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**Educating for Peace in South Africa:
The design, development and evaluation of a
pre-school peace education programme**

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A dissertation submitted to the School of Education, University of
the Witwatersrand, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
Master of Education.

Supervisor: Penny Enslin

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**In memory of Graham John Cheeseman
- beloved father, seeker of truth**

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this Intervention Research study was to design, develop and evaluate a South African peace education intervention at pre-school level. The design and development process produced a pre-school peace education curriculum and an accompanying teacher development programme. Once this curriculum and teacher development programme were being implemented, an evaluation of their impact was undertaken, utilising a variety of data gathering and analysis tools. The results of each of these evaluation instruments provided strong evidence that the peace education intervention (curriculum and teacher development programme) had resulted in a drop in aggressive behaviour and an increase in pro-social behaviour among the children of the target population. The results also indicated that the teacher development programme, in particular, had been well received by the teachers, and had facilitated their development in a number of areas. Thus, the intervention had considerable positive impact and could be offered to other South African pre-schools with some minor further development, recommendations for which emerged from the study results. In addition, the study results motivate and suggest guidelines for the wider implementation of peace education in South Africa, and make contributions to a number of ongoing peace education debates.

KEYWORDS

Peace education

Violence

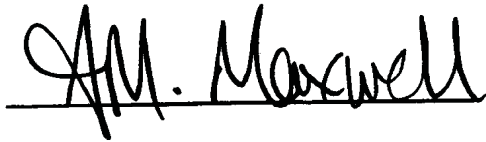
Intervention Research

Childhood aggression

Pre-school education

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Education in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "AM. Maxwell", written over a horizontal line.

Anne-Marie Maxwell

29th day of January 2002

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**Establishing lasting peace is the work of education.
All politics can do is keep us out of war.**

Maria Montessori

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CHAPTER ONE: AN OVERVIEW

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In 1994, the miracle of South Africa's first democratic elections instilled a sense of wonder in most who witnessed it. This was the atmosphere into which the infant "new" South Africa was born. But South Africa is a wounded country. Decades of minority rule, brutally enforced, have left a country whose people, structures and institutions bear the scars of violence, of inequality, of opportunity denied. Reflecting on South Africa's position in 2002, it is undeniable that this country has taken large steps forward since the days of apartheid. The entire adult population is enfranchised, institutions have been desegregated, laws that sought to repress and deny have been replaced by a constitution that is considered amongst the most progressive in the world. This is indeed a new South Africa. It is also undeniable, however, that there is still much work to be done in order to build a whole and peace-filled South Africa. While this country no longer suffers under the political oppression and violence which once characterised it, there is no doubt that this is still a very violent society. Indeed it is categorised as one of the most violent societies in the world, due to the high incidence of violent crime (Burnett, 1998: 789; Mdhluli & Zwane, 1996: 4; Rock, 1997: 10).

Considering South Africa's violent history, and the violent current reality in which our children are being raised, it is no surprise that an increasing number of people are calling for measures to intervene in the cycle of violence. The introduction of peace education in South African schools is one such measure being suggested (Dovey, 1996).

Amid calls for South Africa to develop a culture of peace, it is increasingly understood that the conditions that make for peace are not naturally developed in this society. Many believe, however, that their development can be facilitated, and that this is the role of peace education. Peace education has existed in various parts of the world, in a number of different forms, for a large part of humankind's modern history (Aspeslagh, 1986). While it is a relatively new phenomenon in South Africa (Dovey, 1996), peace education is increasingly provoking interest in this country. South African peace educators at last find themselves in a receptive environment,

within the context of the new dispensation. Still, there are very few models of comprehensive peace education that have been developed for this specific context.

Broadly speaking, the goal of peace education is to equip and

encourage all students and citizens to engage in personal action and social action which can transform their society and the world toward more just, compassionate, sharing and non-violent structures, institutions, systems, communities, families and individuals (Floresca-Cawagas & Toh, 1989: 13).

If it actually achieves this outcome, peace education surely has an invaluable role to play in this country's future. But *does* peace education achieve this? Can it do so in a particularly violent society? There are currently no clear answers to these questions. There is a dearth of research into the outcomes of peace education programmes (Nevo & Brem, 2002, forthcoming¹). While this is due in part to the difficulties associated with trying to measure some of the intended outcomes of peace education, it is crucial that progress is made towards this end.

1.2 BACKGROUND

In response to concern about the issues outlined above, the Methodist Church of Southern Africa (MCSA) began a peace education project called Sakha Ukuthula ("Building Peace" in Zulu). Established in 1997, Sakha Ukuthula seeks to help equip people to contribute to the building and maintenance of a peaceful, just society in South Africa.

In late 1998, Sakha Ukuthula was asked by the Director of Education in the MCSA's Central District² to develop and implement a peace education programme for the Methodist pre-schools in the district (known as the Chain of Hope). The Director was concerned about the high levels of violence in South African society, and believed that Christian schools had an obligation to educate children to contribute to the building of a different reality.

¹ This book is in the process of being published. It was accessed through the Internet, at the following address: <http://construct.haifa.ac.il/~cerpe/>. Future references to this book will indicate the date of expected publication and not include the term "forthcoming". All page references to this book refer to the chapters as they were printed off the Internet. These page numbers will therefore not relate to those in the final publication.

² See map on page 4

This request formed the genesis of the research recorded in this document.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this research was to design and develop a peace education intervention for the Chain of Hope pre-schools in the MCSA's Central District.

This design and development process involved:

- ❑ Initial design and development of the intervention;
- ❑ Implementing the intervention in the Chain of Hope pre-schools;
- ❑ Evaluating the intervention in a selection of pre-schools;
- ❑ Exploring the implications of the evaluation results for the advanced development of the intervention, and for current debates in the peace education field regarding the nature of peace education, the suitability of peace education for violent contexts, peace education in South Africa, peace education research and peace education at pre-school level.

1.4 STRUCTURE OF THIS DISSERTATION

Chapter Two of this dissertation explores some of the existing research relevant to this study. Literature in three distinct areas is reviewed: children in violent societies, childhood aggression, and peace education. Chapter Two ends with the posing of specific research questions.

Chapter Three outlines the methodology used in the study. The chapter gives an overview of Intervention Research (IR), delineates the study using the IR framework, and details the specific data gathering and analysis techniques used.

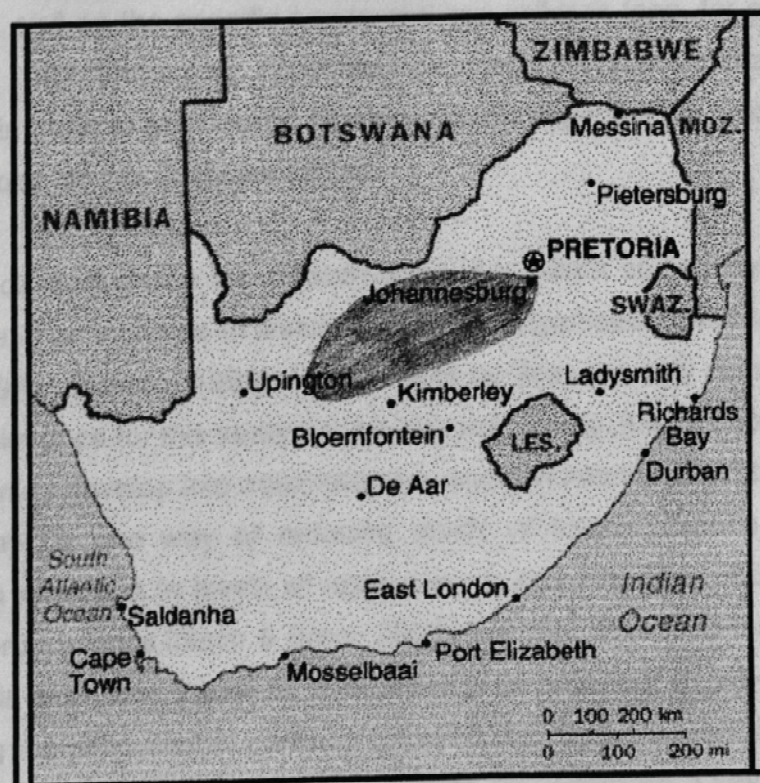
Chapter Four focuses on the process of actually designing and developing the peace education intervention, and includes information on the specific context within which this work was to take place.

Chapter Five contains the results of the peace education intervention's evaluation.

Chapter Six comprises the discussion of the study's findings and indicates a way forward in terms of this specific intervention, as well as applying the findings to a number of active debates in the peace education field.

Chapter Seven concludes this dissertation.

Figure 1.1: Map of South Africa showing the approximate position and extent of the Central District, MCSA



The shaded area within the borders of South Africa represents the Central District.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

South Africa is a violent society (Carl & Swart, 1996). The request for the peace education intervention that is the focus of this study came as a response to this level of violence, and the intervention is aimed at children growing up in this context of violence. There is a significant body of literature within South Africa and internationally dealing with the effects of violent contexts on the children who live within them, and on the specific needs of these children (see, for example, Cairns, 1996; Rock, 1997; Shmuckler, 1989; Stavrou, 1992). Thus an exploration of literature in this field, in order to gain insight into this specific aspect of the study context, is the departure point for this literature review.

One of the consequences for children living in a violent society that emerges from the literature is an increase in levels of childhood aggression (Cairns, 1996; Duncan & Rock, 1997a; Stavrou, 1992). While this is far from the only consequence, it has particular relevance for this study for two reasons. Firstly, it is possible that childhood aggression may develop into adult violence, and that intervening in this development process may be one way of reducing levels of future violence in this society. Secondly, a reduction in levels of aggression is one short-term outcome of peace education programmes (Nevo & Brem, 2002) that may have long-term significance if the above is true, and which is also possible to measure in pre-school children. Considering the difficulties in measuring the impact of peace education programmes generally, and at pre-school level in particular, this becomes a key area of focus in this study. An examination of literature investigating childhood aggression forms the second focus of this literature review.

Finally the review moves to the literature on peace education itself. As indicated in the previous chapter, there has been relatively little international research into the actual outcomes of peace education (Nevo & Brem, 2002). However there is a significant body of international literature dealing with other aspects of peace education, particularly with the concept itself, the rationale for peace education, its intended outcomes and the forms it takes in different contexts. All of this has obvious

relevance for this study, and is the third and final subject covered by this literature review.

Literature dealing with other areas of relevance to this study – the history and current state of education in South Africa, curriculum development and teacher development – is explored in Chapter Four, as it has specific relevance for the process of developing the peace education intervention, which is the focus of Chapter Four.

2.2 CHILDREN IN VIOLENT SOCIETIES

The level of violence in South Africa has reached frightening proportions. All too often violence is chosen as a means of resolving conflict rather than peaceful problem-solving mechanisms. The entire population (especially children) is constantly exposed to a culture of violence, fed by the mass media, or by first-hand observation of public violence, by video games, etc. (Carl & Swart, 1996: 2).

A number of studies have been undertaken into the effects on children of growing up in violent contexts. Studies of this nature have focussed on the effects of growing up in situations of war and political violence, as well as in situations of community and domestic violence. All focus on situations in which “abnormality has become normality” (McWhirter, in Shmuckler, 1989: 4).

Some theorists make a definite distinction between political and community violence. Political violence is seen as being essentially different from criminal and domestic violence. “The difference arises because the latter involves interpersonal violence, while political violence involves intergroup violence” (Cairns, 1996: 6). In other conceptual models, the line dividing community from political violence is seen to be somewhat blurred. In the South African situation, for example:

A lot of...“ordinary” criminal violence can also be caused by political factors. Alcohol abuse, poverty, unemployment and dangerous living conditions, for example, all contribute to the incidence of crime, and all these factors can in turn be linked to the apartheid policies of education, employment, accommodation and influx control (Stavrou, 1992: 2).

However, even Stavrou (1992: 2) maintains that “to call all acts of violence political, is a mistake”. There is value in maintaining the distinction between the two, to enable

differentiation between the different causes of each, and the different types of solutions or responses that would be appropriate in each case. Considering this, the "interpersonal" versus "intergroup" distinction identified by Cairns is a helpful means of distinguishing community violence from political violence.

Another framework for categorising violence comes from veteran peace activist and academic, Johan Galtung. Galtung differentiates between what he calls personal violence, which can be physical and psychological, and structural violence, "by which he means uneven distribution of resources and uneven distribution of power over resources" (Curle, 1971: 27). Using this classification system, South Africa's system of apartheid was fundamentally a system of structural violence, which was both enforced and resisted using various forms of personal violence. While Galtung's classifications are enormously helpful in understanding the South African situation, and understanding violence in general, this literature review will focus on the political/community violence distinction for the specific purposes of this study.

While South Africa as a country no longer suffers under the political oppression and violence which once characterised it, there is no doubt that this is still a very violent society. Indeed South Africa is considered to be one of the most violent countries in the world, due to the high incidence of violent crime (Burnett, 1998: 789; Mdhluli & Zwane, 1996: 4; Rock, 1997: 10). It is plausible that at least some of South Africa's current violence can be understood in terms of the country's violent past. In the words of Graeme Simpson (1993: 1), Director of South Africa's Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, "More than anything else, apartheid bequeathed to South Africans...a culture of violence and a deep-rooted fear." In exploring how this bequest was effected, Simpson (1993: 2) refers to the way in which violence in the political arena became a socially sanctioned method for dealing with conflict and for achieving change, and how this inevitably spilled over into other aspects of society in such a thoroughly politicised context. This permeation of a violent political culture throughout other aspects of society has brought with it a quantitative and a qualitative increase in the levels of violence in South African society.

While South Africa's current violence is criminal and domestic (which, of course, is also criminal), there is still something to be gained by understanding the effects of political violence on children: today's teenagers and adults were yesterday's children, growing up in just that context. And in the words of Northern Ireland's Ed Cairns (1996: 77-78), children who have grown up in political violence "may become a

danger to the next generation." But certainly, of the two categories of violence identified above, South Africa's current manifestations of violence can best be categorised as community violence.

Focussing on this distinction is not meant to imply that growing up in a situation of community rather than political violence is somehow an easier option. "Contrary to popular belief, 'ordinary' [community] forms of violence appear to be as psychologically distressing as politically related violence" (Stavrou, 1992: 6). In fact Stavrou (1992: 7) goes on to contend that situations of community violence can be more difficult for people to deal with psychologically, as "the ideological component to political violence may serve to protect/inoculate the victim against stress." It is likely that the reactions of pre-school-aged children would not be directly influenced by the ideological factor, ideology being an abstract concept beyond their comprehension. But a significant part of pre-school children's experience of violence comes from what they experience of their parents' feelings and attitudes (Stavrou, 1992: 12). Thus, if the parents' responses are affected by the presence or otherwise of the ideology factor, this may influence the response of the children.

A number of studies have indicated that "Children growing up amidst [community] violence are at risk for developmental harm. For some of these children, the consequences are devastating: developmental impairment, emotional trauma, fear, violence and hatred" (Gabbarino et al., 1992: 49). In the South African context, Stavrou (1992: 13-14) identifies six emotional and behavioural consequences of children's ongoing exposure to violence of any type. They are:

1. Lack of ability to trust and to love;
2. Loss of self-esteem and feelings of personal power;
3. Dehumanisation and desensitisation;
4. Adoption of "the culture of violence";
5. Children becoming violent; and
6. Self-destructive behaviour.

Shmuckler (1989:3) emphasises that the greatest risk for ongoing maladjustment in response to any kind of trauma occurs when the trauma is experienced between the ages of 6 months and 4 years.

As the above list indicates, studies tend to reveal an increase in childhood aggression in situations of violence. This is confirmed in Duncan and Rock's (1997a: 32) overview of South African studies, which highlights that "the more frequently

children are exposed to acts of violence, the more likely it becomes for them to begin perpetrating acts of violence." According to Chiemienti et al., (in Cairns, 1996: 89) the "...most likely explanation for this...is some form of modelling". While this finding has not been formally replicated in South Africa, there is a sense amongst educationists and children's non-governmental organisations that "pre-school children are growing more aggressive every year" (Daniels, 1998: 11). This increase in aggression "seems to be related to increased violence in society generally" (Hegarty in Daniels, 1998:11).

A word of caution here: It is important that any relationship that exists between exposure to violence and behaving aggressively is not conceived as being directly causal. Gibson (1991: 15), in her exploration of the issue within the South African context concludes that "violence does not beget violence in any sort of a simple and direct fashion". She goes on to clarify that she is not saying that there is no connection at all between exposure to violence and subsequent violent behaviour, but rather that "there are a whole range of processes, relationships and transformations that occur between an external event and the subsequent behaviour of a person" (1991: 15).

Exploring Gibson's ideas further, two interesting discoveries of studies into the effects of violence on young children are the concept of multiple risk factors, and the phenomenon of resilience in some children. Sameroff et al. (in Gabbarino et al., 1992: 2) identified a number of risk factors, including death of a parent, incapacitation of a parent or the child her/himself, parental unemployment, and poverty, and discovered that "...most children can cope with low levels of risk.... It is the accumulation of such risks that jeopardises development – particularly where no compensatory forces are at work". Clearly, the more violent and unstable the society, the more risk factors each child is likely to accumulate.

Researchers have been fascinated by the fact that a large number of children exposed to community violence do *not* suffer developmental impairment, and in some cases are even able to use the experiences to grow stronger. This phenomenon, termed "resilience", has been correlated with factors such as a quality early relationship with caregivers and/or extended family, social support from the community, and the presence of a meaning-imparting ideology in the family, society or culture (Gabbarino et al, 1992: 100-114). Addressing the question of resilience from a psychological perspective, Shmuckler (1989: 3, 4) adds the factor of the

individual child's personality and temperament to the above list of protective social factors.

One worrying aspect of the South African situation is that here,

...we find that the traditional mediating factors protecting children against the effects of violence and teaching them alternatives to aggressive attitudes and violent behaviour, have been eroded by the years of colonialism, apartheid...and other forms of oppression (Stavrou, 1992: 8).

In South Africa today there are few safe environments that children can be guaranteed: "fathers beat up mothers; the streets and schools are violent; and figures of authority, like teachers...are often involved in or encourage violent activity" (Chettiar, 1999:26). This erosion of traditional mediating factors has certainly not been complete, but the observations of Stavrou and Chettiar are still cause for concern. On a more hopeful note, these observations also give an indication of some of the aspects of society that can be consciously worked on in order to equip our children to better cope with the violence to which they are exposed.

While it is acknowledged that the problem of children growing up in violent societies is not one that is easily dealt with, it is clear that the issue is one that demands focussed attention. Gabbarino et al. (1992: 228) note the vital role that school-based programmes can play in minimising the potential damage inflicted on children living in situations of community violence:

Schools...can be powerful protective factors in the lives of children at risk; they are the key to the problem of helping children cope with their experiences resulting from exposure to community violence.

Echoing this, Stavrou (1992: 13) states that "a school environment that gives affection and security, new experiences and responsibilities, and recognition and praise, can contribute a great deal to the pupil's development."

Stavrou's earlier quote indicates that teaching children alternatives to aggressive attitudes and violent behaviour is something that can act as a protective factor for children in violent societies. And this is certainly another area in which schools can act to mediate the effects of violence on the children they serve. Duncan and Rock (1997c: 134) endorse this idea, identifying schools as "an important and accessible site" for intervening in the spiral of violence. Specifically they call for education to "de-legitimate violence", and to teach tolerance, non-violent problem solving and conflict management (1997: 134, 135).

Having identified South Africa as a violent society, and noted some of the potential consequences of this violence for South Africa's children, the focus of this literature review now turns to one such consequence – increased levels of childhood aggression.

2.3 CHILDHOOD AGGRESSION

Aggressive behaviour is narrowly defined as "behaviour directed towards causing physical injury to another individual" (Groebel & Hinde, 1989: 3). This definition, however, excludes verbal aggression towards other people and aggression against inanimate objects, which are both included in other frameworks (see, for example, Konecni, 1984: 14-15). The definition chosen for this study combines these understandings: "Aggressive behaviour [is] defined as any behaviour that involve[s] a destructive or hurtful action toward a person or object, and include[s] both physical and verbal responses" (Bay-Hintz, Peterson & Quillitch, 1994: 437).

Once treated as a unitary construct, childhood aggression has more recently been categorised into three subtypes: "reactive (angry retaliation), bullying (proactive, interpersonally dominant) and instrumental (proactive, object-oriented) aggression" (Strassberg, Dodge, Pettit & Bates, 1994:445).

Just as there are a variety of definitions of aggression, there are many different theories seeking to explain the aetiology of aggression. In summary, these theories are sorted into biological, drive and social learning theories:

The main biological theories emphasise the innateness of the aggressive stimulus-response sequence, and therefore difficulties in the control of aggression. The drive theories assume that frustration arouses an aggressive drive that is reduced only by some form of aggressive response. Social learning theories emphasise observational learning, reinforcement of aggression and generalisation of aggression (Edmunds and Kendrick, 1980: 16).

There is obviously neither time nor space here to do justice to the ongoing debate between these different theories. But certainly from an educational point of view, it is the social learning theories that offer most hope in terms of educational interventions.

And there is sufficient evidence to indicate that the choice of social learning theories as the preferred explanation for aggressive behaviour is not merely a utilitarian one in this case. One interesting longitudinal study of the development of aggression "emphasised the contribution of experiential rather than innate variables to the manifestation of aggressive behaviour" (Lefkowitz, Eron, Walder & Huesmann, 1977: 190). This finding is reinforced by the assertion that, "a mass of information has been gathered in recent years definitively demonstrating that a major (perhaps the major) source of aggressive behaviour is human learning" (Goldstein, 1989: 112). The work of Ashley Montagu (1978: 5), and others, on non-aggressive societies also indicates that aggression cannot be simply a phenomenon of biology or drive, but rather that "the variability and absence of stereotypy suggest that violent behaviour is largely learned." That is not to argue that there is no innate aggression within human beings – indeed the observation of aggression as a means to an end seems to be almost universal among toddlers of all societies – but rather that humankind is not doomed to live in a world of violence because of an innate potential for aggression. Where aggressive behaviour takes root and becomes characteristic of a particular society, it is because it has not been unlearned, and replaced with behaviour that is more creative and pro-social.

When exploring childhood aggression, it is important to differentiate between aggression that is developmentally appropriate (for example in infants and toddlers, who lack the language, social skills and self-control to express their needs in other ways) and aggression that goes beyond what can be considered normal. DeBord (2000:3) gives a very helpful overview of how aggression manifests itself at various ages, encouraging intervention at each stage, but also emphasising that "knowing what to expect from normally developing children is critical." In DeBord's framework, pre-school becomes a critical period for replacing aggressive behaviour with more socially appropriate behaviour, as children develop the capacity to use words to communicate needs.

As indicated by a number of studies undertaken in situations of violence (outlined in the previous section), children's exposure to violence in various forms is strongly correlated with an increase in levels of childhood aggression. This fact would seem to add credence to the social learning theories of aggression.

Studies into childhood aggression indicate that there is "a substantial degree of stability in aggression over time" (Olweus, 1978: 157). That is, children who exhibit

developmentally inappropriate aggressive behaviour at a young age are more likely than their peers to demonstrate criminal, violent or aggressive behaviour as adults. "Olweus (1979) showed that on average the correlation between early aggression in childhood...and later aggression was .63...which is as high as the stability of intelligence over time" (Loeber & Hay, 1997: 374).

In a society plagued by the levels of violence that South Africa is currently experiencing, it is not difficult to see why interventions targeted at reducing levels of childhood aggression would be proposed. Such interventions would be aimed at reducing the current levels of aggression that can be attributed to our violent context, and thus reducing the likelihood of violence levels in our society being maintained or even escalating. The aim would be to break the cycle of societal violence breeding childhood aggression, breeding societal violence.

Allen, Nairne & Majcher, in their 1996 review of the literature on childhood violence and aggression, noted that much has been written about various preventative and remedial measures aimed at intervening in the development of childhood aggression. They acknowledge that, as aggressive behaviour generally has a complex aetiology, school-based interventions should focus only on those factors over which they can have some influence. Some of the most successful school-based interventions cited include those aimed at teaching pro-social behaviour and anger management, the enhancement of self-esteem, the development of an internal locus of control and problem solving skills, and raising awareness of the negative consequences of violence.

One relatively common understanding is that "the younger the [child] when remedial measures are initiated, the greater the chances for enduring improvement" (Olweus, 1978: 182; Allen, et al., 1996).

What, then, are options when it comes to "remedial measures"? Is it possible that peace education can act as an effective intervention in the cycle of violence that has been described above?

2.4 PEACE EDUCATION³

The concept of peace education, while relatively new in South Africa (Dovey, 1996: 135), dates back at least to the Czech educator Comenius, whose booklet *Angelus Pacis* (1667) argued for “education for moderation and love”, which he deemed necessary for the world to obtain peace (Aspeslagh, 1986: 183). In the past century, interest in peace and peace education grew, with World War II and the Cold War acting as impetus for the debate (Aspeslagh, 1999: 182; Burns and Aspeslagh, 1996: 10).

“Peace education is a term which cannot easily be defined and, in fact, means many different things to different people and organisations” (Corish, in Catholic Education Office and New South Wales Department of Education, 1986: iii). Just as the term “peace” itself holds many different meanings for different people⁴, peace education is almost impossible to define categorically – even to the satisfaction of just those who call themselves peace educators.

There are, however, significant areas of overlap in many of the various different conceptions of peace education. Rather than trying to define what peace education is, theorists tend to focus on defining the dual components of its purpose and its content. Betty Reardon, director of the Peace Education Programme of Teachers College, Columbia University, and long-time peace educator, states that:

The general purpose of peace education...is to promote the development of an authentic planetary consciousness that will enable us to function as global citizens and to transform the present human condition by changing the social structures and the patterns of thought that have created it (Reardon, 1998: x).

These concepts of global consciousness and the transformational imperative are common to a number of different theories of peace education (Bar-Tal, 2002; Burns & Aspeslagh, 1983; Floresca-Cawagas & Toh, 1989; Haavelsrud, 1983; Heywood, 1986).

³ There is much debate around whether ‘peace education’ or ‘education for peace’ is the more correct term for the concept being dealt with in this section. That debate is not central to this study, and the two terms will be used interchangeably.

⁴ Consider, for example, Galtung’s distinction between “negative peace”, meaning “the absence of physical and direct violence”, and “positive peace”, denoting “collaboration, integration and cooperation”. (In Salomon, 2002: 4)

Similarly, there is notable overlap amongst different typologies of peace education content. Haavelsrud (1983: 276) rightly states that the content of peace education should not be "in any way given eternally or universally, because it has to be related to peace problems at any time and in any place". Nevertheless, there is some consensus that programmes of peace education would include the areas of conflict management, communication, celebrating diversity, self-esteem and environmental awareness (Hadley, 1974; Harris, 1999b; The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1979). A number of peace education theorists even include specific types of education with names not specifying peace as legitimate forms of peace education. Burns and Aspeslagh (1983: 323-328) include education for international understanding, political education and global education in their understanding of peace education. Reardon (1988) sees environmental education, development education and human rights education as legitimate forms of education for peace. And Harris (1988) understands peace education as a generic term that subsumes a number of other kinds of education, including those listed above, and adding nuclear age education, A-bomb education and disarmament education to this list.

It should be noted that while there are significant areas of overlap in many understandings of peace education, there are also definite departures in understanding. Israeli academic Gavriel Salomon (1999), for example, rejects much, if not all, of the above characterisation of peace education content. Or rather, he sees such programmes as "a precursor to genuine peace education" (Salomon, 1999: 9). Contesting the typology of Burns and Aspeslagh, Reardon and Harris outlined above, Salomon (1999:3) contends that "too many things are now called peace education, ranging from violence reduction in schools to learning about war and peace, and from moral and value education to the cultivation of self esteem". In Salomon's definition, peace education deals not at all with interpersonal conflicts, "but rather [with] conflicts based in 'ethnic [racial, national or religious] hostilities crossed with developmental inequities that have a long history and a bleak future'" (Fisher, in Salomon, 1999: 3-4). Salomon sees peace education as having no immediate aims, but being a purely "long-term investment" (Salomon, 1999: 4).

Salomon (2002) clarifies and slightly modifies his stance in a later paper, and in addition offers a variety of frameworks for the classification of different forms of peace education. (This kind of focus on classifying peace education programmes is not new. For other examples see references to Haavelsrud and Barteld in Burns and

Aspeslagh, 1983: 318-322.) The first framework Salomon suggests relates to the different understandings of peace that underlie each particular model. Using Galtung's definitions (see footnote 2), is the model intending to educate for positive or negative peace? Secondly, models of peace education can be distinguished in terms of the socio-political context in which they take place. Here Salomon (2002: 4) differentiates between "regions of intractable conflict...regions of racial or ethnic tensions with no overt actions of hostility...or regions of tranquillity and co-operation". Thirdly, (Salomon, 2002: 4) different peace education frameworks can be classified in terms of whether the change they intend to effect is on "the *local, micro* level, e.g. learning to settle conflicts and to cooperate on an *interpersonal* level, [or]...on a more *global, macro* level. E.g. changing perceptions, stereotypes and prejudices pertaining to whole *collectives*." Salomon goes on to assert that it is the second distinction – that of socio-political context – that is most important and helpful in classifying different models of peace education. He then argues (Salomon, 2002: 6) that peace education in situations of intractable conflict "appears to constitute a superordinate case of peace education, as it includes the other kinds of principles and practices" – thus clarifying his assertion discussed in the previous paragraph. Salomon (2002: 5) also modifies his earlier position by stating that "no value judgement, importance or status is implied" in his preferred system for the classification of peace education programmes, whereas there was a definite hierarchy suggested in his earlier paper (1999). Despite this assertion, however, there is still quite a strong implication of hierarchy in the relative value of different peace education programmes in Salomon's 2002 work.

Other peace education researchers have also focussed on the different forms peace education takes in different contexts, although without implying the value judgement that comes through in Salomon's work. Harris (2002) gives an overview of peace education in Japan, Northern Ireland, the United States of America and Great Britain. Bar-Tal (2002) looks at Australia, Japan, South America and the United States. In reflecting on the differences between models of peace in these contexts in terms of ideology, objectives, emphasis, curricula, contents and practices, Bar-Tal (2002: 2) comes to the conclusion that peace education is "a mirror of the political-social-economic agenda for a given society". This brings us back to Haavelsrud's (1983) assertion that peace education needs to be able to be related to the specific peace needs of any particular time and place, and brings into question again Salomon's belief that there is some kind of hierarchy in the different peace education frameworks.

Peace education has been introduced at all levels of formal education, from pre-school to tertiary, in a variety of settings. While the overarching purpose and broad content areas of peace education within a given context would remain largely the same across all levels, the specifics of content will obviously vary greatly. At pre-school level, peace education tends to deal with the content areas on a small scale, dealing mainly with personal and interpersonal issues, as is appropriate for the children's largely egocentric stage of development (Carlsson-Paige & Levin, 1985: 4). Peace education programmes in pre-school tend to have as a specific short-term aim an increase in the levels of children's altruistic behaviour and a decrease in the levels of aggressive behaviour (Wichert, 1989: ix). (More recently, a reduction in levels of aggression and violence was found to be a widespread goal of peace education programmes for older children too, according to a study by Nevo & Brem, 2002.) At the other extreme, tertiary level peace education programmes may deal with the personal and interpersonal to an extent, but are more likely to concentrate on inter-group and global issues (Harris, 1999a). Peace education programmes at all levels – but perhaps particularly among older children and adults – have a tendency to focus on changes in attitude, whereas a number of peace education specialists point to the centrality of behaviour change. In the words of Harris (2002: 11) again, "peace education can change attitudes, but to make the world more peaceful, behaviour change is needed." Bar-Tal (2002: 3) is categorical about the centrality of behaviour change: "changes in behaviour ultimately signal the achievement of peace education's objectives."

Much of the work done to introduce peace education programmes in schools has focussed at the primary and secondary levels (Nevo & Brem, 2002: 2) and has almost entirely neglected the pre-school level. This is surprising, considering that one of the strongest early advocates for peace education was Maria Montessori (Coady, 1985: 26), whose method of education is still practiced the world over in numerous Montessori pre-schools⁵, and has informed other educational developments. Montessori (1932: no page reference) believed that "peace education starts at pre-school and becomes the science of peace at the university level". While Montessori pre-schools are still actively practicing the method Maria Montessori herself believed would lead to world peace, it is interesting that people with a specific interest in

⁵ Montessori did not limit her contribution to education to the pre-school level, but it is here that her philosophy has had the most lasting impact.

peace education, rather than in Montessori education, should largely ignore the pre-school level.

This gap in peace education at pre-school level is partly attributable to the fact that people tend to underestimate both the needs and the potential of pre-school aged children (Stohl & Stohl, 1985: 28). It is also the case because professionals in the peace education field "do not regularly devote the intellectual and financial resources necessary to develop programs [at pre-school level]" (Stohl & Stohl, 1985: 28). Often it is left to the smaller voices of pre-school educators, organisations and professional bodies to promote the possibility, and indeed the importance, of starting the process of educating for peace at pre-school level: "The earlier children are exposed to the values and processes of peace education, the more successful such an education is likely to be" (Stohl & Stohl, 1985:28; echoed in Hopkins, 1990: 116). The literature already reviewed in the areas of children in violent societies and childhood aggression certainly seems to emphasise the importance of early intervention:

There is ample research to show that early intervention is vital to prevent the development of violent attitudes and actions; that what happens in the early years, and in particular within the family and in schools is most influential in determining attitudes to violence (Advisory Panel, 1997: 142).

It is recognised that comprehensive peace education will not only involve the development of curricula for learners. "Peace education for the teachers of the world is a necessary parallel development to peace education for the young" (Heywood, 1986: 195). Indeed Dovey (1996: 144), writing in the South African context, emphasises the need for teachers to not only undertake in-service training on peace education related topics, but also to be involved in designing peace education programmes, contributing to their development and taking responsibility for running them.

In most concepts of peace education, it is recognised that teaching *about* peace is not enough. "'Education for Peace' should permeate all aspects of school life, with implications for learners, teachers and administrators" (Evans et al., 1999: 3). Teaching methods, methods of discipline, decision-making processes in classroom and school, and all other aspects of the school environment, are as much a part of educating for peace as the curriculum itself (Hutchinson, 1996: 206-207).