Educators at the Malmo School of Education (Sweden) have carried out a series of studies within the area of school and peace. As an informal umbrella heading for the project group conducting such studies the term "Preparedness for Peace" has been used. The overriding aim of the group's work has been to increase knowledge (in a broad sense) about hindrances and possibilities in the school's work with global survival issues. This overview report collects notes about the work of the project group and the process they have been involved in. The report also presents some of the group's views on possible and fruitful ways of dealing with conflict and peace education that have resulted from the group's work (the product). It is divided into nine sections: (1) "Introduction"; (2) "What Is Preparedness for Peace? A Discussion about the Ambitions and Specific Objectives of Peace Education"; (3) "What Can We Do in School to Promote a Preparedness for Peace?"; (4) "Some "Difficulties" with Peace Education"; (5) "Peace Education and Teacher Training"; (6) "Developing Students' Materials and Teachers' Manuals"; (7) "Continued Work: Need for Flexible Fact-Finding"; (8) "Issues for Thought and Dialogue"; and (9) "Postscriptum." Includes six text illustrations. Lists 35 full-text quoted interviews and 48 other references. (BT)
Developing Preparedness for Peace

Åke Bjerstedt
“Preparedness for Peace” is an umbrella term for the desired effect of peace education. This publication discusses the processes and products of such educational efforts.

As background to these discussions experiences from research and development work at the Malmö School of Education are referred to.
Peace Education Reports, No. 18

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background

During recent decades the issues of global survival have come into focus in the general debate more clearly than was earlier the case. It has seemed urgent to ask what the school can contribute. How should schools treat issues of war and peace? Are the schools of our world able to contribute to increasing the possibilities of peaceful co-living and a wiser handling of the global resources? Which are the psychological pre-conditions? Which educational strategies can be relevant?

Questions of this type have been raised in many countries. There are, in fact, a surprising number of papers and reports in which such problems are discussed. However, there is a clear need of educational and psychological research and development in order to increase our knowledge within this problem area, so far not thoroughly researched, and in order to increase our possibilities to involve ourselves in adequate actions and recommendations.

Against this background we have, at the Malmö School of Education (located in Malmö, Sweden), carried out a series of studies within the area school and peace. As an informal umbrella heading for our project group we have used the term "Preparedness for Peace". The main work has been carried out within projects supported by Skolöverstyrelsen/Skolverket [the Swedish National Board of Education / the Swedish National Agency for Education]. Around this nucleus of activities, supplementary work has been carried out also by other persons. Hence, we consider ourselves to have been a fairly informal special-interest group.

In addition, the project leader has worked as the coordinator of an international network, the “Peace Education Commission” within the “International Peace Research Association” (during part of the 1990s). This fact has led to some additional tasks within the project group “Preparedness for Peace”, and it has made the documentation from our working group more international. (Cf. Bjerstedt, 2003.)

The overriding aim of the work by the group “Preparedness for Peace” may be said to have been to increase our knowledge about hindrances and possibilities in the work of the school with global survival issues. When using the expression “increase our knowledge”, this should be understood in a broad sense, also including such things as “developing more constructive ideas about” and “creating a more differentiated conception about”.

In this “overview report” I will collect some notes about the work of the “project group” (“the process” we have been involved in). I will also, and especially, present some of our views on possible and fruitful ways of dealing with conflict and peace education that have resulted from our work (“the product”).

1.2 Different Types of Working Tasks within the Project Group

The project group “Peace Preparedness” has worked with a series of different part studies. Primarily they have dealt with five different types of main tasks or task areas:

First area: Inventory and analysis of experiences and related research in various countries, as documented in texts. It has seemed to be natural and important to make good use of what has been actually done and thought around school and peace earlier and in different contexts.

Second area: Studies of conceptions, attitudes and values (conceptions of peace and war, enemy images, ideas on how to work for peace etc.). The basic idea is that it is reasonable to assume that a teacher has a better chance of acting efficiently and effectively if he or she can relate the teaching to the student’s conceptions. There is probably a better chance of making recommendations of a more general kind about the character of educational input at different age levels if these recommendations are based on knowledge of typical ideas.

Third area: Explorations of viewpoints concerning the role of school in trying to promote “preparedness for peace”. Here the principal task is to collect and generate ideas in contact with people who have a practical or theoretical interest in peace education. What ideas and recommendations concerning steps and measures in the peace education process can be supplied by people who have worked with some kind of peace education?

Fourth area: Studies of the ways in which schools actually treat or can treat peace and war, and work for “preparedness for peace” in general. Here the general idea is to study and systematically evaluate various types of attempts to deal practically with the task of peace education in the classroom situation. This is a tremendously large working area, and in our own studies we can, of course, only address a few of the many possibilities.

Fifth area: A variety of project publications. The aim of the project group is to generate several kinds of “products”, such as bibliographies, reports of empirical research, and teacher’s guides. Among other things, it
has been our ambition to publish a number of brief information pamphlets from the project group that may be used to stimulate discussion and the generation of ideas among teachers and teacher trainees. To some extent, we have also tried to develop brief documents for an international audience (especially in the pamphlet series “Peace Education Miniprints”).
2 What is Preparedness for Peace?  
A Discussion about the Ambitions and Specific Objectives of Peace Education

The term "peace education" has so far been used differently in different contexts. In the peace education literature as well as in our expert interviews it is obvious that various associations are evoked in the minds of different authors and interviewees.

We have used the expression "Preparedness for Peace" as a umbrella term for our research and development group. But we have also used this expression as an overall term for the aims or objectives of peace education. In our thinking "peace education" is a process, whereas "preparedness for peace" is a product: a successful end result of the peace education process.

We have used this expression, Preparedness for Peace, to emphasize a perspective shift that we feel is needed in the general debate on peace and war. The old expression Si vis pacem, para bellum [If you want peace, prepare for war] represents a way of thinking that has dominated the view of security and peace, and a habit of language that is used more or less without thinking in talking about international relations for example. The word "security" is directly associated by many to "a high level of military armament", and in several languages "preparedness" is more or less automatically interpreted as "military preparedness", "readiness to use arms". Thus, the military sub-culture has occupied words that originally were more general and neutral.

We think that it is important to liberate ourselves from this kind of "language infiltration" by creating counter terms. Such a term is "common security" (used for example by the Palme Commission). The hope is that the term "preparedness for peace" in a similar way can help to counter-act some of the routine thinking that occurs in the educational area that we deal with here.

I have not found it fruitful to start with attempting a precise definition of terms like "preparedness for peace" or "peace education". Instead I think that it might be more meaningful to discuss possible meanings by means of talking about conceivable ambitions and partial objectives within this problem area. I will start from three different types of reasoning.
2.1 Some Examples of Teacher Ambitions

The first way of reasoning starts from the question: What kind of general ambitions do teachers have (or: should teachers have) when they work with peace education in schools?

When this question is discussed with active school teachers (as we have often done in our project work) a great variety of answers are given. Obviously, there is no general agreement. I will briefly illustrate four different types of answer which appear in such discussions.

First type of answer: The teacher simply wants to give students knowledge of an important sector of today’s reality, i.e. the present international situation, as part of their orientation in the contemporary world. This is probably the least controversial way of formulating the aim of peace education. Such knowledge is, of course, an important part of peace education, but describing the aim only in this way results – as I see it – in a rather narrow perspective.

Second type of answer: The teacher wishes to give the students such insights, skills, attitudes and values as to make them optimally prepared to function “peacefully” in their relations with other people. This type of formulation thus emphasizes “personal peacefulness”, which is, of course, a worthwhile and important aim in its own right, and not always easy to work with. However, many of my readers probably agree with me when I claim that this aim is also too limited to cover what we want to achieve with peace education.

Third type of answer: The teacher wants to give children and young people an opportunity to express their feelings, their anxious thoughts about current war activities or the possibility of a destructive nuclear war – feelings and thoughts evoked by, for example, a TV program. The teacher wishes to give the students an opportunity to verbalize their anxiety and to support them by making them realize that other people (for example their classmates and the teacher) share their feelings and also find it important to talk about these problems. The particular aim in this specific case can perhaps be described as “therapeutic”. This is an understandable and worthwhile aim, especially since many studies show that children are often worried about the possibility of a nuclear war, pessimistic about the future of the world and concerned about the fact that many adults do not seem to care. This, however, is again a fairly specific goal for peace education.

Fourth type of answer: The teacher wishes to promote in the students such insights, skills, attitudes and values as to make them optimally prepared to be willing and able to work for peaceful solutions and against
violent solutions at all levels (personal, intergroup, international) as future citizens.

To sum up this brief discussion of teacher ambitions, I believe that all the four tasks mentioned here are worthwhile and legitimate in our schools. The comprehensive aim expressed in the last formulation is, however, the most important one in the long run. Here peace education means not only education about peace, but education for peace; not only preparation for actions in the personal arena, but also preparation for actions in a wider, political arena. The goal is a general preparedness for peace, which is, of course, a difficult and demanding task.
2.2 Ways of Supporting the “Peace Work” of Our Society

Another way of describing the tasks of peace education is to start from a view of peace education as a complement and support to the general peace work of the society, the efforts that exist to prevent and counteract violence of various kinds. An attempt to illustrate this way of reasoning has been made, in simplified overview form, in Box 1 (p. 14).

In four columns we refer to four types of violence: the physical, the economic-political (or the “structural”), the psychological, and the ecological (“violence against the nature”). The overview indicates also that the various types of violence can be observed on different “levels”: we see them globally or internationally but also nationally or regionally as well as on the interpersonal or individual levels. This differentiation on different levels has only been hinted at briefly in Box 1, since this is not a main part of our reasoning here.

In the next part of the overview, some important tasks for the general peace work are described (such peace activities that are carried out by the peace movements, but also work that to a large degree can be seen as a natural task for our politicians). In general, the task is to change the situation of our society from a less desirable condition to a more desirable one.

Physical violence is, of course, a central problem of concern; the task for peace work in general would be to aim at a conversion from excessive military production and armament toward civilian production and disarmament. – From a "structural" viewpoint, the tasks include changes from economic exploitation and lacking respect for human rights toward a new economic world order and a global society with greater respect for human rights. – Psychologically, it is a question of a change from a limited frame of acceptance, characterized by intolerance, prejudice and enemy images, toward a broader area of solidarity. – Finally, when we deal with violence against the nature, we deal with a shift from short-range goals with extreme resource exploitation toward long-range goals and consciousness of the vulnerability of our environment.

The lower part of Box 1 then shows examples of various possible areas of peace education, regarded just as a support to the general peace work of the society of various character.

In the first column we then find a “disarmament education”; the term “disarmament education” played an important role in UNESCO’s work earlier. Closely related to this orientation of the educational efforts are various attempts to increase students’ understanding of non-violent conflict.
solution and to train them in non-violent conflict resolution. Some educators see communication training for conflict resolution as the very core of peace education. During recent years a good deal of work has been devoted to the possibilities of training in school of “creative conflict resolution” (cf., for example, Lantieri & Patti, 1996; Utas Carlsson, 1999b).

If we then widen the perspective from the area of physical violence to other forms of violence toward humans, we can, in column two and three, note additional areas for peace education: teaching about and for development and human rights (as a contribution to counteracting the structural violence) and – to use a brief label – such “multicultural education” that aspires to see differences between cultures as a stimulating asset rather than a starting-point for discrimination.

When considering violence against nature (the “biosphere”), finally, it might be natural to think about such environmental education and consumer education that has the ambition to develop environmental consciousness, environmental care and long-range goals as aspects of peace education.

It should be added, however, that the area of peace education is not covered in full by these special areas, tied to the task to counteract various forms of violence. In addition to that, it can be reasonable to emphasize the importance of developing certain more general reaction habits and readiness to act in certain ways. This is noted in the bottom part of Box 1 by inserting two examples of such more general behavior tendencies. In order that the students should feel able to contribute in his/her personal sphere or as members of the society to the various parts of the peace work, there is a need of some self-confidence and ability to see oneself as acting in a future (we might talk about an “empowerment education”, when we need to broaden the “experienced ability”). – In a similar way we need to try to broaden the area of “experienced responsibility” (we have used the term “world citizen responsibility” in this latter context).

Using this way of trying to outline tasks for peace education has resulted in a very broad area. Not all who call themselves peace educators would agree to such a broad concept. There are persons who mainly want to restrict the area to handling physical violence (column 1). There are others who find it meaningful to bring together all forms of violence against humans (columns 1–3), but who think that the environmental problems are different and ought to be handled separately. However, especially in recent years, there are also many educators and researchers who think that the interaction between these various forms of violence is obvious enough to make it natural to think about them and work with them.
in a unified overall grasp (cf., for example, Nordland, 1994; Reardon, Nordland & Zuber, 1994; Toh et al., 1993; Wahlström, 1991). Furthermore, it is clear that the threats against the environment and the peace by many children and young people are put in focus when they worry about the future of the world. The term “educating for global survival” has been launched as an expression to cover this broad spectrum of images of threat and their educational handling (Thelin, 1993).
Box 1.
Forms of Violence, Tasks for Peace Work, and Examples of Related Peace Education Areas (Simplified overview)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forms of violence:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1-3: &quot;homosphere&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4: &quot;biosphere&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Physical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Economic/ political</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Psychological</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ecological</td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem levels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Global, international</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear war, &quot;conventional&quot; war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of equality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intolerance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pollution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overuse of resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. National, regional etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prejudice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enemy images</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Interpersonal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powerlessness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alienation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overconsumption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Personal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suicide</td>
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<tr>
<td>Poverty</td>
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<td>Anxiety</td>
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</table>

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Tasks for peace work:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conversion from:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic exploitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrow acceptance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Extractive&quot; attitude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short-range goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armaments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violation of human rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&quot;closed in-group&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future consciousness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disarmament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New economic world order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broad solidarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecological care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civilian products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human rights</td>
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<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Related peace education areas (examples)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Disarmament education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multicultural education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training of conflict resolution and communication skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human rights education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empowerment education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&quot;broadened perceived ability&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education for world citizen responsibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&quot;broadened perceived responsibility&quot;)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3 Partial Educational Objectives or Directional Specifyers

A third way of discussing about the tasks of peace education is to speculate about what educational objectives or directional specifyers that seem natural for the school when focusing on the broad concept of "preparedness for peace".

In the Malmö project's interviews with experts or persons with long-time experience of peace education, many viewpoints related to this set of questions have been presented (cf. References, List A, p. 100). This has, as well as our study of international literature on this topic, given us indications of how one could divide the fairly broad goal area of preparedness for peace into more specific sub-goals. How these partial objectives or directional specifyers are formulated and arranged, is to some extent a matter of taste; it can be done in long series of different ways.

One type of overview is presented in Box 2 (p. 20). Here one starting-point is that it is not only natural to direct one's attention to various aspects of knowledge, even though knowledge is naturally extremely important. It will also be essential to take up values (ethics, ideals). And it will be urgent to try to stimulate readiness for action – as a counter-force against those tendencies to experience hopelessness and action paralysis that we have found in various studies. In Box 2 a tentative goal model is presented, characterized by some brief formulations.

I have started from three psychological aspects (the three I just mentioned: Cognitive components, value perspectives, and forms of preparedness for action). And I have included four content-related components in this analysis: they are briefly and tentatively labelled "Preparedness for Non-Violence", "World Citizen Responsibility", "Egalitarian Attitudes", and "Readiness to Search Critically for Alternatives". This gives a goal system with 3 x 4 cells, that is, twelve subgoal areas, that I will briefly comment upon.

"Preparedness for Non-Violence"

The first content component in the box has been labelled "Preparedness for Non-Violence". As has been seen in various studies, the threat of war has a very frequent and dominating role in the conceptions of young people about the future. This includes the threat of nuclear war (still a threat even though less in focus of debate and consciousness than in the cold war period) as well as various other types of war threat. It is reasonable that school students are given opportunities to express and process their worries
related to various threats of mass violence and that these issues are treated in an international perspectives. Many peace educators see the preparedness for non-violence as the core of peace education.

Cognitively, it is among other things relevant to understand the risks and inadequacies of violence “solutions”. The skills of adequate communication and creative conflict resolution are very important objectives for a school-directed peace education program. The value perspective is a non-violence ethics; and the readiness for action includes a willingness and an ability to work for peace and against violence as “solution”. This readiness includes work in the direction of a step-wise disarmament of a large part of the global society, in cooperation with peace-dedicated international organizations like United Nations.

“World Citizen Responsibility”

A central goal area is also the following, the one that has been labelled “world citizen responsibility” here. That is a term that has been used in some international texts and a term that we have got used to in the Malmö project. It relates to the more common expression “international understanding”, with a long history in Unesco. But the term “world citizen responsibility” is broader in the sense that it includes more clearly an ethical viewpoint and a readiness to act.

In the cognitive sphere (the first cell of world citizen responsibility in the present goal system) we could talk about three components.

One of them can be said to deal with knowledge and insight about the fact that there are many different ways of living in this world (“multicultural consciousness”). When possible we also want to bring about knowledge and insights about single foreign cultures in such a way that we can understand, show tolerance towards and – when that is appropriate – communicate better with their members.

Another component deals with insights about the close interdependence within the world society: the global or planetary perspective that has often been emphasized in the international discussion with various metaphors. In the sixties Kenneth Boulding talked about “education for the Spaceship Earth” (we are all dependent upon each other like the members of a spaceship). Another expression with similar connotations has been education for “the global village”.

A third component deals with knowledge and insights about basic problems related to natural resources and development.

In the cognitive sphere we are thus here dealing with subgoals connected to three related but nevertheless slightly different educational
traditions: sometimes called "education for cross-cultural awareness", "education for global perspectives" and "development education".

The value perspective that is relevant for this content area can be formulated in different ways. Perhaps we could talk about a "global ethics" that contains a responsibility "without borders" for the fellow-beings on the earth and for coming generations. Essential parts of such an ethic can also naturally relate to various formulations of the "human rights" and the "rights of the child".

The goal for the type of preparedness for action that we want to stimulate, finally, is that the students should not only feel solidarity with a narrow circle of well-known friends, relatives and people similar to themselves but to consider themselves as world citizens with an interest – according to abilities and possibilities – to contribute to better living conditions in our common global village.

"Egalitarian Attitudes"
Since a world in stable peace (in the sense of "lack of war") but without justice and equality is difficult to imagine, it seems meaningful to take up, as the third content component, issues of justice and equality (in the goal figure in Box 2, the term "egalitarian attitudes" has been used as a general label for this goal area).

The cognitive component then includes insights about injustice and lack of equality between various groups in the world society. Among these various groups are, of course, the sexes important. Gender consciousness is a natural part of the educational objectives included here (cf., for example, Reardon, 2001).

The value perspective here is, naturally, an ideal of equality. And the action preparedness aimed at involves a willingness to engage oneself in work for a more just distribution, a greater degree of equality. The relation "peace and justice" is a central theme of thought in much work around peace education.

"Readiness to Search Critically for Alternatives"
The fourth content component seems less clearly related to the concept of peace, and I therefore originally felt some hesitation to include it in this goal description. At the same time I think that it can be very important, psychologically and educationally, in this context: "Readiness to Search Critically for Alternatives".

Cognitively we could talk about two major components here: first, ability to scrutinize critically what is given to us as historical "facts";
second, ability to develop alternative visions for the future. As I see it, both of these skills are trained too little in most of our schools today.

Above all, I think that the second component is essential: Our young people need both to get in contact with the visionaries of today and yesterday (for example, Martin Luther King and his message: "I have a dream"); and to some extent themselves to get the opportunity to function as visionaries, that is, individually and together to be allowed to formulate and discuss the character of the future society that they desire and would be prepared to work for.

To clarify the role of our values in the decision process, in all those decisions that influence the factual future, will then be essential; and a basic principle is then the one that is briefly formulated thus in Box 2: "Shaping the future is our common task". The preparedness for action that we wish to stimulate to here is then a preparedness to develop and work for alternative visions in cooperation with others (cf Bjerstedt, 1986, 1992; Boulding & Boulding, 1995; Hicks, 1994; Hutchinson, 1996).

Comments and Specifications
Taking all these formulations together, we will obviously have a very comprehensive goal area, related to the "preparedness for peace". Therefore, it might be natural to ask oneself, if all these things really can be included within a definition of this expression. In our work with peace educators from various countries and contexts, it has been clear that the terminology is still very far from fixed. In this particular goal discussion connection, our primary interest is not primarily a strict definition of a specific term, but rather a discussion of a number of educational objectives that seem important to the preparedness for the future of young people in a global world. The borderlines between these sub-goal areas can not always be unequivocally drawn, but it is natural to see these areas as closely interacting in the way I have wished to indicate with the figure in the lower part of Box 2.

At the same time as the goal area is comprehensive, it describes ambitions on a high level, and it will be natural to ask oneself: Are these such goals that we really are able to reach in school? This is a very basic question that needs to be discussed in further specifications of the goal areas. Quite generally can be said that these goal formulations are primarily to be seen as directions of travel. How far we are able to reach, will probably vary with different pre-conditions in various contexts.

Even though a sub-division of the goal area preparedness for peace has been done into 12 sub-goal areas (in Box 2), and in my comments to
this goal model, it is still a description in fairly general terms. It is essential that we do not stop at these fairly general concepts, but that we proceed and specify more in detail what we want to reach within each of the various sub-fields.

Such a concretization or specification is important for three reasons. It facilitates a discussion about what we agree upon respectively do not agree upon. It makes it possible to have a more clear starting-point for our planning of teaching situations and teaching materials. And it increases, finally, our possibilities to judge to what extent our teaching really has effects in the the direction desired.

In this context it would take us too far to discuss in detail the development of such specified formulations of objectives. However, in Box 3 (pp. 21–25) I have given a number of examples of such statements. They should be seen as starting-points for discussion. Such a discussion can pinpoint sub-goal statements that need to be clarified, items that may be experienced as too controversial or examples that may need to be added in order to give a more all-inclusive picture of the goal area.

When I have talked about this type of goal issues to groups of teachers, I have sometimes let the teachers have lists of such specified goal formulations (longer or shorter extractions of Box 3). Then they have got as a task to think through the various formulations, one at a time, and mark two types of judgments:

(a) Is this an important goal or a less important goal – for the peace-oriented work of the school?
(b) Is this a goal that there is reason to believe that it is presently reached in the school (indicating the type of school that the specific group of teachers know best)?

The answers have naturally been slightly varying; our teachers have different values and experiences. Nevertheless, it is possible to say that the answers by the teachers very often are characterized by a considerable agreement. That agreement has the following character: First, the teachers are relatively in agreement that most of the formulations deal with goals that are important for the school's work. Second, the teachers are also relatively in agreement that most of the formulations deal with goals that are presently not reached within the schools referred to (perhaps with the exception of certain items of knowledge character).

If this is a correct picture (that is, these are important goals that we for the present do not reach in our schools), then we have here an obvious educational challenge – an important task to work more with.
Box 2.
Preparedness for Peace: Preparedness for Non-Violence, World Citizen Responsibility, Egalitarian Attitudes, and Readiness to Search for Alternatives – A Schematic Presentation of Some Components Relevant to Peace Education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cognitive Components, Skills</th>
<th>Value Perspectives</th>
<th>Preparedness for Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preparedness for Non-Violence</td>
<td>Insights into the instabilities and risks of violence-based solutions; communication and conflict processing skills</td>
<td>Non-violence ethics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Citizen Responsibility</td>
<td>Intercultural awareness; global/ecological perspectives</td>
<td>Global ethics based on human rights; respect for international law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egalitarian Attitudes</td>
<td>Insights into present injustice and lack of equality in the world society; awareness of prejudice</td>
<td>Equality ideal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Readiness to Search Critically For Alternatives</td>
<td>Ability to look critically at historical and present developments; media awareness; ability to generate alternative visions</td>
<td>Taking the position: “Shaping the future is our common task”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"EDUCATION FOR PEACE" involves educational efforts to enhance four interacting goal areas:
Box 3.
Examples of Sub-Goals for Peace Education in Schools, Related to Preparedness for Non-Violence, World Citizen Responsibility, Egalitarian Attitudes, and Search for Alternative Visions.

(a) 
The students should have historical and current knowledge about war and peace and insights into the instabilities and risks of violence-based solutions.

(1.1) 
The students should have knowledge about a number of earlier wars, including World War II, some insight into the intricacies of causes and consequences, and some understanding of how these wars were experienced by those involved (soldiers, civilian population etc.).

(1.2) 
The students should be acquainted with the “arms race” during the period after World War II, with the attempts to negotiate on disarmament that have been made and with some of the results and non-results of these negotiations.

(1.3) 
The students should be informed about major aspects of the military and non-military defense policy of his/her own country, about various current alternative opinions, the peace debate and the peace movements, and about the United Nations, its goals and tasks.

(1.4) 
The students should be aware of the enormous costs involved in the armaments of the world today and the consequences of the military investments for other aspects of world development.

(1.5) 
The students should be aware that wars are not inevitable but created by human beings among other things as a way of solving conflicts.

(1.6) 
The students should be acquainted with the possible effects and consequences of a modern war, including a nuclear war, and be aware that these effects and consequences make wars unacceptable as conflict resolution measures to many people.

(1.7) 
The students should be aware that wars are often idealized and described in heroic terms in mass media and fiction in a way that conceals the fear and suffering inherent in mass violence.

(1.8) 
The students should realize that wars are often preceded by extensive propaganda with images of the enemy far removed from reality and should have acquired some skill in recognizing biased propagandistic materials.

(1.9) 
The students should have some knowledge about the “spiral of violence”, that violence breeds counter-violence, that oppression very easily leads to violent reactions etc.
The students should be aware that many international conflicts do not lead to war and should have some acquaintance with those alternative strategies that have led to non-violent conflict solutions.

The students should also be aware that when two countries (or other collective units) regard each other as "enemies", then one essential strategy on the way towards more positive relations would be to increase (rather than diminish) the attempts to communicate and operate together on equal terms.

(b)
The students should have acquired a value perspective that means that non-violent solutions of conflicts are given clear priority.

(2.1)
The students should have acquired a habit of discussing various alternative ways of dealing with conflicts in their own environment and thereby of giving priority to non-violent solutions.

(2.2)
The students should have acquired a critical attitude to the unrealistically favorable descriptions of violence (in terms of heroes etc.) often presented in mass media and fiction.

(2.3)
The students should be acquainted with "peace heroes" and "non-violent strategies" and have some ability to argue in favor of non-violent solutions.

(c)
The students should have acquired a preparedness for action that includes a willingness and an ambition to work for peace and against violent solutions, both at the personal level and in wider contexts.

(3.1)
The students should have acquired some personal skills in solving conflict by communicating with the conflict partners involved.

(3.2)
The students should have acquired a readiness to search for alternative solutions in conflict situations.

(3.3)
The students should have a readiness and an ambition to participate actively in the work for peace and thereby to strengthen public opinion against armaments and military violence.

(d)
The students should have acquired knowledge and insights involving an understanding of foreign cultures and peoples, an understanding of the close interdependence between peoples and processes on Spaceship Earth as well as an understanding of basic development problems in the world society.
(4.1) The students should have acquired knowledge about various peoples and cultures in a way that they can experience basic similarities (for example, with respect to common needs) but also appreciate cultural differences.

(4.2) The students should be acquainted with the fact that we often develop incorrect and stereotyped images of foreign groups, among other things due to lack of detailed knowledge and our own tendency to simplify.

(4.3) The students should have integrated the knowledge about different cultures (item 4.1) and the insight that we easily create stereotype images of that which is foreign (item 4.2) in such a way that they can actively counteract their own tendencies towards ethnocentric reactions, that is, reactions that one-sidedly and without reflection regard the viewpoints and behaviors of the own group and the own people as the "correct" ones.

(4.4) The students should have acquired such knowledge and skills in a foreign language (that is internationally useful) that they can communicate outside their own language area and thus also have better possibilities independently to acquire continued knowledge and insights about international circumstances.

(4.5) The students should be aware of the intimate interdependence on many levels that characterizes the interaction between different countries and between human beings and nature.

(4.6) The students should have acquired a habit of considering various problems in a global perspective and they should know about major international agreements, for example, related to the United Nations.

(4.7) The students should know about the basic problems of "developing" countries and "over-developed" countries and be aware that it is often a question of power and resource distribution rather than of some general lack of resources on our planet.

(e) The students should have acquired a value perspective that means that they are aware of and accept "human rights" as an ideal to guide actions.

(f) The students should have acquired a preparedness for action that involves a broad responsibility and a willingness and an ambition to contribute, within the limits of ability and opportunity, to the development or our world society.

(6.1) The students should have acquired a willingness and an ambition to participate in local action for global purposes.

(6.2) The students should have a readiness to support and favor such national policies as imply a contribution to the development of the world society.
(g) The students should have acquired knowledge and insights about the existence of injustice and lack of equality as well as about the role of group prejudice in this context.

(7.1) The students should have acquired a habit of observing various injustices and inequalities that still remain both in the student's own society and in the world society at large (differences between developed and developing countries, between social classes, between sexes, between ethnic groups etc.).

(7.2) The students should have acquired an insight that such differences are not given by nature but can be changed, even though such changes may often be quite difficult to bring about.

(7.3) The students should be aware of the fact that we tend to have stereotyped and prejudiced conceptions about various groups, conceptions that very often have little to do with reality but that are due to a tendency of our minds to simplify and polarize.

(7.4) The students should be aware that such conceptions often lead to one-sided white-black thinking that limits our freedom to think and act rationally.

(h) The students should have acquired a value perspective that means that "equality" and "fair distribution" are considered to be ideals to guide action.

(i) The students should have acquired a readiness for action that involves a willingness to make contributions of his/her own in the work for equality and justice.

(9.1) The students should have acquired a readiness – in concrete, everyday situations at home and at school that involve some kind of distribution or division – to argue for and participate in decisions and actions favoring greater equality and justice.

(9.2) The students should have acquired a readiness, in relation to local actions, to work for decisions and actions that favor greater equality and justice.

(9.3) The students should have acquired a readiness to support and participate in such national policies as work in favor of greater equality and justice both in the student's own country and in the global community.

(j) The students should have acquired an ability to look critically at traditions and present-day developments as well as an ability to generate alternative visions.

(10.1) The students should have acquired a habit of thinking of various problems as rooted in a historical background and possible to deal with and change via human decisions and actions.
(10.2)
The students should have acquired an ability to avoid unreflecting acceptance of various historical traditions and present-day developments and an ability to analyze positive and negative aspects of such traditions and developments.

(10.3)
The students should have acquired an ability to generate, flexibly and creatively, alternative visions of future possibilities.

(k)
The students should have acquired a value perspective that includes the idea that trying to shape the future is a task and responsibility for everyone.

(l)
The students should have acquired a preparedness for action that involves a general readiness to develop and work for alternative visions of the future in cooperation with others.

(12.1)
The students should have acquired a willingness and an ambition to generate, together with others, various alternative possibilities for the future and evaluate these possibilities in relation to common values.

(12.2)
The students should have acquired a willingness and an ambition to draw up strategies, together with others, for how to proceed from an undesirable state of affairs in the present situation to a more desirable situation in the future and to make efforts to work towards the goals envisioned according to such a common strategic plan.
3 What Can We Do in School to Promote a Preparedness for Peace?

Once we have indicated a number of goals for the school’s engagement in peace education, the next major concern is: How do we approach these goals? Which strategies for tackling the educational problems are most appropriate?

If we turn to the international literature in the area of peace education, we find a lively discussion embracing conflicting opinions. This divergence of opinions is also reflected in our interviews with experts from different countries (cf. References: List A).

In a sketch in Box 4, I have tried to indicate in simplified form some of the polar opposites regarding placement of peace education efforts in the “system of the school” (or “didactic space” of our schools).

Box 4.
Working Procedures in Peace Education: Examples of Variations on the Theme of “Placement in the System of the School”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>one-subject orientation</th>
<th>several-subjects orientation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>orientation toward</td>
<td>orientation toward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>special occasions</td>
<td>a continuous perspective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>explicit peace education; peace education as “text”</td>
<td>implicit peace education; peace education as “context”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: The sketch suggests three of the polarizations discussed in closer detail in the running text. Briefly, and somewhat simplified, it can be said that the arguments imply that the right-hand alternative in the first two polarities is recommended over the left-hand alternative, whereas regarding the third polarity, it is suggested that peace education should work with both alternatives.
3.1 Placement in the “System of the School”

Introduction. One of the interesting initial questions is how these various challenges are related to the school’s traditional subject orientation and traditional way of doing things generally. In principle, peace education or education for peace can be handled in a number of different ways in the schools’ organisation and subject systems. The following are some possible models:

(1) The field (“peace education”) is made into a special school subject.
(2) The problems can be handled by means of special efforts outside of the normal system of lessons. It could be in the form of special theme days in school, perhaps involving the collaboration of several teachers with different specialties. Or it could be leisure-time activities outside school.
(3) The field is regarded as a common assignment for all, or several, school subjects and is taken up at appropriate points, on a number of occasions, as the subjects run their course during the school years.
(4) The field is viewed primarily as aiming at education for peace values and for democratic participation in non-violent interaction with others, whereby the question of attachment to a specific school subject moves into the background.

To begin with, it can generally be said that the interviews conducted within the Malmö project contain arguments associated with all four of these models, and that the models are normally not regarded as excluding each other. In fact, different combinations are not only possible, but often deemed desirable.

One or several subjects? On the level of higher education (universities) the trend has been for peace issues to be treated as a special subject, with such internationally accepted designations as “Peace Studies”, “Conflict Resolution Programs”, “World Order Studies” or “World Security Studies” (cf. Klare, 1994; Oswald Spring, 2000). And it is of course perfectly conceivable to introduce a corresponding special course as a subject in school. In that case, what usually comes to mind is a free elective on the senior high school / upper secondary school level. To give an example, such an offering, called “Peace and Security”, was introduced in Norway in 1984 (see further information in Bjerstedt, 1988).
Making the field into a special school subject can have the advantage that a certain slot on the timetable will be guaranteed for issues belonging to this category. It also makes probable an interest among publishers to produce teaching materials and teacher's manuals.

My own opinion, however, is that the decision to work within the framework of a special subject is not a particularly good solution ("one-subject orientation" in Box 4). There is a risk of further fragmentation of an already incoherent processing of knowledge. Furthermore, it seems quite natural, in many respects, to address peace issues in the framework of the school's traditional subjects. In addition, and above all, the target area for peace-oriented teaching is such (as we have seen earlier) that it is not only, or even primarily, a matter of an easily delimited field of knowledge. It is, indeed, also a matter of ways of thinking, of values, and of readiness to act – issues concerning student development in the long term, which do not necessarily lead themselves naturally to encapsulation within the narrow boundaries of a specialized school subject.

Most of the people we interviewed who addressed themselves to a discussion of these issues recommended the several-subjects approach in preference to the one-subject approach. But it also happened that attention was directed to one difficulty that may arise in connection with the several-subjects approach: When many people share the responsibility, there is a risk that the assignment will not receive sufficient attention.

Several international methods guides to this field devote a great deal of attention to the question of how peace issues can be dealt with in various school subjects (cf., for example, Smith & Carson, 1998).

**Thematic short-term input and special extra-curricular activities.** Several of the teachers interviewed describe "special activities" like theme days, theme weeks or peace cabarets. Such ventures can undoubtedly be valuable as attention-getting stimuli. In addition, they often facilitate the collaboration among teachers of different subjects that is so important in this connection. It is also easier to make use of special "guest experts" and to coordinate the more classroom-oriented elements with activities of a different kind that are so natural and interesting in such a context. Actually, short-time inputs of this kind ("special event approach", in the form of United Nations Day programs and the like) seems to be one of the most usual ways of addressing peace issues in the Swedish school system at present. But if this were to become the only contribution of the school to the peace education field, the situation would be unsatisfactory. It would be more reasonable to regard such thematic short-term efforts as either an
attention-getting starting point for a period of working with these issues in various school subjects, or as a wrap-up, arranged by the students themselves, with various kinds of presentations for other people, either in or out of school, after a period of classroom study, of problems in the field of war and peace. – I suggest that in the second polarization in Box 4, the emphasis should be placed on the right-hand alternative: orientation towards a continuous perspective from the various pre-conditions in different school subjects. (More about this later.)

As one of the teachers interviewed emphasized, peace education within the school’s normal framework may need to be supported by extra-curricular activities:

“At my school ... the students have requested peace education, and a couple of years ago they formed a peace association, Burlöv Youth for Peace. Then they started a study group that met on Tuesday evenings, which they asked me to supervise. It was extremely enjoyable, as a teacher at the upper level of compulsory school (grades 7–9), to supervise students who get together in their leisure time and study voluntarily.” (Marie Hegnelius; References, List A.)

“The peaceable classroom” and “implicit peace education”. While a number of peace researchers tend to emphasize the transmission of basic knowledge, including, of course, various results from the peace research efforts, for a number of teachers or teacher educators it is more usual to stress the gradual inculcation of attitudes, values and readiness to act, which implies preparedness to function peacefully and to seek non-violent solutions to problems in different situations. When this alternative is strongly urged, the implication is to begin with very young children, and the school’s subject system moves into the background.

A distinction is sometimes made between explicit and implicit peace education, or between peace education as text and as context. Explicit peace education, or peace education as text, usually means direct information about, and discussions of, issues related to war and peace. Implicit peace education, or peace education as context, on the other hand, means such nurturing to acquire peaceful values and behavior as may be found in experiencing, and being a member of, an open, gentle school environment where the emphasis is laid on dialogue (a cooperation-oriented school without authoritarian features). In their approach, advocates of implicit peace education, or peace education as context, often resemble “reform pedagogues” or “progressive pedagogues” in gener-
al. In some instances, it is maintained that the traditional school, with its often authoritarian and competition-oriented bent, contains an element of "structural violence" which per se militates against basic aspects of peace education.

Here are some examples of arguments associated with this theme:

"In the lower grades, the main trust should be on what we have called 'fostering'. Thus, one uses the classroom more as a laboratory, in which one may take various kinds of day-to-day conflicts as one's starting point and works on the social atmosphere in the class. Teachers very often notice that some conflict is going on; it may be a matter of bullying, or of more particular conflicts. It is important to tackle it, analyze it and discuss it. What happened, really? What caused it? What could one have done differently? I think it is very important to learn non-violence, and it is relatively hard to learn. Non-violence craves great imagination, among other things, because it requires finding new solutions. I think that this is a major assignment for the school, since there are not many other places where people have the chance to learn to solve conflicts non-violently." (Birgit Brock-Utne; References, List A.)

"Peace education has to do with personal involvement, and I think that ... peace education starts with the development of some basic values, peace values. The base for these values is laid in the family ... The school can try to develop these values further ... I think this is the basis of implicit education ... A school philosophy must be shaped by peace values. You cannot talk to children in a meaningful way about social justice if the school system is not a social-justice system. And school cannot talk effectively with children about non-violence, if the school system itself is violent. I think these attitudes and skills should be there before schools introduce children systematically to the political problems of the world.” (Lennart Vriens; References, List A.)

There is much to suggest that peace oriented education should work along both of these avenues: with early training in attitudes, values and ability to take action in unison of the goal of preparedness for peace ("implicit peace education"), and with a gradual development of knowledge, concepts and proficiencies related to current problems of war and peace ("explicit peace education").
Implicit peace education probably cannot be treated in a special peace education subject, whereas this might be possible for the explicit approach. At present, however, it appears most plausible to let peace education be an assignment for the normal teaching in all of the subjects at school (which does not, of course, prevent normal teaching from being complemented with special thematic contributions, and possibly being supported by extracurricular activities). Such an arrangement, however, requires a certain amount of planning at the local level, so that the efforts of the various subjects complement each other adequately (in order to avoid both duplications and omissions).

It may be useful to observe that a mixture of the two different strategies dealt with here has been increasingly worked with. On the one hand this strategy is similar to peace education as context in so far that there is an emphasis on dialogue and cooperation in the classroom community. On the other hand, this strategy cannot be said to be implicit only. This type of educational effort relies on research and development on how you can learn and teach creative conflict resolution in school. Psychological experiences on communication and conflict handling can be explicitly dealt with in the learning process.
3.2 Within Different Groups of School Subjects

Assuming, then, that we regard peace education as an assignment that should permeate the usual education in most of the subjects at school, it is natural to proceed and speculate a little about the possibilities of working toward the desired goals within different groups of related subjects in school. It is not my intention to give a thorough or detailed exposition here, but a number of examples may be useful.

**History and Social Studies.** History and social studies would perhaps appear to be the most obvious subjects for treating a great part of the material to be dealt with by peace education concentrating on preparedness for non-violence, world citizen responsibilities and questions of justice. Indeed, several of the people we interviewed chose to exemplify subject-oriented peace education with work done in this group of subjects.

Traditionally, History has usually been the subject that has devoted most time to war and peace in our schools – albeit, perhaps, with the emphasis usually put on war. Often enough, it has also obviously been history from the perspective of “the fatherland” or “the kings”, etc. This kind of history education could, then, develop or reinforce, rather than counteract, prejudices and ethnocentrism. Awareness of such risks has been increasingly manifest since the end of World War II, and in many countries efforts have been made to eradicate the more obvious nationalistic exaggerations. A great deal probably remains to be done in most countries. Peace education within the subject of History should take into consideration such matters as the following.

- The students should be given a comprehensive picture of the reality of war, including the perspectives of the soldiers and the civilian populations.
- History teaching should counteract the unrealistic glorification of martial exploits that the students encounter elsewhere (e.g. in movies, comic books and adventure stories).
- History teaching should also be dedicated to describing how it has been possible, in various adversary situations, to resolve international conflicts without resorting to violence.
- History instruction should provide students with occasion to reflect on how conceivable alternatives might have worked out in various situations (What would have happened if King A, instead of immediately attacking King B, had tried Alternative Action 1 or 2
or 3?) – as a creative intellectual exercise and as an incentive to consider the possibility of alternative solutions.

- The students should also have the opportunity to discuss historical events from other points of view than the national or the Western ones.
- History teachers should provide the awareness that people in different times and various places have acted on the basis of visions and utopian ideas about a more perfect society. The students should also be given the opportunity to view themselves as “citizens of the world” with a number of important tasks to deal with in cooperation with other people, both within their own country and abroad, in order to create a better world in the future. History teaching should make it clear that people in different situations have struggled against, and eventually put an end to, inhuman conditions (like slavery). Peace movements and individuals who have resisted the use of war (“peace heroes”) should be acknowledged as pioneers in a still unfinished struggle of a somewhat similar nature.

Social studies teaching could be used, among other things, to help the students become more aware of the interdependence and the interconnectedness of the world. A brief quote from an interview with Elise Boulding illustrates this aspect:

“There is a teaching project which Chadwick Alger ... has developed. It is called 'Your community in the world, and the world in your community'. This is something you can easily do with high school students ... You make a list with the students of all the interconnections of your community with the rest of the world. This means listing all the organizations you can think of like the Rotary, The Chamber of Commerce and so on – all the nongovernmental organizations and the inter-governmental... Then you send your students out – they pick the organizations they want to study and then they go to the local group in order to find out how this is connected to the world. Then the class creates a map of the way in which their community is linked through the international system. The students talk with people who have been part of that process, and then they build up a picture of the interconnectedness of the social, economic and political institutions of their society.” (Elise Boulding; References, List A.)
"Mother tongue education" (in various countries) bears a number of responsibilities, and teaching in this subject can also support several sub-goals associated with education for peace.

The reading of fiction that deals realistically with wartime experiences can be very helpful when dealing with one's own feelings and thoughts about the threat of war in our time. Conflicts, prejudice and oppression are themes frequently taken up in fictional form, and can serve as a topic for analysis and discussion. Various forms of reading for experience can be followed up by essay writing or even attempts to treat the problem area in lyrical or dramatic form.

In addition to fiction that describes experiences of war and conflicts, it can also be valuable to let the students read Utopias from different eras: visions of alternate societies. It can be useful to realize that it is possible to imagine other ways of organizing society.

Another aspect of mother tongue education that is important in this context is critical language analysis of the mass media aimed at making the students more aware of, and resistant to, propaganda. Exaggerated generalizations, obliviousness to subtle distinction, formulations that gloss things over – these are a few examples of the characteristics of biased persuasion (e.g. in military or in military policy contexts). It is to the students' advantage to be able to recognize and resist such techniques.

Various types of communication training are highly relevant. Included here is the aptitude for carrying on conversations, really listening to what other people are saying. This work can be developed further into more thoroughgoing exercises in conflict resolution that use language as one important tool. This is an important area of work where useful teacher's manuals and students' materials have been developed in several contexts.

Also the various foreign languages can be utilized in different ways as aids along the road towards the goal with which we are concerned here. One approach is simply to select good texts for reading and language practice that simultaneously bear on our field of interest (e.g. a speech by Martin Luther King). But above all, we have the possibility of using the foreign language for communication with individual residents or school classes in foreign countries. Such experiences provide both solid language training in a meaningful context and personal contacts that can contribute to an important widening of cultural perspectives.

An example of how reading fiction and writing about it can be used in peace education is presented in one of the reports of the Malmö project: "Varför krigar man?" [Why do we make war?] (Ursing, 1989).
This report describes an educational project in the last year of the Swedish 9-year compulsory school. The primary object was to work with the students to sow – and cultivate – the idea that war and peace are connected to personal responsibility. One sub-goal was to make the students more conscious of the fact that war is often glorified and "heroized" in a fashion to obscure the fear and the suffering that are associated with violence on a massive scale. The work involved consisted mainly of reading fiction with reference to war and processing it in discussions and in stories of one's own. The course included two novels (E. M. Remarque's All's Quiet on the Western Front and John Steinbeck's The Moon is Down) and a number of poems.

The author of the report thinks that, on the whole, the procedure employed could also be applied to other school levels, and that role play could be used to advantage to enhance this kind of effort. Anna Ursing's conclusion was: "What we can do in school with regard to peace education includes offering alternatives to the glorification of war in literature. We can let peace-conducive thoughts and actions flourish as a result of the quest for knowledge, of reading, of discussion and reflection in speech and writing. By working with contents that are perceived as weighty by both students and teachers, schoolwork becomes meaningful too, not just because speaking, reading and writing becomes more effective, but primarily because what we do in school gains import for life." (Pp. 22–23.)

General Science and Mathematics. The super-weapons of modern warfare (including nuclear, chemical and biological weapons) should be quite naturally taken up in Physics, Chemistry and Biology, which also offer opportunities to present and discuss the consequences of a war employing such weapons, referring to the studies and pronouncements of contemporary experts.

In the weapons field, there is available a battery of statistics dealing with both capabilities and costs. Processing and graphically illustrating such information can very possibly apply to the teaching of mathematics at various levels. Over and above the usual promulgation of mathematical proficiency and information retrieval, such teaching can be used in making judgements in this field. Some people refer disparagingly to such exercises as "political mathematics"; but many others think that it should not be reprehensible to calculate what is urgent and essential.

The intimate connections between the threat of war and threats to the environment, between violence committed against people and violence perpetrated on nature – such connections might reasonably be regarded as an important theme for the subjects dealing with science and mathematics.
Cooperation with the Social Studies would also be desirable, in order to achieve a comprehensive view of the relations between technology and society in general.

In Biology there should be good possibilities to build up a respect for Life – for humans, animals and nature in general. This is a theme that is natural to take up early in school.

Other school subjects. A basic consideration in the reflections by many of the people we interviewed is that peace education is a theme that can be elucidated in all subjects. We conclude this part of our discussion with two examples of how this consideration can be iterated.

“I think there is not a single subject or discipline in which the teacher could not make a contribution to peace and a better world. This involves a little effort of new thinking and paradigm change.” (Robert Muller; References, List A.)

“The basic issue of peace education – violence as a destructive social pattern – could and should be raised in every subject. The nuclear arms race, for example, can be handled in terms of science, mathematics, reading literature, economics. The main objective would be to help students to relate to the issues and problems, to see how their lives and communities are involved, to develop a sense of critical awareness and social responsibility, hopefully helping them to experience empowerment so that they will want to take action in the face of the problems.” (Betty Reardon; References, List A.)
3.3 At Various Ages

To what extent is peace education relevant at various ages, and to what extent should the age of the students or the level they are studying at affect the design of a pedagogy for peace? Those are issues that have been addressed from different perspectives in the international debate; we talked about them in our expert interviews; and our studies on ideas about and reactions to war and peace in different ages also relate to these questions (cf., for example, Ankarstrand-Lindström, 1992; Utas Carlsson, 1999b). I will briefly touch upon some of these experiences in the following.

Some general views of age adjustment. In several cases, our interviewees made general comments on this issue, claiming that in actual fact, age differences are of considerably less importance than we might imagine. In any case they present no obstacle to offering peace education at certain ages; peace education — in some sense — can be given at all levels and sometimes by means of a similar methodology. In her answer, Elise Boulding gave a concrete description of her own attempt to discuss peace with the students at all the levels of a Chicago school; she finished her description by saying “There are no age limits. You can certainly deal with these issues with 3- and 4-year-olds”. Jørgen Pauli Jensen expressed about the same general opinion but referred in this connection to Jerome Bruner’s thoughts about a spiral-type teaching model. You can “take up all problems even in pre-school”, but you return to them in various ways at different ages.

Some interviewees emphasized the fact that we know too little in this area. This is simply a problem field where there is a palpable need for more pedagogical and developmental-psychological research.

A few comments of a more special character are worth mentioning. Gerald F. Mische claimed that it is important, especially in a long-term perspective, to work with younger children, who are less prejudiced and more susceptible to changing their attitudes. Robert Muller emphasized the importance of not preventing the students at the older levels from preserving a natural sentimental view of life by stressing the one-sided development of intellect.

“If you are only concerned about solving problems for the next 3–4 years, you might work mostly with older students. But if you think in terms of longer range, it’s the young years that you should attend to. Young children are more open, they are less prejudiced by political, ideological and cultural influences. It’s at that period that one can present them with a holistic and
broad world view, the image of being one with the world and dealing with a common future. Research has shown that beyond that among older students, it is more difficult to change attitudes.” (Gerald F. Mishe; References, List A.)

“...I have observed that as children become older they move from simple and natural, sentimental views to more intellectual views. So you have to teach peace with sentimental and simple means when they are young, and with more intellectual means when they are older. But this should not be done onesidedly. The onesided development of intelligence at the expense of sentiment and spirit is one of the catastrophies of our age. I think we should remain affective, natural and sentimental all our lives through until our moment of death. ... Throughout the sophistication of learning, we should cultivate and maintain the ingenuiety of a child. Here is an important subject which ought to be given a lot of thought in the field of peace education.” (Robert Muller; References, List A.)

Age adjustment and participatory instructional methodology. It is a fundamental methodological consideration in pedagogical work in general that it is important to take into account the starting-points of the students in question (their own conceptions, experiences of problems, etc.), because this facilitates the creation of a cognitive context and a personal commitment. It may also be important that the students be allowed to participate in the design of the continued pedagogical process as well as in decisions about the choice of materials and methods. A general design of this kind also facilitates the age adjustment discussed here; it will partly be an automatic consequence of taking the students' initial wishes and attitudes into account.

Some experiences of talks conducted with children about peace and war. In a report, Anna-Lena Tvingstedt (1989), who analyzed talks conducted in the Malmö project with students in grade 2, writes that her overall impression is that they dealt with a subject that is important to the students and that they take very seriously. It is also obvious, however, that it is a subject that many of them did not have adequate opportunities to discuss.

Tvingstedt writes that she has the impression that the students interviewed are at an age when they look at the world around them with open and unjaundiced eyes. They have not yet acquired the kind of defense mechanisms that prevent them from seeing and reacting, which also, however, means that they are more vulnerable. As one of them put it: "Children are more sensitive than adults, you know". At the same time,
children live in an information society that showers them with pictures, opinions and events from all over the world, often in a rather fragmentary way, without any background and rarely in a comprehensible context. All this information would have to be sorted, discussed and processed to make it manageable, and not just frightening, which the adults in these children’s environment may not have the time or the energy or the resources to achieve. When the information becomes too overwhelming, we have a tendency to try to protect ourselves by withdrawing. When the interviewer asked one of the girls whether she watched Rapport (a Swedish news broadcast), she answered: “No. I don’t watch that any more. I always turn it off then, because I know that there will be so many horrible things on. I don’t want to have any more horrible things to think about, I guess.”

At the end of her report, Anna-Lena Tvingstedt draws the following conclusion, among others: “The interviews with students in grade 2 reported here clearly demonstrate that the children have a fear of war that they need assistance in dealing with. They need help to be able to express their thoughts and feelings. They need someone who listens to them with respect, and they need to be taken seriously instead of being treated with the kind of comforting words that imply a nullification of their feelings and thus, indirectly, of themselves. They also, however, need assistance in finding paths to constructive action that they, at their level, can experience as being meaningful…” (pp. 53–54).

Karin Utas Carlsson has written several reports on children’s views on peace and the future within the Malmö project, and I will refer to one of these here (Utas Carlsson, 1999a). This describes interviews with 10-year-old children (grade 4).

The more special objective of the interviews was to increase our knowledge of children’s thoughts and feelings about and attitudes towards issues of global survival – defined as issues of war and peace, environmental degradation, and unjust distribution of resources – and their strategies for dealing with the problems as they see them.

One main finding of the study was that to a large extent the children were left alone with their thoughts, questions and feelings about these global problems which often worried them. Obstacles to and opportunities for communication are discussed in the report.

Another finding was that many children made few or no suggestions for attaining or maintaining peace, whereas more proposals were made regarding environmental degradation.

Those who had experienced prosocial models of some kind – for example support by family members involved in peace, environmental or
solidarity organizations – made more suggestions and indicated a higher degree of “preparedness to act”.

(Comprehensive studies on how children understand war and peace can be found in Raviv, Oppenheimer & Bar-Tal, 1999.)

The Swedish interview study briefly referred to here (Utas Carlsson 1999a) was regarded as one basis on which to build when later developing and evaluating a teaching program for grades 4–6 (cf. Utas Carlsson, 1999b, 2001).

How should we deal with the threat of nuclear weapons and the anxiety students of different ages may experience in connection with it? A special aspect of age adjustment that was frequently touched upon in the project interviews with experts from various countries was the one of how to deal with the threat of nuclear weapons. That is also an issue that has intermittently played a prominent part in the public debate on the advantages and drawbacks of peace education.

It is probably correct to claim that the continued nuclear proliferation and the increased awareness among certain groups of the violent consequences of using such weapons were some of the foremost reasons why peace education gained increasing prominence during the 1980s. Many people felt that there was an urgent need for information here; young people who were about to vote about the foreign policy of our countries had to be aware of and take a stance on the new ominous threats shared by all of humankind. Hence the consequences of modern warfare became a natural component of peace education or, as it was called in some places, “nuclear age education”. This was an issue that was too important to be delegated to a small group within the military and researchers devoted to weapons technology; it was the issue of the future of humankind, which ought to be included in basic education in civics.

At the same time, however, critical voices were raised against dealing with the consequences of nuclear war at school. There were various reasons for this criticism, but one of the observations most frequently made was that there was a risk of making children and young people worried and anxious, that peace education might jeopardize the “mental health” of the population and that it was irresponsible to “frighten young children”.

Naturally, those who saw it as an important assignment of the schools to spread information about the risks of modern weapons supplied a large number of counterarguments. For example, what was a better sign of mental health: that you worried about nuclear weapons or that you did not? As a matter of fact, the students at school do not live in a protected environment. Irrespective of the instruction they receive at school, they are
exposed via many different sources – not least TV and films – to more or less correct information about the threat of weapons. Is it not reasonable, then, that they get an opportunity to discuss their anxiety and process it with the relevant teachers?

The advocates of peace education have gradually reached a certain degree of agreement. This is an area where the teacher must be keenly alive to the particular needs of the group to be taught and also take the developmental level of the students into consideration. Age adjustment becomes an important factor. There is no reason why we should “lecture” on, or show horror films about, the consequences of nuclear war among young students. On the other hand, the teacher must be prepared to answer the students' questions and provide them with opportunities to process their thoughts and feelings. This is a difficult area where the inexperienced teacher may need advice and assistance. Among older students, however, it is more natural to provide direct information by means of non-fiction texts and films, for example, taking into account the students' need for follow-up discussions. The interviewees who addressed this issue were generally agreed on advocating the procedure suggested here, although they tended to assign slightly different degrees of importance to individual parts of it. The following examples may serve to illustrate the views expressed.

“Well, as I said, among younger children the emphasis would be on fostering. That also means that I think there would be no reason to go into details – for example, about the armaments race or give details about nuclear weapons. On the other hand, they may themselves ask questions about such things, or say that they are afraid of a nuclear war. In that case, as a teacher you should be prepared to provide sensible answers, appropriate for the age level. You could say, for example, that it is true that nuclear weapons are dangerous, but that many adults are doing all they can to see to it that such weapons will never be used, or that they will be dismantled, and that's the reason why so many teachers and parents take part in marches or make speeches about peace”. (Birgit Brock-Utne; References, List A.)

“Some of the opponents of introducing issues of nuclear war into the curriculum have argued that – particularly when you deal with younger students – you are frightening them and artificially creating problems. ... On the other hand, I don't subscribe to the notion that therefore we can't deal with the threat of war in schools. The fact of the matter is that there is no way in which children living in the modern world and watching television freely and frequently can avoid confrontation with the question
of nuclear weapons and nuclear war. Just because you keep it out of school you are not going to keep it out of their lives. So I don't accept the notion that you can't introduce it in schools, but I do think that one has to be sensitive about how it is introduced, and more so the younger the children are.” (Herbert C. Kelman; References, List A.)

Examples of components in the peace education of young children. As we touched upon earlier, we sometimes differentiate between implicit peace education, where we do not primarily talk about war and peace but get accustomed to peaceful coexistence and have an opportunity to develop fundamental values in keeping with a life in peace and justice, and explicit peace education, where teaching materials deal with facts and theories about war and peace. Of course, implicit peace education can be important at any age, but it becomes particularly natural and fundamental in our contacts with young children, whereas the explicit type of peace education is to a larger extent to be used with older students.

The value perspective and preparedness for action associated with the principle of non-violence can be promoted in a natural way even among the youngest children. Naturally, there will not be any theoretical discussions, but it is an important task to bring up children from the very beginning so that they do not get accustomed to using violence as a method of solving problems. Among other things, it is important for us as adults to set good examples. We should also take great pains to react positively to types of behavior that we would like to reinforce. It is also natural to talk about some of the basic principles of creative conflict resolution, but our own behavior as a model and positive reactions to nonviolent behavior are likely to be the most important factors when dealing with very young children.

Apart from that, it is obvious that emotional insecurity is an excellent breeding ground for intolerant group attitudes and a tendency to choose aggressive actions. Consequently it is important to create a good emotional basic security, to make it possible for children to experience that human relations can be based on mutual trust and confidence. This may function as a long-term inoculation against aggressive tendencies based on anxiety.

Even at an early age it is essential to get used to social contacts with people who are different in various respects and to learn to appreciate differences rather than disparaging a priori what is deviant.

I quote some typical formulations in this area from our expert interviews, dealing with an early promotion of cooperative attitudes, non-violence, confidence-building and communication skills:
"In younger children certainly you want to develop the basic orientations of cooperation and respect for self and respect for others, which are fundamental to dealing peacefully with others in a constructive manner, even when there are important differences between oneself and the others. And I think that has to be done in terms of the immediate realities for younger children..." (Morton Deutsch; References, List A.)

"In Israel, the younger the children are, the easier it is to eliminate the hatred and the mistrust and the fear. So my general approach would be to start as early as possible, even in kindergarten, stressing the importance of arranging meetings between children of different backgrounds." (Haim Gordon; References, List A.)

"I think that generally amongst younger students it is appropriate to do confidence-building exercises, talk about different races, different cultures, different values that people have, work on communication skills." (Ian M. Harris; References, List A.)

"Primary teachers dealing with children from 5 to 11 will very much look at conflicts and cooperation and issues that deal with fairness or justice, that is deal with the classroom climate and the school atmosphere." (David Hicks; References, List A.)

Benefit from openness to contacts and curiosity about the global village at the intermediate level. The intermediate level (grades 4–6) is likely to be particularly suitable for addressing issues connected with the topic “responsibility as a citizen of the global village”.

At this age, the students have been through the first years of school acclimatization and acquiring fundamental skills and are able to comprehend simple texts. In grades 4–6 they are usually open to contact and curious about the global village. In addition, instruction is often still organized so that it is easy for the classroom teacher to arrange interdisciplinary studies (there is usually as yet no hard-to-change organization into subject areas with different teachers). These advantages should be utilized, e.g. to promote the students' interest in foreign countries and a sense of solidarity with Spaceship Earth's many passengers and their mutual concerns.

In this context, it will be natural to try to establish contacts with people of the same age in foreign countries – an opportunity which is, regretfully, not often enough seized. Among the goals here is trying to prevent the acquisition of negative stereotypes about alien groups, both in
the global society and in one's immediate environment – to create a certain insight into the injustices in the world and preparedness to contribute, to the extent possible, to the effort of helping to bring about a future society that will be more characterized by peace, justice and respect for human rights.

In this context, I quote two formulations from a study on Scandinavian interviewees:

“On the whole, I think that children at the intermediate level – i.e. in grades 4, 5 and 6 – are much more socially engaged and much more receptive to social issues and questions of right and wrong than older children. We tend to address those issues in the higher grades because we think they may cause some anxiety, but the students in the higher grades are extremely self-centered. They are only interested in themselves, maybe some kind of job and perhaps a girlfriend. We have to go further down in ages and start to feel our way....” (Torben Pöhler; References, List A.)

“World problems are an important area at the intermediate level. That's where the students have feeling and imagination and an enormous need to acquire knowledge.”(Ella Svensson; References, List A.)

In this context it is also natural to refer the reader to the arguments and studies on involving young children in international camps (The Children's International Summer Villages; see, for example, Allen, 1963, 1978; Bjerstedt, 1958, 1960).

**Higher school levels: Analysis, insight, consciousness-raising.** Basically, the same goal areas are relevant at higher school levels. The principal differences are usually that here the cognitive components (knowledge and the processing of knowledge) tend to come to the fore to a larger extent, and that the value perspectives should now be made the object of a more conscious verbalization and a more detailed discussion.

The analyses carried out within our project demonstrate, among other things, that the older students often have an impressive commitment to the issues of war and peace, while at the same time their knowledge in that field – including knowledge that is of practical relevance to the individual – may be quite insufficient.

The character of the activities at the higher school levels also changes because these levels are normally organized in a different way (there is greater emphasis on individual subjects and teachers of social subjects). Since the question of what can be done in the area of peace education in individual school subjects or groups of school subjects is dealt with
separately in this publication, I shall here confine myself to adding a few more general quotations on peace education at higher school levels:

"With older students we have worked, for example, with newspaper cuttings, commenting events and with videos, depending on the interests that the students have and what they themselves propose. With older students we prefer to ask the students what they themselves would prefer to discuss in terms of peace. It is marvellous how many ideas come out! We sort of leave the initiatives in their hands, and then act as facilitators or mediators." (James Calleja; References, List A.)

"At advanced levels of education we'll find subject-oriented approaches more suitable. Look at sciences. Developing social responsibility in using technological advances should belong to the standard of every Maths and Physics teaching. So there is no need to create special curricula on peace education. The only necessity is that teachers bear in mind the objective of peace education. Nevertheless, I think this has to be thought through carefully. Think about physical education, for instance. If I make competition the most important thing in physical training, then this could be counter-productive to peace education. In this case peace education is a cross-curricular approach permeating every subject and every hour in the school's timetable." (Hanns-Fred Rathenow; References, List A.)

“All those things I have now mentioned as relevant for young students can be dealt with also at a secondary level, but at that stage they can be discussed in more abstract terms, concepts like disarmament, structural violence, ecological balance can be introduced etc. The data related to poverty and development, the arms race expenditures etc. can also be studied.” (Betty Reardon; References, List A.)
4 Some "Difficulties" with Peace Education

Many teachers feel uncertain when faced with peace education because the relative novelty and controversial character of this field. In this section, some aspects of the difficulties and obstacles involved in peace education work will be examined.

First, various views of society, the school and change are touched upon in relation to peace education efforts. Then some more specific and concrete difficulties are brought up (with examples from the material of the Malmö project "Preparedness for Peace"). Finally, certain measures aimed at coming to terms with the difficulties are discussed.
4.1 Society, School and Change: An Introduction

Reflections on various ways of looking at society, the school and change in general may contribute to shedding light on the reactions often inspired by peace-oriented school activities.

Society can, for example, be viewed from different perspectives of time. We have society as it is now, at the present moment (Sp); society as it used to be, in a historical perspective (Sh); and society as it will be in the future (Sf). Naturally, society in a historical perspective is not a uniform concept, but a collective term for a series of different societies: Sh1, Sh2 etc.

Of course, we never have absolute or direct access to “Society” in all its details. Instead, we have created notions, cognitive pictures or images of it that are characterized by many distortions and simplifications.

Every individual has his or her image of the present society (Isp) as well as his or her notion of society in a historical perspective (Ish), which tends to be fairly lacking in details and quite distorted. In addition, every one of us has a certain, albeit mostly relatively vague, image of society in the future (Isf).

As far as our notions of the future are concerned, it may be fruitful to distinguish between two different types of images. Thus we can talk about “the anticipated future” (IaSf) when we create a picture of what we think will actually happen; and we can use the expression “the desired future” (IdSf) when we create a cognitive picture of what we would like the future to be (positive vision). Psychological studies often show these two types of future-related images to be considerably different among young people (cf., for example, Bjerstedt, 1992; Bjurwill, 1986).

Many people think that the role or task of school should mainly be that of “reproducing”, i.e. school is primarily considered to be an instrument for recreating the present societal conditions (passing on the traditions). In that way it contributes to considerable similarities at various points in time: Sh1 = Sh2 = Sp = Sf.

Some of those people who think that this is how school mainly functions consider this to be a desirable state of affairs. We can call them “traditionalists” (or say that they represent “Norm T”). The following equivalence then applies to them: IdSf = Isp.

Others consider such passing on of traditions to be undesirable (IdSf ≠ Isp) but feel that the reproductive forces of society are so powerful that school is more or less forced to “follow” and cannot bring about any real change. Perhaps we can call this group “progressive school pessimists” or say that they represent “Norm PP”).

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There is, on the other hand, a third group who think that school has a certain potential for being one of the forces leading to a different society, one that is more like IdSf. Hence, school may be regarded as one of the tools in our work to bring about value-oriented societal change.

Peace-oriented education is not a very precise concept; many different sub-goals and educational efforts may be implied by various actors in the peace education field (as we have discussed elsewhere in this publication). But in many cases it seems accurate to say that the “peace educator” starts out from an explicit or implicit assumption, that a certain amount of societal change through school towards a future society more in accordance with a positive vision is both desirable and possible. The tool needed here is to empower our students to be better able and willing to shape the future society in a desirable way: we may give them a different and better “preparedness for the future”, we can reinforce certain desirable value perspectives, we stimulate an action readiness etc. In these cases, peace educators may be classified as “progressive school optimists” (or said to represent “Norm PO”).

This particular view can easily lead to attacks, both from “traditionalists” and from “progressive school pessimists”.

Obviously all this is quite schematic and abstract; but perhaps this special situation of the peace educator can partly explain the “normative drought” that he or she so often experiences. There are, so to speak, snorts from the right wing as well as from part of the left wing (which was seen, for example, in the Swedish press debate when the Swedish National Board of Education tried to introduce recommendations for the schools in the area of peace education in the middle of the 1980s).

The resistance tends to be particularly pronounced since the part of society that is potentially affected directly or indirectly (that is, the military defense) is emotionally charged as a “symbol of security” and periodically almost taboo, even in the general political debate.
4.2 Examples of Difficulties and Obstacles

Looking over the interview answers of our expert respondents, it is easy to see that a large group report controversies around peace education and various kinds of difficulties or obstacles experienced by peace educators. This is especially true for our respondents from Europe and North America. A few brief, typical formulations may be given as illustrations (references to full texts are found in References, List A):

“Yes, not only do we anticipate such difficulties. We have experienced them for years...”. (Susan Alexander, USA.)

“Yes, we can undoubtedly count on such difficulties.” (Birgit Brock-Utne, Norway.)

“This was certainly the case in the mid 80s in England, because the Right-wing press and Right-wing politicians argued that peace education was about nuclear disarmament and this made good headlines.” (David Hicks, England.)

“Many teachers and heads have experienced difficulties with parents, governors, Local Education Authorities or even the press when introducing peace education issues in their schools or classrooms.” (Hanns-Fred Rathenow, Germany.)

“I think there are difficulties in both North and South, certainly in North countries.” (Toh Swee-Hin, Canada.)

“It’s a very controversial issue for many town councils in the Netherlands...”. (Lennart Vriens, The Netherlands.)

A few exceptions from this general rule are observed, and these are typically from countries outside the areas of Europe and North America:

“I have met this situation in the United States. ... And I have experienced it in West Germany when I have been visiting. But in India I have not faced it. Indians are very traditional and tend to respect what is done in the school. If the school is giving a particular course, they will take it without questioning it. Also Gandhi’s name is very important in India, and he is associated with peace and non-violence unambiguously.” (Anima Bose, India.)
"In Costa Rica, people want more materials, more speakers etc. in this area. That would be the only difficulty that I have met. I have never heard of parents or others who don't want it. ... It isn't controversial in the same way as I know it is in Europe.” (Celina García, Costa Rica.)

In the following I will discuss some examples of phenomena that may create difficulties and obstacles in peace education work. I am referring to phenomena at quite different levels but that are partly interconnected.

The international political tradition of heavily armed nations, with their armament backed by a military and economic establishment, is of course a powerful counter-force to be taken into account. In most countries, the representatives of this tradition and these interests have abundant resources at their disposal for influencing public opinion in a direction opposite from the one that disarmament education is working for. It easily turns into a “David against Goliath” situation. One component in this tradition can be described as a “culture of militarism”. To a large extent the political tradition is also marked by a nationalistic perspective, and shifting over to a global perspective is no minor change. This is something that Robert Muller, the former UN official, emphasized in his answers to our questions.

"Changing from a nationalistic education to a global education and an education for peace means a dramatic change in perspective. It is natural that some would look upon this change with concern and suspicion. But we have good arguments on our side, and we should spell them out clearly.” (Robert Muller; References, List A.)

The stereotyped thinking of much debate in the mass media. That a certain political tradition exists is one thing, but what is regrettable in addition is that this tradition has more or less become regarded as a “natural condition” which is not humanly possible to change. Here the stereotyped thinking in much of the debate in the mass media is important. A lot is often said about adapting to “reality”, “the requirements of security” etc., whereas comparatively little energy is devoted to a critical analysis of this tradition. As touched upon earlier, it is often built into the stereotyped language that discussions of these issues are couched in, as a self-evident assumption, that “a high level of armament” = “security”. People trying to question various such assumptions run the risk of being attacked as subversives, “communists” etc. Even the word “peace” is often loosely connected, in this stereotyped thinking, with leftism and subversion.
“Certainly we have many such difficulties in many countries. It depends a little on the community. In the communities our family has happened to live in, there has been less antagonism to it than in others, partly because they have been academic communities. There has been a university in the town, and that means that you have a somewhat more literate and liberal community. But I am very conscious of the people who are seeing a communist under every bed and behind every bush; I know what that is like.” (Elise Boulding; References, List A.)

“Right-wing people, particularly the radical right in the U.S., have tried to identify concern of the problem we have in dealing with a left-wing position; it has been considered 'bad', 'communism' and so on.” (Morton Deutsch; References, List A.)

Anxiety as an obstacle to new solutions. Many people are worried about current developments. Anxiety creates a non-creative climate of thought. We then cling to old solutions, even though we do not really believe in them, not daring to try out new strategies. We are afraid of the unknown; we are afraid of unpleasant economic consequences; and it may feel good for us to focus our anxiety by associating it with notions of someone who can be experienced as “the enemy”. Then, of course, a change of what is seen as the equivalent of “security” (i.e. the level of armament) may give rise to particular anxiety.

The conditions mentioned so far may be said to be general forces in society, which make those who want to promote peace education at school feel that they are fighting an uphill battle. If we consider difficulties and obstacles more directly associated with the school situation, a few additional factors may be mentioned.

The “intellectualist tradition” in education. There is a strong tradition of concentrating on “facts”, “knowledge”, “matter-of-factness” and “objectivity” in research and education at various levels. We should not let value judgements influence our search for knowledge in a misleading way. We should allow free scope for many voices rather than indoctrinating. In many ways this tradition has been valuable in creating watchfulness against biased proselytizers and propagandists of various hues. On the other hand, this tradition has also occasionally led to a rigid repudiation of all kinds of value-related influences, especially those which deviate from the traditional, institutionalized ones. This theme is often touched upon in our interviews.
"The difficulties are mainly caused by parents or politicians or members of
the press who argue that peace education is biased, whereas other education
is not. Now, I happen to believe that all education is biased; you show me
unbiased education, and I will show you a square circle. I think that one
can have an education system in which many different biases are rep-
resented, and I am in favor of that, but I am unashamedly biased towards
peace, avoidance of violence, elimination of structural violence and so
forth. I think that it is wrong to defend peace education by saying that it's
neutral, as some people do. It is biased, but so is the teaching of all social
subjects. Education is not independent of values and ethics. The thing is to
get a good range of biases, and then people can decide for themselves.”
(Paul Smoker; References, List A.)

"Then there is this whole interesting question of balanced teaching and
balanced learning. You have a balanced learning situation when you have
learnt about all sides. But in order to accomplish that, it might be necessary
to have unbalanced teaching. An example of that might be that in the
debate about defense, the options put up are often either to have a nuclear
defense or a non-nuclear defense. But as a pacifist, I could argue that in
fact these two positions may very well be seen as representing the same
side of the spectrum in terms of violence, and that the real spectrum to be
looked at when discussing defense is from violent defense to non-violent
defense. If a teacher were sympathetic to that point of view, they might
invite me or some other pacifist in for a onetime input to put our point of
view across. It might not be necessary to have another teacher in for
another input with, say, the NATO point of view, because there is so much
information and propaganda available anyway. But then it could be argued
that because nobody went in to balance the 'pacifistic' argument, the
teaching was biased.” (Richard Yarwood; References, List A.)

Resistance from local or central school authorities. The degree of
support from the school authorities varies from country to country and also
over time. In Sweden, the central school authority sided with the peda-
gogical peace workers, when peace education was lively discussed in the
1980s. This was marked by various kinds of central recommendations
which contributed to a legitimization of education for peace. The situation
was similar in Finland, for example, whereas at the same period there was no
similar pronounced and explicit support by the authorities in other
countries (in Denmark, for example). In still other countries, there were
several examples of quite negative attitudes on the part of the authorities, at
least within certain parts of the school system (in Great Britain, for example).

**Resistance from parents.** Several interview answers mention and discuss resistance on the part of parents. The most common motivations are that the children may experience education for peace as frightening (for example when the consequences of nuclear war are discussed) and that peace education is characterized by political indoctrination towards radical pacifism. Sometimes resistance is offered by parents within a particular subgroup, especially parents associated with the military system (cf Brock-Utne's discussion of “political mathematics” below). A peace educator dealing with the values of non-violent conflict resolution and global perspectives may be regarded as “unpatriotic” in the parent groups, especially of course in times of international tension or war involvement. When peace education is developed within a clearly progressive framework, parents used to a stricter teacher-regulated schooling might find the situation strange and chaotic. Some quotations from the interviews follow.

“My old school was very progressive – it had no state examination, for example, because we felt that examination is not a good educational aim. We worked in a way that many parents did not like, because they were used to the traditional school. What happened when they come and saw the school? They were really upset sometimes. They might say: 'This is chaos'. But they did not take their child out of school, because the child was happy there, and a good parent never takes a kid away from where it is happy. So when peace education is really working well, I think we will have an education that the children enjoy and that the parents accept, even if they do not agree.” (Robert Aspeslagh; References, List A.)

“I can tell you about a long debate we had in Norway concerning 'political mathematics'. In connection with the group I mentioned earlier which was to prepare Norway's participation in the 1980 World Disarmament Congress, we had a seminar to develop proposals for concrete teaching strategies. We divided ourselves into smaller groups to concentrate on different levels. One group of teachers produced a very ambitious teaching plan for adolescents; it involved integrating social studies and mathematics and they wanted to try it out in the schools. One of the many assignments for the students was to find out what one could buy, and what one could do in their immediate neighborhood in the way of child care centers, recreation centers, and so on, with the amount of money required to purchase one F-16 fighter aircraft. The program functioned extremely well at one of
the schools. At another, it produced an outcry. That school was located in a conservative neighborhood with a high socio-economic standard among the parents, and one father in particular (who had a high rank in the military establishment) made an issue of it, and took it to the Norwegian parliament. There was a protracted debate in the newspapers about 'political mathematics', involving teachers who attacked it and teachers who defended it, parents who attacked it, etc. The last chapter consisted of a letter written by the pupils in the class in question. They wrote that they were mature enough to be able to evaluate the teaching they were subjected to (this was in grade 9), and that they resided in an area where they received a lot of indoctrination at home, and that a little exposure to other viewpoints might be good. Furthermore, they wrote, the teachers had taken a very balanced approach, the students were very satisfied, and that was the opinion of the entire class. And they added a postscript: 'This letter has not been read by a single adult before we sent it'.” (Birgit Brock-Utne; References, List A.)

“Debra ... who is the first grade teacher I have been working with, has made it an option for children to salute the flag. They don't have to pledge allegiance to the U.S.A., but they can pledge allegiance to the Earth. That led to reactions from some parents in the community that she was an atheist, that she wasn't patriotic enough and basically she was an anarchist. So I'm definitively aware that parents can be quite apprehensive about some of the things we do in the classroom. I have also been aware that there are lots of difficult issues you have to deal with. For example, when the Persian Gulf War was going on, and there were children in the classroom whose parents, uncles or aunts were actually soldiers in the Gulf, it was very difficult to conduct peace education in the classroom that didn't make those relatives look bad. It is a real challenge in the classroom to say: 'We are against violence, we don't want war', but to make sure at the same time that those children whose relatives are actually in the military don't feel alienated.” (Petra Hesse; References, List A.)

“I think that people are worried about indoctrination. They won't be so worried about violence. They are worried about frightening children. I think parents and teachers are worried about their own unspoken fears and, in fact, about their own inability to deal with this problem area. I think the very act of introducing peace education is an act of social change, and any kind of social change will meet with some resistance. It is a great responsibility, and one must be responsible in doing it.” (Nigel Young; References, List A.)
Resistance from colleagues. Teachers who have been pioneers in education for peace have often come under suspicion in one way or another. The two most common methods seem to be calling those who work along those lines “naive” ("blue-eyed", “unrealistic” etc.) or “politically unreliable”. In the U.S. the stamp of “communist” has frequently been used; the corresponding association with “leftist extremism” may be encountered elsewhere as well. Nowadays, after the end of the Cold War, this way of casting suspicion has probably become less frequent. Instead, teachers may take the attitude that education for peace is too emotional and “wishy-washy” and that education for peace takes too much time from the more “solid” teaching that is focused on the basic skills. In several respects, the resistance from some of the teachers’ colleagues are based on the same kind of reasoning that we have dealt with above when talking about resistance from parents.

Lack of training. Teachers who would like to get involved in education for peace may of course feel that they lack the knowledge necessary to work in this area. Normally, little interest has been devoted to these issues in their basic teacher education, and the possibilities for in-service education in this area are usually very limited. This lack of education and experience can be a great obstacle, especially since the field is often regarded as being emotionally sensitive and controversial. (Cf. Bjerstedt, 2002.)

"School structure" as an obstacle. Peace issues are markedly interdisciplinary; and student-run, interdisciplinary projects play an important part in an ambitious education for peace. The traditional character of school work (with rather fixed boundaries between the various subjects – at least among the older students – written tests and frequent grading) may be experienced as an obstructive straitjacket in such work. As mentioned earlier we sometimes distinguish between “explicit” peace education (teaching more directly about peace and war issues) and “implicit” peace education (where we try to foster peaceable values and attitudes, for example via a democratic, “peaceful” mini-society in the school). While the “explicit” mode of peace education may be more easily fitted into the traditional school structure, it may sometimes be quite difficult to create “the peaceful context” that would be an important prerequisite for a successful implicit strategy.
Part of this problem complex is the low frequency of genuine dialogue in the traditional school settings. Magnus Haavelsrud (References, List A) formulated it in the following way in his interview reply:

"The main problem is how to use some of the time at school for dialogue. That is beyond the concept of education that is predominant at school. When you mention it, people immediately suspect that here is someone who is going to indoctrinate someone about something, but I think this is the new kind of effort that is required in our society in order to make people more dialogue-oriented, to enhance the free exchange of ideas in school. ... We should be democratic, which means that everybody should participate, so it should really be quite simple to legitimize this way of working, and indeed it is on the theoretical level. But in practical everyday life, school is not organized according to that principle…".

Lack of knowledge. Could it be that it is not only the individual teacher who feels that he or she lacks knowledge, but that, on the whole, we know too little about the best ways of educating for peace in different subjects and at different levels? My own feeling, as commentator, is that there is a great need for research and development in this field to give us a more solid, and diversified base for recommendations. At the same time, we do have some knowledge and some experience in this field, and we have good reasons to use this, for example, in teacher training, textbook writing, and dialogue with various "resistance groups".
4.3 A Few Comments on the Difficulties

It is important for teachers who want to get involved in peace-oriented education to be conscious of the existence of difficulties and obstacles of the kind that have been discussed here and that may come up in various contexts. Being aware of the difficulties makes us already better equipped to encounter them. In addition, however, it should be useful to listen to experiences and suggestions from others in the field on the theme “Do you see any way out of such difficulties?” In this section I will both quote from the interviews and give some more general comments related to this aspect.

There is nothing much the teacher can do about the international political tradition. There is, however, a pedagogical task that some of our peace-oriented teachers might take on outside school, that is attempting to reduce the stereotyped thinking concerning these issues in the general debate, by writing to the newspapers, criticizing the biased arguments and pointing out the need for alternative solutions.

As far as the potential resistance from parents is concerned, there is a lot that can be done, and several of our interviewees address this topic. One strategy is to provide information about what is expected from the teachers in this area, demonstrating what is said in this respect in international recommendations as well as in the national curricula (where this is relevant). This may be called the “strategy of legitimizing”.

“I wrote an article on legitimizing peace education... It was obviously high time to look squarely at what has been said about peace education by UNESCO and in the curriculum. That article has subsequently been reissued many times, and used at parents' meetings. Informing parents is one of the best ways to get things done. You show them what is expected of teachers by the United Nations and by the curriculum guidelines and you solicit their suggestions on how to go about the teaching. That is usually a good beginning, and at the same time, you are probably helping to add nuances to public opinion.” (Birgit Brock-Utne; References, List A.)

Another strategy that is both basic and flexible is what we might call the “dialogue strategy”. This can be used both with parents and with other potential “resistance groups” and it can take several different forms.

“One of the ways that we have used is to find the people who show resistance or uneasiness or who disagree and bring them right into the planning-group – bring them into the work with developing curriculum materials, to listen to their message. What are your problems with our
approach? We try to use the viewpoints, honor them, give them dignity. We are then modeling peace education in our relationships, honoring the questions of the opponents, respecting their feelings. So this strategy can be seen as an important part of peace education.” (Susan Alexander; References, List A.)

“A project in the United States, in which I am involved specifically pairs people with opposing views, hawks and doves, to see if there aren't some things they can agree on in common, in terms of social values that would be related to a security policy. – Another project in the United States is called 'Project Listen'. You go to the people who are most hostile to your values, usually about war and peace issues. You interview them and just listen to what they have to say; but you interview them in such a way that they kind of talk themselves around to seeing things in more depth than they did when they started. I think respect for the other person – willingness to take time, willingness to listen and then communicating at a different level than the highly confrontational one that usually is used – is very important. That kind of listening needs to be done, and it can be done. But it is very slow and it takes a lot of patience. ... I think peace education needs to take more account of that kind of work.” (Elise Boulding; References, List A.)

Related to the dialogue attempt is the “strategy of starting from the needs of the other person”.

“The parents would often love for the children to be more self-confident, more able to solve their own conflicts and not be involved in so many quarrels, so one way to start is to emphasize these aspects, dealing with contacts in their own school.” (Mildred Masheder; References, List A.)

“Our idea of conflict resolution is that you deal with conflict in a way that respects people. This approach can apply to controversial issues. You need to introduce such issues in a very careful and sensitive way, and to begin where your constituency is. In New York, we asked the teachers what area they wanted to work with. They were concerned about interpersonal conflict in their classrooms primarily, so that's where we started, but then we can build on that and proceed to other areas.” (Tom Roderick; References, Lista A.)

Since “indoctrination” has been a key concept in many attacks on peace education efforts, it may be of value to stress that the procedures
used are quite different from indoctrination (the "strategy of emphasizing pluralism and anti-indoctrination").

"I think parents ought to be assured that their children are not going to be indoctrinated into some kind of political doctrine. ... An educational attitude is to help young people think clearly and deeply about the issues and would want to assure parents that if you are engaged in peace education in school, that you will not simply put across one particular view and expect all students to accept that. That is to me somehow the opposite of peace education." (Jim Collinge; References, List A.)

"I think it's very important when you introduce these issues that you avoid pushing any one solution or any narrow political agenda. It has to be a real solid educational process with a long-range perspective. ... What we want to develop is first: people who care about what's going on in the world, and second: people who are able to think about it in a constructive and thorough way, so that they make up their own minds. I think that if that's what you are really doing – then in most places you won't run into too much trouble; and if you do, you're having an honest fight: you aren't vulnerable in a moral or educational sense." (Tom Roderick; References, List A.)

If there is a climate of mistrust related to peace education programs, it may be worthwhile to introduce a series of activities aiming at "confidence building".

"...peace education was confronted with mistrust... This was inspired by the fear of partiality, one-sided information and hidden objectives. It had to do with fixed political opinions, and it was also related to the predominant view that education should be neutral. We have responded to this problem in several ways: a) By explaining very clearly our concept as well as our objectives of peace education. b) By elaborating the teaching materials in cooperation with teachers/schools; those materials were first reviewed by the educational authorities and tested in a number of schools, and only then were they published and distributed. c) By providing well-balanced and comprehensive information, and by presenting different opinions and interpretations. d) By creating conditions, by means of a didactic method, for an open process of opinion formation, with the emphasis on the pupils' own reasoned choices." (Henk B. Gerritsma.; References, List A.)
Let me try to summarize some of the relevant arguments and action strategies in dealing with difficulties encountered in peace education work. As far as the potential resistance from parents is concerned, it should be a good rule to try to prevent unnecessary misunderstanding about intentions and methods by informing the group of parents in advance and trying to enlist them as collaborators (instead of having them as opponents) in the peace work.

Genuine peace education is based on mutual communication, on a dialogue. This applies to the internal school work, but it also applies to teachers’ contacts with adults outside school. An example mentioned in the quotations was Project Listen, where exhaustive conversations with opponents are conducted, emphasizing the importance of deeper understanding rather than trying to score points in a simple confrontation. It is obviously not a quick and uncomplicated method, but in the long run it may prove to be of great importance.

As for resistance from colleagues, an open discussion is likely to be the best counter-method. It is also important for us to find allies among our colleagues, even before work is initiated. Two or more people do a better job of planning something, and in addition, they can give each other psychological support.

It may be natural to emphasize here that peace-oriented education is a many-faceted task encompassing many sub-goals and many different methods. As a matter of fact, large parts of this work tend to be quite uncontroversial, for example providing the students with knowledge of actual conditions, or helping them to give priority to non-violent solutions when dealing with personal conflicts. As long as teachers work with such parts of education for peace, hardly anybody is likely to object.

But when we approach what UNESCO has called “disarmament education” more directly, the topic may be experienced as being delicate and controversial, that is when the value of military armament is questioned and violent solutions in the international arena are discussed. It should be of great help to the teachers involved if they discuss and decide together what they want to take up and how.

It may also be important to think through the terminology to be used in dealing with such issues at school. Several of our interviewees discuss this, pointing out that words like “peace” or “peace education” often give rise to opposition, while the same phenomena can be more easily discussed under other labels. Some of the people we interviewed feel that the cause is the important thing, and that sometimes it may be wise to restrict oneself to a cautious terminology, while there are others who think that the pedagogical task should also include the creation of positive associations to the
word "peace". Personally I think there is a lot to be said for the last-mentioned view. In the long perspective, we should include this goal. However, this does not force us always to use this terminology from the very start. Hence, the two views are not necessarily irreconcilable.

An alarming problem is the large pile of super weapons – including the risk of using them by mistake. The end of the Cold War has meant that this threat is no longer focused upon to the same extent by mass media, but the risks have not yet disappeared. It should be comparatively easy to make many people accept that this is an undesirable situation which does not contribute to global security.

It may also be important to clarify that the goal is “real security”. As touched upon in other contexts, what is now often called “security” (that is a high degree of armament) is largely a “pseudo-security”, and we must find “alternative forms of security” characterized by a lesser risk of death and destruction. In this context, some people prefer to talk about “re-armament” rather than “disarmament”. It should also be emphasized, in this connection, that today’s world is different from that of the past. We now live in a world of strong mutual dependence, and there are many transnational problems that we have to solve together. The narrow national perspective of yesterday does not work any longer.

Should we then be allowed to go ahead at school and discuss the defense of our country and its military policy? Should we – for example – in Swedish schools be allowed to question Swedish exports of weapons? Should we allow critical opinions on the degree of Swedish armament? May we discuss alternative ways of protecting our country? Should we also allow pacifist arguments and arguments for non-combatant military service?

There are different opinions. My own answer is: Yes, we may and should take up such issues. In an open, democratic society, all essential societal issues should be discussed at school. Our students in the upper secondary school – who are greatly affected by these issues – should have the chance to listen to arguments from people with different views. Teachers should be allowed to state their opinions openly, whether they happen to be in favor of the traditional defense, or pacifist, or ambivalent.

Peace education is part of the general task of school of making the students active and democratic citizens who can participate actively and critically in the process of shaping our future, including the politics of peace. Such a goal requires access to relevant arguments.

But teachers should, of course, also be aware of the fact that such open discussions do not appeal to everybody, and that it is wise to try to win the support of parents, colleagues and school administrators in ad-
vance, if possible, when a major educational project involving such controversial issues is being planned.

*Can one say that some difficulties are especially disturbing or that some are mentioned more often than others?* It is obviously not easy to make such “scalings”, for various reasons: the difficulties are often related to each other; it is reasonable to expect that experiences of difficulties vary over time, among other things depending on changes in general politics and military politics; and it is also natural that they are experienced in different ways in different groups of persons depending on the special pre-conditions and social environment of the groups.

With these reservations in mind, it may nevertheless be of some interest to give a few glimpses from one of the studies of the Malmö project: a study of 460 Swedish teachers with special interest in peace (members of the “Teachers for Peace”). (Cf. Bjerstedt, 1996, p. 72.)

In the questionnaire that these teachers answered (at the end of the eighties) there was among other things a list of 32 possible problems and difficulties in peace education. The task of the respondent was to indicate what he or she thought that “teachers in general” perceived as problems and difficulties but also what the respondent “himself/herself” experienced.

A first observation is that the answers are spread out over a broad spectrum. For example, all the 32 alternatives listed as possible were marked as problems experienced. – We may also note that in many cases there is a relatively good correspondence between judgments on “teachers in general” and experiences by “himself/herself”. The differences that can be seen in some cases (for example, “lack of knowledge regarding peace issues” or “doubts about the importance of peace education”) are reasonable when you consider that the respondents is a group of people especially interested in peace education.

However, what seems to be especially worth emphasizing is that the problems or obstacles that the teachers studied give special weight by frequent markings deal with special areas: they deal predominantly with *lack of teacher training* (“deficiencies of teacher training”; “too little or no own inservice training”) or *lack of teaching instruments* (“insufficient or superficial treatment of peace issues in teaching books”; “lack of teaching materials”).

In other words, the difficulties especially emphasized here refer to things that it should be possible to deal with by means of special efforts.

With this background, it will be natural in the following to take up the issues of teacher training and developing of teaching materials in the area of peace education.
5 Peace Education and Teacher Training

5.1 Introduction

Some of us concerned with peace education in schools think that teacher education is very important; if the teachers do not get acquainted with peace education possibilities and procedures in their training, we cannot expect them to do a good job as peace educators. At the same time, some of us have the impression that in most countries, nothing or very little is done in the average teacher education settings to prepare teachers for peace education.

This is what some of us think today. But what is the situation in different countries with respect to teacher training in relation to peace education in schools? And to what degree do we have some consensus among peace educators as to the importance of teacher training and as to the character of the peace education preferred in these contexts? To what extent have the views changed over time?

To get some idea about the opinions in these and related matters, questionnaires have been mailed twice to educators and researchers interested in peace education (primarily defined by membership in the Peace Education Commission, PEC, a subgroup of the International Peace Research Association). The first mailing was done in 1994 and a brief report on some major trends in the answers was presented the same year, based on a study of the first 75 questionnaires returned (Peace Education Miniprints, No. 67). A second mailing was carried out in 2002, and again I have chosen to study the first 75 questionnaires returned.

In this chapter, I deal with data from both studies (Study A, with questionnaires from 1994; and Study B, with questionnaires from 2002). However, I will be somewhat more detailed in my presentation of the data from 2002, especially when giving examples of free-text comments.
5.2 The Importance of Teacher Training

The first question asked was: "What is your general opinion about the importance of teacher training in relation to peace education in schools?" The respondents were requested to check one of three alternatives: (a) "Teacher training is extremely important; without special efforts in teacher training, most teachers will not be able to do a good job as peace educators." – (b) "Teacher training is important, but many other conditions are equally important in order to get a good peace education in our schools (such as written recommendations from school authorities, the existence of relevant teaching materials, etc.)" – (c) "Teacher training is not particularly important; other conditions are much more important for making our schools good instruments for peace education".

The distribution of answers clearly indicates that our respondents with special interest in peace education feel that teacher training is of great importance. This is true for both studies (Study A, 1994; and Study B, 2002).

Out of the 75 respondents in Study A, no less than 41 chose the first alternative ("extremely important"), whereas only 2 marked the third one ("not particularly important").

Out of the 75 respondents in Study B, no less than 45 chose the first alternative, whereas only 1 marked the third one.

In brief, then, only very few persons judged teacher training as not particularly important, while a majority had the opposite opinion. Expressed in another way, which is true for both studies (1994 and 2002): More than 95% chose one of the two alternatives focusing on the importance of teacher training, and more than 50% marked the rather emphatic alternative "extremely important".

The respondents had an opportunity to offer comments on this question. The following are some examples:

- When peace education is not seen as central to teacher education, teachers will continue to see it as peripheral to their educational activities. (1994.)
- While I think there are other factors involved in making a good peace educator, in my opinion teacher training is a crucial element in both giving a teacher the requisite skills and the understanding and commitment required. (2002.)
- Teacher training is essential in order for peace education to become common in the U.S. Few teachers will initiate peace education on their own and certainly not in systematic ways. (2002.)
• The subject conflict resolution and mediation should be compulsory and comprehensive in teacher education. The connection between levels (the micro and the macro) should be included (and emphasized) in order to empower. (2002.)

Basic Teacher Training vs. In-Service Training
While the first question addressed teacher training in general terms, the second question introduced a distinction between two kinds of training, using the following formulations: “Teacher training can be subdivided into two major components: (a) basic teacher training (the theoretical and practical education arranged before entering teaching in schools); and (b) in-service training (courses or workshops arranged for teachers at various times during their active careers as teachers).” The respondents were requested to indicate the statement(s) he or she agreed with (one or more) among those that followed. Three such statements were presented: (a) “If we have to choose, investing in in-service training is more important than investing in basic teacher training.” - (b) “If we have to choose, investing in basic teacher training is more important than investing in in-service training.” - (c) “It is very important to include training related to peace education in both basic teacher training and in-service training.”

The outcome shows a considerable consensus. In both studies almost 80% of the respondents chose the third alternative (or 59 of the 75 in 1994 and 58 of the 75 in 2002).

In general, then, our peace educators tended to feel that it is very important to include training related to peace education both in basic teacher training and in in-service training.

In the questionnaire there was also some room for “other reactions, explanations or comments”. A few quotes will illustrate:
• While there are many anxiety-provoking aspects of basic (pre-service) teacher education, you need to ‘start with them young’ as well as working with practicing teachers. (1994.)
• I think teachers need an introduction prior to going into the classroom but then follow-up once they are teaching full time. (2002.)
• These are two populations; one with teaching habits that may need to be changed and one with no prior experience – thus easier to establish peace-oriented skills. (2002.)
5.3 The Situation in Different Countries

It is not easy for anyone to know the situation of teacher training in relation to peace education in a country. Nevertheless, it seemed reasonable to try to get some information and judgements in this respect when we approached these groups of people with special interest and expertise in peace education. Thus, our third question started with these formulations: “What is the situation with respect to teacher training in your own country (or state or region)? Check the statement(s) you agree with (one or more)”. Four statements were presented: (a) “As far as I know, nothing or almost nothing is done at present in teacher training to prepare teachers for peace education.” – (b) “Some efforts are made in basic teacher training by especially interested teachers or especially interested teacher colleges; but most teachers today will not have had any particular basic training in this area.” – (c) “Some courses or workshops are arranged to introduce peace education to active teachers (as in-service training) but most teachers today will not have taken part in such courses or workshops.” – (d) “Teacher training efforts in the field of peace education are now quite common, so that most teachers will have had some such training”. In the case of some respondents it might not be quite self-evident which geographical area his or her answer referred to. Therefore, the questionnaire also asked “Which country (or state or region) does your answer refer to here (question 3)?”

The response distribution shows clearly that rather little is done in teacher training related to peace education. Only one of the alternatives (alternative d) refers to a situation where such training is common; and only one single respondent in the total group of 75 marked this alternative in 1994. Furthermore, the situation in 2002 was in this respect identical: only one respondent chose this response. The rest of the group were more evenly spread out over the remaining alternatives or marked the combined response b and c.

Without reporting further details of the response distribution for our two studies, we can sum up the general picture in this way: So far very little has been done in teacher training; either we have a situation where nothing (or almost nothing) is done or a situation where single initiatives are taken but without reaching the majority of the teachers. – This general picture is similar in our data from 1994 and from 2002.

Other answers or comments were encouraged. A variety of illustrations follow:

- No institutional commitment to peace education, so its promotion and availability depends on individual teachers... Therefore ...
when the individual goes, the peace education goes. (Australia, 1994.)

- It "died" in the late 1980s and has not been revived except in some conflict resolution forms, I believe (especially related to school violence). (Australia, 2002.)

- Conflict resolution education is increasingly offered, as are peace & justice perspectives in social foundations or 'school and society' courses in basic training. In-service resources, except for graduate (Masters) degrees, are drying up (with public budget cuts by government). (Ontario, Canada, 2002.)

- Violence has become a basic concern in Costa Rica. Peace education is very significant for educators, particularly in relation to human and democratic security-related issues. ... The U.N. University for Peace (UPEACE) was established in December 1980. Its mission is to promote education for peace worldwide from its base in Costa Rica. University for Peace has been in a process of revitilization since 1999, developing a new issue-oriented academic program. One of these initiatives is a new Masters degree program in Peace Education. (Costa Rica, 2002.)

- Under the precise heading of 'peace education' very little; but if you include work on 'global citizenship' or 'education for sustainability' some interesting things are going on. (England and Wales, 2002.)

- A minimum degree/state of peace seems to be needed before peace education can be meaningfully discussed and introduced. (Eritrea, 2002.)

- In Germany there is a high interest in in-service training concerning mediation and violence prevention, but good offers are too small. (Germany, Land Hessen, 2002.)

- Education for peace is still an important goal and is still considered to be part of the overall ethos of (political) education, explicitly and implicitly mentioned in more or less all curricula guidelines for political education. (Germany, 2002.)

- I have been in the field of school education for the last twenty years and have found some moral lesson text book used and civics in which could be elements of peace education. But the emphasis on/of peace education is absent. (India, 1994.)

- Our centre, Peace Research Centre, Gujarat Vidyapith, has arranged several workshops on 'Education for Peace and Nonviolence', for primary teachers, secondary, college and university teachers. ... Our university is founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920. (India, 2002.)
• The whole thing depends on the policy makers or the government's will to introduce peace education in the educational institutions realising the importance of it in the situation of violence, crime and terrorism, and for attaining perpetual peace in the nation and ultimately in the whole world. (India, 2002.)

• Much of the content and methodology of 'peace education' is dealt with by teacher trainers under different headings (e.g. development education, religion studies, personal and social studies, education for mutual understanding). (Ireland, 1994.)

• The introduction of Education for Mutual Understanding (EMU) as a core part of the N. Ireland school curriculum has made teacher training provision essential here. (N. Ireland, 1994.)

• At our small organization (voluntary) "IFLAC: The International Forum for the Culture of Peace", we organize monthly meetings, at which many of the members are teachers. They learn how to use our materials and literature, e.g. "Peace Flower". (Israel, 2002.)

• A programme I have co-written and for which I am NZ trainer – 'Cool Schools Peer Mediation' – has aroused national interest and schools around the whole country are requesting training. In Auckland whole staffs are training. (New Zealand, 1994.)

• While some areas of the school curriculum in New Zealand give great opportunities for peace education, e.g. Social Studies, Health Services, particularly environmental, I know of no special programme in any teacher training institution. There is, however, a lot of interest in peer mediation / conflict resolution, particularly the Cool Schools programme. (New Zealand, 2002.)

• As far as I know, there is no peace education component in any formal teacher training programme in South Africa. I know of 4 NGOs that do peace education training with in-service teachers. The formal situation may change in the next few years, as the new South African educational policy and curriculum does recognise the importance of peace education. (South Africa, 2002.)

• Not nearly enough in US, tho I know there are good solid efforts – but not in enough schools. Hiroshima-Nagasaki never taught, nor concept of Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Badly needed in US. Nor is citizenship in UN for us as individuals, as Americans, and as members of NGOs. NGO concept not taught either. Should all be part of peace education. (U.S.A., 2002.)

• Teacher training in a comprehensive approach to peace education or under the name of "peace education" is rare in the U.S. However, teachers are trained in aspects of peace education such as: study of
war, study of international organizations such as U.N., character development, peer mediation, etc. (California, U.S.A., 2002.)

- Teachers are overwhelmed with a new official government policy of Standards-based curriculum and “Accountability”. There is literally no room for anything other than Reading and Math, which are tested. Sadly, even Science and Social Studies have been pushed to the side (it is not tested). This means, anything extra is being rejected by teachers as “having no time”. (Florida, U.S.A., 2002.)

- Many systems in U.S. have invested in violence prevention and conflict resolution programs – Also building peer mediation networks and developing schools as communities. (Rhode Island, U.S.A., 2002.)
5.4 Various Goal Areas and Relation to the Course System

Goal Areas of Peace Education
One of the questions dealt with various goal areas of peace education, offering a fairly long text. It started with the following background reasoning: “Peace education can be carried out with different emphases. For example: It can deal with explicit information and discussion related to peace and war issues (‘knowledge and awareness approach’); or with efforts to develop peaceful values, attitudes and behaviors through modeling and arranging a peaceful school atmosphere (‘implicit, value-oriented approach’); or with efforts to develop particular peace-related skills via exercises in creative conflict resolution and cooperative learning (‘skills approach’). Which approach or approaches should be emphasized in teacher training, in your view?”

After this introduction, the respondents were given five statements and were instructed to check one or more of these: (a) “Teachers should be familiar with all the three approaches mentioned.” – (b) “The ‘knowledge and awareness approach’ should be emphasized.” – (c) “The ‘implicit, value-oriented approach’ should be emphasized.” – (d) “The ‘skills approach’ should be emphasized.” – (e) “It depends on the ages of the pupils the teacher would be responsible for; the implicit, value-oriented approach should be emphasized among teachers for lower grades; the knowledge and awareness approach is more relevant among teachers for higher grades; the skills approach may be appropriate for both groups.”

The results were very clear in one respect: Very few people considered it appropriate to emphasize only one of the three approaches described. (In fact, there was only one such respondent for each of these three alternatives in the 1994 study; while the range of respondents with such an answer was one to three in the 2002 study.) Instead the votes were mainly divided among alternative a, alternative e and the combination of these two alternatives. About 75% of the group voted for alternative a or alternative e or a combination of these two alternatives (this was true both in the 1994 and in the 2002 study). Hence, a broad-range policy for teacher training (covering several approaches to peace education) got strong support in our expert group.

The respondents were also given some free space for other answers or comments. Several of them talk about the meaning of the term “peace education” and refer to the need for a comprehensive view. Some examples of comments follow:

- The ‘knowledge and awareness approach’ is also important for young children, because they talk about peace and war as well as the
older ones. Teachers should guide them in their understanding and knowledge. (1994.)

- The value-oriented approach and the skill-approach go together and cannot (should not?) be separated. I think this is the basis. Connect this with the knowledge awareness approach and this at all levels of education. (2002.)

- Don’t underestimate Kindergarten age children – they are more aware of the world than most adults realize. (2002.)

- If we abandon a ‘big picture’ and an understanding of direct and structural violence, we miss the point. We also need values and skills development, appropriate (along with the appropriate knowledge) at all levels. (2002.)

- I think all approaches are valuable and complementary. I am not convinced that they cannot be all adapted to different age groups. (2002.)

- I think it is important that peace education is considered holistically, and I think this is possible to some extent at all levels of education. Also, I think it is important that teachers are themselves ‘educated for peace’ in addition to being trained as peace educators. Thus, I think teachers should be exposed to all the different emphases of peace education for their own benefit, as well as being trained to educate for peace at a level appropriate for their students. (2002.)

Relation to the Course System of Teacher Training

Another question deals with how peace education should be handled in the total system of the basic teacher education: “Peace education can be handled in a number of different ways in teacher training. For example: It can be dealt with in a special course on peace education; or peace education objectives and procedures may be promoted in a number of different courses (i.e. from the perspectives of different school subjects). Which strategy do you find to be the best one?” Four response alternatives were presented: (a) “A special course on peace education within basic teacher training.” – (b) “Promoting peace education objectives and procedures in a number of different courses within basic teacher training.” – (c) “A combination of both strategies.” – (d) “I have no particular preference as to strategy.”

In Study A about 9% prefer a special course, 20% vote for attention to peace education objectives in different courses. A clear majority, however, or almost 60%, prefer a combination of both strategies. In Study B, the percentage distribution is quite similar: 12%, 19% and 64% for the three major alternatives mentioned.
Teacher training contains a complexity of contents, for example, materials related to different school subjects. It is reasonable that it is often natural and fruitful to deal with peace education objectives from different perspectives in different courses or sub-parts of the teaching system. On the other hand, it may be useful to focus clearly upon peace education at one point in the system, that is, a special course (among other things to avoid the danger that peace education is somehow “lost” in the maze of other courses, to use a formulation from one of the respondents). These two ways of dealing with peace education can obviously be combined in order to utilize the advantages of each. This seems to be the dominant preference in our expert group. Some further comments are illustrated in the following:

- Peace Education is a 'heavy' course with considerable emotional power, as people process their feelings about violence. It deserves a special course to deal with such powerful concepts. (1994.)
- I think you need a special course or the content disappears – however, the ideal is a school which embodies peaceful values. (1994.)
- I imagine a compulsory course in basic teacher training in steps, which means recurrent every term of the education with the basis during the first term. Also specific subjects like history and social science will include parts, but look out not to subdivide and lose consistency! (2002.)
- Normally I think peace education in schools is best carried out across the curriculum. However, in teacher training, a special course is probably necessary to emphasize the importance of peace education. (2002.)
- A combination of strategies would result in greater success. A special course and in-service training/courses may not have a long-term effect unless there is reinforcement and followup. However, showing teachers how they can integrate peace education skills in various areas of the curriculum may make more sense to them – rather than a separate course. (2002.)
- The special course is needed in order to provide integration and a comprehensive approach. Other courses will not provide the time to do this. But specific ways of teaching peace should be taught in various content areas. (2002.)
- A review of articles written in the last 20 years, reveals teachers are able to teach Peace through their Math Classes, Art Classes, Computer Classes, Geography and English Classes. I have quite a collection of this literature since I have been collecting same since early 1980s. (2002.)
Promoting the Idea of Teacher Training

The final question of our questionnaire had the following formulation: "What could be done in your opinion to promote the idea of teacher training for peace education efforts (provided that you think it is worth promoting)? – Do you have any other comments or recommendations on this topic?" Some illustrations of responses to this rather open request follow: to start with some suggestions related to the feeling that there is often a resistance towards the topic of peace education, felt to be too controversial, too vague or too narrow:

- (a) Link ‘peace education’ more directly to ‘conflict resolution’ training. – (b) Justify it in terms of its relevance to problems within the family, the school, and the community as well as among nations. (1994.)
- In countries like Turkey, the idea should be introduced in a non-threatening, less controversial way, emphasizing more ‘the skills approach’, and then building on that. (1994.)
- Use the examples of violence in the schools as a case study for teaching about peaceful classrooms. (2002.)
- Relate peace education to environmental education and intercultural learning, to international / global education. (2002.)
- Promoting the understanding of peace education – not as training towards a mere show of kindness, but as equipping with insights and skills to deal constructively with conflict, by managing, resolving, transforming or preventing it, according to the particular situation. (2002.)

In other answers the need to find ways to influence important decision-makers and to create awareness of the area of peace education (among other things, through inter-school contacts) are referred to:

- Get more peace educators into positions of political and institutional power. Try to influence local boards of education and then create a demand from them. Try to create demands among parents that their children receive appropriate peace education. (1994.)
- To promote the idea of teacher training we have to continue to gather support, not only from inside the school or university but from outside sources as well. I’ve had meetings with local and state representatives, judges, police chiefs, the business community, parents and the media. I’m now in the process of producing a program on peace education for community television. (1994.)
- I believe that the idea of not just one school, but getting a 'league of schools' to commit themselves to teaching peacemaking skills to ALL – teachers, children, staff at each school – may be the best approach. This model has been used successfully in Nova Scotia, Canada where a League of Peaceful Schools (approx. 100) has been launched. (2002.)

Other recommendations include references to various communication and research vehicles:

- Concentrate on people and what they do, as in my book 'Men Against War'. Ask every Ministry of Education, perhaps through UNESCO, for the name of a person who has made an outstanding contribution to peace in order to produce a better book. (1994.)
- I would find a 'bank' of poems and stories (in English) very useful – possibly in the form of an anthology – also for teachers of English as a foreign language. (1994.)
- Make sure peace education publications are available, students informed of libraries worth using. (2002.)
- It would be interesting to publish a book on peace education in the world so that students and teachers would be able to learn the situation in other countries. (2002.)
- Research institutes should be established to help develop and test peace education / conflict resolution training. There is obviously much need for research to develop this area of education. (2002.)
- Media campaigns to build awareness; Articles in newspapers or magazines on a regular basis; Include peace education issues in children's TV programs; Design exercises and games to be used at school or community clubs; Provide models of peacemakers by teaching biographies and achievements. (2002.)
5.6 Conclusion

In 1994 and 2002 educators and researchers with special interest in peace education were requested to answer a questionnaire on teacher training in relation to peace education. This report provides glimpses from the answers given, based on a study of 150 questionnaires (the first 75 questionnaires returned in 1994, and the first 75 questionnaires returned in 2002). These are some of the observations made:

1. A majority of the respondents felt that teacher training is of great importance in relation to peace education, marking the response alternative “Teacher training is extremely important; without special efforts in teacher training, most teachers will not be able to do a good job as peace educators”.

2. The group of peace educators tended further to feel that it is very important to include training related to peace education both in basic teacher training and in in-service training.

3. When asking about the situation of teacher training in the country of the respondent, we found in almost all cases that rather little is done. Either we have a situation where nothing (or almost nothing) is done, or a situation where single initiatives are taken by especially interested teachers or colleges, but without reaching the majority of the teachers.

4. Various peace education approaches were described (knowledge and awareness approach, implicit value-oriented approach, skills approach), and the respondents were asked to indicate which approach or approaches they would like to have emphasized in teacher training. Very few people considered it appropriate to emphasize only one of the approaches referred to. Instead, they felt that teachers should be familiar with all the approaches and perhaps use them differently in contact with students from different age levels. Thus, a broad-range policy (covering several approaches to peace education) got a strong support in our group.

5. A variety of ideas about how to promote teacher training for peace education were presented.

6. There were no major differences between the two sub-studies (from 1994 and 2002). On the one hand, this means that there is considerable stable consensus that should facilitate future co-work in this field. On the other hand, in some cases it also indicates that there has been less positive development than you would have hoped (for example, in the answers to questions about the situation
of peace education in various countries, about difficulties and risks perceived and about the availability of peace education handbooks).

The positive interest in the idea of teacher training (both basic training and in-service training) for peace education was very obvious in the replies. Hopefully, the various suggestions presented by this group of people with special interest and expertise in peace education can provide some starting-points for future thinking and planning in this so far under-developed, but potentially important, area.

(Note: It might be added that while most answers to the questionnaires are quoted literally in this chapter, in some cases slight language improvements or abbreviations have been introduced without special indications in the text.)
6 Developing Students’ Materials and Teachers’ Manuals

We noted in our examination of the responses from a group of teachers with special interest in peace issues that above all two types of difficulties were stressed when dealing with peace education: (a) shortcomings in teacher training and (b) absence of suitable teaching materials. Difficulties in teacher training have been dealt with above. In this chapter, however, I will take up the issue of students’ materials and teachers’ manuals.

6.1 The International Situation

In the previous chapter I presented some data from two international questionnaires to persons with special expertise and interest in peace education. In these questionnaires there was also a question related to teaching materials: “If you know of any good peace education handbook published in your country that you would recommend for use in teacher training, please give the full reference here”.

Of the 75 respondents examined in Study A (1994), 41 persons gave no handbook reference or said that they did not know any from their country. Of the 75 respondents in Study B (2002), 31 individuals answered in the same way.

Even though the slight difference between Study A and Study B might indicate that some progress has been made in this area during recent years, it is true and important to say that there is still an obvious need for work on developing peace education materials around the world.

Some examples of publications mentioned are given in Box 5. They are quite different in character, and not all of them might be quite suitable for direct use in teacher or student training. But they do represent an important core of literature in this area and would be useful starting-points for anyone planning to write new handbooks or students’ materials for countries or languages in need of new materials.

[I have added some publications not mentioned by the respondents, but well worth inclusion in such a list. – Besides I might refer the person interested in peace education literature to this publication: Bjerstedt, Å. (2001). Educating Towards a Culture of Peace: A Select Bibliography Focusing on the Last 25 Years. Malmö: School of Education.]
Box 5.
Peace Education Publications: Some Examples from the Last Ten Years


Reardon, B. A. (1997). *Tolerance – the threshold of peace.* (3 volumes; also available in French and Spanish.) Paris: UNESCO.


6.2 “Schooling for Peace”: A Case Study on Developing and Evaluating Teaching Materials

It is important to develop teaching-learning materials for the area of peace education. Since this is a relatively new field we cannot expect teachers, teacher trainers or psychologists to have much specific knowledge about how to do this effectively and efficiently. In many cases there has to be a period of experimenting and trying things out. And it would then be important to evaluate the efforts as systematically as possible.

Educators and psychologists can contribute in various ways, for example:

- Stimulate and help projects dedicated to developing teaching materials for peace education;
- Make national projects in this area known internationally to stimulate cross-national cooperation or the adaptation of useful teaching ideas in new contexts;
- Initiate or carry out systematic evaluation of existing materials in order to promote experience-based improvements in the development of peace education materials.

The following notes on a project for developing and evaluating teaching materials for peace education in Sweden are related to the two last points. I will try to illustrate briefly what was done, in a way that would be broadly relevant (and not limited to the Swedish language or Swedish school system).

“Schooling for Peace” and “Preparedness for Peace”

“Schooling for Peace” was a project for the development of teachers' manuals and students' workbooks for Swedish schools. (The Swedish name Skola för fred could be translated both as Schools for Peace and as Schooling for Peace; I have chosen the latter expression here.)

“Schooling for Peace” was carried out in Stockholm in cooperation between the Alva and Gunnar Myrdal Foundation, the Swedish Red Cross and the Swedish UN Association. The work resulted in five separate teachers' manuals: for the preschool, the junior level (grades 1–3), the middle level (grades 4–6), and the senior level (grades 7–9) of the comprehensive school, and the upper secondary school (grades 10–12). In addition, three students' workbooks were developed: for grades 1–3, grades 7–9 and grades 10–12.

“Preparedness for Peace” is – as was mentioned in the introduction to this publication – an umbrella name for a group of studies at the School of Education in Malmö, Sweden. The general aim has been to increase our
knowledge, via research and development efforts, about possible ways of helping children and young people to deal constructively with questions of war and peace in school.

Considering that “Schooling for Peace” can be said to be quite an ambitious development effort in an area where the lack of teachers' manuals and students' materials has been emphasized, it seemed natural for our group in Malmö to study and evaluate the activities and the products from “Schooling for Peace”. We have published a series of reports and miniprints in Swedish dealing with this task. Here I will summarize some aspects of this work, mainly focusing on the two volumes for grades 10–12 for illustration.

A Spectrum of Evaluation Possibilities

Let me start, however, with some more general considerations about what “evaluation” may mean in this context. There are many possibilities. Some of these will be briefly mentioned:

1. **Preparation oriented evaluation**: Studying and evaluating the process of preparing the manuals and materials (for example, via interviews with the main actors involved: the project leader, the representatives of the organizations involved, the authors — dealing, among other things, with what the actors considered good and bad experiences).

2. **Materials oriented evaluation**: Studying and evaluating the publications that resulted from the work, that is, the teachers' manuals and students' workbooks. One or more experts in the field could be used to evaluate the products, in several different respects, as they appear.

3. **Process oriented evaluation**: Studying and evaluating what happens in the classroom when teachers try to use the ideas from the manuals and when the students work with the workbooks. This could be done from various perspectives: the teachers', the students', or the outsider-expert's. Features dealt with could be: how interesting do the students find the materials, how difficult do they find the tasks, to what extent do the tasks stimulate continued efforts to deal with peace and war issues etc.

4. **Remote-outcome oriented evaluation**: Studying and evaluating long-term effects of the work with the materials in terms of insights, attitudes, values and “action readiness” of the students.

5. **Information-spread oriented evaluation**: Studying and evaluating how well the information about the availability of the materials is spread in relevant groups (for example, among teachers at the relevant school levels).
All these five groups of evaluation efforts can be interesting and useful. In our work with the "Schooling for Peace" project, we used mainly the first three approaches (that is those focusing on preparation, material and process). To some minor extent we dealt with the fairly specific fifth approach (information spread), while we found that the fourth approach would be too difficult and time-consuming to handle properly in the context where we operated.

Some Background Information about the "Schooling for Peace" Project

The main initiator and actor during the early phase of the "Schooling for Peace" project was Rolf Björnerstedt. Björnerstedt had a background as a nuclear physicist and had worked with weapons programs in a defense research setting. Peace issues were, however, an early interest, and Björnerstedt was for some time chairperson of SIPRI (the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute), and also of the Alva and Gunnar Myrdal Foundation. The Myrdal Foundation had as its main task to spread easy-to-understand information about armament and disarmament, war and injustice in the world. Not only adults but also children and young people were considered target groups in the work of this foundation, with the aim of creating a devotion to global, peaceful development.

Our first documented contact with the "Schooling for Peace" project was an interview with Rolf Björnerstedt when this project was presented at the Gothenburg Book and Library Fair.

In the interview, Rolf Björnerstedt remarked that he was disappointed with traditional negotiation methods that had not been sufficiently successful, and also with the mainstream of peace research that was too slow in its approach to practical policy. His hope was instead education for peace. The desire for peace must be a moral imperative. "I do not know if this road – the road via schools – can be used, but I really think that this is the natural road that remains to be tested, and that has not been sufficiently tested." At the end of the interview Björnerstedt summarized his main view in this way: "...I believe and hope that the solution of the survival problems of the world finally will come via the young generation... that is the reason why it is so important that we provide information, that we stimulate the debate and that we create personal involvement and a desire for action. Nobody can say today where this will lead. We can hope, however, that the schools of the world in the long run have possibilities to contribute to the solution of the problems." (Björnerstedt, Ivri & The Project Preparedness for Peace, 1988, p. 11, 18.)

Rolf Björnerstedt was one of the actors behind the Swedish so called Peace Lottery (the economic resources of which could be used for the
peace related development work of various organizations); and the project "Schooling for Peace" was the largest project that was initiated within the framework of the Peace Lottery.

Characteristically, cooperation was established with well-known and well-reputed organizations like the Swedish Red Cross and the Swedish UN Association. Considering that education for peace was still seen as a controversial topic in some circles, this cooperation had its value in giving the project's activities greater authority and respectability than if a group of individuals had worked on their own or only with the support of their own organization.

**Different Types of Documents from the Mapping and Evaluation of the "Schooling for Peace" Project**

The reports and miniprints in which our group dealt with the "Schooling for Peace" activities and products are of different kinds. Some report on our interviews with different actors within "Schooling for Peace": those who were responsible for leading and coordinating the work, those who participated as authors of various texts, and those who represented the views of the organizations involved.

Other publications report experiences from our process studies, i.e. present information about how the material was functioning or was judged to be functioning among users – teachers and students – on different education levels.

Two researchers with expertise in the peace education area (from outside Sweden but able to read Swedish texts easily) accepted the task of making a separate evaluation of the various texts (the eight booklets produced: five teachers' manuals and three students' workbooks). Those were Birgit Brock-Utne (Professor of Education at the University of Oslo), well-known for her books on peace education, with a feminist perspective; and Jørgen Pauli Jensen (Professor of Psychology at the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies in Copenhagen), also well-known for his work on peace and peace education issues. (Cf. Brock-Utne, 1992; Jensen, 1992.)

An example of a more specific type of report is one assessing the familiarity with the materials from "Schooling for Peace" among Swedish teachers (Tvingstedt, 1992).

Let me now briefly present the material developed for use in grades 10–12 and some reactions to this part of the "Schooling for Peace" project.
**Texts for Grades 10–12**

Two volumes were produced for use in the upper secondary school - a students' book in the form of an anthology of texts by different authors (144 pages), and a teachers' manual (38 pages). Three people had the main editorial task: Gertrud Ivri, project leader; Roland Pålsson, chairperson of the Myrdal Foundation (after Rolf Björnerstedt had left); and Birgitta Sjögrund, with special responsibility for educational design and educational recommendations (Ivri, Pålsson & Sjögrund, 1990a, 1990b).

The text content of the students' anthology is presented in an overview in Box 6. As we can see, it is a mixture of analytical factual texts (What is the United Nations?), literary texts for experience (Johnny Got his Gun), and documentary texts with appeals (The Russell-Einstein Manifesto; Martin Luther King I Have a Dream). Most texts are in Swedish (either original texts in Swedish or translated into Swedish), but three of the texts have been presented to the Swedish students in their original English form. In Box 6 the headings of the various contributions are given first as they are presented in the anthology. After that an approximate translation into English is given in brackets for texts in Swedish.

The teachers' manual contains, in general, two types of material: (a) A fairly short introductory text about the basic educational view from which the "Schooling for Peace" project starts. Different types of working methods that fit in within this view are referred to. (b) A longer part of the text, where examples are given about how one can work with the anthology texts in different school subjects, including specific exercises and questions to deal with. Let me make some additional observations on these two parts of the manual.

The first starts from a wide definition of peace: Peace is not only the absence of war, it is also a particular vision about the future. This vision deals with a process of cooperation among all nations, a cooperation founded on freedom, independence, respect for human rights and a just distribution of resources. The more specific issues of peace and war should be seen in such a broad and long-term perspective. Basic components of an education related to such a perspective are: (a) to collect knowledge about the nature of our world; (b) to evaluate the facts and take one's stand; and (c) to solve conflicts with peaceful and constructive methods. The texts presented should give the students possibilities to deal with various issues that may involve difficulties or help on the way to peace and justice. A basic way to deal with issues of this kind is, according to this manual, structured discussions in small groups. Other working methods recommended and briefly discussed are, for example, role playing, values exercises, and conflict resolution exercises.
Box 6.
The Content of the Anthology “En värld att leva i” [A World To Live In] for Students of Grades 10–12

Vad är FN? [What is the United Nations?]
Jan Mårtensson

I exilen [In Exile]
Bertolt Brecht

Globala hot mot vår överlevnad och livskvalitet [Global Threats Against Our Survival and Quality of Life]
Roger Walsh

Johnny var en ung soldat [Johnny Got His Gun]
Dalton Trumbo

Rör inte min kompis [Don't Touch My Pal]
Harlem Désir

The Russell/Einstein Manifesto

I Have a Dream
Martin Luther King, Jr

The Liberation of Perugia
E. P. Thompson

Mitt TV-liv [My Life with TV]
Claes Andersson

Vi måste ändra livsstil [We Must Change Our Lifestyle]
Anders Wijkman

Minska utsläppen drastiskt! [Diminish the Pollution Drastically!]
Henning Rodhe

Den våldsamma människan [The Violent Human Being]
   Birgitta Geissman & Christer Rindeblad

Psykologiska och psykiatriska aspekter på kapprustning och kärnvapenkrig [Psychological and Psychiatric Aspects of the Arms Race and Nuclear War]
   Johan Cullberg

Är krig naturligt? [Is War Natural?]
   Eva Moberg

Indianhövding Seattles budskap [Chief Seattle's Message]

Söndag är för sent [Sunday Is Too Late]
   Rolf Edberg & Alexej Jablokov

Kan kärnvapenupprustningen rättfärdigas? [Can Nuclear Armament Be Justified?]
   Harald Ofstad

Mot rädslan [Against Fear]
   Ingvar Bratt

Hur vi skaffade oss vår högre levnadsstandard [How We Provided Ourselves with Our Higher Standard of Living]
   Erik Damman
The second part of the manual starts with an overview table showing some of the more natural ways of relating the various texts of the anthology to different school subjects in the upper secondary school. The texts are listed in a left-hand column as headings for the rows. The major school subjects are given at the top as headings for the columns. Then, for each of the texts one or (usually) several crosses are given for that school subject or those school subjects where it would seem most reasonable to deal with the specific text. For example, the text on the United Nations by Jan Mårtensson is suggested to be handled in social studies and/or history, while the discussion by Johan Cullberg is marked for psychology. The text by Martin Luther King is a "popular" one, in so far as it is marked for five different school subjects: English, Swedish, social studies, religion/philosophy and history.

Subsequently, the manual takes up one school subject at the time, indicating which of the texts could be handled in each and then giving a number of suggestions about how to deal with the texts, including detailed student exercises. In addition, a number of extra, minor texts as well as illustrations are included in the manual to be used for supplementary discussion, and various references to publications and films for further studies are presented. – At the end of the manual a number of peace-related organizations are briefly presented with their addresses and telephone numbers in Sweden.

Examples of Reactions to the Texts for Grades 10–12

It is seen from the interviews that the editorial group was clearly satisfied with its work with the upper secondary school materials (which was not true for all sets of material). Roland Pålsson, the chairperson of the Myrdal Foundation, said for example:

"This is one of the things we learnt: to start from literary or documentary basic material is better than to start from a chronological or systematic history text or than just to give collections of facts.

... In the anthology there is for example a text from World War II; it is very concrete and exciting, it is experiential reading on a high literary level. At the same time, however, it offers the opportunity to give perspectives, argumentation and facts about a lot of things in World War II. The development of modern warfare, the peace work after the war, pacifism vs. non-pacifism – a long series of issues are elucidated from this literary perspective. Then there are other texts such as Einstein's and Russell's manifesto and the famous speech by Martin Luther King which are purely documentary but at the same time convey experiences as living texts. I believe that this is my view in summary: to approach these issues is..."
best done by letting the students, at different school levels, meet living texts that deal with how human beings yesterday and today react to this part of our reality in a way that gives an experience and a kick. Then the teacher should have knowledge enough himself or herself or via resource materials to give the answers to those many, many questions that are evoked. I have come to the insight that we could have built up the whole thing in this way from the beginning.

... It was a very big job to select materials for this anthology, and it could certainly have been shaped in other ways also. But I feel that it is very good.” (Pålsson, Ivri & The Project Preparedness for Peace, 1991, p. 10 f.)

This positive view of the anthology for grades 10–12 is shared to a large extent by our different external material evaluators. Gunilla Runnedahl, a teacher with long experiences from peace education efforts, was fairly critical about the material developed from the senior level of the comprehensive school (grades 7–9), but had this to say about the texts from the upper secondary school:

“It differs markedly from the materials for grades 7–9. It is gentler, more coherent, more nuanced. It is simply in many ways quite good material. It also contains more about the environmental issues than the various materials for the comprehensive school. The manual gives several important views about how one can work with the material. The part about psychology contains important and effective points of view.

But obviously there are things to criticize here too. I miss links to such school subjects as music and art. And where are the female authors? The war perspective still dominates a little too much. The study questions are often too detailed. They give too little room for flexibility. They appeal too little to the students' imagination.

The anthology contains many good texts to read and experience. They give good starting-points for important discussion. They are definitely more pleasant to work with than the texts for grades 7–9. But many texts are rather difficult, and one may wonder a little about the target group. They probably do not suit all students within the upper secondary school. Perhaps one would wish for more fiction texts, especially such where the young people can identify with persons in the text.” (Runnedahl & The Project Preparedness for Peace, 1992, p. 7 f.)

Birgit Brock-Utne, our expert evaluator from Norway, is also of the opinion that the anthology contains many good text contributions, but she criticizes the male dominance among the authors. She demonstrates through a number of examples that there is a large female literature in this area and continues:
"I had assumed that many of these women would be represented in the anthology with extracts, and obviously I would reckon with extracts from speeches, appeals and publications by Sweden's strong women in the global disarmament arena, from Fredrika Bremer, Ellen Key, Alva Myrdal, Inga Thorsson, Maj-Britt Theorin.

I had also hoped that one would include texts from the good novels that were well-received in their time... I think primarily about Bertha von Suttner's classical novel: Lay Down Your Arms...

But what did I find? None of the authors mentioned above was represented. I found an anthology with abstracts from 23 authors in all, out of which 2 were women, one of them as co-author with a man.” (Brock-Utne, 1992, p. 15.)

Our Danish expert evaluator had a predominantly positive evaluation of the materials for grades 10–12 and wrote, among other things:

"Summing up, one can say that the manual is a true gold mine of suggestions for teachings, resources (both written and based on pictures, films, video etc), factual texts (boxes of facts), suggestions for concrete questions to discuss etc.

The anthology ... contains texts that are predominantly both experiential texts that can provoke indignation or involvement – and give impulses to further work with search for knowledge.

One can always wish more or other texts in such an anthology according to personal insight and taste. I would like a text by Gandhi, who in several of the booklets is referred to as an important 'peace hero' from our century.” (Jensen, 1992, p. 21 f.)

Obviously, it is important how the material developed works in the concrete teaching situations of the upper secondary school. A study of eleven classes that worked with these texts showed predominantly very positive reactions from both teachers and students. The anthology was normally experienced as very stimulating to work with. For students less accustomed to theoretical studies (as exemplified by students from the two-year programs with a “practical orientation” within the upper secondary school) some parts of the material were too difficult, however. (For more details, see Persson, 1995.)

Concluding Points of View

It is not enough, of course, that teaching material be developed within a particular problem area; in addition, it must be known and used among relevant teachers. The Myrdal Foundation made some special efforts in this direction (as exemplified by the presentation of the project in the Gothenburg Book and Library Fair when the first parts of the material had
been published; cf. above), and it had the advantageous situation of being able to distribute the material via organizations like the Swedish UN Association and the Swedish Red Cross, organizations including networks of interested teachers in schools.

In our work with the materials within the “Preparedness for Peace” group, however, we got the impression that they were rather unknown. A specific minor study was carried out to test this impression (Tvingstedt, 1992). Telephone interviews were carried out with a group of teachers, randomly chosen from some areas in Southern Sweden, and evenly distributed over the four relevant school levels (grades 1–3, 4–6, 7–9, 10–12).

The person contacted by telephone was asked whether he or she knew about any teachers’ manual or any students’ workbooks that could be used in peace education at the particular school level where the teacher worked. If the answer was yes, a number of follow-up questions were asked to be able to identify the particular material the teacher had in mind.

About a quarter of the teachers interviewed in this way indicated that they knew of some such material. However, when they described the material in more detail, it was found that none of the respondents had any material from the “Schooling for Peace” in mind. Thus, there was no person in the group of 100 interviewees who spontaneously referred to any part of the materials we have discussed here. When the interviewer asked a more direct question about this material, 3 out of the 100 said that they had heard about it, but no one had used it.

Even though one should not, of course, draw too definite conclusions from a small study of this character, it still could be said that these materials from “Schooling for Peace” had not been satisfactorily made known among teachers. Considering the technique used for the selection of the interviewees in this telephone study, there is not reason to believe that the results would have been radically different if one had approached another group.

Therefore, there is reason to deal especially with ways of information to teachers in the future work of this kind. In Tvingstedt’s small report, there is some discussion of alternative information strategies. Inservice teacher training is of course very important.

In summary, it is reasonable to say about the work within this project “Schooling for Peace” that it was a very ambitious, pioneer effort that was made to furnish teachers and students at different educational levels with recommendations and materials within a common framework. Since this effort dealt with a problem area where earlier experiences were few, and that could be experienced as controversial, and since organizations with
slightly varying points of view were involved, the task was not easy. At some school levels the material may perhaps be said to be somewhat meager if one wants to cover three years in the student’s schooling with its help. At one level – the senior level of the comprehensive school (grades 7–9) – the project group chose to deal in some details with the East-West conflict as it was seen at the time; as a consequence the material after some time (and the radical political changes) was felt to be somewhat out of date.

As a whole, however, the work must be said to have been highly successful, which can be seen both from the various classroom studies carried out and in the examination made by our special expert-evaluators. The materials have to a considerable extent been experienced as stimulating to the students and as a valuable support in the teaching task that many teachers feel insecure about. It would therefore be natural to carry on with this kind of work, with stepwise updating and other revision based on experience. The anthology format used for the upper secondary school texts especially dealt with in this publication seems to be easily adaptable to work in different countries and for different target groups. (For further information about our evaluation of the Schooling for Peace project, cf. Bjerstedt, 1995.)
7 Continued Work: Need For Flexible Fact-Finding

When someone starts talking about the need for research on the prerequisites and the methods of peace education, now and then it happens that one of the most active peace activists present says something like: "We do not have the time! We live under an acute threat of annihilation. All good forces must work to prevent this. We cannot sit waiting for research results. We must act from the knowledge we have."

In one important respect this is a reasonable point of view. To sit "inactive" waiting for research is certainly not to recommend. After all we know quite a bit about psychological and educational issues that are relevant to peace education and give us general guiding principles for action. Peace work and peace education should (I tend to add "of course") proceed and be strengthened without delay.

But at the same time we also do need better knowledge in order to be, step by step, more precise and effective in what we do and in order to discover new possibilities. There is nothing preventing us from using the tools of research and development parallel to the active peace work and the practical activities of peace education in school.

Indeed, the inventory and analysis of literature within this area shows a marked need of more certain and precise knowledge, which has also been underlined in different contexts by our expert interviewees. There is to be sure quite a large number of books, reports and papers dealing with peace education (a surprisingly large number; cf., for example, the bibliographic overview in Bjerstedt, 2001). But many of these publications express general opinions or deal with a relatively abstract level of concept analysis. There are still, compared to the many problems in the area, fairly few publications that report systematic research, and it is not very often that the suggestions for teaching that are presented have been tried out in any systematic way.

It is quite probable that the conceptions of the possibilities to form a peaceful future world and willingness to contribute to its shaping can have decisive importance for how the global future will in fact turn out. Against this background it seems important that many take an interest in increasing our knowledge in this area, for example, via flexible fact-finding and try-out in school. A single project group (such as the present one, from which we have given some glimpses in this publication) can not do much alone, since this is a difficult and complex task. We are pleased, however, if we can stimulate others to continued thinking and continued activities.
Issues for Thought and Dialogue: Some Examples

As has been mentioned above in this text, peace education is often felt to be a controversial area. Also there is room for varying interpretations of terms and different views on educational procedures. In the following, I will give some examples of issues for thought and dialogue that could be used as starting-points for conversations – for example, if this report is used in peace-related teacher training or university courses in the area of peace studies.

1. UNESCO has over the years written various texts with recommendations related to peace education and international understanding. Study a few of these texts and write down in brief statements some of the recommendations that you find important. Then try to find out whether or not the main aspects of these recommendations are included in local or national texts on schools in your country. If there are discrepancies between the UNESCO recommendations and the texts about your schools, perhaps it would be a good idea to write a letter to someone with local or national school responsibilities?

2. In the early part of this report (pp. 9–10) four different ambitions were mentioned that one may have as a teacher when one talks about issues on peace and war. Do you feel that they reasonably well cover possible ambitions, or do you want to add something? Do you feel that all of them are approximately equally important, or do you want to give priority to some of them? Are some of the formulations such that you do not accept them? Why? If you are a discussion group, to what extent do you agree in your judgements?

3. An important but difficult question is this: Is peace education possible? In order to be able to answer it with at least some degree of strictness, you have to specify the goals that one wants to reach. How would you like to specify these goals, and what is your personal answer to the question about the possibility of peace education?

4. In Box 3 (page 21 ff.) I presented a list of fairly specific goals for peace education. The list has twelve main points that relate to the goal areas presented in Box 2 (page 20). Do you feel that the twelve main points reasonably well cover relevant goals, or are there some points that you would like to add?
Perhaps it may be of some interest to examine the list of specific goals (p. 21 ff.) more closely. One way of doing so is the following. Each member of the group draws up three columns on a paper. The headings of the three columns are suggested to be these: (1) Number of Specific Goal, (2) Importance, and (3) Present Situation. In the first column you simply write down the numbers of the various specific goals. In the second column you make a personal judgement whether the specific goal is important or not important (one could for example put + for important and – for unimportant specific goals). In the third column the group members are expected to make a judgement of the present situation in the schools that members are familiar with (you could specify teachers for students of a certain school level and in a special country or other area; for example, students from grades 4–6 in Sweden). In other words: As the situation is at present in these schools, is it possible to say that the specified goal is reached or not? (You may use R for goals that one thinks are reached and NR for goals that one feels are not reached.)

The general idea is that every group member first makes these judgements individually, and that these individual judgements are then compared and discussed in a group. Was it difficult to make these judgements? (The judgements of “present situation” are probably often fairly difficult to make.) What kind of judgements do the group members agree most about? Of special interest from the point of view of educational development are perhaps such specific goals that have got plus in the column of Importance and NR (not reached) in the column of Present Situation. What we have then are goals that one feels are important, but that one at the same time judges are not reached in the school. In these cases special steps and measures will be especially important. Are there many such judgements in the group? Do the group members feel that it is possible to do something in the schools in these cases, and which steps and measures are people feeling should be recommended in the first place?

5.

Peace education may be treated primarily as a subject of its own in school, or it may be dealt with in most or all subjects, from different viewpoints. What are some of the advantages or disadvantages of these two approaches? Can they be combined in some way? What is your own preference? Why?

6.

A number of recommendations about how to deal with peace education in the school subject of History are presented (p. 32 f.). To what extent do you agree with these recommendations? Do you have some additional viewpoints on how to use History for peace education?
7. To what extent should the age of the students affect how an education for peace is built up? – Choose a special level of the school that the group members are especially interested in (for example, grades 4–6 or grades 10–12)! Look at the overview of different specific goals for peace education (the twelve goal areas in Box 2, p. 20), and attempt to describe special teaching units, exercises or other experiences for students at the chosen school level that would fit into the twelve goal areas! In what areas does this seem to be difficult and in what areas does it seem more easily done? What can be the reason for the differences in level of difficulty?

8. In one of the chapters above, various difficulties or obstacles for peace education in schools are discussed. Which of these do you think are most troublesome? Can you think of other difficulties than those mentioned here? What are the best way to handle the difficulties?

9. Peace education initiatives in schools have often stimulated debate in the press. Various types of criticism have been formulated, and sometimes peace education is joked about. In a Swedish text, these comments were made: “If one starts from the idea that the threat against the peace comes from the war-oriented Swedish school children, the peace education of the Swedish school authorities is a brilliant initiative, extremely clever.” Later it is hinted that these school authorities instead should have directed its peace education for example against Russian and American generals. It is important “to choose the correct risk group”. Do you feel that there is some substance in these ironic comments? Do they start from a misunderstanding of what peace education is? Develop this further! – Try also to collect press cuttings dealing with peace education in your country. Sort the viewpoints into some simple categories, and clarify your own reactions to the viewpoints presented in the texts from the press.

10. What is presently done in teacher training in your own country to prepare teachers for peace education? Is the situation different in basic teacher training and in-service training? What could be done to improve the situation?

11. Try to find, in a library near you, some of the peace education publications mentioned in Box 5 (p. 78 ff.). Look them through, describe them and try to rate their usefulness in teacher training (all of them are not primarily written for use in teacher training). What characteristics do you feel are especially important in a teacher training situation?
12. At the end of this report, the need for research and systematic development in the area of peace education is emphasized. Try to find out whether or not such work is presently going on in your country and what is characteristic for this work. In your view, what would be important to study?
Postscriptum

"Preparedness for Peace” as an objective for school learning has been an area of interest for research and development at the Malmö School of Education during a number of years. (In fact, such work has been carried out within the Malmö School of Education since the 1960s and by the author of this publication since the 1950s.) In the present text, the major focus has been on giving glimpses predominantly from the last ten years or so. The kernel of the work has usually been official projects with some economic backing by the Swedish school authorities. Around this kernel, however, there has often been supplementary activities also by others than project members. The present author has been initiator and coordinator.

Many persons have cooperated and contributed, within our own department (Department of Educational and Psychological Research), among others: Gunnel Ankarstrand-Lindström, Christer Bjurwill, Margareta Carlander, Karin Dahlberg, Lotta Elmros, Christer Fritzell, Evy Gustafsson, Renée Karpin, Andreas Konstantinides, Tor Löthman, Olof Nyström, Maja Persson, Jerry Rosenqvist, Sture E. Svensson, Ingegerd Tallberg Broman, Anna-Lena Tvingstedt, Karin Utas Carlsson and Bereket Yebio.

Outside our university our project group has had many contacts, especially via the network “Peace Education Commission” (that I had especially close contacts with during the first part of the 1990s when I coordinated this group and edited its quarterly journal, “Peace, Environment and Education”). Among others, I have had close contacts with Doris Twitchell Allen (USA), Birgit Brock-Utne (Norway), Jim Collinge (New Zealand), Jørgen Pauli Jensen and Søren Keldorff (Denmark), Linda Lantieri (USA), Max Lawson (Australia), Olga Melnikova and Yuri Shirkov (Russia), Bengt Thelin (Sweden), and Riitta Wahlström (Finland).

Our cooperating teachers and our many interview persons – from anonymous school students to Swedish and international experts – have obviously been of great importance for the work.

Warm thanks for your useful and stimulating co-operation!

Å. B.
References: List A
Full-Text Interviews Quoted

Introductory Note: Interview texts quoted in this report are listed alphabetically (after interviewee names) in the following. Reference is made to a publication where the reader can find the full text. When several interviews quoted are available in the same publication, full reference of such a publication is presented only once in this list.
[For example: In the case of Susan Alexander, full reference is given at once after her name has been listed (there is no other interview quoted from this reference). In the case of Elise Boulding, on the other hand, reference is made to a separate publication (Bjerstedt, 1991) where several (seven in this case) interviews quoted appear. Full bibliographical reference is only given once to Bjerstedt, 1991, while brief notes appear for Boulding, Harris, Kelman, Mische, Muller, Reardon and Young.]


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Hesse, Petra. Interview text in: Bjerstedt, 1992 (p. 43 ff.).

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Kelman, Herbert C. Interview text in: Bjerstedt, 1991 (p. 42 ff.).


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Rathenow, Hanns-Fred. Interview text in: Bjerstedt, 1990 (p. 120 ff.).

Reardon, Betty. Interview text in: Bjerstedt, 1991 (p. 86 ff.).


Smoker, Paul. Interview text in: Bjerstedt, 1990 (p. 156 ff.).


Vriens, Lennart. Interview text in: Bjerstedt, 1990 (p. 172 ff.).


Young, Nigel. Interview text in: Bjerstedt, 1991 (p. 104 ff.).
Introductory Note: Publications listed here deal with references given explicitly in the text. For a more detailed bibliography of peace education publications, the reader may go to: Bjerstedt, Å (2001). Educating towards a culture of peace: A select bibliography focusing on the last 25 years (Studia psychologica et paedagogica, 159). Malmö: School of Education.


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the future: Reflections and recommendations related to “Preparedness for the future as an educational objective”]. Stockholm: Liber.


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