanging capital*

In the case of peace education in Colombia, the secondary literature suggests that the profits of the field of peace education provide skills and knowledge that can be useful within businesses and universities. Previously accumulated economic capital therefore helps learners acquire the embodied cultural capital of peace education, which in turn helps them acquire institutionalised cultural capital and the economic capital that comes from becoming successful within a business.

We can see here evidence of the habitus-capital-field relationship working together to produce the structural homology, in which people from the same social group use their domination of one field to dominate multiple fields. Due to the advantage of students attending private schools for position-taking within the field of peace education, these courses become complicit in reproducing the economic inequality that was originally responsible for conflict in Colombia (Hylton, 2006; Moser and McIlwaine, 2004; Poveda, 2011). This outcome is not an intentional strategy on behalf of economic elites in Colombia. Nor is it the result of practitioners of peace education or schools implementing programmes in a deficient manner. Instead, it is a result of peace education taking place within an existing set of social relations that already produce economic inequality.

This section has given some tentative suggestions about how the capital of peace education can be exchanged for capital within other fields. Further research is necessary to confirm and explore the value of the capital of peace education outside of its field. For example, it would be valuable to begin longitudinal studies that follow students who have attended peace education interventions to see how they have used the competencies they developed in the courses.

## 10.5 Further Research

There are other empirical and theoretical avenues for developing the main findings from this thesis. This thesis examined perceptions of peace education among experts and within purposely chosen schools. It used these findings to build theory about how power relations work when teaching and learning peace education. Part of this theory-building involved the assumption that findings from this thesis about how perceptions of peace education changes across socio-economic groups holds true across Colombia. I am clear that this is an assumption used to develop theory about the relationship between peace education and power, which is an under-explored area within peace education research. This theory-building exercise has created hypotheses that could be tested with quantitative or more extensive qualitative research. These hypotheses would explore whether the finding that interpretations of peace education change according to social class is true across multiple sites. Specifically, it would be very interesting to research if students from economic and social elites are less willing to engage in these reflections than students from other socio-economic classes. Confirming this hypothesis would provide a clear method for restructuring the power relations of the field of peace education by ensuring that the Catedra de la Paz requires students to engage in these reflections.

There are also many opportunities to expand on the theoretical work of this thesis. The aim of this thesis has been to explore how peace education reproduces or challenges wider power relations in Colombian society. To do this, it has used Bourdieu's conception of power relations to explore how peace education affects and is affected by economic classes. The roots of Colombia's conflict in economic inequality led to this focus on economic class, but there are many more ways to explore peace education and power relations. Future research could examine if peace education reinforces gender relations in Colombian society or changes them. A similar approach could look at peace education and race relations or focus on how courses that run in mainstream schools engage with

indigenous groups who are far less likely to attend these schools (OECD, 2018). Indeed, an intersectional approach could examine how competing aspects of privilege and marginalisation influence the teaching of peace education. Finally, this thesis has looked at peace education in urban schools. However, the conflict in Colombia largely took place within rural communities (Hylton, 2006). It would therefore make sense to also research the power dynamics of rural communities and their relationship with peace education interventions.

Each approach would require a different theoretical lens to conceptualise power and then identify how educating students for peace forms part of these power relations and has the capacity to change them. Bourdieu's theoretical framework is relevant for more than just an analysis of economic relations and is well suited to "the analysis of gender (or racial and ethnic) disadvantage as well" (McClelland, 1990, p. 105).

Regardless of the chosen theoretical lens and empirical focus, there is a need for more research that does not just consider the impact of peace education on individuals. This thesis has begun to address this gap by using Bourdieu to explore how peace education reproduces and challenges economic classes in Colombia. However, there are other productive avenues to explore whether and how peace education can change the power relations that structure their context.

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## APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Ethical Application and Approval

Appendix 2: Data Management Plan

Appendix 3: Interview Schedules

Appendix 4: Participant Information Sheet and Consent Forms

Appendix 5: Data Collection Summary

Appendix 6: NVivo Data Analysis

## Appendix 1: Ethical Application and Approval

*Application Form*

<p><b>UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM APPLICATION FOR ETHICAL REVIEW – REQUEST FOR AMENDMENTS</b></p>
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**Who should use this form:**

- This form is to be completed by PIs or supervisors (for PGR student research) who are requesting ethical approval for amendments to research projects that have previously received ethical approval from the University of Birmingham.

**Please be aware that all new research projects undertaken by postgraduate research (PGR) students first registered as from 1st September 2008 will be subject to the University's Ethical Review Process. PGR students first registered before 1<sup>st</sup> September 2008 should refer to their Department/School/College for further advice.**

- What constitutes an amendment?

Amendments requiring approval may include, but are not limited to, additions to the research protocol, study population, recruitment of participants, access to personal records, research instruments, or participant information and consent documentation. Amendments must be approved before they are implemented.

**NOTES:**

- Answers to questions must be entered in the space provided
- An electronic version of the completed form should be submitted to the Research Ethics Officer, at the following email address: [aer-ethics@contacts.bham.ac.uk](mailto:aer-ethics@contacts.bham.ac.uk). Please **do not** submit paper copies.
- If, in any section, you find that you have insufficient space, or you wish to supply additional material not specifically requested by the form, please submit it in a separate file, clearly marked and attached to the submission email.
- If you have any queries about the form, please address them to the Research Ethics Team.

**UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM  
APPLICATION FOR ETHICAL REVIEW -  
REQUEST FOR AMENDMENTS**

*OFFICE USE  
ONLY:*  
Application No:  
Date Received:

**1. TITLE OF PROJECT**

Practices of Peace Education in Colombia

**2. APPROVAL DETAILS**

What is the Ethical Review Number (ERN) for the project?

**ERN\_18-0328**

**3. THIS PROJECT IS:**

University of Birmingham Staff Research project

University of Birmingham Postgraduate Research (PGR) student project

Other  (Please specify):

**4. INVESTIGATORS**

**a) PLEASE GIVE DETAILS OF THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATORS OR SUPERVISORS (FOR PGR STUDENT PROJECTS)**


Name: Title / first name / family name	Giuditta Fontana
Highest qualification & position held:	Birmingham Fellow
School/Department	Government and Society
Telephone:	

Name: Title / first name / family name	Danielle Beswick
Highest qualification & position held:	Senior Lecturer
School/Department	International Development
Telephone:	
Email address:	

**b) PLEASE GIVE DETAILS OF ANY CO-INVESTIGATORS OR CO-SUPERVISORS (FOR PGR STUDENT PROJECTS)**

Name: Title / first name / family name
Highest qualification & position held:
School/Department
Telephone:
Email address:

**c) In the case of PGR student projects, please give details of the student**

Name of student:	Robert Skinner	Student No:	
Course of study:	PhD		
Principal supervisor:	Giuditta Fontana		

**5. ESTIMATED START OF PROJECT**Date: **ESTIMATED END OF PROJECT**Date:

## 6. ORIGINAL APPLICATION FOR ETHICAL REVIEW AND ANY SUBSEQUENT APPROVED AMENDMENTS:

Please complete the table below for the original application and any subsequent amendments submitted

Title and reference number of application or amendment	Key points of application and/or changes made by amendment (include: aims of study, participant details, how participants were recruited and methodology)	Ethical considerations arising from these key points (e.g. gaining consent, risks to participants and/or researcher, points raised by Ethical Review Committee during review)	How were the ethical considerations addressed? (e.g. consent form, participant information, adhering to relevant procedures/clearance required)
<p><i>Practices of Peace Education in Colombia</i></p> <p><b>ERN_18-0328</b></p>	<p>This was the exploratory stage of my PhD fieldwork. The research questions were:</p> <p>What role is education expected to play in the Colombian peace process among academics, NGOs and policy-makers?</p> <p>What are the expectations for Colombian peace education programmes among academics, NGOs and policy-makers?</p> <p>Participants were academics, NGO workers and policy-makers with experience in peace education and post-conflict education</p>	<p>Informed consent was obtained from all interviewees.</p> <p>Small potential of uncovering traumatic memories or discussing difficult topics.</p> <p>The only point raised by the committee was adding supervisor details to the information sheet and putting in a date beyond which participants could not ask for their data to be withdrawn (i.e. after the completion of the thesis).</p> <p>For researcher safety, I had to abide by the laws of the country and follow local advice.</p>	<p>Clear consent and information forms were written that contained all the information required by the ethics committee.</p> <p>There were no problems either for participants or the researcher during the fieldwork.</p>



	<p>Participants were emailed from a list of potential interviewees who would be relevant.</p> <p>Semi-structured interviewees were conducted with each participant</p>		
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## 7. **DETAILS OF PROPOSED NEW AMENDMENT**

Provide details of the proposed new amendment, and clearly and explicitly state how the proposed new amendment will differ from the details of the study as already approved (see Q6 above).

### **Purpose**

The project is the explanatory stage of my PhD and I will spend up to five months in Colombia researching and witnessing the projects that I discussed during the first stage of my course work. During this period, I will witness how peace education is taught in different locations selected for their specific characteristics. These locations are:

- Secondary private school in Bogota selected due to its urban, male, predominantly white and wealthy students
- Foundation in Bogota selected due to its urban, mixed-gender and race, and poorer students
- University in Tumaco or Putomayo selected due to its rural, mixed-gender, predominantly black and indigenous students
- Secondary public Schools with the Aulas en Paz programme selected due to its public school focus, although the specific schools have not been selected.

For each of these locations, I have been invited to observe, participate and interview by the schools, foundations and university. The information collected will form the main empirical findings of my research and enable me to analyse how peace education is taught and understood throughout Colombia.

### **Research Questions**

In the first stage, I discussed the expectations for how peace education should work with academics, policy-makers and NGOs. In this project, I now want to understand how and if these expectations are met. The research questions for this project are therefore:

- How effectively does peace education meet its objectives and expectations?
- How does peace education change according to the gender, race and wealth of its participants?
- Why does peace education meet or fail to meet its objectives and expectations?

### **Outcomes**

The information from these questions will be used to analyse how peace education is contributing to peace within Colombia and why or why not it is contributing effectively. Effectively will be determined by the interviews from the first stage of the fieldwork, the government's own documents and the academic literature on peace education. It is therefore the key empirical part

of my PhD thesis.

## 8. JUSTIFICATION FOR PROPOSED NEW AMENDMENT

The first stage of my fieldwork, in which I interviewed academics, policy-makers and NGOs, allowed me to develop a framework for analysing peace education in Colombia. This framework posited that peace education in Colombia has the objectives of teaching forgiveness, empathy and a critical stance towards Colombia history. These constitute how education should contribute to peace in Colombia. However, there are likely to be problems regarding:

- Individualising the responsibility for peace and so ignoring or minimising structural causes of conflict and peace
- Eliding peace with behavioural management
- Creating an extra unfulfillable burden for teachers and students in under-resourced settings

However, this framework was developed through second-hand information, albeit from experts in the field. I therefore now need to observe peace education first hand in order to confirm or develop the validity of this framework.

## 9. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

What ethical considerations, if any, are raised by the proposed new amendment?

The risk register given below is not intended to cover the full scope of the foreseeable risks of the project. It only covers considerations that were not covered in the previous application.

Inclusion in this risk register is not in any way indicative that such risks are likely to occur. At the time of writing, Bogota is not subject to any travel restrictions advised by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and the researcher has conducted comparable projects in this context without incident. Putomayo is amber, but I will be working with a university (Nacional) who are used to working and operating safely in this area. They spend 2 weeks at a time in this area and live in a hotel during these two weeks. I would stay in the same hotel and only visit the university or school in the presence of lecturers or teachers from the Nacional university. Tumaco is red according to the FCO guidance. Again, I will be working closely with the Nacional university who have worked in this part of Colombia for years and I will take the same pre-cautions. Visiting Tumaco will enable a very valuable comparison how peace education is taught between privileged urban and less privileged rural parts of Colombia.

Risk 1: Crime – Whilst substantially safer for foreigners than in the past, those visiting Colombia are at risk of mugging, express kidnapping in unauthorised taxis and drugs being used to incapacitate.

Minimisation – [1] The researcher will take everyday precautions regarding possessions and the avoidance of crime hotspots which would be implemented in any urban setting, [2] The researcher will only use pre-booked taxis, [3] The researcher will, to the maximum extent possible, avoid travelling alone at night. [4] The researcher will follow the guidance of local contacts.

Management – [1] Appropriate extra insurance cover, [2] A network of contacts which can be used for advice and assistance in case of emergency.

Risk 2: Working with Young People – Working with young people entails risks and the need for extra precautions from the researcher. However, I am a fully qualified secondary teacher with four years of experience working in secondary schools in England and 2 years experience working in TEFL (teaching English as a Foreign Language) schools in Spain. I am therefore well placed to minimise and manage these risks. However, there are cultural differences between the contexts in which I have taught and the contexts in which I am going to conduct research. Some of these differences might not be readily apparent to me without having taught in Colombia.

Minimisation – [1] obtain consent from parents for any interviews. [2] conduct interviews with a teacher or other familiar adult easily contactable. [3] explain clearly that the interview can stop at any time if the student wishes. [4] Obtain a clear procedure for who to contact in case of any problem or emergency. [5] Before interviewing children, discuss with my contact their experience of teaching in Colombia and the challenges they face, particularly in terms of behavioural managements and their relationship with their students. [6] If possible, observe a lesson before I conduct any interviews, as this will give me a greater insight into the particular challenges of teaching in Colombia. [7] keep a reflective diary of my observations in schools and from discussions with teachers. [8] ensure I am known to the head-teacher so they know who I am and why I am in their school.

Management – [1] follow all protocols or procedures as laid out by the school, university or foundation. [2] immediately terminate interview on any sign of distress or discomfort. [3] immediately inform the teacher or contact I am working with if there has been a problem of any kind. [4] I will ask each school/contact/organisation about local regulatory and governance requirements for interviewing children and vulnerable participants and comply with them

Risk 3: Travel – Travelling in Colombia can be potentially dangerous and I will have to travel to different parts of Colombia to conduct my research.

Minimisation – [1] only travel by day where possible within cities. [2] travel by plane between cities as this is the safest form of travel. [3] let my contacts know when I am due to arrive in their school or place of work.

Management – [1] A network of contacts which can be used for advice and assistance in case of emergency.

Risk 4: Political Violence – Since the peace agreement was signed in 2016, FARC have ceased violent activities. The other main armed group – ELN – have not signed a peace agreement and continue to sporadically inflict violence through bomb attacks and ambushes. The likelihood of these occurring is minimal and far higher in rural areas, which the researcher is not visiting. However, there is therefore an outside risk that the researcher could be affected by an attack.

Minimisation – [1] Follow all instructions from police and authorities about which areas of the city are safe to visit. [2] Maintain awareness of local political conditions through news sources and contacts in Colombia.

Management – [1] If possible, leave the area in which violence is taking place, entering neighbouring unaffected areas, [2] Maintain frequent contact with contacts in Colombia who will be able to provide advice and assistance in the event of emergency, [3] Following local advice regarding where to visit.

Risk 5: Risk of Harm from Participants and Others – This is a very remote possibility, however any discussion of conflict is sensitive and in a culture that is not the researcher's own, there is a possibility of causing offence.

Minimisation - [1] The researcher will ensure that the difficult topics around which the research is centred are introduced in a manner which is appropriate for the person involved and the cultural context.

Management – [1] The researcher will inform a Colombian and UK contact as to their location and planned travel, and maintain regular contact [2] The researcher will halt any interview upon any signs of aggression from a participant.

Risk 6: Risk of Uncovering Past Trauma for research participants – Whilst the research is not seeking information specific to the impacts of the conflict on the individuals interviewed, it is possible that through raising the topic of the impacts of conflict that memories of past trauma are triggered.

Minimisation – [1] The participant will be encouraged and reminded of their right to skip or avoid topics of conversation, [2] Topics around the impacts of conflict will be introduced in a manner which is sensitive, and not specific to impacts on the individual, [3] The researcher will discuss and develop the interview schedule with the local experts.

Management – [1] Immediately suspending the interview if a participant appears distressed or in the event that they request the interview be suspended, [2] Signposting a participant to victim's advocacy organisations where these are available and such a recommendation would be appropriate. [3] For confidentiality, I will check with my contact what the correct protocol is if students do divulge information of this kind and this will be stated to the students before the interview commences.

Issue 1: Consent for the students

A letter will be sent to their parents asking consent for a short – thirty minute – interview with their child about their experience with peace education. It will ask them to sign their consent stating that they are willing for their child to be interviewed for my PhD and that their views can be used within my PhD and any subsequent publications.

I will also explain to them at the beginning of the interview that I am a PhD student from the University of Birmingham and that the information in the interview will be used for my research into Peace Education in Colombia.

Consent forms for adults, parents and students in English are provided, along with an information sheet. These will be translated into Spanish for the fieldwork but this has not been deemed necessary for this application.

## 10. DECLARATION BY APPLICANTS

I make this application on the basis that the information it contains is confidential and will be used by the University of Birmingham for the purposes of ethical review and monitoring of the research project described herein, and to satisfy reporting requirements to regulatory bodies. The information will not be used for any other purpose without my prior consent.

I declare that:

- The information in this form together with any accompanying information is complete and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief and I take full responsibility for it.
- I undertake to abide by University Code of Conduct for Research (<http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/Documents/university/legal/research.pdf>) alongside any other relevant professional bodies' codes of conduct and/or ethical guidelines.
- I will report any changes affecting the ethical aspects of the project to the University of Birmingham Research Ethics Officer.
- I will report any adverse or unforeseen events which occur to the relevant Ethics Committee project to the University of Birmingham Research Ethics Officer.

**Signature of Principal investigator/project supervisor:**

	28/08/2018

**Date:**

## *Proof of Approval*

**Re: "Practices of Peace Education in Columbia"**  
**Application for amendment ERN\_18-0328A**

Thank you for the above application for amendment, which was reviewed by the Humanities and Social Sciences Ethical Review Committee.

On behalf of the Committee, I can confirm that this amendment now has full ethical approval.

I would like to remind you that any substantive changes to the nature of the study as now amended, and/or any adverse events occurring during the study should be promptly brought to the Committee's attention by the Principal Investigator and may necessitate further ethical review. A revised amendment application form is now available at <https://intranet.birmingham.ac.uk/finance/accounting/Research-Support-Group/Research-Ethics/Ethical-Review-Forms.aspx> . Please ensure this form is submitted for any further amendments.

Please also ensure that the relevant requirements within the University's Code of Practice for Research and the information and guidance provided on the University's ethics webpages (available at <https://intranet.birmingham.ac.uk/finance/accounting/Research-Support-Group/Research-Ethics/Links-and-Resources.aspx> ) are adhered to and referred to in any future applications for ethical review. It is now a requirement on the revised application form (<https://intranet.birmingham.ac.uk/finance/accounting/Research-Support-Group/Research-Ethics/Ethical-Review-Forms.aspx> ) to confirm that this guidance has been consulted and is understood, and that it has been taken into account when completing your application for ethical review.

Please be aware that whilst Health and Safety (H&S) issues may be considered during the ethical review process, you are still required to follow the University's guidance on H&S and to ensure that H&S risk assessments have been carried out as appropriate. For further information about this, please contact your School H&S representative or the University's H&S Unit at [healthandsafety@contacts.bham.ac.uk](mailto:healthandsafety@contacts.bham.ac.uk).

If you require a hard copy of this correspondence, please let me know.

Kind regards

**Susan Cottam**  
Research Ethics Officer



## Appendix 2: Data Management Plan

### **Fieldwork for PhD practices of peace education in Colombia**

#### **Assessment of existing data**

##### **Provide an explanation of the existing data sources that will be used by the research project, with references**

I am confident that the research questions posed as part of this project cannot be addressed using existing data, it is possible that aspects of the research will draw upon research from related fields. In these cases I will be sure to adhere to best practice in terms of copyright and intellectual property legislation, and will also ensure that any projects are fully referenced.

##### **Provide an analysis of the gaps identified between the currently available and required data for the research**

There is currently no available survey or interview data on how peace education is perceived and taught within Colombian schools. My data will fill this gap.

#### **Information on new data**

##### **Provide information on the data that will be produced or accessed by the research project**

When prior consent is received, all interviews will be digitally recorded. The recorded data that will be gathered consists of the following: interviews with 85 teachers, pupils, policy-makers, academics and charity-workers.

The recordings will be saved on the computers of the Post-doctoral researcher. The interview recordings will be transcribed and uploaded to a data repository at the conclusion of the project in order to ensure they are available for analysis by other researchers. It is anticipated that the following file formats will be used: MP3.

The transcripts will be stored on the computers of the Post-doctoral researcher, in Word Format. These transcripts will be thematically analysed by myself using NVivo computer assisted analysis software which helps to systematically analyse large amounts of qualitative data. It is anticipated that the following file formats will be used: Word, PDF

When appropriate the research team will collect and thematically analyse documentation/ publications issued by organisations working within the area of enquiry. This material will be open source and provided to us by organisations themselves in the form of leaflets and any policy and practice documents that they may have produced. This material will be stored in a locked cabinet in the Post-doctoral researcher's office. Any documentation featured on organisations' websites

will be downloaded. The analysis of leaflets and electronic documents will comprise of themes in Open Document Format and stored on the computers of the Post-doctoral researcher. Once paper based data is no longer required it will be disposed of using the confidential waste facilities at the University of Birmingham. When using material produced by third party organisations the project team will be sure to obtain permission to reproduce materials in line with copyright legislation. We will also ensure that all Intellectual Property Rights are respected. All third party work will be appropriately cited and referenced in any publications. It is anticipated that the following file formats will be used: PDF,

### **Quality assurance of data**

**Describe the procedures for quality assurance that will be carried out on the data collected at the time of data collection, data entry, digitisation and data checking.**

Data collection will be designed, reviewed and undertaken to ensure integrity and quality. This will be achieved by having regular project team meetings and by consulting research participants on an ongoing basis. The PI will have ultimate accountability and oversight for quality assurance of data, however it will be emphasised to all members of the project team that they have a personal responsibility to produce high quality data. In order to ensure 360 degree oversight a selection of the PIs work will also be reviewed by the supervisor. It will be of critical importance to check the quality and accuracy of interview recordings and transcripts. The PI will make ongoing quality checks and a sample of interview recordings will be listened to ensure best practice is adhered to at the data collection stage, this includes gaining informed consent for interviews to be recorded and shared. In order to ensure quality at the data entry stage of the project a random sample of recordings will be compared with their transcripts so that the fit between the transcript and recording can be checked. The quality assurance of data will form a standing agenda item at all team meetings.

### **Backup and security of data**

**Please describe the data back-up procedures that you will adopt to ensure the data and metadata are securely stored during the lifetime of the project.**

The data will be stored on the computers of the PI. Further back-up to the data will be provided by saving the data through the University of Birmingham's network. Backup copies of data are taken either on a daily basis or immediately when data is modified. Data stored on the University of Birmingham's IT systems are co-located to ensure data is preserved. Version control procedures will be implemented on this project to ensure accuracy of information during the analysis and writing up process. The University of Birmingham has an Information Security document which can be provided upon request. I will be mindful of not carrying/ using devices that contain sensitive data (such as personal details of participants) in 'risky' situations

### **Management and curation of data**

**Outline your plans for preparing, organising and documenting data.**

The data is organised through labels that describe the interviewee's position but do not allow them to be identified.

**Difficulties in data sharing and measures to overcome these**  
**If you expect obstacles to sharing your data, explain which and the possible measures you can apply to overcome these.**

The data will be archived and deposited with the permission of the study participants at the end of the project. Consent for data to be shared will be sought as part of the process for gaining informed consent prior to participation

**Consent, anonymisation and strategies to enable further re-use of data**

**Make explicit mention of the planned procedures to handle consent for data sharing for data obtained from human participants, and/or how to anonymise data, to make sure that data can be made available and accessible for future scientific research.**

The research team will discuss with interviewees the potential for data to be archived and deposited and, as much as possible, informed consent will be sought. Where consent is not given by participants then the data will not be shared.

**Copyright and intellectual property ownership**  
**Please state who will own the copyright and IPR of any new data that you will generate.**

The University of Birmingham will own the copyright and IPR of any new data that we will generate. When using material generated by others researchers will be sure to obtain the relevant permissions/ clearance, including copyright clearance, and all data will be fully cited.

**Responsibilities**  
**Outline responsibilities for data management within research teams at all partner institutions**

The PI will have ultimate responsibility for data management, dealing with quality issues and the final delivery of data for sharing or archiving. Each team member will also be made fully aware of their individual responsibilities in each of these aspects of the project

## Appendix 3: Interview Schedules

*3a: Interview Schedules for Experts in Peace Education*

<b>Introduction</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Introduce myself</li> <li>• What I am researching</li> <li>• Why I want to speak to them</li> <li>• Length of interview and rough number of questions</li> </ul>	
<b>What I want to know</b>	<b>Questions to ask</b>	<b>Follow up questions</b>
General context and background of peace education	Can you tell me about your role / job / organisation? Why is peace education important in Colombia?	Can you tell me about the history of peace education in Colombia?
Aims of peace education	What does peace education aim to achieve? How has your organisation implemented peace education? How has the government implemented the Catedra de la Paz law?	How does successful peace education lead to peace in Colombia? To what extent is peace education in Colombia informed by theories about peace?
Obstacles to peace education	What are the obstacles to successful peace education? Does peace education favour some pupils over others?	Has the Duque administration continued to support the Catedra de la Paz? How has your organisation tried to overcome peace education?
Links to peacebuilding	What role does peace education play in the wider peacebuilding process? What does peace mean to you and your organisation?	
Any further information	Is there anything you want to tell me about peace education?	
Thank you and reminder about data information		

## 3b: Interview Schedules for Teachers

<b>Introduction</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Introduce myself</li> <li>• What I am researching</li> <li>• Why I want to speak to them</li> <li>• Length of interview and rough number of questions</li> </ul>	
<b>What I want to know</b>	<b>Questions to ask</b>	<b>Follow up questions</b>
General context and background of peace education	<p>What, if any, are government expectations for you to teach peace?</p> <p>What training or instructions have you received for teaching peace?</p> <p>Is the school supportive?</p> <p>What do you think about these expectations?</p>	<p>Are these expectations new? Have they changed?</p> <p>Does everyone know about them?</p> <p>How does the school support?</p> <p>Is it possible to meet them?</p> <p>Are they important? Do they distract you from other teaching responsibilities?</p>
What they do in the classroom to teach peace	<p>How do you go about teaching peace?</p> <p>Can you tell me about a specific lesson or activity?</p> <p>How could teaching peace be improved at the classroom / school / national level?</p>	<p>Was it successful / how did the students react?</p> <p>Why did you choose to teach the lesson in this way?</p>
If teaching peace is successful and why	<p>What do you want your pupils to learn and why?</p> <p>What are the effects of teaching peace? / What changes, if any, do you want to see in your pupils?</p> <p>How do you know students have learnt peace?</p>	
If some students are more successful at learning peace than others?	<p>Do some students learn peace better than others?</p> <p>Why is this?</p> <p>What can be done to ensure all pupils can learn peace equally well?</p>	
Any further information	Is there anything you want to tell me about peace education in the school?	
Thank you and reminder about data information		

## 3c: Interview Schedules for Students

<b>Introduction</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Introduce myself</li> <li>• What I am researching</li> <li>• Why I want to speak to them</li> <li>• Length of interview and rough number of questions</li> </ul>	
<b>What I want to know</b>	<b>Questions to ask</b>	<b>Follow up Questions</b>
Attitude to peace as a school subject	<p>What are you taught in peace education?</p> <p>What do you think about being taught peace in school?</p> <p>How important is it to learn peace in school?</p>	<p>Is the schools a peaceful place? Why/not?</p> <p>Is peace education relevant for your life outside of the school?</p> <p>Do you have a responsibility to work for peace?</p>
What they do in the classroom	<p>Can you describe some of your lessons where you are taught peace?</p> <p>How often are you taught peace?</p>	<p>Is there anything you would change about peace education in the school?</p>
If some students are more successful at learning peace than others?	<p>Do some students learn peace better than others?</p> <p>Why is this?</p>	
Any further information	<p>Is there anything you want to tell me about peace education in the school?</p>	
Thank you and reminder about data information		

## Appendix 4: Participant Information Sheet and Consent Forms

All forms in this section were also written and printed in Spanish.

### *Adult Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form*

#### **Title of Research:** Practices of Peace Education in Colombia

This interview is contributing to a PhD thesis on peace education in Colombia. This is the second stage of my fieldwork, the first took place in May 2018, and it aims to understand how peace education is taught in schools in different regions of Colombia. As part of this study, I am interviewing teachers and students who have taught or been taught lessons as part of the Catedra de la Paz law. The research will contribute to a fuller understanding of how peace education can be taught effectively in Colombia.

The interview will last 30 minutes in total. At the end, there will be 5 minutes for any questions you may have and to reflect on what was discussed. However, you can ask questions at any point in the interview

To aid later transcription and analysis it is preferred that an audio recording be taken during the interview, although this is not compulsory. The data will be confidential. Access to the data will be limited to the interviewer and stored securely on a university server. All research data collected will be analysed and used for a thesis that will contain anonymous excerpts from the interview.

The interview does not ask any personal questions and you are under no obligation to give any personal information. However, if the questions do make you feel upset, we can suspend or stop the interview at any point. In addition, you do not have to answer all the questions and your participation is entirely voluntary.

You have the right to withdraw from the interview and research at any time, either now, during the interview or after the interview up until October 2019. After October 2019 it will not be possible to withdraw your data from my study, as the data from the interviews will have been written up and submitted.

## Data Protection

In order to carry out the research project described above, we will need to collect information about you, and some of this information will be your personal data. Under data protection law, we have to provide you with very specific information about what we do with your data and about your rights. We have set out below the key information you need to know about how we will use your personal data.

More information on how the University processes personal data can be found on the University's website on the page called 'Data Protection - How the University Uses Your Data' (<https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/privacy/index.aspx>).

### **Who is the Data Controller?**

The University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham B15 2TT is the data controller for the personal data that we process in relation to you.

### **What data are we processing and for what purpose will we use it?**

We will collect and process your personal data to conduct the research project, as explained in the Participant Information Sheet.

### **What is our legal basis for processing your data?**

The legal justification we have under data protection law for processing your personal data is that it is necessary for our research, which is a task we carry out in the public interest. These data will not be used to make decisions about you.

### **Who will my personal data be shared with?**

We will not share your data with any third party.

Sometimes, external organisations assist us with processing your information, for example, in providing IT support and Nvivo, which assists with data analysis. These organisations act on our behalf in accordance with our instructions and do not process your data for any purpose over and above what we have asked them to do. We make sure we have appropriate contracts in place with them to protect and safeguard your data. If your personal data are transferred outside the European Union (for example, if one of our partners is based outside the EU or we use a cloud-based app with servers based outside the EU), we make sure that appropriate safeguards are in place to ensure the confidentiality and security of your personal data.

### **How will my personal data be kept secure?**

The University takes great care to ensure that personal data is handled, stored and disposed of confidentially and securely. Our staff receive regular data protection training, and the University has put in place organisational and technical measures so that personal data is processed in accordance with the data protection principles set out in data protection law.



The University has an Information Security Management System based on ISO27001 with a range of controls covering the protection of personal information. Annual security awareness training is mandatory for staff and the University is accredited under the NHS Information Governance Toolkit, the Payment Card Industry Data Security Standard and is in the process of gaining Cyber Essentials Plus for defined services.

In relation to this project, only myself will have access to the data and it will be kept on an encrypted USB drive and on the university servers.

### **How long will my personal data be kept?**

Your data will be retained for 10 years after the publication of the research outcomes. If you withdraw from the project, I will delete all your information as soon as reasonably possible

### **Your rights in relation to your data**

You may have the following rights in respect of your personal data:

- The right to access to your data (often referred to as a Subject Access Request).
- The right to rectification of inaccuracies in your data.
- The right to erasure of your data (in certain circumstances).
- The right to restrict processing of your data (in certain circumstances).
- The right to object to the processing of your data (in certain circumstances).
- The right to ask for your personal data to be transferred electronically to a third party.
- If the research is being done on the legal basis of your consent (see above), the right to withdraw consent.

However, your rights to access, change or move your information are limited, as we need to manage your information in specific ways in order for the research to be reliable and accurate.

If you would like more information on your rights, would like to exercise any right or have any queries relating to our processing of your personal data, please contact:

The Information Compliance Manager, Legal Services, The University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham B15 2TT

Email: [dataprotection@contacts.bham.ac.uk](mailto:dataprotection@contacts.bham.ac.uk) Telephone: +44 (0)121 414 3916

If you wish to make a complaint about how your data is being or has been processed, please contact our Data Protection Officer.

Mrs Carolyn Pike, OBE, The Data Protection Officer, Legal Services, The University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham B15 2TT

Email: [dataprotection@contacts.bham.ac.uk](mailto:dataprotection@contacts.bham.ac.uk) Telephone: +44 (0)121 414 3916

You also have a right to complain to the Information Commissioner's Office (ICO) about the way in which we process your personal data. You can make a complaint using the ICO's website.

### Contact Details

#### **Researcher**

Robert Skinner

Doctoral Researcher

International Development

University of Birmingham



#### **Supervisors**

Giuditta Fontana

Birmingham Fellow

University of Birmingham



Danielle Beswick

Senior Lecturer

University of Birmingham



### Consent Form

**Statements of understanding/consent**

I confirm that I have read and understand the participant information for this study. I have had the opportunity to ask questions if necessary and have had these answered satisfactorily.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. If I withdraw my data will be removed from the study and will be destroyed.

I understand that my personal data will be processed for the purposes detailed above, in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

I agree to take part in this study.

I agree to have the interview recorded

**Name of participant** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date** \_\_\_\_\_

**Signature** \_\_\_\_\_

**Name of researcher**

**Date** \_\_\_\_\_

**Signature** \_\_\_\_\_

*Student Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form*

**Title of Research:** Practices of Peace Education in Colombia

This interview is contributing to a PhD thesis on peace education in Colombia. This is the second stage of my fieldwork, the first took place in May 2018, and it aims to understand how peace education is taught in schools in different regions of Colombia. As part of this study, I am interviewing teachers and students who have taught or been taught lessons as part of the Catedra de la Paz law. The research will contribute to a fuller understanding of how peace education can be taught effectively in Colombia.

The interview will last 30 minutes in total. At the end, there will be 5 minutes for any questions you may have and to reflect on what was discussed. However, you can ask questions at any point in the interview.

To help with later transcription and analysis it is preferred that an audio recording is taken during the interview, although this is not compulsory. The data will be confidential. Access to the data will be limited to the interviewer and stored securely on a university server. All research data collected will be analysed and used for a thesis that will contain confidential excerpts from the interview.

You have the right to withdraw from the interview and research at any time. You have the right to withdraw from the interview and research at any time, either now, during the interview or after the interview. However, after October 2019, it will not be possible to withdraw your data from my study.

Your teacher will be contactable at any point in the interview if you wish to contact them.

The interview does not ask any personal questions and you are under no obligation to give any personal information. However, if the questions do make you feel upset, we can stop the interview at any point. We can then continue the interview later or stop it for good – whichever you prefer.

If you do feel upset, you can contact

School welfare office

## Data Protection

In order to carry out the research project described above, we will need to collect information about you, and some of this information will be your personal data. Under data protection law, we have to provide you with very specific information about what we do with your data and about your rights. We have set out below the key information you need to know about how we will use your personal data.

More information on how the University processes personal data can be found on the University's website on the page called 'Data Protection - How the University Uses Your Data' (<https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/privacy/index.aspx>).

### **Who is the Data Controller?**

The University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham B15 2TT is the data controller for the personal data that we process in relation to you.

### **What data are we processing and for what purpose will we use it?**

We will collect and process your personal data to conduct the research project, as explained in the Participant Information Sheet.

### **What is our legal basis for processing your data?**

The legal justification we have under data protection law for processing your personal data is that it is necessary for our research, which is a task we carry out in the public interest. These data will not be used to make decisions about you.

### **Who will my personal data be shared with?**

We will not share your data with any third party.

Sometimes, external organisations assist us with processing your information, for example, in providing IT support and Nvivo, which assists with data analysis. These organisations act on our behalf in accordance with our instructions and do not process your data for any purpose over and above what we have asked them to do. We make sure we have appropriate contracts in place with them to protect and safeguard your data. If your personal data are transferred outside the European Union (for example, if one of our partners is based outside the EU or we use a cloud-based app with servers based outside the EU), we make sure that appropriate safeguards are in place to ensure the confidentiality and security of your personal data.

### **How will my personal data be kept secure?**

The University takes great care to ensure that personal data is handled, stored and disposed of confidentially and securely. Our staff receive regular data protection training, and the University has put in place organisational and technical measures so that personal data is processed in accordance with the data protection principles set out in data protection law.

The University has an Information Security Management System based on ISO27001 with a range of controls covering the protection of personal information. Annual security awareness training is mandatory for staff and the University is accredited under the NHS Information Governance Toolkit, the Payment Card Industry Data Security Standard and is in the process of gaining Cyber Essentials Plus for defined services.

In relation to this project, only myself will have access to the data and it will be kept on an encrypted USB drive and on the university servers

### **How long will my personal data be kept?**

Your data will be retained for 10 years after the publication of the research outcomes. If you withdraw from the project, I will delete the information as soon as reasonably possible.

### **Your rights in relation to your data**

You may have the following rights in respect of your personal data:

- The right to access to your data (often referred to as a Subject Access Request).
- The right to rectification of inaccuracies in your data.
- The right to erasure of your data (in certain circumstances).
- The right to restrict processing of your data (in certain circumstances).
- The right to object to the processing of your data (in certain circumstances).
- The right to ask for your personal data to be transferred electronically to a third party.
- If the research is being done on the legal basis of your consent (see above), the right to withdraw consent.

However, your rights to access, change or move your information are limited, as we need to manage your information in specific ways in order for the research to be reliable and accurate. If you withdraw from the project, I will delete the information as soon as reasonably possible.

If you would like more information on your rights, would like to exercise any right or have any queries relating to our processing of your personal data, please contact:

The Information Compliance Manager, Legal Services, The University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham B15 2TT

Email: [dataprotection@contacts.bham.ac.uk](mailto:dataprotection@contacts.bham.ac.uk) Telephone: +44 (0)121 414 3916

If you wish to make a complaint about how your data is being or has been processed, please contact our Data Protection Officer.

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Robert Skinner

Doctoral Researcher

International Development

University of Birmingham



#### **Supervisors**

Giuditta Fontana

Birmingham Fellow

University of Birmingham



Danielle Beswick

Senior Lecturer

University of Birmingham



### Consent Form

<b>Statements of understanding/consent</b>
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I confirm that I have read and understand the participant information for this study. I have had the opportunity to ask questions if necessary and have had these answered satisfactorily.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. If I withdraw my data will be removed from the study and will be destroyed.

I understand that my personal data will be processed for the purposes detailed above, in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

I agree to take part in this study.

I agree to have the interview recorded

I confirm that my parents have read and consented for my participation in this study.

**Name of participant** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date** \_\_\_\_\_

**Signature** \_\_\_\_\_

**Name of researcher**

**Date** \_\_\_\_\_

**Signature** \_\_\_\_\_

*Parent Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form*

**Title of Research:** Practices of Peace Education in Colombia



This interview is contributing to a PhD thesis on peace education in Colombia. This is the second stage of my fieldwork, the first took place in May 2018, and it aims to understand how peace education is taught in schools in different regions of Colombia. As part of this study, I am interviewing teachers and students who have taught or been taught lessons as part of the Catedra de la Paz law. The research will contribute to a fuller understanding of how peace education can be taught effectively in Colombia.

The interview will last 30 minutes in total. At the end, there will be 5 minutes for any questions your child may have and to reflect on what was discussed. However, your child can ask questions at any point in the interview

To help with later transcription and analysis it is preferred that an audio recording is taken during the interview, although this is not compulsory. The data will be confidential. Access to the data will be limited to the interviewer and stored securely on a university server. All research data collected will be analysed and used for a thesis that will contain anonymous excerpts from the interview.

The interview does not ask any personal questions and your child is under no obligation to give any personal information. However, if the questions do make your child feel upset, we can stop the interview at any point. We can then continue the interview later or stop it for good – whichever you prefer. In addition, your child does not have to answer all the questions and your participation is entirely voluntary.

Your child's teacher will be contactable at any point in the interview if you wish to contact them. Your child has the right to withdraw from the interview and research at any time. This means any answers your child gives will not be used in my thesis. You has the right to withdraw from the interview and research at any time, either now, during the interview or after the interview up until October 2019. After October 2019 it will not be possible to withdraw your data from my study, as the data from the interviews will have been written up and submitted. . You can also withdraw on their behalf.

## Data Protection

In order to carry out the research project described above, we will need to collect information about you, and some of this information will be your personal data. Under data protection law, we have to provide you with very specific information about what we do with your data and about your rights. We have set out below the key information you need to know about how we will use your personal data.

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### **Who will my personal data be shared with?**

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### **How will my personal data be kept secure?**

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In relation to this project, only myself will have access to the data and it will be kept on an encrypted USB drive and on the university servers

### **How long will my personal data be kept?**

Your data will be retained for 10 years after the publication of the research outcomes. If you withdraw from the project, your data will be deleted as soon as reasonably possible.

### **Your rights in relation to your data**

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- The right to rectification of inaccuracies in your data.
- The right to erasure of your data (in certain circumstances).
- The right to restrict processing of your data (in certain circumstances).
- The right to object to the processing of your data (in certain circumstances).
- The right to ask for your personal data to be transferred electronically to a third party.
- If the research is being done on the legal basis of your consent (see above), the right to withdraw consent.

However, your rights to access, change or move your information are limited, as we need to manage your information in specific ways in order for the research to be reliable and accurate. If you withdraw from the project, your data will be deleted as soon as reasonably possible.

If you would like more information on your rights, would like to exercise any right or have any queries relating to our processing of your personal data, please contact:

The Information Compliance Manager, Legal Services, The University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham B15 2TT

Email: [dataprotection@contacts.bham.ac.uk](mailto:dataprotection@contacts.bham.ac.uk) Telephone: +44 (0)121 414 3916

If you wish to make a complaint about how your data is being or has been processed, please contact our Data Protection Officer.

Mrs Carolyn Pike, OBE, The Data Protection Officer, Legal Services, The University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham B15 2TT

Email: [dataprotection@contacts.bham.ac.uk](mailto:dataprotection@contacts.bham.ac.uk) Telephone: +44 (0)121 414 3916

You also have a right to complain to the Information Commissioner's Office (ICO) about the way in which we process your personal data. You can make a complaint using the ICO's website.

### Contact Details

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### Consent Form

**Statements of understanding/consent**

I confirm that I have read and understand the participant information for this study. I have had the opportunity to ask questions if necessary and have had these answered satisfactorily.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. If I withdraw my data will be removed from the study and will be destroyed.

I understand that my personal data will be processed for the purposes detailed above, in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

I agree for my child to take part in this study.

I agree to have the interview recorded

**Name of parent** \_\_\_\_\_

**Name of child** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date** \_\_\_\_\_

**Signature of parent** \_\_\_\_\_

**Name of researcher**

**Date** \_\_\_\_\_

**Signature** \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 5: Data Collection Summary

<b>Interview number</b>	<b>Interview Code</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Interview Length</b>	<b>Role and Institution</b>
1	Expert 1	Bogotá	03/05/2018	35.15	PhD student and teacher at Universidad Javeriana
2	Expert 2	Bogotá	11/05/2018	35.19	Lecturer on peace, conflict and education at Universidad Nacional
3	Expert 3	Bogotá	23/05/2018	18.45	PhD student Universidad Nacional and employee of Redepaz
4	Expert 4 / group interview	Bogotá	01/05/2018	56.36	Member of discussion group on peace and reconciliation at Universidad Javeriana
5	Expert 5 / group interview	Bogotá	01/05/2018	56.36	Member of discussion group on peace and reconciliation at Universidad Javeriana
6	Expert 6 / group interview	Bogotá	01/05/2018	56.36	Member of discussion group on peace and reconciliation at Universidad Javeriana
7	Expert 7 / group interview	Bogotá	01/05/2018	56.36	Member of discussion group on peace and reconciliation at Universidad Javeriana
8	Expert 8 / group interview	Bogotá	01/05/2018	56.36	Member of discussion group on peace

					and reconciliation at Universidad Javeriana
9	Expert 9 / group interview	Bogotá	01/05/2018	56.36	Member of discussion group on peace and reconciliation at Universidad Javeriana
10	Expert 10 / group interview	Bogotá	01/05/2018	56.36	Member of discussion group on peace and reconciliation at Universidad Javeriana
11	Expert 11	Bogotá	07/05/2018	46.38	Lecturer on peace and conflict at Universidad Javeriana
12	Expert 12	Bogotá	09/05/2018	29.36	Lecturer on education at Universidad Javeriana
13	Expert 13	Bogotá	17/05/2018	32.43	Director of Human Rights programme at Universidad Javeriana
14	Expert 14	Bogotá	11/05/2018	20.01	Professor of politics and conflict at Universidad Javeriana
15	Expert 15	Bogotá	17/05/2018	32.43	Professor of politics and conflict at Universidad Javeriana
16	Expert 16	Bogotá	17/05/2018	15.59	PhD student Universidad Nacional and employee of Redepaz
17	Expert 17	Bogotá	18/05/2018	1.33.08	Lecturer on education and conflict at

					Universidad Javeriana
18	Expert 18	Online	20/06/2018	1.09.10	Professor of psychology at Universidad de Los Andes and expert on education and conflict
19	Expert 19	Bogotá	05/04/2019	1.22.54	Retired Civil Servant at Ministry of Education
20	Expert 20	Bogotá	16/04/2019	24.10	Civil Servant at Ministry of education
21	NGO 1	Medellín	27/02/2019	27.26	Employee at museo casa de la memoria
22	NGO 2	Medellín	1/03/2019	29.30	Director at museo casa de la memoria
23	NGO 3	Medellín	15/04/2019	15.07	Employee at MOVA centre of innovation for teaching
24	NGO 4	Medellín	15/04/2019	11.51	Employee at MOVA centre of innovation for teaching
25	NGO 5	Medellín	15/04/2019	11.27	Employee at MOVA centre of innovation for teaching
26	NGO 6	Medellín	15/04/2019	9.01	Employee at MOVA centre of innovation for teaching
27-28	NGO 7 and 8	Medellín	28/02/2019	42.19	Employees of NGO that specialises in peace education
29	NGO 9	Medellín	19/04/2019	36.47	Employee of Catholic NGO that specialises in peace education
30	NGO 10	Medellín	23/04/2019	24.51	Employee of Catholic NGO



					that specialises in peace education
31	NGO 11	Medellín	24/02/2019	32.39	Consultant for NGOs and PhD student at Universidad Medellín
32-33	NGO 12 and 13	Bogotá	10/05/2018	28.50	Employees for foundation for peace and reconciliation
34	NGO 14	Bogotá	18/05/2019	17.01	Employee of NGO that specialises in peace education
35	Teacher 1a	Bogotá	4/03/2019	21.05	Social Sciences Teacher
36	Teacher 1b	Bogotá	6/03/2019	34.51	Social Sciences Teacher
37	Teacher 1c	Bogotá	5/03/2019	33.51	Head of Social Sciences
38	Teacher 1d	Bogotá	6/03/2019	14.11	Social Sciences Teacher
39	Teacher 1e	Bogotá	6/03/2019	19.17	Social Sciences Teacher
40	Teacher 1f	Bogotá	8/03/2019	16.09	Rector (in charge of religious duties)
41	Teacher 1g	Bogotá	5/03/2019	21.45	Social Sciences Teacher
42	Teacher 1h	Bogotá	12/03/2019	17.23	Science Teacher
43-45	Students 1a	Bogotá	12/03/2019	16.33	Year 11 student group
46-48	Students 1b	Bogotá	12/03/2019	19.24	Year 11 student group
49-51	Students 1c	Bogotá	13/03/2019	13.47	Year 11 student group
52	Teacher 2a	Bogotá	09/03/2019	36.54	Social Sciences teacher
53	Teacher 2b	Bogotá	11/03/2019	16.05	Social Sciences Teacher
54	Teacher 2c	Bogotá	11/03/2019	16.23	Social Sciences Teacher
55	Teacher 2d	Bogotá	11/03/2019	8.55	Social Sciences Teacher

56	Teacher 2e	Bogotá	11/03/2019	16.35	Head of behaviour
-	Group Interview	Bogotá	11/03/2019	8.55	Group interview with social sciences teacher
57-59	Students 2a	Bogotá	11/03/2019	10.40	Year 11 students
60-62	Students 2b	Bogotá	11/03/2019	9.50	Year 11 students
63	Teacher 3a	Medellín	15/04/2019	10.46	Social Sciences Teacher
64	Teacher 3b	Medellín	15/04/2019	11.33	Languages teacher
65	Teacher 3c	Medellín	15/04/2019	20.30	Social Sciences Teacher
66	Teacher 3d	Medellín	15/04/2019	16.03	Social Sciences Teacher
67	Teacher 3e	Medellín	15/04/2019	6.32	Social Sciences Teacher
68-71	student group 3a	Medellín	15/04/2019	12.37	Year 11 students
72-75	student group 3b	Medellín	15/04/2019	19.08	Year 11 students
76-77	student group 3c	Medellín	15/04/2019	8.14	Year 10 students
78-83	student group 3d	Medellín	15/04/2019	5.23	Year 6 students

## Appendix 6: NVivo Data Analysis

*Empirical Chapter 1*

For the first empirical chapter, I did not use NVivo and coded the data on Microsoft Word. These were the codes and sub-codes:

<b>Code</b>	<b>Sub-code</b>	<b>Sub-code 2</b>
Purpose of Peace Education	Theories of Peace	Galtung
		Other
		Criticism
	Politicising Peace	
	Teaching Positionality	Activism / social change
		Personal understanding
	Reflexivity	
	Beyond Direct Peace	
	Empathy	Understanding
		Reducing violence
	Meaning of Peace	Local peaces
End of fighting		
Justice or revenge		
Limitations of Peace Education	Private schools and state schools	Bureaucracy
		Resources
	Teacher training	Knowledge
		Access
		Willingness
	State neglect	
	Funding	
	Cultural bias	
	Economic inequality	
	Change of government	
Long term change		

## Empirical Chapter 2

### NVivo page with codes and example of annotations of codes

The screenshot displays the NVivo 12 Plus software interface. The main window shows a project titled "4th empirical chapter.nvp - NVivo 12 Plus". The interface is divided into several sections:

- Menu Bar:** Includes File, Home, Import, Create, Explore, Share, and Node Tools.
- Toolbar:** Contains various tools for file management, zooming, annotations, coding, and visualization.
- Left Panel (Quick Access):** Lists Files, Memos, Nodes, Data, Codes, Cases, Notes, Search, Maps, and Output.
- Nodes Table:** A table listing nodes and their associated files and references.
 

Name	Files	References
Aims	0	0
reflection, behavioural change, value	7	23
critical awareness	9	29
improving teaching	8	24
other	5	8
Participation	3	6
Limits	0	0
Access	10	37
control of content	2	9
Evaluation	7	12
historical knowledge	4	16
other	5	11
pedagogical ability and content	10	33
state	7	27
violent context	8	26
Resources	10	60
- Main Text Area:** Displays a document with highlighted text segments. Each segment is associated with a reference and a coverage percentage.
  - Reference 3 - 4.19% Coverage:** "hemos insistido mucho en el tema de la espiritualidad, porque nos parece que si no hay un cambio como desde el interior de las personas, de las actitudes de las personas, de los sentimientos, de las experiencias más íntimas que los marcan, eso es muy complicado porque no solamente es de lo que piensan...si no cambiamos el interior es complicado que la gente sea pacífica, entonces tenemos unas sesiones donde trabajamos un poco más la espiritualidad, esta es una exigencia de los jesuitas, pero a nosotros nos gusta el tema, nos parece que está bien, es como una actualización de lo que hace San Ignacio de Loyola en los ejercicios espirituales, pero es una actualización en términos de paz, en términos más o menos laicos, espiritualidad no es propiamente la religión, sino como que la gente tenga una reflexión, una autocrítica interna, una exploración de sus sentimientos que nos parece muy importante para que la gente entienda y viva que puede obrar sin violencia, que aparezca eso como una posibilidad, eso nos parece que tal vez es lo más importante, porque la gente puede tomar muchos cursos de paz, pero internamente no estar vinculada a la paz, nos parecía importante aparte de las concepciones que la gente tenga de la paz, nos interesaba tocar el corazón de la gente porque o si no, esto no nos funcionaba."
  - Reference 4 - 2.67% Coverage:** "interesa que si la gente trabaja en estas cosas de la paz, sea coherente, porque hemos encontrado varias veces que muchos líderes comunitarios que trabajan en paz, son violentos con sus familias, profesores que hablan de paz, son violentos con los estudiantes, entonces nos parecía que eso tiene que ser una cosa interior, que tiene que ser coherente con lo que es y vive la persona. Entonces insistimos en la espiritualidad porque necesitamos que la gente que trabaja en lo de la paz, sea coherente y que les probemos eso, entendiendo que todos somos muy frágiles y que ser coherente no es una cosa fácil, y creo que el énfasis de nosotros, está puesto en eso, más que en el tema de conceptos, si explicamos conceptos de paz y de violencia y tratamos de que la gente entienda el contexto y ubique las dinámicas territoriales y esas cosas pero"
  - Reference 5 - 1.54% Coverage:** "a nosotros nos interesa que aparezca mucho esa dimensión de la espiritualidad también"
- Annotations Panel:** Located at the bottom, it shows annotations for the selected text.
 

Item	Content
32	internal element of peace more important than understanding context and wider concepts (see next quote as well) - internal spiritual element is the most important.
33	wider themes dont make sense without internal spirituality

## Final Table of Nodes and sub-nodes

<b>Code</b>	<b>Sub-code</b>
Aims of peace education	Reflection, behavioural changer and values
	Critical awareness
	Improving teaching
	Participation
	other
Limits of Peace education	Access
	Control of Content
	Evaluation
	Historical Knowledge
	Pedagogical ability and content
	State
	Violent context
Resources	Private schools
	State schools

## Empirical Chapter 3

### NVivo page with codes and example of annotations of codes

The screenshot displays the NVivo 12 Plus software interface. The main window shows a project titled "2nd fieldwork trip.nvp". The interface is divided into several sections:

- Menu Bar:** File, Home, Import, Create, Explore, Share, Node Tools.
- Toolbar:** Includes tools for Memo Link, See Also Link, Content, Quick Coding, Annotations, See Also Links, Relationships, Coding Stripes, Highlight, Code, Uncode from This Node, Spread Coding, Auto Code, New Annotation Annotations, Word Cloud, Compare With, Explore Diagram, Query This Node, and Find.
- Left Hand Side (Navigation Pane):**
  - Quick Access: Files, Memos, Nodes.
  - Data: Files (school 1 students, school 1 teachers, school 2 students, school 2 teachers), File Classifications, Externals.
  - Codes: Nodes, Sentiment, Relationships, Relationship Types.
  - Cases, Notes, Search, Maps, Output.
- Nodes List (Table):**

Name	Files	References
Intention (student)	5	22
Intention (teacher)	14	41
Limitation (student)	5	14
Limitation (teacher)	13	53
Method (student)	4	14
Method (teacher)	12	37
peace (students)	4	13
peace (teacher)	5	12
perception of gvt (student)	0	0
perception of gvt (teacher)	13	28
- Main Text Area:** Displays a document snippet with highlighted text and annotations.
 

Limitation (teacher) x

yes but it is difficult because some people in the school think it is important, some other people in the school think it is important because it is a legal obligation and that is it. some other people think we shouldn't be doing it at all. Some people have been annoyed by the things we have been teaching, some people are critics of what we do in the social studies department, I don't know for instance in relation to gender, teaching about gender equality and rights of LGBTQ people. It is difficult, teaching about the situation with guerrillas in Colombia in a complex way, showing the causes of the conflict not from the point of view of what our history has taught but what reality has taught us. Maybe talking about socialism or social democracy can be frowned upon in some parts of the school, but in other parts of the school this will be well met.

Reference 3 - 4.36% Coverage

But there is another tendency to leave things the way they are. This is a really conservative school in a lot of ways. This is traditional school and therefore some of the parents might get upset when you are talking about politics and stuff. This is actually a discussion that is taking place in the country right now. Some people think that the teachers shouldn't be talking about politics. It is impossible. Actually every single teacher is discussing and teaching politics in some way, especially the social studies teachers. We have to. We have to talk about this.

Reference 4 - 1.53% Coverage

Of course and what they are trying to do is erase critical children, that we don't raise critical people who have the opportunity to question why should the way in which this country has been structured

Reference 5 - 3.21% Coverage

I tend to form a strong bond with my students – especially in 11<sup>th</sup> grade and so as I have formed this strong bond I know that they protect me, even if they are my political opponents and they are in a lot of cases. Some people will not be able to recognise me for being a social democrat but some people will say that I am a communist or whatever and that gets...that makes the discussion harder than it needs to be.

Annotations

Item	Content
4	dangers of having - or being accused of having - a specific ideology feeds polarized views within the school
5	demand by parents not to politicise their children
- Bottom Status Bar:** Shows "74 Items", "Files: 13", "References: 53", and "Unfiltered".

Final Table of Nodes and sub-nodes

<b>Code</b>	<b>Sub-code</b>
Intention [of peace education – students]	Empathy
	Peace theories
	reflection
	Improved education
Intention [of peace education – teachers]	Empathy
	Peace theories
	Better people
	Changing society
	Student (dis)interest
Limitation [of peace education – students]	Time
	Understanding
Limitation [of peace education – teachers]	School management
	Government
	Time and competing pressures
	parents
Method [of teaching peace education – students]	
Method [of teaching peace education – teachers]	
Peace - students	
Peace - teachers	
Perception of government – teachers	Negative
	positive

## Empirical Chapter 4

### NVivo page with codes and example of annotations of codes

3rd school data.nvp - NVivo 12 Plus

File Home Import Create Explore Share Node Tools

Zoom Annotations Quick Coding See Also Links Coding Highlight Code Uncode from This Node Spread Coding Auto Code New Annotation Annotations Word Cloud Compare With Explore Diagram Query This Node Find

Quick Access: Files, Memos, Nodes, Data, Codes, Cases, Notes, Search, Maps, Output

Name	Files	Referenc
familia and context (students)	2	5
familias and context (teachers)	5	21
gvt and state actions for peace (students)	0	0
gvt and state actions for peace (teachers)	4	8
improving and achieving peace in schools (students)	4	21
improving teaching peace (teachers)	1	1
meaning of peace (students)	3	17
meaning of peace (teachers)	4	13
obstacles (students)	3	11
obstacles (teachers)	5	30
school actions to achieve peace (student)	4	21
school actions to achieve peace (teachers)	5	13

familia and context (students)

<Files\School 3 year 11 group 1.students.transcripción> - 2 references coded [10.14% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 7.87% Coverage

Pues acá vemos inglés, español, ética, religión, emprendimiento, tecnología, matemáticas, ciencias naturales, química, física, talento humano.

Básicamente en cada una de estas materias lo que más nos explican nos recalcan en colegio son como los valores, la institución, sobre cómo convivir entre nosotros, claro también nos preparan para una vida más técnica cuando salgamos de la institución.

De hecho nosotros tenemos dos técnicas que se separan por grupos entre 10º, 11A y 11B.

11A pertenece a la técnica de Asistencia Administrativa y 11B pertenece a la técnica de Recursos Humanos, lo cual nos prepara y cuando terminemos la idea es poder llegar al SENA (Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje).

Reference 2 - 2.27% Coverage

Vemos lo mismo pero ya en 9º, 10º y 11º pues vemos química, física a medida que avanzamos en el nivel de educación nos agregan más materias como filosofía, economía política, nos van dando más materias.

<Files\School 3 year 11 group 2.transcripción> - 3 references coded [5.92% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.64% Coverage

Yo he estudiado toda mi vida acá en este colegio en la institución de las guerras o conflictos, yo investigo pues no diariamente... pero sí casualmente consulto y pues por ejemplo sobre la crisis que se está viviendo en Venezuela.

Reference 2 - 2.49% Coverage

llevo cuatro años acá desde octavo, y pues en el tiempo que yo he estado acá siempre nos

Item	Content
1	taught values such as how to live together is a key value that is taught at the school
2	some experience of being taught about the conflict but not a regular occurrence - this student has also studied at the school his/her whole life

Code At Enter node name (CTRL+Q)

4 Items Files: 2 References: 5 Unfiltered

13:33 09/12/2021



## Final Table of Nodes and Sub-nodes

<b>Code</b>	<b>Sub-code</b>
Families and context (students)	violence
Families and context (teachers)	violence
	Neglect
	Poverty
Gvt and state actions for peace (teachers)	
Improving and achieving peace in school (students)	Respect
	Atmosphere for learning
Improving and achieving peace in school (teachers)	Atmosphere for learning
	Behaving well
Meaning of peace (students)	behavioural
	social
Meaning of peace (teachers)	behavioural
	social
Obstacles (students)	Violent context
	Time
Obstacles (teachers)	Resources
	Discipline
School actions (students)	Sports
	Dialogue
	Extra-curricular
School actions (teachers)	Dialogue