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Guest Editorial

Peace is a deliberate, hard to make, at times 'impossible' choice; it's not something that simply 'happens'. It's the responsibility of all, not the duty of a few. The most effective way to instil this knowledge in an ever-conflicted world is undoubtedly to include Peace Studies in the curriculum.

Efforts at introducing Peace Education (PE) began in 1945 with the UNESCO declaring that "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed". Peace Education was contended to be the only means to create and sustain a long-term change in the thought and action of future generations which could possibly result in the absence of violence and the presence of social justice. PE was therefore designed to cultivate the knowledge, skills, attitudes, norms and behaviours conducive to the emergence and sustenance of peace, and also to aid the creating of systems that would actualize non-violence, non-discrimination, social justice, environmental care and sustainable development. The scope of PE later on widened to incorporate Gender Studies, Human Rights Education, International Relations, Non-violence Studies, Culture Studies, Disarmament Studies,

Environmental Studies and such other programmes. The efficiency and the impact of Peace Education interventions in schools and institutions of higher learning have been widely assessed and they have proven to result in decreased violence as well as improved attitudes and cooperation among pupils.

However, there is a conceptual dilemma of Peace Education which is most consequential, and which needs to be critiqued. Quite a number of theories of peace use conflict as their point of departure and the absence of violence as their dominant objective. By setting "conflict" at the crux of theories of peace and "conflict management" as its supreme goal, Peace Studies has moved away from its primary objectives which are —to explore the nature of peace as well as the possibilities of peace building; to give sufficient attention to the nurturing of the inherent capacities of citizens, organizations, communities, civil societies and governments, not just to prevent violence but to form harmonious relationships; to build a civilisation of peace— just and peaceful, diverse and united, benevolent and prosperous, environmentally healthy and technologically advanced, knowledge rich and morally strong.

The present issue of Samyukta has two major sections – (1) Peace Education – that is, education or the teaching/learning of peace related material, and (2) Education for peace, which is a holistic way of education which aims at instilling the notion of peace among individuals, communities and countries. We have included articles on the theoretical conceptualisation of Peace Education as well as the practice of it like transformative education and practical diversity, from all parts of the world. The purpose of this issue is to incite reflection on the very nature of peace as well as to the various

approaches to Peace Studies; to suggest new directions for the debates on peace education; to identify questions that might generate discussion among a wide audience and stakeholders such as the necessity to 'teach' peace when violence comes naturally; to imagine that 'one world' where peace is the way of life; to encourage collaboration between different disciplines towards the practice of peace; and to offer practical suggestions and solutions that will engender lasting peace which is vital to the contemporary world.

Sreedevi K. Nair (Managing Editor) & Parvati Menon (Guest Editor)

The Two Moral Powers and the Purpose of Peace Education

Dale T. Snauwaert

Abstract: The purpose of this paper is to conceptualize the idea of the development of political efficacy as the core purpose of peace education in terms of what Martha Nussbaum refers to as the architectonic capabilities of practical reason and sociability and what John Rawls refers to as the two moral powers of rationality and reasonableness. An education for peace calls for the development of basic moral capabilities that empower future citizens for political and moral efficacy. It is argued that the development of the political efficacy of citizens is grounded in their basic moral capacities and the development of these powers through a pedagogy of reflective, dialogical inquiry can be conceived as the basic purpose of an education for peace.

Keywords: Peace Education, Justice, Rawls, Nussbaum, Capabilities, Moral powers, political efficacy of citizens, pedagogy of reflective inquiry

The moral primacy of political education

At its core education is a *normative* enterprise in that it is driven by fundamental social values as well as the moral imperatives of social justice. These values and imperatives powerfully shape every dimension of educational theory, policy, and practice. Thus, it is generally recognized that there exists an intimate relationship between education and society (Banner, 1997; Dewey, 1916; Freire, 1970; Gutmann, 1999; Hadot & Davidson, 1995; Jaeger, 1943; Marrou, 1982). As John Dewey notes, "The conception of education as a social process and function has no definite meaning until we decide the kind of society we have in mind (Dewey, 1916, p. 112)." Peace educator Betty Reardon (Reardon, 1988) succinctly shares this perspective as well: "Most . . . agree that there is no neutral education. Education is a social enterprise conducted for the realization of social values. The question is what values are to be realized through education, and how (p. 23)." From this perspective, education constitutes a social institution that is driven by the values and principles of the society's conception of justice.

Fundamental to democracy is the claim that citizens have basic political rights as well as a fair idea of those rights in terms of the knowledge and the capacity to exercise them. The basic idea of democracy is that the basic structure, distribution, and enactment of power will be such that no reasonable citizen willhave grounds to reject it (Forst, 2012a, 2017; Habermas, 1996;

Rawls, 1993; Scanlon, 2000). In this sense, the people are the source *and* agents of legitimate political power and authority. The exercise of power must be based on the consent of citizens. Consent means that the People freely endorse the founding values and principles of the government and its laws and policies in the light of those values and principles (Rawls, 1971, 1993, 1997; Rawls & Kelly, 2001). Such consent renders the coercive power of government justifiable and legitimate. From this perspective, power is the first question of justice (Forst, 2012a, 2013, 2014a, 2014b).

Democracy is therefore grounded in a consensual theory of power. The consensual theory of power understands power as a collective act grounded in mutual agreement (Arendt, 1970; Sharp, 1973). Power is the ability to act in concert, and such action is grounded in consensual agreement. Therefore, "[p]ower is never the property of an individual; it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps together (Arendt, 1970, p. 44)." The consensual nature of power is revealed "[w]hen commands are no longer obeyed, the means of violence are of no use; and the question of this obedience is not decided by the command-obedience relation but by opinion, and of course, by the number with those who share it. Everything depends on the power behind the violence ... (Arendt, 1970, p. 49)." As the political philosopher Rainer Forst suggests, being consensual, power is essentially noumenal and discursive (Forst, 2017). To be subjected to power is to be motivated by reasons that moves one to think or act in the way intended by the person giving the reasons (Forst, 2017, p. 38). "The real site of power struggles … is the discursive realm—the realm where justifications are formed and reformed, questioned, tested, and possibly sealed off or reified (Forst 2017, p. 46)." Noumenal power motivates in the sense that the object of power must *choose* to do something; if it is just done to the person without motivating them, then noumenal character vanishes—it is no longer power but brute force (Forst, 2017). As Rainer Forst (2017) suggests:

> The exercise and effects of power are based on recognition of a reason—or … various reasons—to act differently than one would have acted without that reason. This recognition resets on seeing a 'good enough' reason to act. It means that you see a *justification* for changing how you were going to act. Power rests on recognized, accepted justifications … threat can be seen as such a justification, as can a good argument. But power exist only when there is such acceptance (p. 41).

In turn, a political and social structure is constituted by its rules/laws. Being rule-based the political order is normative, and thus,the political order is an "order of justification (Forst, 2017, p. 44)." Thus, "there are certain justification narratives on which such an order or system is founded (p. 44)." The exercise of power is being able to influence and control the space of reasons within which the justification and thus the legitimacy of the rules that constitute and organize the political order is determined. The essential power is to define the values, norms,

rules, and thereby the social positions of the political order. Power is the capacity to "determine the space of reasons within which social or political relations are being framed—relations which form a structured, durable, and stable social order of action and justification (Forst, 2017, p. 49)." This power, however, is contingent upon the validity of the justifications it rests upon.

From a moral perspective, when power is exercised without the consent of those subjected to it, thereby being imposed, it is morally *arbitrary*. The basic moral constraint on power, upon which its legitimacy is dependent, is whether it is justifiable to all those affected by it. The first question of justice is power and thus the avoidance of arbitrary rule/domination: that is, being subjected to power without valid justification (Forst, 2012a, 2014a, 2014b). Citizens have a basic right to ask for reasons of justification and to question those reasons, a right not to be subjected to norms and practices that reasonable persons would have grounds to reject (Rawls, 1971; Scanlon, 2000).

What follows, therefore,is a societal civic duty to provide citizens with a political education that is devoted to the development of their capacity to participate in the political processes of their society (Snauwaert, 2020). As the political and educational philosopher Amy Gutmann suggests: "'political education' – the cultivation of the virtues, knowledge, and skills necessary for political participation – has moral primacy over other purposes of public education . . . . (Gutmann,1999, p. 287)."The field of peace educationis dedicated to the articulation, defense, formulation and assessment of an education devoted to developing the skills, knowledge, and dispositions necessary for the political efficacy of citizens"(Reardon & Snauwaert, 2015).

Peace education as an essential form of political education, can be understood as the pedagogical processes that lead to the development of the capacities necessary for the realization of a politically efficacious citizenry: the capacity to engage in transformative political action on all levels of society, from local to global.(Reardon & Snauwaert, 2011; Reardon & Snauwaert, 2015; Snauwaert, 2019). As peace educator and scholar Betty Reardon suggests:

> …the general purpose of peace education, as I understand it, is to promote the developmentof an authentic planetary consciousness that will enable us to function as global citizens andto transform the present human condition by changing the social structures and the patternsof thought that have created it. This transformational imperative must, in my view, be at thecenter of peace education. It is important to emphasize that transformation, in this context,means a profound global cultural change that affects ways of thinking, world views, values,behaviors, relationships, and the structures that make up our public order. It implies achange in the human consciousness and in human society of a dimension far greater thanany other that has taken place since the emergence of the nation-state system, and perhapssince the emergence of human settlements (Reardon, 1988, p. x).

This transformational approach aims at the development of the human capacities and waysof thought necessary to sustain a just peace. Reardon maintains that a transformational peace education should draw out ''anew mode of thinking that is life-affirming, oriented toward the fulfillment of thehuman potential, and directed to the achievement of maturation as the ultimate goal of … positive peace.'' (Reardon, 1988, p. 53).

The purpose of this paper is to conceptualize political efficacy in terms of what Martha Nussbaum refers to as the architectonic capabilities of practical reason and sociability or similarly what John Rawls refers to as the two moral powers of rationality and reasonableness. The two theorists have identified basically the two fundamental moral capabilities/powers upon which political efficacy rests.

The two moral powers

According to Nussbaum, what specifically defines our humanity is our capacity for freedom manifested in two basic capabilities: practical reason and sociability. These two capabilities are architectonic, in the sense that they organize and animate the entire structure of human life (Nussbaum, 1988; Nussbaum, 1990). What is distinctive about human beings is that we are capable of freely conceiving, planning, executing, and evaluating our choices. We are capable of freedom.Freedom constitutes, as Nussbaum suggests, the capability of practical reason to define and pursue one's own conception of good life, to define and pursue what one has reason to value. This conception of practical reason is essentially equivalent to what John Rawls referred to as the moral power of "rationality" (Rawls, 1971; Rawls & Kelly, 2001).Rationality/practical reason is the capacity for a conception of the good, the capacity to know and decide one's own interests and ends, as well as the capacity to plan and execute the means to achieve those interests and ends. What is fundamental to a good life with dignity is the capability to conceive, plan, execute, and evaluate our choices, in others words, freedom. As Sensuggests, freedom has more than an instrumental value for well-being; it has an intrinsic, constitutive value(Sen, 2009).

The second moral power or capability is reasonableness or sociability (Rawls, 1993); the capacity to understand, affirm, and act from within one's duties to others. Reasonableness is the capacity for a sense of justice, for a sense of what is right in relation to others. Reasonableness is the power of reason that regulates rationality (the choice and pursuit of one's interests) in terms of what is right and just as defined by moral principles as it pertains to our relationships with other citizens within the basic institutional structure of society. We do not exercise our freedom to define and pursue our own individual conception of good life as completely separate individuals independently of others. We are called to respect other persons and that respect regulates the pursuit of our own interests. Sociability is central to our humanity (Nussbaum,

1995). Nussbaum suggests that "[t]he good of others is not just a constraint on this person's pursuit of her own good; it is a part of her good (Nussbaum, 2006, p. 158)." A dignified life is not exclusively one wherein freedom is exercised without concern for others. The good life is a life of human affiliation wherein respect for persons as ends is affirmed as one's highest good. To possess a sense of justice is to limit the pursuit of our self-interest out of respect for others. The good life is a life guided by a sense of justice wherein the reasonable regulates and limits the rational pursuit of our interests. To be reasonable is as fundamental to our own good as is the rational conception and pursuit of our individual interests.

Peace education and the development of the two moral powers

In keeping with this duty of political education, peace education can be understood as the pedagogical processes that lead to the development of the capabilities necessary for the realization of a politically efficacious citizenry (Reardon & Snauwaert, 2011; Reardon & Snauwaert, 2015; Snauwaert, 2019). This approach aims at the development of human capacities and ways of thought necessary to sustain a just peace. Its aim is to *empower* students with the capabilities of practical reason and sociability, rationality and reasonableness, so that they are able to make free rational life choices as well as participate in the exercise of public reason and justification with a sense of justice (Chomsky & Otero, 2002; Dewey, 1916; Gutmann, 1999; Nussbaum, 2010; Scheffler, 1981). Furthermore, it can be argued that there are foundational ethical and moral capacities that underlie the capability ofsociability/reasonableness, which include the capacities of moral self-reflection and empathy/dialogical relationships.
Self-reflection

A capacity for self-reflection underlies both moral powers. Following Hannah Arendt, "thinking" as an internal dialogue, a reflective activity upon the meaning, value, and validity of one's thought (Arendt, 1971; Arendt & Kohn, 2003). Internal reflective coherence, or non-contradiction, is essential to "thinking" as conceived by Arendt. The validity of one's ideas and claims are contingent upon internal consistency. From within a moral perspective, it can be argued that it is "better to suffer wrong than to do wrong." Why? The dialogical structure of thinking, the internal dialogue, rests upon a capacity of self-awareness and self-consistency. In Plato's *Gorgias* Socrates states metaphorically: "it would be better for me that my lyre or a chorus I direct were out of tune and loud with discord, and that most men should not agree with me and contradict me, rather than that I, being one, should be out of tune with myself and contradict myself (Plato, 2005, pp. 482b-c)." If I do X, then I will not be able to live with myself and therefore I can't do it. The internal reflective discord creates an unbearable disequilibrium. As Arendt writes: "The criterion of right and wrong . . . depends in the last analysis neither on habits and customs . . . nor on a command . . . but on what I decide with regard to myself. In other words, I cannot do certain things, because having done them I will no longer be able to live with myself (Arendt & Kohn, 2003, p. 97)." Moral integrity grounded in the capacity of self-

reflection involves being at peace with one's self. Upon due reflection it is the threatened loss of internal coherence that motivates one to respond to others with respect, that is, to enact reasonableness.

Reflective capacity is of critical importance, for it asserts an independent moral capability that is *not* contingent upon social custom. It thus provides a moral check, enabling one to regulate one's choices and to be able to critique and reasona,to reject morally invalid claims. The lack of a thinking population is very dangerous, for "the greatest evil is the evil committed . . . by human beings who refuse to be persons . . . who refuse to think . . . have actually failed to constitute themselves into somebodies (Arendt & Kohn, 2003, pp. 111-112)." From the perspective of thinking, reasonableness/sociability is a function of maintaining our internal integrity as reflective equilibrium.

When the absence of ethical and moral capabilities is widespread in a population, it becomes the fertile soil within which fascist political tactics can be effective and authoritarianism can grow (Arendt, 1958, 1994). This constitutes what Arendt referred to as the *banalityof evil*. The lack of moral capacity in the citizenryis thus the primary threat to a just peace. Given the inability to think independently, individuals rely on the conventions of society as justifying reasons for supporting morally questionable governmental policies, what Antonio Gramsci referred to as "common sense," formed by layers of historicallyinherited beliefs and values, uncritically and unreflectively adopted and affirmed and used as justificatory reasons(Gramsci & Buttigieg, 1991). The absence of reflective capacity and the subsequent reliance on common sense often takes the form of blind obedience to authority, including a strong tendency to fit into prevailing social norms, whether morally justifiable or not.Given the current global attack of authoritarinism on democracy (Diamond, 2019; Nance, 2018), the ethical and moral capability of citizens is an urgent matter.

Capacity for empathy and dialogical relationships

Given that reasonableness/sociability rests upon the recognition of the dignity of the other, it can be argued that the capacity of *empathy*is also foundational. A sense of justice is grounded dialogically in our relations with others. It is dialogical. Duty to others is not merely a logical function but an imperative that follows from our interrelation with others. Following Levinas, it is the call of the other, the call of the other's dignity that defines responsibility (Grob, 1999; Levinas & Poller, 2003). From this perspective, the structure of reasonableness is *dialogical.*

Reasonableness is constituted by treating the other as an end. To treat another merely as a means is to objectify them, to turn them into an object. Respect is treating the other as an end; disrespect

is treating the other only as a means. By defining reasonableness in part as the capacity to treat the other as an end, what is being suggested is that the moral relationship is based upon recognizing the other as a subject, and this recognition signifies the entrance into a relationship based upon the cognition of a meeting between subjectivities. Therefore, a fundamental moral resource is the capacity for dialogical relationships with others. From this perspective, morality is not only based on internal dialogue as Arendt maintains, but it requires dialogical relationships: moral integrity is also contingent upon the capacity to meet the other, to respond to the call of their dignity (Fornari, [1966]1975; Forst, 2012b; Keen, 1986; Levinas & Poller, 2003; Miller, 1980; Reardon, 1996).

The development of capacities of self-reflection and empathetic dialogical relationships, that underlie the moral power of sociability/reasonableness--a sense of justiceformsone of the basic aims of an education for peace. Political efficacy, the capacity to engage in transformative political action, is contingent upon these capacities.

The moral power of reasonableness grounded in the capacity for self-reflection and empathy/dialogical relationships suggests the employment of a reflective dialogical pedagogy at the core of peace education. A version of this pedagogy has been developed by Betty Reardon, which she refers to as "a pedagogy of reflective inquiry" (Reardon & Snauwaert, 2011; Reardon & Snauwaert, 2015; Snauwaert, 2019). Being a reflective practice it requires the space for authentic open reflective inquiry in dialogue. It requires authentic open dialogical inquiry in the classroom. This pedagogy is grounded in both John Dewey's idea that education as the reconstruction of experience is contingent upon engaging students in processes of reflective experience (Dewey, 1916) and Paulo Freire's dialogical critical pedagogy (Freire, 1970).

Conclusion

In summary, an education for peace, an education for the establishment and enactment of a just society, calls for the development of basic moral capabilities that empower future citizens for political and moral efficacy. The capacities outlined above are foundational to the realization of justice and thus positive peace.It has been argued that the development of the political efficacy of citizens grounded in their basic moral capacities can be conceived as the basic purpose of an education for peace and that these capacities can be developed through a pedagogy of reflective, dialogical inquiry.

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Practical Diversity: Absolutely Necessary for Peace

Dawn D. Bennett-Alexander

Abstract: We often think of peace as a big overarching thing that is in the hands of governments and officials. The author posits that true peace is actually an individual act and will only be achieved when we lay claim to our power. How we do so is the focus of her article as well as her life's work.

Keywords: peace, practical diversity, diversity, Civil Rights Act of 1964, Diversity, Equity, Inclusion & Belonging, employment discrimination

Preface

I am a bibliophile and have books on my many shelves stretching as far back as my childhood (I am 70). Upon occasion I randomly pluck from a shelf one that is about something I am curious about and I put it out on a table or counter where I can easily access it at my leisure from time to time. Having retired from teaching a few months earlier in February 2021, I now have time for things I had been too busy to get to before. The other day I chose the book "Invitation to the Theater." Being a consumer of TV, movies, plays and the like, and even having acted in them in high school, and having recently been the focus of a video commissioned by my University to go along with its announcement of a new faculty award for Diversity & Inclusion (D&I) created to honor my work and named for me and being fascinated with the process, I had an interest in the seeing the theory behind what I consumed and even participated in. I carried it out to my gazebo with me one beautiful morning and after eating my breakfast, I picked it up to browse through it. As I read through the introduction, I came across this sentence: "*The new theater was to be socially "relevant," opposing war, imperialism, racism, pollution and police brutality.*" I turned to the front of the book to see the year of publication. 1971.

It is now 2021.

It had been 50 years and the sentence could have been written today about each and every issue listed. Fifty years later and it could have been written today. That is sad.

I include this preface, and the way I chose to write it (as it actually occurred) for at least two reasons. One is to show how issues of peace thread themselves throughout every aspect of our lives and pop up in the most unlikely places. This was a textbook about the theater, but by the beginning of the second page of the introduction we are dealing with the issue of opposing war and imperialism, among other things. The other reason I did so is because I wanted to note how 50 years had passed and we are still grappling with these exact same issues.

The inevitable question is "why?" What can we do to change that equation so that 50 years from now we will not be facing the same societal ills we face today? Why can't we find peace? No doubt there will still be societal ills, but do they really have to be precisely the same ones we are now experiencing? What can we do to reach solutions and move on to other issues no doubt just as important, needing our attention? Haven't we learned anything in 50 years? Isn't there anything we can do to move forward?

I have a suggestion I would like to share.

Introduction

Peace is not just a big overarching concept that lives only in the control of those in government, those in power. At its most basic, it resides totally within the control, hearts and minds of individuals. After all, that is who makes up the governing body. They are just individual people. The rules, regulations, orders, laws, all stem from human beings. I am convinced that when we truly connect with that concept, we will understand its dramatic and life-altering impact and the difference we can make as individuals, even in something as big a concept as peace.

In the summer of 2020, I was invited to present the keynote address at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association. Since I had to submit the name of the presentation well before the event itself, I named it "Practical Diversity: The Only Alternative Left." Of course, it was much too bold a statement and as such was only a working title provided for the organization's planning purposes. However, the more I worked on my presentation, the more I realized the title was actually the truth. I kept the title. I thought about this once again when I was invited to submit this article on the issue of diversity and peace.

While the presentation for the APA was about the impact of diversity in the psychology industry, the truth is, as odd as it may seem for both, it applies equally well with diversity issues and peace. In order to have peace, we have to do what is advocated in practical diversity. It really is a necessary ingredient. I have watched it work with thousands of people in the past 40 years and I stand in that truth.

Background

Because my prescription of what I came to call "practical diversity" seems so simplistic-- naive, even-- I need to provide background to assure you of its credibility and efficacy. I am a lawyer, academic, author, consultant, and speaker whose area of expertise is Employment Law. That is what I left the practice of law to teach, although it did not actually exist at the time. I created the course at the request of the university and that led to co-authoring the textbook that established the discipline in colleges of business at universities across the US and remains the leading text nearly thirty years later.1 Practical diversity is an outgrowth of Employment Law. Employment Law is primarily based on Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Title VII),2 which is the U.S. law that took the U.S. from its 246 years of slavery (1619-1865), then 99 years of Jim Crow3 practice of racial segregation (1865-1964), to (at least on paper) equality (1965, the effective date of the 1964 law, until now and we're still a work in progress). It teaches business students, future business owners and managers, how avoid unnecessary violations of Title VII and other protective legislation by discriminating against employees on the basis of race, color, religion, gender (including pregnancy, sexual harassment and LGBTQ status), national origin, age, disabilities or genetic information.

Less than a year after moving from the practice of law to the teaching of Employment Law, I began conducting Employment Law seminars offered to the greater community by the Continuing Education division4 of my university.5 These seminars were born out of the desperation of it dawning on me that unlike my job as a lawyer, my job as an academic did not pay in the summer when the university was not in session. The seminars proved to be a boon for the university and attendees alike. As one of the most sought-after offerings, it was always full.

Title VII became law in 1964, effective in 1965, but by 1983 when the seminars began, managers were only vaguely aware of its existence and had little idea of what it required or what actions led to liability, and thus, how to prevent it. Violations can result in expensive legal fees and damage awards that can run into millions of dollars as well as embarrassing publicity. Employers from all over the region sent their managers and supervisors to learn about the law and how to avoid violating it.

The more I taught the highly interactive seminars and heard attendees share their workplace experiences and underlying motivations for their actions, the more I could see why their actions resulted in potential violations of the law. I realized that the real missing piece was not them not knowing the law, as much as it was the thoughts in their heads that led them to treat employees in ways that might result in liability. Those underlying thoughts and assumptions about people different from themselves frequently translated into acts that could violate the law. I realized that in order to provide them with the tools they needed to avoid liability, I needed to have them explore what was in their heads by looking at the messages that they had received

growing up about various groups and how they may be using those messages without realizing it in making workplace decisions that might prove problematic.

In order to provide the most welcoming environment for discussing a subject matter that some find sensitive, I decided that rather than go into a session with a prepared agenda of what I would cover, I would come in and ask attendees what questions and issues they had in the workplace that would be covered by the law. I listed the issues they provided on the board. One by one we would go through their issues and thoroughly discuss each during the day's session. By the end of the day, everything I would have put on my agenda had been addressed, but it was done totally by way of addressing the questions employees came into the session with that I had written on the board. Rather than it looking like I had an agenda, the discussion came solely from ideas they provided. As we discussed their issues, we explored why they made the decision they did until we finally reached their underlying assumptions that led to their actions. They were generally totally unaware of this motivation and were appalled that it was even there. They immediately realized their error and because it was never their intent in the first place to discriminate, they quickly saw how to make better decisions. It was a win-win. For instance, a white gentleman about to retire realized he had never connected the fact that his racially segregated town did not even permit Blacks to live there, with how he had mistreated them in the workplace for his entire worklife (his conclusion, not mine). He was stunned--and very sorry--when he realized it.

Since this approach meant my sessions were highly interactive, to a casual observer, our discussions often, may have seemed like they went far afield. What began as a question about a female secretary coming in perfumed and being propositioned by male co-workers, would turn into a discussion about the ideas men hold about women wearing perfume. It surprised every woman in the room when it seemed to be universally understood by the men that if a woman wore perfume, she was doing so in order to be asked to be propositioned by men. I could see by the looks on the women's faces that they were appalled at this notion. Often, especially with the more highly placed women, they tried to stifle their true feelings and remain quiet, but during the break, they would accost me in the bathroom, furious at the things the men had said.

Allowing this free-flow of discussion was never random. It may have seemed fun and engaging, but it was pure learning. I quickly came to realize that while I was a lawyer teaching Employment Law, violating the law was often not about intending to do so. After listening to,and interacting with, the first several hundred attendees, I realized that what was driving the decisions that ended up being problematic and could end up in the organization being sued for large sums of money was not not being aware of the law as much as it was not knowing that the ideas and attitudes they held about issues included in the law were problematic. The male approaching the female and nuzzling her perfumed neck did not think he was being offensive. In fact, quite the opposite. He thought he was being complimentary. So, when the opportunity

presented itself, he reacted the same way he ordinarily would. What attendees came to see was how problematic this could be in a workplace. They also saw how much they had in their heads that only they controlled, that they were not even aware of and once discovered, could quickly be changed. What appeared to be fun, wide-ranging discussions, were actually insightful and comprehensive exchanges of information that allowed employees to examine the ideas in their heads against what the law required and make whatever adjustments were necessary if they were to avoid liability for violation of Title VII.

In avoiding violations of the law by examining how they made decisions that resulted in those violations, they came to a new understanding of how their own personal actions impacted others and what they needed to change in order to have their actions more closely align with what they thought they were doing. For instance, one supervisor, in lauding a new hire who had interned for a year before being offered the job, praised her very highly. He went on and on about how good her performance had been. As the crowning comment, he said to her triumphantly, positive it would show her how much they valued her performance, "You were so good that if you had been a man, I would have paid you 50% more!!" As appalling (and illegal) as this is, I have no doubt that he had no idea that 1) what he had said and done was totally illegal under Title VII, and 2) what he said reflected the fact that he did not value female employees as highly as male employees, and by extension, did not value women as highly as men.

These interactions in Employment Law seminars taught me an entirely new approach to tackling Title VII issues. It proved to be an incredibly insightful basis for examining the way decisions are made in the workplace using a totally different approach that I had never thought about before. I thought it was enough to teach them the law. I had to deal with how they interpreted it based on what was in their individual experience and how that was manifested in the workplace.

As society's landscape moved from reactive, litigation avoidance-based Employment Law in colleges and universities to the more proactive concept of diversity and inclusion in workplaces and other organizations all over the country, what I had learned from thousands of seminar attendees and Employment Law students became the foundation of my approach to diversity and inclusion issues. Eventually, this would coalesce into Practical Diversity and the idea of taking the concepts of diversity, inclusion, equity and belonging from theory in someone's head or manifested in a mission statement by an organization, to actual change in how these concepts are practiced when dealing with real people. The theory is useless without the practice. The words sound nice on paper or in an advertisement, but unless people experience what it means in practice by acting it, it is useless. In order to practice it, it is imperative to explore what ideas you are not aware of that are in your head that create the actions you engage in that may not be what you thought they were.6 Intent versus impact is very real. Nuzzling a

female employee's perfumed neck at work may be intended as a compliment, but the negative impact on her is very real. It is that way with so many of our actions in the world when we don't know or understand who we are dealing with and only rely on messages we have received about them.

Because the workplace is a microcosm of society, it was not a leap to extend the concept of what it is we do to make decisions in the workplace to what it is we do when dealing with others in general. After all, most people use the same ideas they hold about dealing with others in the workplace that they do outside of it. It was not a stretch to see how much of an impact it would make to have what is learned about these issues in the context of the workplace, used outside of the workplace to create a better, more intentional and considerate, less discriminatory society. The societal change from reactive litigation avoidance through Employment Law courses to the broader, underlying proactive concept of Diversity, Equity, Inclusion and Belonging (DEIB) also meant all sorts of other organizations now understood their organizations should reflect acceptance, equity and inclusion for all as a matter of basic respect. Organizations from athletic groups to religious communities, medical practices to law firms, colleges and universities (student, faculty and staff) to elementary school Parent Teacher Organizations, and others, have seen the value of diversity and inclusion and want training in the DEIB concepts.

It was important to go into this background from the outset because I want readers to understand that my approach is not something I dreamed up and pushed on the public. It is also not a train that I jumped on when I saw that it had become popular. It is what I learned over many years from thousands of employees, supervisors, managers, students and others. Because it is so simple and seemingly simplistic, it can even seem like it would be crazy for a lawyer to bring it up, no less advocate for it. But, it was borne out of what took place in many, many, many sessions I did over the years and has been fine-tuned to address the issues that I saw arising from it.

Practical Diversity

Practical Diversity is what I call the approach I created to have seminar attendees learn to actualize treating others in the workplace (and by extension, the world) better once we realize we have been operating with, often negative, ideas we did not even realize we held. When done correctly, people are startled to learn what they are operating with in their heads but were unaware of. If they are people of good will who did not mean to transgress, they quickly change it. They are much less likely to run into legal trouble in the US for violating the protective laws, or anywhere in the world in dealing with those who we perceive as different from them. Differences often based on stereotyping messages they received growing up that they were not aware of. These differences can run the gamut from one's affect in the personal interaction when

buying a cup of coffee, to the decision to make adverse legislation or even to go to war against a certain group.

In a session, I will list any number of categories for the group to discuss. They generally include gender, race, religion, disabilities, age, sexual orientation, gender identity, ethnicity, socio-economic status, educational status, appearance, including hair, teeth, clothing, glasses, facial hair on men, tattoos, piercings, etc. I ask what messages attendees have received growing up about the category. They begin to think about it for the first time in their lives in a conscious way and are flabbergasted by what they discover. When discussing gender, one highly placed executive was practically overcome at realizing for the first time what his mother had accomplished as a single, working mother raising two sons. He said it gave him a totally new appreciation and respect for working women.

Whites often talk about the negative messages they received growing up about other races---messages they had not consciously thought about until our exercise. One particularly impactful insight came from an older gentleman who had grown up in a rural area known for its extremely negative history with Blacks, yet he said he had received no messages about race growing up. When I asked if he was sure, he said that he was sure he had not received any messages about race because the town he lived in did not permit Blacks to live there. When the audience broke out into laughter at his statement, he quickly realized how powerful a message that, alone, had been. He laughed along with the others at the absurdity of his statement and quickly sobered. He said to the group, "I am about to retire and I feel *awful*. I know that I have hurt so many Black people in my time at work and it was all because of something that ***I did not know was in my head***!

That sort of quick, blinding insight happens all of the time in practical diversity sessions. The self-reflection, connecting with messages we were unaware of that drive our actions, and immediate remediation is not at all unusual. Years later attendees will tell me the exercise is still with them and they are still using what they learned.

Peace begins with the individual

That is really what practical diversity is all about. It is about discovering and examining our messages we have received growing up about everything that impacts our decisions and where necessary, changing the only thing we have control over--our actions. That is, examining ourselves and our approach to others we perceive as not like us, thinking about how we treat them if it is not in a positive way, why we do so, determining whether it is intentional, realizing and understanding how it results in these these thorny issues leading to lack of peace with others, taking a hard look at where we have work to do, and doing it.

There is only so much the government can do through its policies. In the end, the work of achieving peace, like that of achieving an equitable workplace, must come through individual effort. Those who feel at peace rarely create havoc and unpeaceful conditions for others. The government absolutely has a huge role to play when it comes to peace, but without doing the individual work, it will be meaningless. That is where practical diversity comes in. Keep in mind that the government did what it could to address workplace discrimination when it passed Title VII, yet nearly 20 years later when I began doing Employment Law sessions, people were still operating pretty much as they always had in their workplace interactions.

Even governmental policy is individual responsibility in that someone comes up with an idea about others that treats them differently and ideas may be adopted as policy that are actually crafted into law. It did not happen on its own. An individual or group of individuals did it. It was based on the thoughts in their head about the group to whom the policy is directed. Change that individual's thought and you change the policy that resulted from that thought.

No Cost; Total Control; Immediate

The greatest thing about practical diversity is that it is the one thing we can do that it costs nothing and is totally within our own control. It can begin immediately. It is amazing that it isn so simple, but yet so effective for those of good will.

`Understanding practical diversity begins with understanding that many of the behaviors we may engage in that make people feel like outsiders, leading to conflict, leading to lack of peace may 1) be totally unintentional on the part of the actor, 2) arise from ideas we hold in our heads without even really thinking about them ---much like the men thinking women wear perfume in order to be approached, so they approach them, and 3) may be totally at odds with the way we think we treat people. Think back to the man nuzzling the neck of the perfumed employee. He does not intend to offend her. In fact, he thinks what he is doing is a compliment. It arises from the thought in his head, likely due to societal acculturation, that when women wear perfume it is to attract men, so he operates on that idea by approaching her in that manner, despite the fact that it is the workplace and an inappropriate thing to do. While this is based on a true situation and some may have come to the realization that they can no longer operate this way, (thank goodness!) the important takeaway is how such things work. What is in our heads without us realizing it can translate into actions we don't intend.

This is important to know because nothing magic happens once we step over the workplace door. Everything we have learned and had acculturated in us goes with us. It does not suddenly disappear from our heads when we walk through the door. It has been built up since we were born. It is a part of us. We carry it with us and we operate with it in our heads, often without ever giving it a thought.

Severely restrictive laws have been passed greatly diminishing the lives of entire groups of people, wars have been fought, monuments and great world treasures destroyed, all because of ideas that individuals have held in their heads about others, often without even having a real reason to do so other than doing what has been done. Often those enlisted to wage such destruction have done so without ever even giving the slightest thought about looking past what is being said and thinking for themselves about what their own experience shows them. Did individual Germans seriously believe they experienced from Jews such horrendous treatment in their everyday encounters with them that 6 million of them needed to be sent to gas chambers? Such that it was perfectly acceptable to allow into power and follow without question someone who believed such things? It all began with the thought in an individual's head. The end result was over 10 million Jews, Roma, disabled, non-Aryans, perceived homosexuals, and others killed. This is an idea of treating others differently carried to its harshest result. Ostracism, isolation, imprisonment and eventually death and war.

But in our everyday lives, we experience and enact against others, micro--and sometimes not so micro--versions of this every day. The clerk at the counter who judgmentally disdains the customer's tattoo or piercing and therefore gives them cursory, unfriendly service, the female who does not receive the credit she deserves for an idea she proposed, even the husband who fusses at his wife for some failing because his perception of what a wife should do is based not on the woman he married, but instead, some idea he holds in his head and is applying to his wife (whose mother was totally different) his perceptions about what his mother did as a wife.

After a discussion of practical diversity and an exercise in discovering ideas attendees held about various things that they were not aware of that impacted their decisions, an attendee stated that he was from Africa and had grown up in a town where those born with disabilities were taken to the forest and left to the vagaries of nature. They were deemed unwanted, evil spirits to be banished. Today in the US he was in charge of disabilities for an agency and had never connected this profound, but routine, message he had received as a young child growing up, with the job he held today. He realized in our session how much the messages he had received growing up impacted his job. He was supposed to help the disabled, but never connected why it was he did not feel to do so---for his job! He asked how he could rid himself of these ideas.

Practical diversity allows people to explore messages they have received without realizing it, seeing whether those messages may be causing them to do things they did not realize they were doing, and if so, to do what they need to do to change it. It is entirely personal and fitted to the individual. Only the individual knows what is in his or her head, what their messages have been, how those messages have been impacting the decisions they made and actions they took, and what it is they need to change. It does not prescribe what specific actions an individual must take to rid him/herself of messages that are deemed problematic. I could not tell him what to do to rid

himself of such a deep-seated cultural idea he had about the very group he was responsible for other than some general suggestions.

But the work of discovering what our messages are, how they may unintentionally be the basis for actions we do not intend to be negative, damaging, oppressive or otherwise not in keeping with our values, is extraordinarily helpful in changing behavior. And, of course, it is the foundation for peace at a very basic level.

But what about…?

One of the things that is important to state is that practical diversity has definite limitations. It is intended to be used by people of good will who may be unknowingly engaging in behaviors that lead to lack of peace in some way but do not realize it and do not want to do so. It is manifested in discriminating against others unlike themselves, avoiding making friends with others not like themselves, creating unnecessary and unwarranted division between themselves and those who may be different from them in some way, up to and including breaching the peace in some truly active way such as instigating war. Practical diversity is *not* intended, and will likely have little impact upon, those who are determined to dislike those unlike themselves and refuse to act in a peaceful way.

I do not believe this is the majority of people in the world, regardless of where in the world we are. I believe that most people want to live lives of peace and harmony with virtually everyone. Even those of our friends who like to "stir things up," don't generally intend to create wholesale chaos. Most people want peace. They want to be seen, heard, respected, welcomed, valued, believed, cared about, loved. If we begin at this place, there is much to gain by engaging in practical diversity. If, on the other hand, someone---and there are those who do---want strife, misery, lack of peace, they will not be interested in engaging in practical diversity. Thankfully, I believe there are more of those of us of good will than there are those intent on creating havoc rather than peace.

Conclusion

Peace begins in our own hearts and moves out from there. When we are clear about what is in our heads that leads us to do the things we do regarding others, it is easier to govern ourselves accordingly if we realize our actions are not consistent with our values. We do that by examining the messages we have received about various groups, ideas, etc. If peace is a value, we will rid ourselves of ideas that underlie our actions that do not lead to peace with others. We will not automatically think of it as "being weak," or "giving in." In reality, it is quite the opposite. We are living our *own* values, not responding to those of others. The truth is, ultimately we can only control ourselves. What others do is not up to us. However, others watch what we

do and take cues from us. If we radiate peace, others will be impacted. It may not be immediate, but we are human, so influence happens.

I understand that this concept may sound naive. I would think so too---- if I had not seen what has happened with thousands of people over decades of doing this work. Learning what is in your head that you didn't realize was there and doing what you can to change your actions accordingly is the only real thing we have left that is in our total control, that can lead to peace. If a reasonable number of us simply do the work of figuring out what ideas we have about various groups and other factors relating to how we treat others, we would have much more likelihood of peace. This is totally within the control of each us. Undertaking the work ourselves and making the needed adjustments is much preferable to a leader imposing violence, threats, punishment or financial incentives (rare) to impose their will.

This also sounds naive in the sense that it seems impossible to get everyone on the same page about it. I am not sure that everyone has always agreed about anything in existence, so that is not surprising. Recent events surrounding the COVID-19 pandemic have shown us that that we cannot even agree on what we otherwise would have seemed to have settled long ago and taken for granted: that the wearing of face masks helps lessen the spread of viruses---which do not care whether you believe in them or not. So, it is not likely that there would be agreement about the practical diversity approach. That should not stop us. Again, we can only control ourselves.

However, I stand in my truth. I have seen the difference it makes in people's lives.

Also, what is the alternative? All this asks us to do for our part in peace is to examine ourselves for things that may underlie ways in which we may unintentionally not be contributing to peace and do what we can to fix it. What is the alternative? Someone in power forcing us into peace? Is this really what we want?

It is said that the definition of "crazy" is doing the same thing over and over and expecting a different result. If we can read a 50-year-old account of what separates us from peace so much that we must oppose it and still be opposing those very same things 50 years later, something is wrong. We are doing the same things over and over and expecting a different result. Why not try practical diversity? Again, it is free and you need no tools or the participation of anyone else in order to do it. You can begin immediately. Discover what messages you may have taken in without even realizing it, about things that may separate you from peace and once you realize them, do what it is you need to do to correct it.

After all, there is an age-old adage that says, "Let there be peace on earth, and let it begin with me." Practical diversity simply helps us do that.

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Inculcating Peace through Literature: Towards an Evolved Pedagogy

Urvashi Sabu

Abstract: The constitution of UNESCO expressly states that 'since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed.' As educators, we are only too cognizant of the role that holistic education plays in the formation of a mindset of peace; peace being not just the absence of war but the presence and active functioning of a culture of tolerance and inclusivity.

In a world fraught with tensions and conflict, the study of literature through a more involved and evolved pedagogy can work as an invaluable method of comprehending, inculcating, and applying the concept of peace at both school and higher education levels. In this context, the definition of peace must be construed not just as the absence of war (political peace) but on a larger and deeper scale, as social and individual peace.(Harris, 2002) For this purpose, the literature teacher will be required to reorient her pedagogy, progressing from a mere paraphrased critical investigation of a literary work towards a more thought-provoking inquiry into the ways in which a particular literary text can build/enhance the soft skills of students. (Polat et al, 2016)

This paper attempts to envisage a blueprint for teaching strategies aimed at inculcating and fostering peace using literature as a means, among students as a collective body, and in the individual student as a human being as well as citizen of a globalised world.

Keywords: Peace, literature for peace, pedagogy, teaching strategies, SDGs, UNESCO SDG 16, personal peace, social peace, inclusivity

Conceptualizing Peace

The Yamoussoukro Declaration (UNESCO, 1989) was formulated with the firm belief that 'Peace is more than the absence of armed conflict', and 'Peace is a behaviour'. More than four decades after this significant pronouncement, promoting a culture of peace, as enunciated in UNESCO Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16, has become the cornerstone of the other SDGs developed by UNESCO. (Kempe, 2020; Kumar & Roy, 2018) Inculcating a culture of peace must be initiated by the two institutions with which the individual is inextricably connected: the family and

the educational institution. Both these social units share a cyclical relationship in the development of the individual: whatever a person learns from one is applied on the other..However, it is at the level of the educational institution, where the growing child spends the maximum time that peace as a living, working force must be integrated into activities, and the concept of peace must be incorporated into teaching strategies.

Two vital components of a peace building exercise are 'inclusivity', providing equal access to people with orientations and points of view other than one's own, and 'non-judge mentality', not forming opinions based on one's own moral or personal standards. The opening lines of F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* are powerful reminders of both of the above: In my younger and more vulnerable years, my father gave me some advice that I've been turning over in my head ever since.

'Whenever you feel like criticising anyone', he told me, 'just remember that all the people in this world haven't had the advantages that you have had.' (Fitzgerald,,1925, p1)

However, being inclusive and non-judge mental are not qualities that can be developed through examinations and assessing grades, but by inculcating and promoting soft skills such as critical thinking, creativity, problem solving, inter-cultural understanding etc., in the students. Economist philosopher Amartya Sen is of the view that young people are often looked upon as perpetrators of violence. They become disillusioned with existing dispensations when they are excluded from decision making and social re/construction processes as being too inexperienced. In such a situation, they fall easy victims to aggressive ideologies that promise them better opportunities in new power structures. One way to reorient them towards non-violence and positive, creative channelisation of their natural energy is to make them responsible for community building efforts by actively engaging them in such projects.(Sen, 2007) Therefore, it is imperative that educational institutions orientate themselves towards strengthening the soft skills of their students while they are still in their most formative years, in order to make them not only practitioners, but also ambassadors of peace.

Literature as a tool of peace building

The literature classroom, more than any other space, is one that can be fruitfully utilised for nurturing and promoting a culture of peace. To say that literature is a mirror of society would merely be to repeat a cliché. Literature is not just a *reflection* of society's past, present, or future. It is also an imaginative record of what society and its human constituents can become; of the heights of nobility, generosity, kindness, and empathy that human beings are capable of achieving in the face of all odds. Its flights of fancy can create idyllic utopias as well as terrifying dystopias. However, it takes the right kind of teacher and a certain pedagogy to embed its transformative power in developing minds and make students comprehend the affirmative influence of literature. Such pedagogy can successfully impart the skills of peaceful coexistence, and foster individual peace by enabling

students to accept and welcome difference and otherness, both of which are major sources of strife, whether political, social, or inter-personal.

We notice, too often, that the literature classroom becomes a hotbed of ideological controversy and indoctrination. Since most literary texts are critiqued from a theoretical perspective, the ideologies associated with them form an inevitable part of the discussion. Thus, for instance, we find Shakespeare's *The Tempest* or *The Merchant of Venice* or *Othello* often being talked of as racist, imperialist, Eurocentric, anti-Semitic etc. It is true that every generation that reads Shakespeare gleans something new and different from his works. This new reading is coloured by the ideas and ideologies in currency at that moment in time. Yet there is more to Shakespeare than just the political/ ideological bent of his works as comprehended by each new generation of readers That incalculable something is what makes Shakespeare a classic, a universal text that continues to be read centuries after it was written, even in definitive post-colonial settings. Let us then imagine a literature classroom wherein the *first* approach to Shakespeare is not an ideological or a theoretical one, but a personal one. Let us allow each student to read the text and make whatever they can of it. Before the teacher can begin to give her understanding or theoretical standpoint of the text in question, let the students come out voluntarily with what they think of the text. What was it that intrigued them the most? What was their impression of the text? Could they understand the language? Could they identify with it? Did they find any resonances with their own culture/s, or situations/ circumstances in the text? Let the literature teacher then give the students a historical and cultural background of the text, explicating the times in which it was written. A text cannot be holistically comprehended unless all its variables are taken into account, whether historical, political, religious, thematic, linguistic, or stylistic. An understanding needs to be developed that what is considered unacceptable in the contemporary milieu might have been and indeed *was* regarded as acceptable in another age. A 360-degree understanding of a text involves an acknowledgement of its difference from the present times but at the same time should stress upon its universal qualities. Theory and ideology undoubtedly provide a vital framework for reading a text, but it is not the only framework. A purely ideological reading of a text, Shakespeare or any other, will only lead to a lopsided understanding, one which precludes critical thought, expression of curiosity, and the questioning of established or powerful norms.

The ability to think critically and imaginatively and to articulate fearlessly are qualities that can be instilled in a literature classroom more than in any other discipline. The pure sciences are founded on fixed, immutable laws, and the social sciences are based on observable phenomena that are protean, changing over time. Literature is the only stream of knowledge that is both fixed and protean, in that the text is fixed, but its meanings, which evolve and change over time, are protean, and frequently differ from person to person, class to class, community to community, and nation to nation even in a synchronous time-frame. (Sabu, 2020) An acknowledgement of this very plurality of meaning by having students come out with their understanding of a text, or by asking unconventional 'non-exam' questions, goes a long way in making them conscious of the fact that there are multiple

opinions and points of view on the same subject and that all are equally important. An acceptance of plurality leads to inclusivity and non-judge mentality, two qualities that are crucial for the inculcation of peace as mentioned above. Our higher education examination system tests students on their knowledge of the text, as well as their application-based answers supported by the opinions of literary critics. However, until a change is brought about in this system, class discussions and assignments can be utilized to encourage freedom of thought and draw out multiple opinions about a text.

The role of the literature teacher, her personality, her own ideological standpoint and the fervour with which she believes in it or advocates it can become crucial markers of the learning that students will imbibe in a literature class. Too often, we see literature students becoming ideological clones of their teachers; so intense is their influence upon susceptible minds. Literature lends itself to different interpretations in every age because of the multiplicity of meanings that can be read into a text at any given time by any number of readers. (Steiner, 1963) However, the problem arises when a text is attributed one and only one interpretation to the exclusion of all other possible meanings. Voices of power gain precedence in such a construal, and numerous other not-so powerful voices are ignored, neglected, marginalised or even silenced. Such a classroom cannot foster inclusivity simply because it validates only one kind of thought process, only one reading. Literature teachers therefore need to be sensitised towards inclusive teaching and interpretation through programmes designed to train them into eliciting, acknowledging, and validating the varied responses of their students. (Polat et al, 2016).

Peace Building Challenges at the School Level

The process of critical thinking and of questioning accepted/powerful versions should ideally begin at the school level. Unfortunately, our education system, particularly at the school level, is still heavily orientated towards syllabus completion, rote learning, keywords, and examination grades to allow for such eclectic methodologies. An examination system that awards marks based purely on memorisation, text-based answers and /or keywords cannot hone the soft skills of students. However, awarding marks based on any other non-quantifiable criteria in a country that has the largest number of young people in the world is an uphill if not impossible task. A brief ambitious phase of Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation(CCE), launched by the Central Board of Secondary Education from 2009-2017,focussed on developing and evaluating soft skills in students from Class 6 to Class 10, awarding them grades instead of marks for these non-quantifiable criteria. The system was abandoned a few years later when complaints from parents and objections from teachers began pouring in. Teachers were wary of going ahead with an evaluation system for which they had not been adequately trained; and many of them strongly felt that the extra parameters for evaluation compounded their already demanding workload. Parents felt that evaluating their wards on the basis of a term-long continuous system was unfair because most children studied only for the all-important Board exams. There were also general objections that this system lacked the academic focus

necessary to prepare students for university entrance examinations or professional and competitive examinations. (Pal, 2021)Any attempt at making education holistic merely through external evaluative methods cannot be wholly successful unless there is a commensurate change in pedagogy. It is here that the NEP (2020) seeks to bring a change. The 30-30-40 formula currently followed by the CBSE for evaluating its Class 12 students in place of the customary Board examination has already been receiving positive signals. With the NEP, academic orientations will have to be modified, and schools will be able to employ multiple tools and approaches through assignments, fieldwork, community building projects, self exploration etc. throughout the academic session, to assess students. This strategy can give teachers a better idea of the capabilities and potential of students. It will also provide students with more flexibility to recognise and hone their creative aspects instead of forcing them to resort to rote learning and examination-based study.(Pal, 2021)

Irrespective of academic orientations and efforts, a culture of peace is most effectively strengthened by orientating students towards the acceptance of co-existence, the affirmation of self-worth, and the development of mutual respect among fellow students through the most indispensable educational activity, that is, classroom teaching. Again, the literature classroom can serve as an amenable space for the same. However, school teachers are so often caught in a relentless race against time to complete the desired tasks in the syllabus that they do not find the time to engage students in meaningful classroom activities or discussions that will broaden their horizons and foster a comprehensive understanding of the people, cultures and thought processes that they read about in their literary texts. Nonetheless, there could be other ways to inculcate the same. Innovative group assignments and projects related to the literary text that involve students from varied socio- linguistic backgrounds and maybe one specially-abled student could be a helpful method to make them aware of diversity, and toget used to it as something natural and acceptable. For instance, a textbook lesson titled 'The Old Clock Shop' (CBSE NCERT English Reader- Class VI), a story of human kindness, can be given to the students to work upon as a group. A possible assignment on this could ask them to find out other stories of kindness from their neighbor hoods or friends. Moreover, the specially-abled student in the group could be assigned a 'project buddy' who will look out for them during the project, thereby putting into action the very trait that is being discussed in the lesson. Such projects can be undertaken in every discipline, it is true, but the literature classroom is especially suited to such exercises because of the nature of its content, as mentioned earlier. These soft skills can also be fostered at co-curricular and extra-curricular levels, by promoting and awarding theme-based creative writing, forming book clubs that are open to students of all disciplines, encouraging debate and group discussions, and most importantly, by incentivizing students to volunteer for situations and tasks where such skills are required to be put into action.

Translation as a Peace Building Exercise

An important component of the study of literature today is literature in translation. Translation has brought the distant closer, enabling readers to learn how other people, cultures, and

communities think. While translation itself has traditionally been a political exercise performed by colonist rulers to know about their subjects so that they could govern them more effectively (Nair, 2012), it has acquired another purpose in today's globalised world. It brings together discrete peoples, opens barriers to communication, and offers an understanding of differences in situations of conflict. As a vital component of literature curricula today, translation offers a perspective on diversity and inclusion.

UNESCO's 'Writing Peace' project(2018-)aims at training young people 'to become aware of the interdependence of cultures through familiarisation with contemporary writing systems, their history, and their mutual borrowings'. (Writing Peace: Training Tools & Resources, 2018)The project involves writing the word 'peace' in about 30 scripts from different regions of the world, along with a symbol from each that conveys pictorially the same idea. In a predominantly multilingual country like India, where even the most ordinary classroom would necessarily include students from varied socio cultural and linguistic backgrounds, such a project, tweaked to translate not just the word 'peace' but also small paragraphs from literary works, or even about local culture or art from the vernaculars, would prove exceptionally effective in enabling students to become aware of not just the diversity and plurality of their own country but of the underlying similarity of experiences, irrespective of backgrounds. A significant outcome of such an exercise would be the acknowledgement that although languages or cultures may be different, people of similar age, of any gender may share common experiences, behaviourial traits or personalities. With such co-curricular activities, the conflict between self and the other, which is one of the key factors that preclude a culture and mindset of peace, can be mitigated at the level of the classroom itself. A student who has been sensitised towards difference in a positive manner will then go on to display more inclusive behaviour in public and personal spaces.

Advocating Environment Consciousness through Literature

'*Peace is also a harmonious partnership of humankind with the environment.*' (Preamble, Yamassoukro Declaration, 1989)

How can the study of literature contribute to nurturing a peaceful relationship with nature? While environmental science as a discipline is directly concerned with the conservation of natural resources and adopts a scientific approach to the study of the environment, literature allows its students to connect with nature at a more personal and emotional level through various literary works that articulate explicitly or implicitly, the beauty and magnificence of the natural world, as also the tenuous bond between humans and nature. The works of the British Romantic Poets come instantly to mind. Generation after generation of students recall poems such as

Wordsworth's 'The Daffodils' or Keats's 'Ode to Autumn' long after they have graduated from school or college. Yet, merely remembering a literary work for the beauty of its verse or its theme is not sufficient to build a proactive approach to living in peace with the environment. Once again, it involves a pedagogy infused with personal enthusiasm on the part of the teacher to inculcate love for the environment in her students using the literary text as a tool.

A reading of Kalidasa's play *Abhigyan Shakuntalam*can be a fruitful exercise in understanding the human-nature relationship, particularly in the Indian context. Shakuntala is a child of nature, more or less like a forest deity, who is portrayed in a symbiotic relationship with her surroundings, and positively out of place in the royal court of Hastinapur. Dushyant, on the other hand, is the ravaging king, the destroyer, from whom the animals of the forest flee in panic and seek refuge in the ashram of Rishi Kanva. Every incident in the play points towards the positive influence and benevolence of nature when humans treat it with love, respect, and kindness. Similar learning can be gleaned from other literary texts prescribed in university syllabi, such as the *Mahabharata* , especially the episode in it about the burning of the Khandav forest and its eventual consequences; Kalidasa's *Ritu Samhaar*, an insightful, comprehensive and utterly beautiful descriptive poem about Indian seasons; and Amitav Ghosh's *The Hungry Tide (2004)* and *Gun Island* (2019), detailing the very real danger of climate change. The beauty of literature is that its portrayals and descriptions are couched in allegory and metaphor. Decoding them and emphasising their significance in daily life can only be done by the evolved teacher, who is conscious of their connotations and committed enough to enlighten her students about their application and effect. This learning can be further enhanced by classroom activities like discussions, minor research assignments on environmental issues, group environment conservation projects that also involve creative writing etc.

Literature and Individual Peace

Since every reader experiences a text in their own unique way, literature, more than any other discipline, is a potent instrument for inculcating peace within oneself. As stated by Horace, the purpose of literature is both to delight and to instruct. The cathartic impact of literature, as described by Aristotle, has been noted and widely accepted. Its ability to produce and enhance enjoyment forms the foundation of the Rasa theory in classical Indian dramaturgy and other forms of art. Even if we bypass all these affirmative effects of literature as noted by ancient critics, and concentrate on the individual reader who approaches a literary work with no prior introduction to critical analyses, we can notice its impact on the emotional and psychological being of the reader. The thematic emphases, linguistic dexterity and stylistic beauty of literature mesmerise even the most hard-hearted. The empathy that a literary work generates is unparalleled. Literature presents creative answers to our dilemmas, and inspiring ways to deal with the conflicts that beset us. It accords dignity to our strife-torn lives by enabling us to come to terms with our circumstances. It also gives us the inspiration and moral courage to rise against the forces that control us against our will. It enhances our understanding of the diversity of

human experience and the complexity of human existence. It opens our minds to possibilities of change and betterment through its flights of imagination. It infuses cheer, laughter, and humour into the drudgery of life. It enables us to identify, philosophise upon, and contextualise our individual anxieties. Some of the most enduring life lessons can be learnt from literature, since it is a creative record of every possible human experience, penned in beauty and profundity. That literature is a mirror of society is definitely a cliché. But in literature, every individual can find oneself. In looking at this reflection, they can come to an enhanced understanding of who they are and what is their purpose in life. If self-knowledge is a crucial criterion for personal peace, then literature is the looking glass through which such awareness can be initiated.

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Can Education Contribute to Peace?

Krishna Kumar

Abstract: The paper questions the common assumption that education promotes peace. By referring to pedagogic routines and the political culture of nationalism, the paper indicates the nature of reforms education requires for contributing to peace. The basis of discussion is the author's own study of the role played by school education, specifically through the teaching of history, in maintaining mutual hostility between India and Pakistan. The paper is divided into four sections. The first section summarizes conceptual issues raised by philosophers and educators in the context of schooling and peace. Section II introduces the author's Indo-Pak study in relation to the challenges that nationalism, religion and culture place before education. Section III deals with regimentation as an integral aspect of modern schooling and its implications for the role expected from education in promoting peace. The final section discusses the demands and contradictions education faces under the increasing dominance of the human capital ideology. The paper concludes by highlighting the importance of humanist goals and processes in education for serving the cause of peace.

Keywords: Education, Peace, Socialization, Popular Hinduism, Nationalism , Regimentation , Discipline, Counter- argument

Introduction

We can start by making a dummy response to the question posed in the title: 'Yes, It can, but it doesn't.' We will survey a lineage of peace thinkers to examine this possible answer before turning to the deeper question: 'Can it, really?' This deeper question will enable us to probe the obstacles education faces in contributing to peace. The question will also help us clarify, towards the end, what we mean by peace when we use that word in the context of education in the contemporary world.

Both 'education' and 'peace' carry more than one meaning. For understanding education, a broad distinction between two spheres of its meaning is necessary. One is the sphere of meanings inherent in the concept or idea of education. The other sphere refers to meanings that arise when we use the term 'education' to refer to a system, normally to refer to the system of education in a particular country. A lot of confusion in debates on education might become

avoidable if we keep the conceptual and the systemic spheres apart and remain aware of the distance we notice between them. The distinction is particularly important for discussing education in the context of peace because the systemic meaning allows us to notice the impact of economic and political conditions on education while the conceptual meaning permits us to view the potential of reform in education for preparing it to serve peace.

The paper is divided into four sections. The first section starts with a narrative and moves on to discuss a lineage of peace thinkers. Following the tracing of this lineage, the section discusses some theoretical problems of education and learning, with special reference to nationalism, religion and culture. We will analyze the complexity and problems involved in considering education as an obvious means of promoting peace. The second section dwells on the specific case of hostility between India and Pakistan. This stable hostility is discussed from the perspective of school education and the role that history, as a school subject, plays in it. This discussion includes the learning about the past that occurs during childhood at home. The third section focuses on regimentation that children go through at school. It is examined with the help of available research in the context of the role of school education in inculcating civic loyalty. The last section discusses the policy trends that are exacerbating the school's regimenting role. How this trend can be resisted and the gap between the concept of education and its systemic reality can be bridged are discussed. For these aims, some essential features of peace education that might facilitate institutional recovery and reform in the system of education are identified.

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Section I: Crossing a Border

Two decades ago, I went through an experience which convinced me how necessary peace education was. In 1998 I started a study of the textbooks used in India and Pakistan for the teaching of history. My study was confined to the portrayal of the anti-colonial or nationalist struggle. This was a segment of the past that the two modern nations had shared until the moment of their partition in 1947. My interest was in examining how the 90-year period, from 1857—when the British faced the first major rebellion—to independence and partition in 1947, is discussed in a sample of mainstream textbooks used in the two countries. After preliminary analysis of the textbooks, I decided to visit Pakistan and chose to travel by the Delhi Lahore bus that had recently been introduced as a symbol of the shared aspiration of the two governments at

the time to improve bilateral relations. Hostility between the two nations had been interrupted several times earlier by similar symbolic gestures, without attaining sustainable peace. The bus left New Delhi early in the morning and took the whole day to reach Wagah where the Indo-Pak border provides an official passage for traffic from both sides. Checking of passports and luggage took a long time before I could board the bus along with other passengers. As soon as the bus started, I noticed a group of small boys playing cricket in a nearby vacant plot of land. This was a common, familiar, sight. However, at the moment of seeing those boys, I was struck by the thought that their minds carried a very different construction of the past and the present. The role education had played in giving them, as Pakistanis, and me as an Indian, two different designs of knowledge about the past became clear in that moment. That this is the role whereby education contributes to the hostility between the two nations became clear in that epiphanic moment.

National borders all over the world serve as epistemic watersheds, though not in every case do they separate historical constructions as sharply divergent as those of India and Pakistan. Borders between nations mark the modern state's role in deciding what the young will learn in order to belong to the nation located in those borders. The state uses its authority to calibrate the kind of belonging schools will nurture towards the nation and also the intensity of the sense of belonging.

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Lineage of Peace Educators

Peace as an educational concern has attracted many modern philosophers. Nearly all of them have examined the role of education in the context of peace by referring to the demands that nationalism places upon the system of education. Bertrand Russell, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi and J. Krishnamurti are four modern philosophers who examined this compulsion of education in modern times. All four focused on the contradictions that afflict learning during childhood under the nationalistic demands that the state makes on schools and teachers. The critical outspokenness of these thinkers is difficult to practice today in many countries of the world where national fervour and pride are witnessing a wave of aggressive revival. After a brief period during which the discourse of a technologically enabled, marketfriendly globalization, claiming to soften national boundaries and barriers, acquired popularity, a renewal of politically charged nationalism has occurred in many parts of the world. This is the kind of nationalism Tagore had warned against, during the inter-war years, as a threat to human sanity and survival (Tagore, 2004). Though he was committed to India's freedom from

colonial domination, he felt uneasy about the idea of a national community bonded by political interests. His concern for human unity was inspired by ideals that transcended nationally defined interests and insecurities. Mahatma Gandhi and Tagore came into a dialogical relationship in their attempt to explore and define humanist aspirations in an era of violent expression of narrow national ambitions. Gandhi's political ideals found fuller expression in his own political career as a leader of India's struggle against British imperial rule (Sheean, 1949). In the course of his long, non-violent struggle, Gandhi also developed an educational vision and programme, to which we will refer later in this paper. A contemporary of Tagore and Gandhi, Sri Aurobindo (2007), articulated the idea of human unity, and India's integrity as a society, by referring to the infinite diversity in which nature expresses itself.

Bertrand Russell(1916) too made a distinction between the role that nationalism might play in cultural life as opposed to political and economic life. In the latter sphere, he thought nationalism could play a harmful role. Russell's activism against the dangers of a global nuclear war led him to critiquethe role that education of the young, particularly the teaching of history, plays in consolidating adversarial identities. His advice that the writing of national histories for use in schools should be assigned to foreigners will invite ridicule today if any country seriously considered it. In viewing the role of education in building emotionally charged collective egos, Russell's echo can be heard in Krishnamurti. In his dialogues titled 'Education and the Significance of Life', Krishnamurti said that modern education constitutes a threat to world peace (Krishnamurti, 1953). We will do well to add a clause to make the philosopher acceptable today, namely, that he was referring to 'education as it is presently understood and imparted'. All five philosophers we have briefly considered offered radical advice for reforming education and pedagogy.

In Krishnamurti's view, not just nationalism, but any collective identity promoted through education tends to diminish its potential for cultivating peace. Krishnamurti included religion and language as markers of collective identity in his critique of education, saying that when education is involved in cultivating a common collective self through the teaching of religion or language, it will tend to encourage negative feelings towards people who have a different religious identity or who regard a different language as their representative voice. This is the 'othering' effect of the active promotion of collective identity. Education exacerbates this effect for two reasons. One is that education takes place during childhood when the chances of internalizing a particular discourse carrying a collective self-image are high. Secondly, a teacher is involved in the process of education, so a certain kind of force is added to an information that it would not have had if it had been learnt in the normal course of growing up.

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Education, Peace and War

The popular notion that education contributes to peace is based on insufficient engagement with the process of schooling and the relations between school and home. The thesis that education can and does provide the foundations of a peaceful world seems to draw its strength almost entirely from its capacity to tempt. Who wouldn't like to believe that education is a force of peace? Indeed, if a survey of opinions were to be conducted on this, it will probably find a strong support for the view that education has already made the world more peaceful. Evidence to prove this verdict is said to lie in the number of decades that have passed since the second of the two World Wars fought in the first half of the last century. Many would readily attribute the lack of any major war over the last seven decades to the spread of education.

There are two obvious problems with this thesis. One problem arises from the selective use of the term 'war' or 'major war.' The other problem lies in our accrediting the spread of education with the claimed absence of a 'major war.' Let us examine both these problems. To say that the last seven decades have been relatively peaceful, compared to the two decades preceding this period, is possible only if our focus is on what we call the 'developed' world, a term that covers mainly the western nations and some countries of east Asia, especially Japan. In the rest of the world, the post-World War II period can hardly be described as peaceful even if we reduce the meaning of peace to the absence of war. The terrible violence that Vietnam faced at the hands of the US or the endemic internal strife in Cambodia, Rwanda and Chile, to take just a few cases, is quite comparable, in terms of the number of civilian deaths that occurred in the Second World War, discounting the deaths caused by America's nuclear attack on Japan. In the more recent period, Afghanistan and Iraq have suffered the fate of Vietnam and Sri Lanka has been the site of a horrible civil war. All these names, of nations, indicate that in the seven decades following the Second World War, violent conflicts have occurred mainly in the poorer or 'underdeveloped' nations as they are called. We also need to include in our accounts of violence the considerable and continuing incidence of violence associated with acts we now classify as terror or terrorist. Accurately arithmetical comparisons between the deaths caused by the two 20th-century World Wars and the regional conflicts of the post-war period may be both difficult and futile, except to make the point that the latter cannot be described as a peaceful or even relatively peaceful period.

Let us now turn to the second problem. Those who see the role of education in the relative peace of the post-war period surely ignore the nature of violence and war that humanity has witnessed in modern history as a whole. If education as such were a source of peace, then what were and still are the most educated parts of the world would not have been the sites of horrifying violence during wars. Nor would a country like the United States of America, known for its democratic culture and educational attainments, have been actively involved in extensive violence in other, notably poorer countries. If the spread of education is a factor associated with peace, the country way ahead of its neighbours in literacy and elementary schooling in South Asia, namely, Sri Lanka, would not have witnessed a gruesome and prolonged civil war. We can argue that education enhances the possibility of peace only if we treat education as a simple matter, a toy that can only bring joy to a child. In order to arouse some hard thinking on education, we need to frame our question somewhat bluntly and unexpectedly: 'Can education promote hate and help sustain a conflict over time?' When the question is framed this way, we can begin to see the futility of seeing education as a benign toy. Its instrumentality can be better appreciated if we examine the role of the school curriculum and textbooks in socializing the young in India and Pakistan. A comparative study of school textbooks used for the teaching of modern history in the two countries led me to the conclusion that education can perpetuate conflict and feed hostility (Kumar, 2001). This study also offered persuasive evidence to say that education has played a role in the sustaining neighbourly hatred in the two countries.

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Education and Socialization

This insight needs to be examined with care and conceptual wherewithal, otherwise we will miss the key benefits such a case study of conflict between two nations might offer for developing a general theory of the relation between education and peace. One thing that my study (Kumar, 2001; Kumar, 2007) of the Indo-Pak case brings out most crisply is that a conflict can be guaranteed to persist and hold its potential for violence if its seeds get sown early in life so as to enter primary socialization. This term has conceptual value specific to sociology of culture. It tends to get rather limited, and somewhat diluted, attention in the field of education. This is mainly because education is perceived more as a domain of practice and policy than as a field of inquiry whereas sociology is regarded primarily as a field of inquiry along with other social sciences. Therefore, in education, socialization is studied mainly to adjust pedagogic effort to the influences the child might carry from home.

The depth at which early socialization shapes self-identity, attitudes and values is often underestimated by those involved in education, such as teachers and curriculum designers. If we hold early socialization as a major factor involved in the construction of self-identity and outlook towards those regarded as the 'other', we will be on firm ground to say that hatred and hostility between nations gains a self-perpetuating momentum when education at school adds to a prejudice already prevailing in the social ethos. To elucidate this role of schooling and curriculum, we will need to examine the complex relations that underpin any process of institutionalized learning in modern society, namely, relations between education and socialization. These relations are important for the learning involved in any school subject, including those included in the natural and the social sciences, mathematics and language. The relationship between education at school and socialization at home plays a key role in shaping the learning of history. Before we embark on our specific inquiry about India and Pakistan, let us discuss briefly why learning about the past or history forms a critical factor in the role of schooling in the context of peace.

The social, unlike the physical, world surrounding a young person cannot be discovered without assistance and encouragement or guidance. Physical objects and happenings, such as the rising of the moon in a darkening sky or a passing train, attract the child and demand attention. Contrastingly, information about how parents got married or about events that happened a long time ago gains a child's attention and a place in his or her consciousness only on being pointed out and narrated in one form or another. The young depend on adults for learning about the past. By the time children enroll at school, they have already 'learned' a great deal about the past at home – from the adults who look after them and the resources, such as television, a modern home possesses. The school waits for several years before starting to teach history; learning about the past at home, on the other hand, starts in infancy itself and continues, as part of routine life at home.

Children's absorption of knowledge about the past takes place at home in its own unique ethos without the interference of reflective thought, questioning or awareness of alternative narratives or explanation. It occurs with substantial emotional content which is characteristic of primary socialization (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). The narrative is not necessarily woven into an integrated story. Rather, it is sporadic, fragmented and interspersed by visual, auditory and other forms of sensory experience. Quasihistorical knowledge, some of which borders on myth, is interwoven in religious beliefs and attitudes including attitudes towards 'others' who have a different history. A sense of community is embedded in this amorphous body of quasihistorical knowledge, and this sense imparts an identity to the small child. It marks separation from others who belong to a different 'community.'

Normally we do not view religious experience of children as an induction or immersion into history. We feel reluctant, even unwilling, to do so because we are used to classifying

history as a documentary field of study based on facts and evidence. We tend to ignore and to denigrate perceptual history (Kumar, 2007) which is nourished and sustained by memory of experience spanning several generations. The history inherent in religion is similar. It covers long stretches of time, covering the pre-formation, growth, and subsequent development periods of a faith-system, with its attendant ideas, beliefs and collectively held memories. Characters or personalities, sometimes held at the level of myth, are a part of this faith-system. Its value as a shared or collectively owned memory-record is crucial to the selfhood or identity it imparts to a group. It is so crucial to the group's survival and intellectual well-being that it is passed on to the newly born at the earliest possible moment and the imparting continues throughout infancy and childhood, ensuring deep imprinting in the mind. As imprinting, it is impervious to doubt or question. It serves as a well-ploughed field for the knowledge of history imparted at school in later childhood. This process whereby primary scocialization at home merges into, and is consolidated by, secondary socialization at school is sharply illustrated in the case of IndoPak antipathy maintained over seven decades now. By examining it, we can grasp the difficulties and challenges that education presents for the pursuit of peace between two hostile nations.

> ***** We can argue that education enhances the possibility of peace only if we treat education as a simple matter, a toy that can only bring joy to a child. In order to arouse some hard thinking on education, we need to frame our question somewhat bluntly and unexpectedly: 'Can education promote hate and help sustain a conflict over time?' When the question is framed this way, we can begin to see the futility of seeing education as a benign toy. Its instrumentality can be better appreciated if we examine the role of the school curriculum and textbooks in socializing the young in India and Pakistan.

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Section II: Education and Indo-Pak Hostility

In many countries, religion and its history as a social institution are intertwined with the history of modern nationalism. This condition appears to have been responsible for hostility and warlike relations between nation-states in recent times. The case of India and Pakistan is of this kind although there are several factors that make their mutual hostility look like a somewhat unique matter. At the same time, there are factors that lend to their hostile relationship a rather common character of territorial rivalry. For educational planners, especially curriculum designers, study of Indo-Pak history offers an important lesson, namely, that education cannot be seen in isolation from the wider ethos of society. This lesson has value for curriculum planners

concerned about peace in any part of the world. The depth at which sedimented layers of knowledge about the past influence learning at school require recognition for any significant attempt to re-orient education towards peace to succeed. While it is true that the Indo-Pak problem cannot be reduced to a single or simple axis, religion and its relationship with the growth of nationalism have a definite explanatory value for making sense of the problem. And it does not arise from the Indo-Pak partition alone as many would like to believe. Had undivided India not been partitioned in 1947 along religious lines by the departing British colonial authorities, religious strife between the two major religious identities of the region would still have remained a live phenomenon. It had already become one in the latter half of the 19th century. The widely held view that the Hindu-Muslim divide was stoked by the colonial rulers in their own interest is of course true, but it is only a half truth. The advent of modernity and its expression in political institutions and procedures provide us the other half.

Colonial authority furnished an axis along which the two religious identities struggled with modern institutions, such as the census, courts, schools and the elections for representation at various levels (Cohn, 1987). Religious identity provided an available resource that the elites, both colonial and local, could use to negotiate the emerging structure of economic and political opportunities. They used religious identity, wound up as it was in history, legend and myth, to mobilize popular support in order to strengthen their clout in engaging with British colonial power structure. With the passage of time, the engagement grew into full-scale politics (Nair, 2010). Contrary forces also emerged, challenging the use of religion as a political tool. However, religion did remain a crucial handle for the colonial government to deal with contending claims, creating copious opportunities for taking advantage of the religious divide.

Following partition, India and Pakistan became two separate national entities with their own states articulating their national spirits. Once the separation occurred, the two entities acquired great mutual reactiveness (Kumar, 2007). Any observer who attempts to understand the negative energy that flows between the two entities is likely to assume that their internal worlds are entirely different. The self-identities the two nations publicly carry do indeed look different. India carries the self-identity of a secular nation-state where people of different religious faiths live with constitutionally endowed equal rights. Pakistan, on the other hand, carries the self-identity of a state based on Islam with the intent of practising Islamic values in all domains of life, including politics and civil administration. These two distinct official selfidentities interact on the global or public stage as fixed role-players or actors in a symbolic play. The plot in which the two nations serve as characters in the play is historical, drawing its causality from the pre-partition past and moving towards a known, logically coherent future. We can call it a story of two nationalisms, exuding incompatibility in an extended competition for claim to moral superiority.

Claim to moral higher ground is the heart of the message conveyed to the young in the two countries. Both the Indian and the Pakistani narratives of the history of the freedom movement attempt to convince the young that as modern nation-states, they have a principled reason to be different in an incompatible way. This objective of the narratives is grounded in the need to explain why Partition occurred, both as an event by itself and as the defining moment of freedom from colonial rule. If the two narratives offered instances of similarity between the two nations, how would Partition find a sufficient justification? This structural imperative compels them to be as divergent as possible. Since the two nations have a shared past, the historians who prepare textbooks must construct the past differently, placing all major events in a light capable of rendering it different from how it might look to the other nation.

Divergence is also attained with the help of characterization, especially that of heroes or great leaders. Their portrayal as influential, larger-than-life personalities enables the two narratives to acquire sumptuous emotional effect (Kumar, 2001). Children—the intended readers—are expected to identify with them so as to develop faith in the causes that drove them as heroes. In the case of India, the hero is Mahatma Gandhi, and in the case of Pakistan, the hero is Jinnah. Their personalities emerge from the texts like giant-size cutouts, personifying the nations they represent and symbolically gave birth to. The contrast between their personalities and life-styles serves as a sign pointing to the contrast that the two nations are supposed to signify between the ideologies on which they are based. The exercise gets completed by mutual vilification, that of Gandhi in the Pakistani narrative, and of Jinnah in the Indian narrative.

The two narratives embody the nation-building project which has elements of jubilation and pride as well as grief and tragedy in each case. The element of pride and celebration in India's case comes from winning against colonial masters and their designs; in Pakistan's case, both pride and joy are associated with birth despite the desperate attempts made to prevent its birth as a nation. The tragedy, in the case of India, is Partition; in Pakistan's case, Partition represents birth; the tragedy is that Partition did not do territorial justice.

These contrasting constructions necessarily assume that the two nation-states are not just based on different principles; their internal worlds, comprising demographic and cultural realities, also differ. We can now turn towards examining this assumption. The Indian narrative, which is not necessarily reflected in all State-level textbooks (Kumar, 2017),is designed to represent a nation where the religious life of the population is subservient to their civic life. Secularism as a principle of statecraft is rather different from secularism as a symbolic statement of nationhood. In the context of statecraft, it provides India a useful means whereby the state can perform its various functions in a demographically and culturally diverse social environment. However, as a symbolic representation of nationhood, secularism has remained an inadequate idiom in as much as its validity as a descriptor comes from its denial of the importance and role of religion in shaping everyday life. This is one reason why the term 'secularism' as state

ideology has remained subject to interpretation (Kesavan, 2001) and has allowed revivalist politics to mobilize support. The instrumentality of 'secularism' as a linguistic tool to distinguish India from Pakistan has proved weak, and with the passage of time, it has been showing signs of failure with increasing frequency.

On India's treatment of secularism as a representation of its nationhood, one can ask: 'Does India have a choice?' In other words, India can hardly be expected to drop the idiom of secularism and thereby accept the colonial assumption that Partition was based on religious lines and its purpose was to separate a Muslim Pakistan from a Hindu India. There were indeed serious problems with this colonial discourse, and its truth value remains very poor. Be that as it may, India's narrative of its own history does not need to deny Hindu religiosity.

The term 'popular Hinduism' is often used to distinguish ritual and myth from abstract or spiritual Hinduism. This distinction is yet another example of the discomfort inherent in the ideological usage of secularism. Secular voices hesitate to accept religiosity as a major aspect of common life, and this hesitation enables the consolidation of revivalist politics which focuses on profiling Hindu-ness.

The crisis that Pakistan has faced is not altogether different. Its adoption of Islam as a nationalist creed has meant the denial of the diverse forms that popular Islam has taken in its population. Once Islam was declared as a marker of the newly formed nation's single, state-authenticized identity, the considerable diversity of practices and beliefs, myth and ritual that characterizes popular Islam in Pakistan, had to be ignored or suppressed in the official narrative fed to the young in schools.

These developments also led to mutual stereotyping. In Pakistan's official narrative – and the discourse upholding it, India's claim to being a secular country is labeled as humbug. For Pakistan, India is simply Hindu and Hinduism is a fixed set of practices and beliefs, one being the belief that Islam poses an evil threat to Hinduism. This belief justifies fear and the projection of common hatred in India towards Muslims and Pakistan. As stereotypes do not allow room for nuances or any kind of differentiation, the Pakistani stereotype of India allows no scope for the thought that Indians may hold diverse views and perceptions.

On the Indian side, the stereotype of Pakistan is that of a country signifying monolithic Islam which allows recognition of no other religion as worthy of faith, certainly not Hinduism. The idea that all Muslims are one and so are Pakistanis, that they are united in their belief that Pakistan need not exist as an independent country, is central to this stereotype. Here too, hatred is a core emotion, to be kept alive as a guide for cautionary, suspicious behaviour towards a geographically unavoidable neighbour. The stereotypes that the two nations maintain serve as frames drawing strength from chosen episodes of history going as far back as required. In India's

case, the image of Muslims as invaders and marauders is available in medieval past. To Pakistan, the imaginary of the wily Hindu is available in the freedom struggle, particularly in the resistance shown to the idea of Partition which was necessary for the birth of Pakistan.

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Section III: The Process of 'Othering'

The Indo-Pak case illustrates the role education can play in maintaining collective consciousness stuck in a nationalistic groove. Our study of this case also indicates how intricate and layered the relations of hostility between two nation-states may be. How far this particular case permits us to generalize about the role education plays in maintenance of hostility may be debatable. But it does show the importance of history in education and the challenges that culture and other sources of socialization present to the learning of history during childhood. Cases like the Israel-Palestine relationship may require analysis of a similar nature wherein we examine the knowledge of history imparted at school in the context of the wider ethos. Teaching of history at school mostly avoids addressing the learning that has already occurred at home. Curriculum designers rarely acknowledge that the learning involved in children's socialization serves as a backdrop for further learning at school. The latter does not specifically address the behaviours, attitudes and values imbibed from the family and community. Stereotyping on the basis of religion is a common aspect of this learning.

Research on religious socialization, though limited, throws light on the role played by the family and community and on the resources they use to induct the young from early childhood onwards into a collective, religious self-identity (Sinha, 1981). How deeply are stereotypes of an 'othered' religious community lodged in the minds of the young was brought out by Kakar (1998) in his study of Hindu-Muslim relations in Hyderabad. A similar conclusion came from the study carried out by Gupta (2005). She found that pre-school children living in a mixed locality of Delhi had internalized strong negative images and impressions of the religious community they considered different from their own. We can expect that the manner in which

information about religion—one's own and that of the 'other'—is imparted or made available to the young differs across communities. Studies of this kind indicate how early in childhood is religious selfhood formed, along with the 'otherness' it thrives on. In each case, the 'other' must carry disagreeable qualities that the 'self' is protected from. Suspicion, fear and hatred shape the perception of the 'other'. Learning to avoid proximity to the physical presence of the 'other' and his or her places of worship is a part of the process of growing up Muslim or Hindu (Razzack, 1995). This kind of learning can be described as a tacit inheritance. Inherited ignorance of the other's religion sharpens the tendency to nurture mutual stereotypes.

At school, the effects of early socialization seldom get acknowledged and therefore get no real chance to be challenged through engagement. Neither the curriculum, nor the classroom ethos permits such engagement. Creating capacity for such an engagement is simply not part of teacher training. When history begins as a subject at age 11, it usually adds further strength to an existing construction of the collective 'self' and the collective 'other'. These constructions are full of emotional value which is invested in them by adults in the family. Their role can be seen as that of passing on an inherited form of knowledge. We may be tempted to label this knowledge as myth or a story. We are right to deny it the status of history, but we must remember that the essential character of all these genres is narrative. It creates the frame for future learning of nationalist narratives of history at school. If we use the two modes of thought, proposed by Bruner (1997), to decide where history belongs, our choice will have to be the mode defined by literary narration rather than the other which is defined as logico-mathematical or scientific thought.

If history at school is to contribute to scientific reasoning, the least it will have to do is to acknowledge the perceptual history children carry from home, then engage with it with logical rigour, to prove why it is not a reliable guide for understanding the past. Pedagogic engagement of this kind will have the potential to break stereotypes of the collective 'self' and the collective 'other' which nurture cultural antagonisms and provide handy material for ideological mobilisation for political purposes.

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Three Models

The past constitutes the most challenging domain of knowledge from the point of view of developing a peace perspective. The role of education at school is critical in this respect. More specifically, the role comprises a choice between two alternatives with reference to the socialization of the young at home. Education at school can either supplement the socialization that has occurred at home or, alternatively, the school can differ from home and socialize the child into a new orientation towards the past. To analyse home-school relations, in the context of education for peace, let me refer to a typology I have presented in Kumar (2007). It offers three models as shown in Figure 1. Model 1 covers educational systems where home and school overlap, implying a marked continuity between socialization at home and formal learning at the school. Model 2 presents the opposite cases where home and school are detached and indifferent to each other. Model #3 offers the possibility of interaction and negotiation between the two.

Figure 1: Three Models of Home-School Relationship
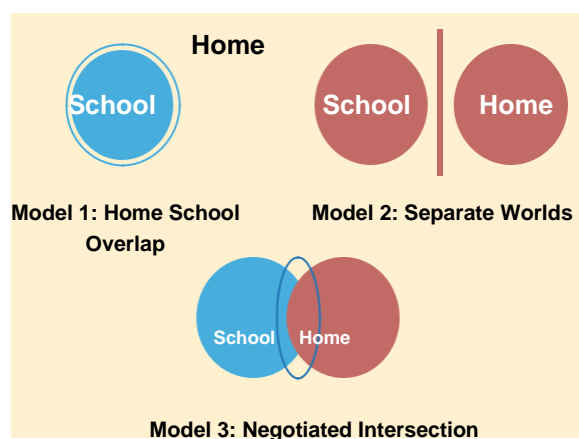
Source: Kumar (2007; p. 199)

These models help us to capture the complex relationship between schooling and learning through socialization at home in India and Pakistan. Both countries inherit colonial policies in education which enable schooling to stay aloof from home culture (Kumar, 2014). Since independence, the two countries have pursued divergent paths in the matter of religious instruction at school. It is an essential part of the daily school routine in Pakistan whereas in India it is prohibited, except in minority schools (UNESCO MGIEP, 2017). Thus, educational policy in Pakistan adheres to Model 1 while in India it adheres to Model 2. The pursuit of Islamization in Pakistani policy over the recent decades has further sharpened the use of school education for promoting nationalistic perspective based on religion and the distinction with regard to India on the basis of religious difference.

In India, the policy scenario presents a more complex and somewhat volatile picture. Curricular reforms undertaken on the basis of the National Curriculum Framework (NCF)–2005 (NCERT 2006) point towards an attempt to apply Model 3. Under this model, the school tries to

engage with the child's life at home. This goal is reflected in the NCERT (National Council of Educational Research and Training) textbooks based on NCF. Schools administered under the norms of the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) are obliged to use NCERT textbooks. These schools constitute less than 10 per cent of the total number of secondary schools in the country. Other schools follow State-level syllabus and textbooks. In many States, the recent years have witnessed the rise of religious nationalism as a political ideology. It has made an impact on textbooks and the school ethos in several States. The attempt made in NCF–2005 to promote a secular perspective and peaceoriented values has not proved easy to pursue in the States. This attempt followed a two-pronged approach: one, to redesign syllabi and textbooks so as to provide room for critical reflection on culture and history; and two, to prioritize peace values such as tolerance, non-violence, and conflict resolution through negotiation. Although no major review has taken place with regard to the implementation of NCF, its general impact on India's vast and complex system is undeniable. How far it will be sustained remains to be seen.

Citizen and the Nation

History is not the only subject nurturing collective antagonisms during childhood. Its role is supplemented by early introduction of political boundaries and civic responsibilities. The school curriculum is mostly out of step with children's cognitive development in geography and civics. Well before children can grasp the mathematical and geometrical concepts involved in the preparation of maps, they are exposed to maps showing the territorial boundaries of the nation. Identification with the territorial nation proceeds parallel to the teaching in yet another area of knowledge out of step with children's intellectual development. This is knowledge about the state and the functions of the government.

In many countries, this latter knowledge articulately demands loyalty to the nation-state and willingness to sacrifice one's life as a test of this loyalty. This aspect of the civics curriculum has gone through radical changes in India under recent curricular reforms through which civics has been renamed as 'Social and Political Life'. This new subject attempts to use children's own curiosity about how the social world is formed and how some of the older social divisions get challenged by humanistic assertions of a political nature (Gupta, 2015).

Though this new construction of knowledge has not spread to all regions of India, it is a marked departure from older teaching of civics which continues to dominate the social studies curriculum in Pakistan. Indeed, social studies there is subsumed under the subject called 'Pakistan Studies' which is directly aimed at cultivating unflinching commitment to a militaristic, masculine state (Saigol, 2015). Nationalism and children's education are firmly welded together in all parts of the world. The use of school education for propaganda has a long history of its own, and the history demonstrates a strong affinity with the rise of identity-driven political ideologies. These ideologies have found fertile ground in the current political and

economic climate prevailing in many countries in different parts of the world (Economist, 2017). In Asia, a recent study of curriculum policies of 22 countries found the promotion of national identity as the most frequently mentioned aim of education (UNESCO MGIEP, 2017).

Regimentation

When the promotion of a strong nationalistic feeling is actively defined as the aim of education from the earliest stage, it exacerbates the phenomenon of regimentation in schools. Regimentation has been closely associated with mass education in every region of the world. Many regard it as an essential aspect of education, and go to the extent of accepting it as a process that creates the enabling conditions for teaching. Indeed, this view is so common and popular that a plea for making education more child-centric and less regimenting is dismissed as being unrealistic and therefore pointless. Old concepts of learning demanded the child's undirected energy to be brought under control, and the harshest means for achieving this goal were considered legitimate. The teacher's right to inflict corporal punishment of any kind was an important aspect of his authority. School and classroom rituals of various kinds were used to create a culture of compliance. These have become part and parcel of school routines to such an extent that they are often treated as signifiers of quality and rigour. Terms like 'good discipline' are used to appreciate the efficacy of a school in subduing any expression of individuality by children, except through officially approved channels.

The term 'discipline' is often used to refer to a certain kind of moral education. In his attempt to analyse ideas about discipline and moral education, Clark (1998) found that traditional ideas are incoherent and unworkable, yet they remain dominant. Enforcement of school uniform, hairstyle and shoes, slogan shouting and militaristic drills and marching are common features of what is considered a well-functioning school. Together, they enable school authorities to construct a concrete, visual evidence of efficiency and order. They serve as elements of a habitus that acquires self-perpetuating or autonomous power over children. Its symbolic power has been recognized as a form of violence by researchers in different educational systems, following Bourdieu's theorization of habitus (Bourdieu, 1991). In a study of school culture, Yadav (2014) identified several aspects of regimentation in the daily ritual of morning assembly. Collective slogan shouting, marching to martial tunes, collective listening to the principal's messages were among the routines included in the morning assembly. It enabled schools to achieve an ethos where children's individual personalities could submerge into an orchestrated whole. The use of school uniform to merge individual identities is common across many countries. Horvat and Antonio (1999) have examined how these means of control affect the lives of Afro-American girls.

Evaluation is yet another aspect of schooling that has provided a fertile site for regimentation to deepen and grow. Classroom tests and annual examinations are an integral part of contemporary school culture. They are used not merely to motivate children to work hard, but

also to promote competition among them. This latter aspect has gained prominence partly because it resonates the wider ethos of marketcentred policies in every sphere of life. Attempts to encourage child-centred methods of teaching have failed to soften the hold of exams on teachers, parents and children. Opposition to progressive curriculuar reforms is articulated by referring to the utility of tests and exams for instilling fear of losing out and encouraging discipline. The emotional value invested in exam success finds strong consensus between teachers and parents. Starting at the earliest stage of schooling, the regime of tests and exam reinforces the terror that schools cultivate. Recent upsurge of 'outcome-driven' policies have reinforced testing and exam routines in schools. In the Right to Education (RTE) passed by the Indian parliament in 2009, the practice of annual exams that divide children into 'pass' and 'fail' categories was replaced by a Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation (CCE) process. This shift has been under assault and the demand for reverting to the old exam system has been getting louder.

Learning at school is permeated by a continuously reinforced fear, of consequences of diverse kinds, including that of failing in an exam. In an essay on her own encounter with primary schooling, Kadyan (2008) describes the general regime of fear that a small child's mind internalizes. She says:

"Many parts of my school I had heard of but never seen and I am sure that there must have been others which I had not even heard of. How could I risk my life simply to know the school building fully, when every time one tried, one faced the highest probability of meeting a heartless devil of keeping children inside their allotted cells? The only thing that belonged to me was my seat. I hated all the occasions that required me to move from it. Who knows when someone might snatch that seat away from me, accusing me of being a bad learner?"

Kadyan's autobiographical narrative brings out the impact that the school ethos makes on a child's mind, by alienating and exercising total physical control. Numbing of children's intellect is achieved by schools at an early stage, not necessarily deliberately or as a project although that too may be the case under certain circumstances. A great deal of regimentation of the body is built into the school's daily routine. It covers things like walking, standing and sitting, but more significantly it covers how they will talk, respond to a question asked, or raise a question or point if such a behaviour is permitted at all. Even as this discussion echoes Foucolt's architecture of terror, it must be supplemented by a reference to the pedagogic routines that occupy children's time with inconsequential, repetitive exercise of power. These have been described by La Dousa (2015) in his ethnographic study of the languages of schooling in Varanasi. Some of the routines he describes are part of a 'time pass' strategy which conditions learners into accepting the school as a space where endurance of triviality and meaninglessness is the key to survival and progress.

* Terms like 'good discipline' are used to appreciate the efficacy of a school in subduing any expression of individuality by children, except through officially approved channels

* Numbing process may include a political function, that of maintaining inherited structures of social and economic dominance by pervasive marginalization of the poor.

The Counter-Argument

A great deal of critical commentary made during the 1960s and the 1970s in the US, UK and some other countries brought to light the depth to which school-induced numbing of children's intellectual capacities can go. Holt's (1964)How Children Fail is a classic of that period. Other works, such as Kozol's (1968)Death at an Early Age remind us that the numbing process may include a political function, that of maintaining inherited structures of social and economic dominance by pervasive marginalization of the poor. Regimentation as a tool of subduing children's intellectual agency figures well before the 1960s as a subject of philosophical interest. The plea for 'child-centred' methods has a political edge in the progressive writers, pedagogues and thinkers of the inter-war years. Among them, Maria Montessori, Bertrand Russell and Sri Aurobindo wrote eloquently about the role that collective controlling of the minds of the young plays in school in making them vulnerable as adults to political propaganda, especially that of state-managed nationalistic propaganda. They cautioned against the collective ego represented by the state as it tends to suppress the creative energies available for shaping the future. Rabindranath Tagore too criticized political nationalism as it discourages humanistic values and ideals. His short story, 'The Parrot', captures the tragedy whereby the natural instincts and capacities of the child are shown in contest with brute power of the state, and the child loses. Recent additions to this lineage of thinkers are Krishnamurti, Paulo Freire and Ivan Illich. They were iconoclastic and positive about the possibility of radical restructuring of public learning. Their critique of prevailing education was harsh, and it reminds us that educational reform cannot occur in isolation from change in other institutions of society, including the state.

In our attempt to look for philosophical guidance to develop both a critique of education and a means to reform it, we can find in Gandhi's experiments in politics and education a creative answer. His life as a pacifist political thinker and his legacy of non-violent struggle against oppressive imperial rule make him a major figure in the history of ideas (Parel, 2016). Throughout his life he remained eager to seek an educational means for breaking the cycle of economic oppression and violence. His proposal for the use of traditional crafts as means to reconstruct education is often seen in purely economic terms, i.e. as a route to changing attitudes to manual work and cultivating self-reliance. This conventional reading of Gandhi's nai talim (new education) has been critiqued in two recent investigations (Srinivasan, 2017; Gaur, 2016) These scholars have made independent attempts to reconstruct Gandhi's epistemology from the

wider corpus of his ideas and engagements. For Srinivasan, Gandhi's view of knowledge should be defined in the context of a theory of ethical learning which responds to the problems of human social existence in the widest possible sense. Gaur locates the centre of his pedagogic plan in the concept of Swaraj or self-rule wherein he offers a means to define human freedom. Gaur has used the concept of Swaraj to study Anand Niketan, a school started by Gandhi which has recently been revived. It serves children from villages located in the vicinity of Gandhi's ashram at Sevagram. Children's life and activities, especially those related to environment education and craft work, offer considerable evidence to say that Gandhi's pedagogic theory encourages self-driven learning.

Similar evidence and direction can be found in the work of Devi Prasad, an art teacher, artist and a world-renowned pacifist. His experience of teaching art to children at schools started by Tagore and Gandhi enabled him to formulate a full-fledged argument explaining the nature and logic of aesthetic discipline (Prasad, 1998). It recognizes freedom as the aim of art work in childhood. Prasad's analytical account of his experience as a teacher establishes how the pursuit of freedom enables children to develop self-awareness, balance, proportion and symmetry, and predisposes them towards peace. Gandhi's political thought also offers us a wider vision for reorganizing school subjects such as history and civics. The contribution they make, in their present form, to reinforcing nationalist antagonisms, needs to be critiqued from Gandhi's perspective on modern civilization and its propensity to encourage fear and aggression.

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Section IV: Contemporary Landscape

The lineage of child-centred ideas and practices in education discussed above provides us the elements of peace education. These are: recognition of the child's agency and teacher's role in encouraging children to reflect on their own experience. If we use these basic principles to examine prevailing trends, we find that practices challenged earlier and replaced by child-centred approaches are witnessing resurgence. The force of this trend is strong and pervasive enough to put any criticism of regimentation on the defensive, lest it be charged of sheer romanticism.

Advances in technology of communication have served to strengthen instrumentalist ideas in education, both at the level of policy-making and the everyday world of school teaching. The 'new technological environment' described by Elkind (2003) places the child at a receiving end, exposed to forces that parents and teachers cannot fully grasp or deal with. Neo-behaviourist advocacy of scripted curriculum and pedagogy has diminished teacher's autonomy. These developments are being led by managerial experts who regard education yet another area where

they can bring efficiency. Their intervention has resulted in further erosion of the democratic space available for shaping education as a social institution. The emerging pedagogic landscape is dominated by the use of testing as a means to enhance competitiveness and accountability.

Policy packages echoing the human capital theory justify mechanistic models of learning and teaching. In this scenario, peace education figures as an instrument to be used for tangible purposes. One is to limit the concept of peace itself to a set of behaviours capable of being manipulated and measured. To complete this picture, we must turn towards the economic policy scenario in which recent shifts in education are situated. The term 'neo-liberal' is often used to describe these policies, conveying the tilt towards privatization in all spheres of social policy, including education. A great deal of scholarship exists on the impact of neoliberalism on state spending. Research shows radical increase in expenditure world-wide on armaments, indicting a link between neoliberalism and militarism (Cypher, 2007). This economic trend suggests why nationalism as an ideology is witnessing a revival. After a brief spell of popularity, the discourse of globalization is already in recession. National interests are serving as the axis of political mobilization for conservative leadership.

In India, nationalism defined on religio-cultural lines has come into dominance, marginalizing older claims to a secular national identity. Erosion of secularism and the propagation of religious separatism through public media and education occupation have made several regions of northern India look similar to Pakistan where religion has been the official marker of national identity. In Rajasthan, school textbooks produced by the State government have been revised with a view to promoting among children a politically constructed regional identity based on distortion of medieval struggles. The new history attempts to use religious identities of medieval warriors to justify a majoritarian national identity for contemporary India. This is not an isolated example of provincial curriculum and textbooks being used for promoting sectarian politics. The gap in Indian curricular planning at federal and provincial levels has been quite pronounced, both in terms of quality and aims. When we consider that provincial textbooks are used in schools serving economically weaker sections of society, we realize how socio-economic inequality adds to the complexity of curricular reform.

Conclusion

Let us conclude by placing the India-Pakistan example discussed earlier in this paper in the context of current economic policy scenario. The role education plays in maintaining longterm hostility is unlikely to change without radical reformulation of the aims of education and changes in its content and methods. For such a change to occur, peace education offers a means to question prevailing policies and preferences. It also provides a site for critiquing education itself. Before education can be used to promote peace, its own humanistic potential will have to be rescued. Peace education can be viewed as a site of resistance to the all-round

attempt currently underway to push education into becoming a means of total regimentation. In order to make peace education a resistant force, its key elements need to be articulate. One is to restore personal meaning in learning; two, centrality of critical enquiry in any process of institutionalized education; three, importance of justice for making peace sustainable.

These core elements and the interplay among them can be used to seek a direction for reform in education. A major sign of crisis in education is its inability to impart meaning to the experience of attending school or college. As a social institution managed by the state, the school has now become a universally enforced experience of childhood. Though its lure and the legitimacy of schooling have grown enormously, the school's ability to educate has diminished along with its autonomous status and ability to uphold the values constitutive of education as a concept (Miri, 2014). Historical changes in the economic and political demands on education have affected its capacity to serve the young in their search for meaning through the exercise of curiosity and enquiry. Affirmation of faith in the potential of education to impart the means to make sense of the world is necessary as a first step towards reforming schools. The idea of global citizenship education can provide some valuable energy and direction in this regard, provided that this idea does not become a matter of advocacy for mechanically made insertions in the curriculum. Education imbued by critical enquiry implies learning to situate oneself where we are in history, in order to understand how we got 'here', and thereby to act upon the problems facing us today.

In the study of a conflict, critical enquiry helps us to acknowledge and thereby release the emotive energies buried below the surface behaviour. When the past buried in a conflict is excavated through enquiry, it allows us to assess the kind and scale of justice required to achieve peace by addressing a conflict. This is crucial for the future to be qualitatively different from the past and present. Education will acquire a transformative role when learners gain from it an experience of enquiry into the sedimented past. They will develop, what Yash Pal (2006) called 'a taste of understanding'. It will make 'the present of our children wholesome, creative and enjoyable'.

Defined in this manner, reform in education to make it child-centred necessarily means loosening its power of regimentation. As discussed in this paper, this power has multiple sources and it resides in the everyday culture of schooling. But apart from the regimentation embedded in the schooling process itself, a matching imperative comes from the state which imposes on the school the duty to propagate nationalist ideals and imagination. Thus, the school becomes an instrument in the hands of the state to consolidate the civic loyalty of the younger generation in its formative years. This process pushes the school to sacrifice humanistic ideals of education and commit itself to nurturing the committed citizen. The apprehension that the state will use education to prioritize citizens' loyalty over their humanity was recognized by Rousseau (Soetard, 1994). His query, whether we can nurture the citizen without injuring the human, has

acquired poignant relevance in our times. In numerous cases of hostility between nation-states, education nourishes the historically inherited consciousness of hostility more explicitly than it creates the capacity to reconcile with the past (Frieberg and Chung, 2017; Kumar, 2003). The recovery of humanist ideals and values through education is possible through reconstruction of education itself, aimed at bridging the gap between the concept and the system of education.

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When the Peace Generation is a Hundred Years Away… Youth, Citizenship, and Democracy in Times of Transition to Peace in Colombia

Daniela Romero Amaya

Abstract: Efforts to consolidate a democratic citizenry are salient in societies transitioning to peace. These endeavors have spawned educational approaches to promote democratic skills, behaviors, and values in young citizens. Yet normative civic framings do not always align with students' lived experiences, nor with their everyday decisions and expectations. Drawing from in-depth interviews with students in Leticia, Colombia, this study discusses youth understandings about citizenship in relation to the current political process. Findings provide a textured view of how young citizens participate in their civic subjectification through negotiated meanings and values they grant to the peace process and the prospects for sustained peacebuilding. Students' perspectives prompt us to consider more comprehensive civic practices and frameworks that resonate with their everyday lives and the increasingly challenges of disrupting protracted violence and its legacies.

Keywords: Youth, citizenship, democracy, peacebuilding, Colombia

Introduction

On the first day I visited *El Resguardo*1 school, I noticed that the hallway board was almost empty. Yellow and red papers decorated this board, titled 'Democracy Committee 2018'. The remnants of duct tape on the blue background suggested something was there before. Now the left side was empty. On the right side, a section of torn poster paper lingered. In the middle, there were two black-and-white pictures of elected students for the student government. When I got closer to read their fading names, I saw the word *desaparecidos* [disappeared] below the pictures (see figure 1). I could barely make out a third name, and the picture was missing. I shivered. This scene reminded me of the many portrayals of disappeared people in Colombia that I have seen over the years. This yellow-blue-red patriotic board reminded me the likelihood of 'disappearing' in Colombia, an allegedly democratic country.

When I asked students about the *desaparecidos*, the majority laughed and told me it was a joke. To the same question, teacher Augusto smiled and said it was *just* a students' prank. After my inquiry, teacher Gloria shook her head in disapproval and said *"ahí están pintados"* –literally meaning that whoever wrote it was depicted in the 'prank'. Then, when I talked to one of the photographed students, she said: "I know students did it to fool around, but it feels ugly. What if I was actually disappeared?" More than a simple joke, the message and the different reactions revealed to me that certain understandings about forced disappearance —and about the conflict—circulated among students. Paradoxically, the message was conveyed in a hallway board dedicated to democracy.

Strengthening democratic institutions and practices have been recognized as crucial tasks to develop a civic culture that helps to reconstruct a conflict-affected society (Davies, 2004a; Jelin & Hershberg, 1996). Unlike other international cases, peace-making and peacebuilding endeavors in Colombia have developed alongside more than nine peace agreements signed with different left- and right- wing actors. In fact, constitutional and educational reforms explicitly seeking to consolidate peace and democracy started in the 1990s. Hence, educating young generations into democracy and peace (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 2004) has run parallel to several piecemeal peace negotiations over the last three decades. The most recent peace agreement with the left-wing armed group FARC3, and the transitional justice model it entails, brings about possibilities to discuss the role of education within such a challenging political process, and thus, the role of young citizens. More recent policies, such as '*Cátedra de paz'*4 [Peace class], are built on the belief that educating young generations into the grammar of peace and democracy is fundamental to disrupt conflict and address its legacies.

To civically educate young citizens for peace is to shape their political subjectivity under certain democratic values, behaviors, and attitudes. But as Ong (1996) argues, citizenship taken in the Foucauldian sense, prompts us to consider two interrelated dimensions: 'being made' and 'self-making'. In this two-fold process, tensions and alignments emerge between the normative citizenship and one's own making as a citizen. As scholars have analyzed, youth understandings about citizenship, democracy, and conflict, draw from multiple and contrasting encounters intheir daily lives. Hence, their civic ideas and political engagement are influenced by varied actors and experiences in diverse settings beyond classrooms (Barton & McCully, 2010; Bellino, 2017; Mayorga, 2020; Rubin, 2007, 2016).

Drawing from youth narratives and civic meaning-making, I address the questions: How do Colombian high school students understand citizenship in relation to the ongoing political transition? How do these understandings inform their civic identities, actions, and expectations? And how do their conceptions and decisions may or not contribute to peacebuilding in Colombia? Findings provide a textured view of how young people participate in their civic subjectification through negotiated meanings and values they grant to the peace process,

institutions, actors, and the prospects of peace. Youth encounter and interpret multiple social and political situations that influence their civic identity formation and decision-making, while challenging traditional conceptions on peace and peacebuilding. By unearthing youth's 'vernacular' understandings about citizenship (Rosaldo, 1999), this study suggests further analyses on students' civic subjectivity in efforts to better understand and theorize youth political contributions in conflict-affected contexts.

Citizenship as subjectification

This paper is rooted in the idea that citizens are not born but made. The production of the citizenry is conceived here as a technology to govern populations and an opening for subjects to craft themselves. This means, as Friedrich (2014) suggests, that the citizen is both a project and an actor of the nation-state that emerges from authoritarianism or conflict. This analysis is undergirded in Ong's (1996) proposal to consider citizenship as a 'subjectification' process in the Foucauldian sense of 'being made' and 'self-making'. Therefore, I take the nation-state and its very sophisticated structure to integrate diverse people by shaping their individualities to new and specific forms and patterns related to the nation (the crafting of the citizen). Yet, I also consider youth's ability to modify, use, adopt, reject, the shaping is exerted on them (citizens' self-crafting) (Foucault, 1982).

Bénéï's (2005) notion of 'manufacturing citizenship' helps to explain how the subjectification process entails permanent tensions and negotiations between the normative framing of citizenship, how people arrive to understand what good citizenship is, and the active participation of individuals in their own civic construction—this is, a constitutive active practice that is both constraining and enabling (Marston & Mitchell, 2004). The use of *manufacturing* recognizes an intention to bring into form something (someone) and making it of suitable use (for democratic integration, participation, intelligibility, etc.). The 'manufacturing' materials of citizenship (Bénéï, 2005) can correspond to memories, imaginations, emotions, and practices of citizenship related to the various dimensions of the subject—the political, social, cultural, and historical. In this regard, people's civic formation, far from a one-way or pre-fixed process, holds a dynamic character in which individuals permanently face situations, actors, or institutions that prompt them to (re)negotiate, (re)define, and (re)shape their identities and roles as citizens that are constantly in-the-making. Approaching Colombian youth civic subjectification in this way considers the various instances in which students are demanded to civically perform, and they do so in alignment or in tension with the normative framings and expectations. In this process, they construct themselves as civic agents through the ways they come to understand the conflict, the peace process, and their role within these.

Citizenship, conflict, and youth

Over the last decades, more comprehensive and critical conceptualizations of 'citizenship' have been salient. Attention has shifted towards other dimensions distinct from a status or a duty based participation (Holston & Appadurai, 1996; Isin & Nielsen, 2008; Isin & Turner, 2002). Critical accounts in the field of education have proposed an anthropological examination of citizenship as forms of action, practice, and subjectivity oriented to enforce young people's identities and roles in relation to democratic communities (Levinson, 2011). But, as Levinson and Berumen (2007) argue, the question 'what kind of citizen for what kind of democracy?', disrupts a univocal understanding of democracy. Rather, the diverse ways of shaping the polity into different democratic publics, forms of participation, and interaction among members, including the contributions of other groups and cultures in the global south that expand and diversify the definition and praxis of democracy (de Sousa Santos, 2004), complicate democracy.

Citizenship construction has distinct challenges in conflict-affected contexts, where social cohesion and the civic contract are being reconstructed in parallel to institutions and the legitimacy of the state (Quaynor, 2012). Academics and practitioners claim that societies experiencing or emerging from conflict require more than political dispositions to transition to less violent stages or material conditions to recover—they also need to promote specific dispositions, skills, and conducts for peace (Davies, 2004b, 2004a; Paulson, 2011; Tawil & Harley, 2004; Vélez, 2017). Studies have analyzed the intricacies, contradictions, and historical inarticulateness of the civic construction of post-war generations. In Guatemala, Oglesby (2007a, 2007b) argues that under a post-war neoliberal governance, human rights discourses converge with the instrumentalization of the national historical memory. Therefore, youth are encouraged to support human rights and to develop a 'culture of peace', while overlooking the politics of the past and the present. Staeheli and Hammett (2010, 2013) contend that a strong civic emphasis on cosmopolitanism, responsibility, human rights advocacy, and self-sufficiency for South African youth, are at the expense of historical understandings of the apartheid that dismantle racism and oppression. In Northern Ireland, Barton & McCully (2010) found that students cherish a multiperspective history education approach, but they are unwilling to abandon the political commitments of their families and religious communities. Thus, in daily life, youth rarely move away from their entrenched identity-based perspectives and social practices.

Other studies also suggest that the continuity or increase of abuses, violence, and lowquality living conditions further complicate the possibilities of democratization, human rights fulfillment, and the consolidation of peace in post-conflict settings. In Guatemala, protracted violence and impunity blur the distinctions between vigilantism and delinquency, distorting the civic contract and the understandings on justice and violence, thus making social cleansing, for example, an acceptable civic practice (Bellino, 2015a). Likewise, under a "currency of fear"

(Gellman, 2015, p. 157) post-war Salvadorian youth opt to build a new kind of social contract and join gangs to survive. Similarly, black youth in a South African township have built their own moral codes and civic dynamics to cope with the hardship of their context and lives (Swartz, 2009). These cases shed light on intricate civic decisions youth face as they build the 'common good' in their own terms while engaging in 'choiceless decisions' (Begoña Aretxaga in Sommers, 2002) of remaking justice and crafting their own system—usually employing more violence—to fill the gap between the weak State, the failing promises of postwar, and the increasing crime.

After peace accords, the pressing 'economies of survival' (Macdonald, 2017) become predominant, and these are particularly detrimental to youth because they become a highly criminalized and stigmatized group. Amidst the legacies of the conflict, an ideal and normative post-war citizenship, and the everyday challenges, young people navigate their lives making meaning of the history of the conflict, negotiating differing definitions and praxis of justice, and building their own sense of agency and risk-calculus. They build their civic identities and roles from what is expected, demanded, and desired from them, but also, from their own accounts, interpretations, and hopes. Young adults draw on alternative political imaginaries, frames of meaning, and contentious local practices (Lazar, 2010; Mayorga, 2018; Taft, 2006, 2011). Analyzing their perspectives and civic development can help to reimagine and better conceptualize citizenship and peacebuilding, and to better inform policies, programs, and interventions that are meaningful to their post-conflict lives.

Methods and Context

This critical qualitative study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2017) draws from data collected through observations and in-depth interviews with ten students between 16 and 19 years old from Leticia, Amazonas. This area is in the southern region of Colombia, bordering Peru and Brazil. Demographically, around 55% of the population is white or mestizo, 43% indigenous, and 2% afrocolombian (SINC, n.d.) In July 2018, I attended 11th grade classes in *El Resguardo* indigenous school, and I focused on three courses that were the most related to citizenship education. I also observed and participated in out-of-school activities, including sporting events, social and cultural gatherings, and a local festivity happening in that time. I selected ten students for in-depth interviews that comprised a photo-elicitation exercise, including 27 images. The visuals depicted historical events (e.g. current and previous peace negotiations, Palace of Justice siege, the kidnapping of a group of policemen and soldiers); events related to the current peace process (e.g. peace accords signing in 2016, the peace plebiscite); images traditionally related to the armed conflict (e.g. child recruitment, forced displacement, forced disappearances); contemporary issues (e.g. elections, crime and murders, social movements and protests); openended photos (e.g. soccer and the world cup, a bill, Pope Francis' visit).

Although I acknowledge that democratic systems and practices entail more than mere electoral participation, I intentionally focused on students' responses regarding voting when analyzing data for three main reasons. First, electoral processes in Colombia have historically been exclusionary, so one of the many layers of the armed conflict includes a gap between representative and participatory democracy, thus leading to popular convulsion and the creation of earlier guerrillas (de Sousa Santos, 2017). Second, my data collection occurred after two main electoral events that have been decisive for the current political situation: the peace plebiscite in October 20165, and the post- peace accords presidential elections in June 2018. Third, Latin America's current right-wing turn urges attention be paid to the dissatisfied and the discouraged electorate.

The war experience in Colombia has been remarkably different across regions and socioeconomic groups (Ávila Martínez, et al., 2017; Geográficas, n.d.; Sánchez Merteens, 2017). Amazonas has traditionally been identified as one of the states with the lowest number of war actions and presence of illegal armed groups (Geográficas, n.d.). However, since the 1980s, this region experienced a '*cocalización*' of the agro economy, meaning that coca crops increased because they turned into a more profitable option for subsistence than traditional legal crops (Salgado Ruíz, 2004). Although this phenomenon has been more prominent in the bordering state of Putumayo, Amazonas has not been exempted from it. In fact, coca cultivation for the consumption of indigenous communities morphed into coca crops for the global market of drugs (Palacio Castañeda, 2007). This is significant because during and after the peace negotiations, practitioners and scholars have called the attention on 'borderland subsystems' that, as strategic sites for illegal markets from which armed groups are financed, represent a hindrance for peacebuilding (Ávila Martínez, et al., 2017).

Findings and discussion

Civic positional identities

> **Claudio:** *Peace generation? I think it is a moment in the future. A generation like a hundred years from now, that may achieve peace. So, I imagine the peace generation as something far away*
>
> **Researcher:** *Does it mean you would not be part of it?*
> **Claudio:** *No, I wouldn't. No one who is alive right now (…) They [the peace generation] are not born yet*

Claudio's perception of a nonexistent 'peace generation' contrasts with the official peacebuilding efforts6. Further, it diverges from the national civic education goal to forge young citizens as peace actors, particularly, through "citizenship competencies" program (Ministerio de Educación

Nacional, 2004). Although Claudio considers himself a "good leader," he thinks that "to achieve peace we have to wait many years, so new leaders can be born," and doubts his actions will produce any significant changes in society. He not only claims that peace is remote from reality, but also identifies and positions himself against the peace process dominant discourse that sets youth as key actors. In a public speech in 2016, former president Santos said: "I will request a huge favor to young people of the country, to help me because this year is decisive for Colombia. We are signing peace with the FARC. So, you are all very important for all the Colombian population. We count with youth to legitimate peace" (Santos Calderón, J.M., 2016). Similarly, FARC also called upon youth to play a main role in the implementation process of the peace agreements (FARC-EP, n.d.). Various institutions, organizations, and influential actors have strongly emphasized the role of youth for peacebuilding. Yet, the peace generation is a hundred years away for Claudio.

These insights beg the question: how youth identify themselves and civically act amidst the ongoing peace process? Youth's relational or positional identities are essential to understand their civic roles because these have an "indexical value" for social and political relations with others, telling people their social categories and positions, group affiliations, and influencing their behaviors (Holland, Lachicotte Jr., Skinner & Cain, 1998). Positioning rather than the mere content of the 'I' is what is relevant for youth's civic development, given that "the self is a position from which subjects make meanings, a position that is 'addressed' by and 'answers' others and the 'world'" (p.173). This is key to grasp how youth civic positioning relates to circumstances of answerability in which students elaborate their citizenship perceptions and continuous civic construction.

When discussing about the images, youth used one depicting kidnapping to offer their opinions and condemn this action. In fact, six participants identified this image as the one they disliked the most. Students used their knowledge regarding an action (kidnapping), to judge it (undesirable, bad), to identify actors involved (acts that produce subjects –perpetrators), and to distance themselves from those actors and actions. As Julia commented when holding the picture: "I would never, in my entire life, commit anything that attempts against the life of a human being, like kidnapping or making someone go through a bad situation like hunger, injury, or death." Vicente also disapproved it and drew on a hypothetical situation to assess it: "let's say I kidnap him [pointing to another student], but if I know that he is the same human being as I am, how could I even harm him?"

Youth responses are illustrative of how they construct and position themselves as civic subjects by means of differentiation. As Butler (2016) points, "no subject can emerge without being differentiated, and a subject becomes discrete when other possible subject formations are excluded; "a host of 'not-me's'" (p. 141). By discarding the dimensions of the self and the actions that fail to conform with the discrete figures of possible (desirable and good) civic

subject formations, students abide a normative frame of citizenship that establishes the features of subjects' possibilities and schemes of recognition. The moral values and traits that the good citizenship framing invokes surface when students communicate their insights about kidnapping, as they position themselves vis-à-vis this normative civic framing: what they would (not) do, or who they are (not) related to. For instance, Susana, who described *guerrilleros* as "bad people" and assumed that they were responsible of the depicted kidnapping, argued that "they [*guerrillero*s] have nothing to do with me." Citizenship formation is in itself a struggle about the very meanings of (good) citizenship particularly when political transition demands redefining the terms of possibility of the nation-state and its members (Staeheli & Hammett, 2010) and negotiation of the self in the terms of adjustment to such civic framing.

Students' civic positional identities regarding kidnapping align with the civic expectations established in the standards of citizenship competencies. Their open rejection to depriving someone from his/her freedom proves that youth have developed certain values, attitudes, and believes, that line up with the normative framing of the good citizen (Pykett et al., 2010). Citizenship education as a technology by which the government exercises the conduct of conduct, operates as a regulating device for people's lives and actions as it communicates what behaviors are allowed or forbidden, and with this, what 'kind' of citizen relates the (good/bad) civic actions; this is, the making of discrete civic subjects and identities through means of exclusion, as expressed by Susana. In this, it is important to highlight how specific actions come to produce subjects, and how this institutionalized framing shapes moral principles that serve youth to identify and assess themselves and others. Such organization of experience (Goffman in Pykett, Savard & Schaefer, 2010) influences citizens' self-positioning, identity- and decisionmaking within the society under transition.

Whose peace? Participation, institutions, and political estrangement

> *"There might be peace one day for some [people]like*
> *the president who has money […] for the rest of us, too bad, no peace for us"*
> Vicente, student

Macdonald (2017) argues that liberal peacebuilding interventions fail to engage with the everyday needs and interests of citizens who are not within the political elites. Youth in Leticia experienced a similar estrangement. César defined the peace accords as "two assholes like Santos and the other one [FARC leader] that travel to Cuba, and they talk about peace in Colombia, supposedly, but results have not been seen yet, or at least in the rural areas where conflict actually affects people." Julio described that "the president wanted to finish the conflict and the existing insecurity in Colombia, so he signed the peace accords with the FARC commander. But there are still kidnappings, and there have been murders, and bombs, so that pact is not being accomplished." Cosme's response was also very revealing: "I have not heard anything [about the

peace process]", and then, he burst in laughter. Although later in the interview it was evidenced that he actually knew about it, his humorous allusion to a lack of awareness aligns with his peers' conveyed distance between politics and themselves.

In addition to students' negative impressions on the current state of the peace process, a narrative of ordinary citizens as actors of the process were remarkably absent in our conversations. Rather, they described the peace process as a political event involving the president and some FARC members. In reference to peace, Vicente said "it is a project that is on the way. There might be peace one day for some [people] like the president who has money." He perceived peace in relation to socioeconomics and a group of citizens within the country that he does not belong to. For people without money like him, "too bad, no peace for us," he said. Drawing from students' understandings, the peace process belongs to specific and distant actors, as well as the potential outcomes of it. Such reasoning relates to a "neoliberal peace" (de Sousa Santos, 2017, p. 274), which under a supposedly de-politicized façade continues exacerbating disparities between those who hold the political and socioeconomic power and the ones who do not. Since these are the main roots of the armed conflict, peacebuilding is and will continue to be jeopardized as long as it remains under the grammar of neoliberalism.

Julia, for instance, expressed her opinion about the unlikeness of achieving peace: "differences and inequality are very big in Colombia. We are divided into different worlds: rich people and poor people. So, since some [people] have more than others, and not all people have the same dignifying living conditions that everyone should have, peace will not happen." Her sophisticated understanding of the conflict, of people's dignity, and socioeconomic groups of citizens informs her perception on the current transition and future outlooks. Students' recurring opinion that violence and war will always exist in the country do not derive from a 'failed' citizenship formation or a flawed performativity as 'good' citizens. Rather, these stem from the conflicting encounters between civic ideals and their direct and indirect civic experiences.

The image that Josefina selected as the one that she disliked the most was the one portraying the peace signing in 2016. "They are all corrupt. They don't know what else to do with the country but to continue cheating on us." Such feeling of everlasting civic deceit was shared by all participants. Most named corruption7 as the main problem of the country. But, interestingly, the armed conflict itself was not specifically identified as a social or politic issue. "Corruption is what has destroyed Colombia," Gabriel remarked. While students identified armed groups as the ones committing 'unlawful' or 'wrong' acts, they also held the government and politicians accountable for the national problems and the armed conflict. "These dudes", Gabriel said as he pointed an image of kidnapped people "are suffering because of all politicians." Josefina talked about an image portraying a national manifestation against FARC in 2008, and claimed: "they are against FARC, but they should be against the government too. Because deaths in this country are also because of the government. And FARC exist because of

the government." Claudio, using visuals of the current and previous peace processes, also explained that the armed conflict exists in Colombia "because of corruption, so citizens rebelled against the state and formed armed groups."

The feeling of unceasing 'fraud' to citizens is rooted in the prevailing corruption across the country. Youth's understandings of the functioning of the government and democracy in Colombia are developed in relation to their most immediate experiences with the flawed institutional engineering and poor provision of basic services. This was prominent when they shared their negative experiences with the police and local government. Different students reported that the police partake in drug trafficking and bribery. Moreover, they criticized their deficient response to crime: "police are like '*el cojo*' [the cripple]; they arrive late, but arrive…Well, not really. Many times they don't even show up", Vicente said. Julio was visibly angry when he narrated how abusive and violent police officers have been with him and his friends, and how those experiences have influenced his current decisions: "I no longer carry things with me when I go out. So, if they frisk me they have nothing to steal from me." Josefina explained that beyond peace agreements, conflict will always exist. According to her, "what rules the country is the money, and they [politicians] are all seeking for more money. They are all ambitious, nothing is enough. Just look at our school. Where are all the resources that we supposedly get? Look at the classrooms, look at the bathrooms. Nothing." A perceived political elite's greed was shared among youth and repetitively mentioned in the interviews.

While some students claimed that corruption has increased because some citizens trade their votes for *"a plato de sopa"* [a soup, or a meal], others asserted that purchasing votes suggested citizens' electoral 'ignorance': "the problem is that we don't know how to choose who is going to govern us, who will lead us. We don't know how to choose correctly", Josefina pointed. Julia agreed with this and related it to citizens' democratic responsibility: "according to law, citizens have to participate and choose representatives (…) but the problem is that we choose badly, and then, we are blaming the one we have chosen, when it is our fault in the first place; the responsibility is ours." Both students identify an issue of governance and a flawed process of collective decision-making, but they temper their criticism on corruption and politician's accountability by turning it into a matter of citizens' responsibility within democracy. According to Julia and Josefina, if citizens in their electoral exercise opted for bad political representatives, then, responsibility lies on them.

At the crux of this debate are the problematic relations between a liberal democracy and neoliberal imaginaries and practices (de Sousa Santos, 2017). Students described intricate entanglements between corruption, electoral behavior, governance, and responsibility. Inequality, self-interest (citizens' seeking a '*plato de sopa*' or greedy politicians), and individual advancement shape citizens' social and political decisions as the collective loses value.

Moreover, the sense of 'being cheated' is reinforced, even when youth partake in democratic politics outside formal institutions. For example, Claudio recalled when he participated in a protest concerning water provision and sewerage: "we were protesting in front of the office of the governor, but he did not want 'to face us.' We blocked the main road and camped there. It [the protest] was partially effective because out of five communities, three got water. But where I live, we still don't have pipelines […] The governor changed, but the new one was even worse. He made huge promises to people, and once elected, he disappeared. He completely disappeared!"

Youth's remarks appeared contradictory at times. Their seeming inconsistency between valuing democracy, yet supporting 'undemocratic' acts like not voting, is precisely part of the dynamic character of citizenship formation and of the multiple tensions that emerge within the continuous meaning-making and re-negotiations of an uncritical acceptance of (good) citizenship. But also, the conflicting civic ideas and behaviors are implicated in the entanglements between neoliberalism and de-democratization. Josefina, for instance, argued that she, as the only student of voting age, did not participate in the presidential elections because "they are all the same, and at the end, the president does not feed me." Similarly, Julia validated her mom's disinterest for whoever gets appointed as president, because "as my mom says, no president feeds her." Gabriel expanded this vision to the whole country: "I don't care about Colombia. Colombia, what for? If Colombia doesn't help me, doesn't feed me, why would I care?"

Their use of the popular expression 'to feed someone' in explaining their perceptions on electoral choices, conveys a political rationality tied to a neoliberal rationality. In one hand, they stress an everyday strife to make one's living despite of—or because of—political elitism and alienation. In the other hand, they implicitly demand for immediate and tangible outcomes within a democratic system. This suggests that the acclaimed active participation in collective decisionmaking required for peacebuilding is undermined by individual interests and desires. In this case, the nature of the political community seems more aligned with liberalism. Youth narratives and civic reasoning reveal the flaws of a liberal approach to democracy that assumes all citizens to be free and equal. Thus, a 'rational' pursuit of common good/goal (national peacebuilding) becomes unattainable as democratic institutions are considerably damaged, individuals' freedoms are more figurative than real, and inequality is rampant.

Unlike official discourses on peacebuilding, all students rather prioritized finishing their studies, getting a job, and helping their families 'out,' than partaking in the collective efforts for peace. For them, neither voting nor other forms of political participation represent important civic actions. Julia and Roberto said they knew the plebiscite happened, but neither recalled whether most votes had been to support or reject the peace accords. Roberto argued that "the results don't really matter because they [politicians] will end up doing whatever they want,

right?" At first glance, it could be argued that these electoral insights reflect a 'disengaged' young citizenry in Leticia, similar to what has been claimed about the Colombian electorate in general (Registraduria Nacional del Estado Civil, 2013). But a closer attention to their meaningand decision- making suggests that youth are guiding their democratic civic attitudes and choices on their political imaginaries of the state, that run counter to formal institutions and normative framings of 'good' democratic citizenship.

Students' narratives demonstrate that youth position themselves in opposition to hegemonic politics as a deliberate decision and not as a random action rooted in ignorance or simple disengagement. Youth stances are informed by their direct and indirect experiences with corruption, injustice, lack of accountability, political estrangement to their daily realities, and their own perceptions of authority, legitimacy, and security. As I was informally talking with Pilar about the presidential elections that had happened three weeks before that day, Josefina interrupted us:

Josefina: Psss, hey, Pilar, who was it that won the election?
Pilar: Duque8 won. Duque is the president now
Josefina: I don't care who the president is. They are all the same. They steal everything…they there, us here
[drawing an imaginary dividing line on the desk]
Pilar: Yeah, that's true

Pilar was not surprised by the fact that her classmate did not know which candidate has won the elections. In fact, she supported Josefina's apathy about the results because "they are all the same." Although it could be said that Josefina's 'lack' of civic knowledge indicates some extent of disengagement, she is making a disruptive civic choice based on her sense of political estrangement. Her comments point to a 'selective ignorance' (Sánchez Meertens, 2017), a political reason for opting not to know a specific content due to political corruption, elitism, and alienation. Josefina's senses of an inept politics and us/them binary influence her engagement with democracy and the current national political process. In fact, she explained she did not vote because "I dislike politics and all of that." Her recurring manifestations of disaffection to traditional politics were explained by her as "things do not change," "they [politicians] are all the same," and "with or without peace accords violence and conflict will continue."

Similarly, César picked an image of Jaime Garzón, a murdered journalist and activist, and said he disliked the image because "that guy talked a lot about politics." He explained he disliked "that *kind* of people" because "they talk, and talk, and talk, but never end up doing things." Although he was using an image of an activist who sought to mobilize citizens against inequality and political elitism, his reasoning about politics and his self-distance from that *kind* of people were aligned with Josefina's points. Along these lines, students detach from 'politics' because

they conceptualize it in relation to alienating practices and actors, so their de-identification is not a political disengagement but an active and conscious rejection towards hegemonic politics (Taft, 2006).

This takes us to two considerations. First, normative reasoning on youth political should be challenged. Rather than claiming youths' lack of political interest, knowledge, commitment, mental state, or concern for the common good, it could be that institutions are severely damaged that they do not even deserve to be engaged (Levine & Higgins-D'Alessandro, 2010). Second, the altered conception of democracy promoted by global financial organizations (World Bank and the International Monetary Fund) in the 1980's changed the democratic equation from social, economic, and institutional conditions as the sine qua non for democracy, to the establishment of democratic regimes that will enable such conditions to develop. This change, as de Sousa Santos (2017) highlights, facilitated the expansion of low-intensity democracies like the Colombian example, where economic, social, and political rights are fragile or absent, and democracy –as the most legitimate form of government– easily adapts to neoliberal logics. This, at the same time, expands citizens' disparities and increasing obstacles for democratic participation of those who are at the base of the hierarchy.

These points are further seen in examples of youth in Leticia developing their democratic imaginaries and civic practices from their distinctive understandings of citizenship. Claudio narrated that no one in his family voted in the peace plebiscite, and if he have had the age to vote he would have not done it anyways: "it was not like they [his family] were uninterested [in the peace process], it was just that they didn't want to. They didn't agree with them [the accords]." Then, when I asked him about voting 'no' as in rejection to the accords he replied: "no, because it was an invitation to change to a new war. Nothing will be solved. So it's better not to vote." Later, he added:

Claudio: I think the plebiscite was a lie
Researcher: What kind of lie?
Claudio: Voting in favor or against it [peace accords] was a lie. It was just to distract citizens
Researcher: Distract citizens from what?
Claudio: About the *guerrilla,* the conflict between the *guerrilla* and the State. That was a way to distract people, and a way to say that there won't be more conflict or corruption. But there is and there will always be. It's just that it is different now. It is more like administrative; not as in wars, but more the administration of the country
Researcher: And what do you mean when you mention corruption?
Claudio: It has to do with the management of the country. So, they negotiated (…) but it is like changing from one war in which they shoot, to a war in which things are more like judiciary and related to the management of the county

The damaged democratic institutionality in Colombia drives Claudio to believe that conflict will not end through a national consensual decision on a peace agreement because it represents a change from one type of war to another. His stance, in fact, contradicts the normative framing of a good democratic citizen that partakes in collective motions. However, Claudio did not consider himself as a 'bad' or undemocratic citizen. Rather, his resolution came in reaction to what he perceived as another political 'trickery'.

Blurred boundaries: drug-trafficking, normalized crime, and legitimized violence

On July 6th, 2018, a national protest took place against the alarming number of social leaders murdered since the peace accords endorsement9. Civil society summoned a national candle lighting to demand the government's action. Unlike other capital cities, in Leticia no more than 30 people gathered in the main square that evening. The remarkable absence of localscaught my attention, so I asked students about the candle lighting, and some responded that they did not know about it, while others seemed uninterested. Gabriel said he would have attended *only* if one of his relatives has been killed: "if not, why would I go? Here [in Colombia] no one cares when someone is murdered." His perspective is not an individualistic posture, but a response to a lack of accountability that induces to the 'normalization' of violence and deaths and in many cases, as Gabriel suggests, to collective indifference.

Josefina imagined her ideal country as a place in which there are no murders, and where justice operates effectively. She specifically discussed the ex-president's involvement in systematic killings of civilians and the official unresponsiveness about forced disappearances.

> "The other day I watched a video of a man demanding Uribe's accountability for his son's death. First, he was disappeared, and then, they found him death. Uribe said he had nothing to do with it. But how can he say that if he was the one who ordered his killing? They [the government] disappear people and give a shit about it. If they really cared, they would be looking for disappeared people, but no, nothing"

As Josefina's words reveal, the state's complicity and a failing judicial system nurture youth's social and political perceptions on arbitrary deaths and prevalent injustice. The effort to shape young citizens into peacebuilders becomes hollow as youth encounter multiple instances where consensus and peaceful resolution seem futile. These are the civic 'disjunctures' (Rubin, 2007) that students confront when civic ideals are disarticulated from their daily experiences with discrimination, injustice, and unaddressed violence. Youth come to characterize the state as a protector and perpetrator, powerful and ineffective, and everlastingly corrupt and still needed to demand the provision of services and to claim the existence of a democratic country. Students interact with such inconsistencies daily and navigate their lives within the multiple contradictory civic messages and the meanings that they grant to them. Josefina, a visible class leader among her peers, stated she would never aim for a leadership role outside the school, nor a political role

"because I don't want to get shot." Similarly, Gabriel said he would not work with local political leaders, not even from his indigenous community, because "I get killed," and then mentioned an Indigenous leader assassinated in the bordering department, Putumayo, a few weeks before our conversation.

Roberto described how he feared that something would happen to him or his family and gave the example of one of his friends who disappeared some weeks ago, and later, was found hanged to death: "until today, we don't know what happened, or who did it, nothing. I can tell you he was not in 'bad steps.' He was a good person, an athlete, and he dreamed about helping his family 'out'." Cosme, who I later learned was the author of the *desaparecidos* note on the hallway board, also reported "I am afraid of death. I am afraid of someone in my family disappearing." Their narratives point at concerns for security and life-preservation within a country where death and murders are more prevalent. But also, their responses point to a broader issue: the troubling sociopolitical situation after the endorsement of the peace agreement complicates the distinction between activities related to the armed conflict, and activities that arise as a subsequent mutation of it. This is evidenced in the disquieting growth of illicit crops and drug trafficking (ONDCP, 2018); the strengthening of gangs, armed bands, paramilitary groups, and emerging guerrillas fighting for territorial control; the systematic murder of social leaders; and an increasing number of FARC dissident groups (Kroc Institute, 2018, 2020).

Students are instructed in school and through media to respect laws and rights, to abstain from drugs, to peacefully coexist with others amidst differences, and to avoid the use of violence –a 'post-conflict' citizenry in line with the existing normative citizenship framing. Yet they live under conditions that prompt them to fear for their lives. They live between the hopelessness of failing justice and unavoidable corruption, and the parallel hopefulness of working hard to maketheir ways 'out' and improving their lives and aiding their families. Although in my observations I identified that teachers' concerns were about students' drug consumption, early pregnancy, and on 'trouble-avoidance', students' concerns were working hard, and deciding between life alternatives that would distance them from 'farce' roles and institutions, like police and politicians.

Julio's father sought to familiarize him and his 10-year-old brother into the business of cockfighting. The 'fatty Brazilian', as it was called a friend of Julio's father, insists on persuading Julio to work with him. He has made tempting monetary offers to 'take care of cocks' and to take 20 kilograms of cocaine to Peru. "I have considered it, yes. It is a lot of money […] with that, I would start my own hair salon", he said. But he has rejected the offer because he wants to finish school first, and because he recalls his dad's friend who disappeared and then was found dead: "once you are in the business you either succeed or fail. And if you fail, you end up in jail or death, but most likely dead." César and Vicente's elder relatives have also been involved in drug trafficking, but they abandoned it because of security concerns. Despite danger,

César also contemplates the idea of getting involved one day because "one gets excited with all that money […] and that make you think a lot because one is poor […] with all that money I would do so many things. But first, I would build my own house." Socioeconomic concerns lead Julio and César to look at alternative proscribed civic paths, that they do not regarded as such.

Vicente discarded the option of drug-trafficking because the first thing that comes into his mind is 'death'. Instead, he has tried, and will continue trying, to join the Federal Police of Brazil, despite the rejection due to his short height. His choice draws from a distinctive understanding of rights, rules, and respect: "police are respected there [in Brazil] […] If they see something like underage guys in the street in the evening, they go and chase them. Meanwhile, here [in Colombia], you can be smoking or doing whatever, and the police don't care, they don't do a thing." Vicente disapproves and rejects Colombian police's lack of responsiveness, while endorsing the reactive and violent operability of Brazilian police. But the legitimate use of the force that this institution holds turns abusive and condemning under democratic systems, when it is targeted against civilians in the name of their protection. When I asked him to further explain what he meant with 'being respected', he said:

Vicente: I prefer Brazilian police because they are respected. If the see someone robbing, they go and kill the person. In Brazil, there are no human rights, there is no law, nothing
Researcher: So, do you prefer that?
Vicente: Yes, because one sees so many things here… So, I prefer there because police understand. Because if a guy steals, they kill him immediately. Because why would you want to have a thief out there?
Researcher: And what happens here in Colombia if someone steals?
Vicente: The capture him for a little while, and then release him. That's all.

The lines between what is accepted and what is not, get blurred as Vicente validates the means for the end: to impose order and to be 'respected' by using violence. Further, he consciously opts for human rights' abuse and rule violations, if that is what it takes to reduce criminality. The killing of a subject who is committing unlawful actions also turns into desirable and validated reaction. Therefore, in the absence of institutional responsiveness and justice, multiple risks endangering peacebuilding surface, including fuzzy distinctions between civic and criminal actions (Bellino, 2015a), as mirrored in Vicente's words. Claudio, for instance, claimed that justice in Colombia works only up to 5%: "the ones who should be in jail are governing the country, while innocent people are imprisoned." Later, he compared different actors, revealing that coherence between discourse and practice is what creates credibility in them: "The *guerrilla* are 'serious' people because if they demand something and threat with an attack if it's not fulfilled, they commit it. Or if they get along with a community and promise to take care of them, they do so", while *paramilitares* "are 'serious' too, but in a bad way, because they are too violent and aggressive." And finally, he described politicians as a joke, "they are not even a little

bit 'serious' [laughs]." Although Claudio narrated that his uncle was threated to death by the FARC when he was a political candidate, and they forced him to displacement, Claudio did not condemn these intimidations, but regarded them as ways to take FARC seriously. Hence, violence is a way to legitimize an actors'/institutions' authority upon civilians, similar to what Vicente thought.

Although these students refer to opposing armed groups, their insights stem from related understandings that emerge in the civic disjuncture they experience within weakened security conditions and legitimate authority, menacing at the same time the consolidation of an enduring peace. First, notions of security, justice, and order become distorted and the civic contract is inverted, such as the validation of rights violations to reduce criminality. Second, under such fragile conditions, civilians can also craft their parallel justice system, thus, transgressing the normative citizenship and creating a 'grey zone' between enacting justice to protect one's life and illegitimate civic actions (Bellino, 2015a). Third, an authoritarian rule can become desired by citizens. This is translated into zero-tolerance security practices that create an apparently 'order' through counter crime violence and intimidation (Bellino, 2015b). Moreover, youth in these instances turn into a highly criminalized social group, hence, stigmatizing their public presence or interaction with fellow citizens (Cruz, 2011).

Conclusions

Over the last decades, citizenship education has been one of the core approaches to consolidate a democratic citizenry contributing to peacebuilding in Colombia. While educational efforts to shape young citizens for peacebuilding are not to be dismissed, it is relevant to further examine youth civic subjectification beyond formal education. This article brings forth local experiences and vernacular understandings of youth in Leticia, demonstrating that the civic endeavor for peace becomes void of meaning, as students face daily situations of injustice, violence, low accountability, and increasing criminality, that run counter to the normative democratic civic ideas, expectations, and demands. Within these instances of civic 'disjuncture', youth come to civically identify and position themselves against hegemonic politics; they resist to participate or identify with traditional political practices, actors, or institutions that they associate with corruption, inequality, elitism, and estranged from their realities.

Under these conditions, youth civic subjectification also entails perceptions and actions that sometimes contradict traditional democratic practices, such as disaffection and nonparticipation in popular elections, or anti-democratic notions like the validation of rights' abuses and violent acts to reduce criminality and impose order. Through students' narratives, this study challenges pre-defined democratic civic characteristics, identities and conducts assumed to contribute to the normative aspiration for peacebuilding. Such a narrow approach fails to capture youth understandings, ways of participating and engaging, and the forms of questioning and

defying the terms to conceive citizenship under times of political transition. This study acknowledges the relevance of civic formation through schooling, but it also prompts to consider young citizens' subjectification beyond school. This framing of citizenship matters because it recognizes that youth develop as civic actors not only in formal settings, but also as they encounter diverse experiences and civic content outside classrooms. The ways in which students articulate these varied sources and encounters shed light on the complex and nuanced consolidation of the civic subject for peacebuilding.

With these conclusions, I would also like to underscore three interrelated points that can shed light for future studies and upcoming educational programs. First, echoing de Sousa Santos' (2017) call, it is imperative to be attentive to the *type* of peace being built today in Colombia. A 'neoliberal peace,' as already discussed in this paper, not only makes 'conflict' and 'peace' rigid, apolitical, ahistorical, and meaningless notions (and not processes), but also perpetuates the existing low-intensity and exclusionary Colombian democracy. A 'democratic peace', on the other hand, demands addressing the conditions that lead to political violence in Colombia. Youth narratives pointed at this matter, and this is significant if we consider they come from a historically marginalized cultural and socioeconomic group. As de Sousa Santos claims, processes of reconciliation will never reach to reconciled societies if social injustice is left unaddressed.

Second, and related to consolidating a democratic peace, it is imperative to strength the participatory character of democracy, not in 'aggregating' terms, but articulating the political agenda and discourse with localized needs, dynamics, and actors that resonate with young citizens' lives. This entails the active participation of civil society into the peace process, making it meaningful to local lived experiences. In this sense, conflict transformation processes could become more comprehensive because these turn into matters that concern, not only the president, armed actors, or victims, but society largely. Moreover, civic notions can veer from abstract and universal moral principles that appear detached from students' everyday realities. Citizenship, as experienced in 'disjuncture' in Leticia (and the us/them distinction highlighted by students) can become of another nature; of a radical democratic citizenship for which 'agonism' rather than antagonism (Mouffe, 2013) opens possibilities for a more participatory polity.

Third, citizenship education policies and programs need to be sensitive to youth realities and to their vernacular understandings about citizenship. To engineer an effective political transition that transcends the realm of political formality, it is imperative to reconsider conventional liberal peacebuilding frameworks that have little bearing with students' realities. The school should not turn into another setting of civic disjuncture, but a site to work on them. A normatively driven educational policy overturns the democratic spirit of it when it becomes a matter limited to skill-acquisition and assessment, thus, overlooking the local nuances, alternative practices and notions, and the everyday civic challenges of students. Now that

Colombia has undertaken a transitional justice model, the interaction and articulation of it with citizenship education holds multiple opportunities to strengthen peacebuilding.

Looking at the civic practices, perceptions, and experiences of students from Leticia helps to understand how from their perspectives –from their imaginaries and their contextual realities and struggles– the country could move into less violent and more democratic conditions. A next step should examine their insights on how to achieve social and political reconstruction from their resistance to hegemonic politics. In this sense, citizenship can turn into a form of political identity (Mouffe, 1992) that transcends the status or conventional practices, to become a form of identification that is constructed and not given –and that it gets constructed in appreciation of diversity and constructive conflict.

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Standards for Peace Education and a Case for Support to Teachers in Facilitation

Candice C. Carter

Abstract: The need for policy support and guidelines for teachers to provide contextually responsive instruction with competencies of conflict management and peace building has increased with escalating instances of regional and global conflicts. Across the United States, the lack of supports for such teaching has led to increased harm in response to conflicts that students must learn to manage and transform. There is an evident desire for peace education, which has found expression in several states in the U.S. where teachers do provide such instruction. Teachers, however, need training and a responsive administration to do that. Yet, there has been scanty support for peace education in teacher education programmes. Such programmes adhere to policies, research recommendations, and guidelines that contain instructional standards but do not include plans for a responsive pedagogy. This paper addresses that issue and provides a response to it. Educational researchers from different parts of the world who have identified the lack of standards for peace education in various regions collaborated in the production of this needed resource. Their research and development of interdependent components of student learning, teacher preparation, and school administration that influence peace-oriented education have helped formulate standards for students, teachers, teacher-educators, and school administrators. This discussion includes the standards that those researchers prescribed for teachers of peace education. Policy makers and school administrators can use those standards to facilitate instruction in the competencies of peace development.

Keywords: teacher, instruction, standards, policy, peace education, school administration

Teachers need support to facilitate peace education, as much as they have had for instruction in the major disciplines. Still there has been a lack of that needed sustenance. Policy and curriculum guidelines have occasionally supported peace education in recent and ongoing contexts of violence. Nevertheless, the perception of peace education as a temporary intervention in response to violence fails to see how learning about peace in the past, present, and future prepares students for sustaining and building those essential conditions for human development and planetary well-being. Instruction in peace education in secular schools started from a recognition of the need for student knowledge, skills, and dispositions that

supported personal, relational, societal, and global peace. Teachers, like this author, sought and created curricula for their students that included several aspects of peace, especially those related to local needs and contexts, as well as the avoidance of violence in response to conflict. Without the inclusion of peace education in the teacher-preparation programs or policies for that instruction in the schools where they taught, teaching about and for peace has been considered professionally risky and not been uniform (Bender-Slack, 2010). Typically, in the absence of policy and curriculum guidelines, there has been a lack of approval and support for peace education from school administrations. The neoliberal initiative of government standards for instruction to control what was included in the curriculum, was a response to the instructional freedom that initial peace educators had enjoyed. Standards for instruction, which focused on the disciplines, proliferated and became the rationale for prescriptive teaching. That movement, which started in the global north and then spread to other regions, did not support peace education unless the required standards included competencies of peace education. With lack of rationale in standard-based instruction for peace education, motivated teachers have included peace competencies, where they could, in the standards-based lessons that they provided. Support in standards and policy has been a requirement for education about and for peace.

Governments have developed standards for education in their states to equip students with knowledge, skills, and values through the prescription of curriculum content. Such prescriptions have usually oriented students towards political participation and rationalised armed 'defence' of the state using military force. With that orientation, governments have promoted reification of violence, and thereby its normalisation, as a means of national defence using standards that omitted peace her/history and the strategies that states and their members enabled without harm in response to political conflict (Boulding, 2000; Reardon, 2001).Government standards are incomplete if they do not include the knowledge, skills, and dispositions found through research to be a means of peace development. A critical perspective of most government-created standards would reveal an agenda to reproduce existing relations within and between nations. While no set of standards may completely address all domains of education and teacher preparation, the lack of any specific inclusion of peace as a learning goal reveal states' failure to promote peace-building competencies. Concerned educators worldwide identified these shortcomings and began producing auxiliary recommendations for instruction, teacher preparation, and school administration (Smith & Neill, 2006).

Initiatives to include guidelines for peace education in the curricula have occurred globally since the 1990s. They have produced a variety of peace-oriented content as educational recommendations. For example, UNESCO's Decade on a Culture of Peace provided declarations by the United Nations, such as the Convention on the Rights of the

Child (1989), for the identification of educational content. The United Nations Plan of Action for the UN Decade for

Human Rights Education (1995-2004) was a corollary to standards that the state governments were producing. There were isolated directives from states, such as the instructional theme, Education for Mutual Understanding in Northern Ireland, and standards for diversity education (Smith, 2003; Smith & Robinson, 1996). Non-governmental organisations started promoting strands of peace education in policy and for use by schools. The Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning has infused the strand of peace education that they promote into schools globally (Collaborative for Academic, Social and Emotional Learning, 2021). Other non-governmental organisations have provided guidelines and standards for culturally responsive pedagogy (Alaska Native Knowledge Network, 1998). Organisations focused on peace education have also generated standards. The Peace Education Special Interest Group of the American Educational Research Association spent years collaboratively writing the Standards for Peace Education, incorporating findings from their research (Carter, 20015). Inserting guidelines or standards for peace education into the existing education structures has been a continual method to include peace components as curriculum content. Conflict occurs as a result of limits to learning specifically about peace strategies and possibilities.

Educators have tried to resist government mandates for instruction that limit what students are allowed to learn (Beaumont, 2009; Coulson, 2009). These educators desire sustenance of peace-oriented pedagogy that is, as Johan Galtung describes it, responsive in form and content (Galtung, 2012). The form is communicatively cooperative while the content is relevant to students' lives. A core component of education for peace is recognizing students' personal and professional goals for learning and the unique knowledge, perspectives, and abilities they bring to their learning context. A responsive curriculum for peace education has the particular interests and needs of the students as components of their learning (Harris & Morrison,2013; Lederach, 2005; Salomon &Nevo, 2002). In the observations of this educational researcher and teacher, students who are not afflicted with poor mental health that resulted from their experiences with violence typically express a desire to improve the conditions of the world. Efforts to build a better world are situation-responsive; thus, varied as peace pedagogy should responsively be(Canfield et al. 2005; Shapiro, 2010).

Recommendations for peace education exist in multiple forms. Some are specific to peace and use descriptors such as 'standards' or 'guidelines'; others include components of a broad range of peace-oriented knowledge, skills, and dispositions. The development of peace for finding harm-free solutions to conflicts and the sustenance of peace requires all types of knowledge bases. Hence, documentation of oral traditions in peace development, such as indigenous restoration methods, is essential for formulating educational recommendations. Inclusiveness of cultures, perspectives, and ideas for responding to a conflict are significant

considerations in bringing about and maintaining peace (Carter, 2010a, 2021). Praxis, the engagement in a transformational process, is a goal in education for peace (O'Sullivan, Morrell & O'Conner, 2002). The work of Paolo Freire (2003) to address structural change through education generated the concept of praxis and critical pedagogy. Critical peace education mainly focuses on the development of praxis (Bajaj, 2012). The pursuit of equitable peace requires learning criticism to occur to identify inequalities and respond to them (Galtung &Udayakumar, 2013). Peace as a state of being and the processes that facilitate it are widely varied.

Culture determines the construal of peace and what evidences it. Differences across cultures in the expression of values are sources of conflict during contesting interactions, and they determine more than the notion of peace in society. Their enactment affects perceptions of situations, especially whether or not the condition of peace exists. Consequently, education for peace enables communication in several modes, including language, arts, interspecies interactions, and spiritual practices, that express values (Carter &Benza Guerra, 2022; Carter & Pickett, 2014; Bender-Slack, 2010). Demonstrating values that support peaceful interactions, such as compassionate communication that focuses on feelings and needs, is a skill that students learn through modelling by school staff. One teacher of primary students, Simone Shirvell, models *ahimsa* with the value of interconnectedness and praxis with the value of agency. She integrates caring for nature and humans in forest excursions with her students and their families and while participating in public actions for peace (Joshee&Shirvell, 2021). Her modelling demonstrates Gandhian values in formal education at school and informal instruction through public praxis. That instruction has a foundation of Mohandas Gandhi'sprecepts in his pursuit of peace. Facilitating peace has been predicated on explicit expressions of visions and missions with that goal.

Peacemakers throughout her/history communicated their vision of well-being before a following ensued for the enactment of those visions. Infusion of peace-building through school interactions, the informal curriculum, and instruction in the formal curriculum is a visionary approach to peace education. Schools form mission statements and develop corresponding goals for vision enactment. The vision and mission statements are policy documents for influencing the functions and culture of a school. The knowledge that teachers have of their school's mission and related policies influence its culture (Jurasaite-Harbison & Rex, 2010). If compassionate communication is a component of a school's vision, mission, and policy, teachers have clear indicators for their professional development and success. School leaders know that teachers need support in professional development when policies require the demonstration of different interactions and instructional skills. Educational administration uses the goals generated by the new policies to provide resources for the professional development in situ of the teachers. Government grants designated for professional development and curriculum enhancement are needed support that school

leaders and faculty seek, along with the resources of non-governmental organizations specialising in the desired area of development. The Standards for Peace Education (Carter, 2015) were created by international members of a non-governmental organisation as a resource for professional development and guidance in practice for teachers. They were written in collaboration across nations in support of teachers everywhere. Where teachers have lacked policy and resource support for peace education, the pedagogy occurs sporadically.

Educators with motivation for teaching components of peace education had sought and found rationale, resources, and scarce training for the pedagogy, even when their school districts and governments had no policy for that instruction. Writings in the 20th century about teaching for peace provided rationale for its provision (Montessori, 1972; Reardon, 1988). Awareness of peace initiatives in the public and several types of conflict-responsive organizations inspired instruction about peace in schools. The words and strategies of non-violent activists fed the imaginations of educators who envisioned curricula about peace efforts, skills, and accomplishments. Non-violent actions for the transformation of structural conflicts and the words of leaders such as Mohandas Gandhi during that century were resources for curriculum redesign (Johnson, 2006). Teachers individually modified the curriculum across subject areas and collaborated to produce publications for instructors who sought resources for transformative education (Rethinking Schools, 2021). Global and national organisations created special interest groups for peace education that researched and shared information about different initiatives worldwide (Elias et al. 2003; Peace Education Commission, 2021). Publishers subsequently sold literature with such research reportage.

With resources for peace education increasing, training became available from a few organisations worldwide. The United Nations have produced several documents that served as a foundation for peace education (Mukhopadhyay, 2005; Ssebunya&Nampewo, 2016; United Nations, 1989). Additionally, it sponsored research on and education for instruction about peace. The University for Peace, established in 1980, has been a resource for higher education, offering a Master's degree in peace education. Yet, teacher training in peace education has been very limited in the universities, except in the graduate classes. Where exceptions to this situation were evident in zones of direct violence, teacher education for peace has been provided but rarely sustained (De Paul, 2010). This situation does not support teachers who recognise the need for curriculum and instruction that prepares students for peace-building (Horner, 2015). It also widens the divide between educators who have and do not have motivation for transformative instruction (Lauritzen, 2016). There is a great need for teacher preparation for transformative curriculum design and instruction prior to their

professional practice (Carter &Vandeyar, 2009; Darling-Hammond & Bransford, 2005; Setalvad, 2010). While ecological sustainability has received increasing attention and emphasis, the cultural aspects of obtaining and sustaining peace for everyone needs much more inclusion in teacher preparation (Wenden, 2004).

The Standards for Peace Education have multiple guidelines, including recommendations for teacher educators, school administrators, teachers, and students. The breadth of the guidelines highlights the interdependence of school members in the advancement of optimal learning. Due to the influence of teacher educators, there were also guidelines written for them (Deveci, Yilmaz &Karadag, 2008; McGowan, Christenson & Muccio, 2021; Staples, 2010). Continual requests for those guidelines from institutions that prepare teachers have evidenced the need that the standards addressed. Ongoing research by this author has revealed the continued lack of peace as a term or topic in standards used for evaluating teacher preparation programs. That oversight contributes to the lack of instruction that supports peace-building. It is important to keep this context in mind while reading the guidelines written for teachers. The recommendations for teachers do not reveal the breadth of the interdependent components in the Standards for Peace Education. The focus of the component described herein is the teacher's role as the facilitator of learning in the classroom. The standards for students lay out the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that are the aims of their learning, whereas the standards for school administrators identify strategies for peace-building processes throughout the school.

Strategies for peace-building instruction by teachers include the facilitation of culturally and contextually responsive, collaborative, and constructive learning through their modelling, along with the integration of peace contents in the curriculum. Culturally responsive instruction includes concepts and interaction norms of the students' cultures. That diversity enrichment of curriculum and instruction adds its relevancy, conveys positive regard, enhances inter-cultural understanding, and expands cross-cultural skills in a course (Gay, 2013; Ragoonaden& Mueller, 2017). Contextual responsiveness, which is a foundation of peace education, also increases curriculum relevancy with experiential learning about the current matters in the lives of the learners (Haavelsrud& Stenberg, 2012; Nasser & Wong, 2013; Torres-Harding et al. 2018). Collaborative learning, with the course instructor, peers, campus and community members, as well as distant partners in inquiry and praxis strengthens crucial relationships for peace-building, enhances the collective influence of the participants in praxis, and establishes cooperation as a mode of civic engagement (Jones et al., 2014). Constructive learning occurs through sharing, examining, adapting, and applying ideas that learners assimilate. Communication in multiple modalities, including spiritual and physical interactions and multiple languages and arts, characterises transformative education and conveys the values of peace-building (Brantmeier, Lin &

Miller, 2010; Vettraino, Linds& Goulet, 2013). Non-violent communication, for example, exemplifies the value of caring through modelling compassion (Rosenberg, 2003).

Teachers encourage disposition development through value-based instruction. Modelling is the informal teaching by all staff on campus and its teachers. Hence, there are standards for peace education that help school administrators guide such influential interactions. Unconditional caring for students is part of modelling the disposition of concern. Peace education encourages the enactment of a campus-wide ethic of care for all of its members (Chang & Bai, 2016; Noddings, 2008). In that vein, the peace education standards for students include acceptance, respect, mutuality, concern, empathy, commitment, involvement, and service as dispositions for their development. The standards also identify courage, optimism, patience, and humility as dispositions that support their interactions with themselves and others. Teachers expressing these dispositions aloudexemplify modelling instruction in disposition development, for example, when a teacher says,"*I feel angry and I need to take some deep breaths and wait a while before I can respond to this information. Then I can think of a caring way to communicate about it.*"While nonviolence can be encouraged as a value, the standards for students that guide instruction list 'analysis of violence' as a learning 'skill'. Teachers use multiple types of curriculasuch as literature, arts, media, and interviews about peace her/history, as well as praxis opportunities, for learning about alternatives to violence (Carter & Pickett, 2014; Morrison, 2015). The sense of\
environmental stewardship that the standards list as a student skill can also be characterised as adisposition. There are many opportunities to indirectly and directly foster stewardship with raised awareness about changes in the earth's environment that humans can impact. The following list of Standards for Teachers demonstrates the breadth of influence teachers can have during their formal and informal instruction.

Standards for Teachers

Teachers demonstrate the following skills:

1. Facilitate student construction from their collective experiences and new information, their concepts of peace, and positive processes for increasing it.

2. Integrate positive contact with and information about diverse cultures in the local region and afar to overcome ignorance, misinformation, and stereotypes.

3 Accommodate cultural norms of students, including their diverse learning styles.

4. Engage in cross-cultural communication with multicultural school participants, including families, thereby modelling acceptance, accommodation, and celebration of diversity through pluralism.

5. Demonstrate positive regard for all students, regardless of their misbehaviours, to convey unconditional care and respect for them as valuable people.

6. Use compassionate and equitable communication in dialogic facilitation of classroom management.

7. Train students through modelling of dispositions and skills that develop peace, including the practice of non-violence before and during conflicts.

8. Create a nurturing 'school-home' environment that nourishes and provides a safe place for communication about concerns related to violence.

9. Listen to families about how peace can be developed in the classroom and school and then collaborate to facilitate their suggestions.

10. Use strategies that support peaceful interaction with the self and all people, including restorative practices in post-conflict situations.

11. Model action for peace development on and beyond the campus, demonstrating a community norm of social justice and environmental stewardship.

12. Cultivate and support students' responsibility for their own peaceful-problem solving while the teacher stays aware of and responsive to their needs.

13. Integrate information about past, present and future peace developments and strategies across multiple subject areas.

14. Create and support venues for expressing current and future peace development.

15. Show appreciation for all student achievements in and aspirations for peace.

16. Attend to and teach ecological care of the physical environment, including the sustainable use of its resources.

17. Teach about socially and environmentally responsible consumerism and the conflicts which result from the exploitation of producers and labourers.

18. Teach about power relations in current events as well as history to help students recognise sources of structural violence.

19. Facilitate student examination of militarism and its impact on the social order.

20. Teach students to critically evaluate sources, perspectives, and evidence provided in the information they have access to while enabling them to recognise the types of information they do not have, but need, to develop a clear understanding of spoken and written presentations.

21. Enable students' discussions of controversy and unresolved problems locally and globally, thereby cultivating their intellectual and communicative skills for comprehending and analysing conflicts.

Conclusion

Teacher facilitation of peace education has been inconsistent. Lack of support in education policies, teacher-preparation programmes, school administration, and curriculum resources dissuade and hinder the provision of education for and about peace. Educational standards can address those needs when their guidelines articulate peace-building competencies and interactions across the contexts that influence instruction and learning. The Standards for Peace Education that educational researchers collaboratively articulated embody support for the needed provision of peace education. With continuation and even

escalation of inequalities, along with many other types of conflicts that affect the condition of peace, teachers need support for instruction that equips learners for solving those problems without harm. As long as standards for education influence teaching and learning, the Standards for Peace Education guidelines continue to be a crucial resource for instruction that equips learners for developing, building up, and sustaining the condition of peace.

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Candice C. Carter, an educational researcher and consultant in the USA, taught children of all ages in multiple regions and recognized their hope for peace. Her relevant books include *Conflict Resolution and Peace Education: Transformations Across Disciplines* (2010) that illustrates peace education across university programs; *Peace Philosophy in Action,* about applied theories in peace pursuits around the world; *Youth Literature for Peace Education* (2014) that describes literacy development with recent literature for children;*Social Education for Peace: Foundations, Curriculum, and Instruction for Visionary Learning* which emphasizes the crucial skill of envisioning along with knowledge of peace history; and *Teaching and Learning for Comprehensive Citizenship: Global Perspectives on Peace Education* (2021) with research on formal and nonformal instruction worldwide.

Effects of Peace Education on The Holistic Development of Early Years Learners of Gilgit-Baltistan Pakistan

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Abstract: There is growing research evidence to support the view that the early years greatly influence the overall development of early learners. This study is a pioneer, intended to explore the effects of peace education on the overall development of early years learners in the remote context of Gilgit Baltistan (GB), Pakistan. The study employs qualitative methodology to gain an in-depth understanding of the issue. For data, interviews, observations, and field notes were collected. The research findings revealed that peace education positively contributes to the holistic development of early years learners and serves as a window of opportunity to inspire children's future lives positively. The study also found that teachers and parents needed training to undertake peaceful interventions in the learning environment, playgrounds, and home settings. Hence, the study recommends more extensive research to gain further in-depth insights and to understand the broader impact of peace education on the whole life of early years learners of GB.

Keywords: Peace education, Young learners, Holistic development, Sensitive care, Peace pedagogy

INTRODUCTION

A growing body of scientific evidence insists that the early years of life are critical for the holistic development of young children and have enormous consequences for them in later years. In the sensitive early years all-round development occurs, and children learn increasingly complex behaviors and skills that have long-lasting effects. The universal emphasis on educating the 'whole child', supporting a child in all developmental domains, including cognitive, physical, language, social and emotional (Alfonso S.M., 2014),results from such a realization. Alfonso argues that "the general holistic approach to early childhood education seems to create an open door to the integration of peace education within the early years of childhood" (page 167). Current studies have also suggested that early childhood is the ideal period for developing peaceful interactions among peers, peace-making skills and the cognitive capacity to understand

themselves and others and learn and acquire social skills and capabilities (Brauneis, 2019). Likewise, Chopra (2017) argued that healthy social skills are the core of peace-building, including emotional regulation, critical thinking, and behavior regulation, all developed in early childhood.

Alfonso (2014) insists on the effects of peace education on the holistic development of young children. He suggests that "the early years are considered "prime time" for brain development that can affect a child's social capacities, critical to preconditions necessary for peace" (p.170). Similarly, he says, "research shows that brain development that takes place prenatally and in the first years of life is more rapid and extensive than any other time in a man's life. It is also much more vulnerable to environmental influence than previously suspected and the influence of early environment on brain development is long lasting" (Nurture, p.5).Indeed, it is a critical time of life in which children form habits, recognize differences, and build emotional ties through social relationships and day-to-day interactions in homes and schools. Therefore, schools are encouraged to begin peace education in the early years of children, which is when brain architecture develops most rapidly.

Alfonso (2014) further argues that it was found that "both quality of care and security of attachment affect children's later capacity for empathy, emotional regulation, and behavioral control" (p.170). If peace education is integrated in early childhood settings, it can be extremely instrumental in building a child's positive experiences and capacities for peace such as empathy, emotional regulation, and behavioral control. Indeed, these skills can lay down the building blocks for future learners. From this perspective, one can understand the necessity of teaching early years learners the art of living together in mutual respect, justice, love and peace. Through peace education, we can promote the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values needed to bring about behavioural changes that will enable children to prevent conflict and violence and develop a sense of care and love for earth and humanity.

In addition, considering the sensitivity of early years life, Mondal (2017) claims that "a child's mind is soft clay which can be moulded to any desired shape. Thus, the early stage is the correct time to impart value inculcation into our system so that the right impressions formed in the child's mind will guide him throughout his life based on noble principles" (p.102). This demands dire attention on the development of peace education in early childhood classrooms. Children are more at risk of developing serious social, emotional, and mental problems at their early ages, which can worsen over time if they do not get any help. Early intervention of holistic development can save a child from long-term outcomes such as school failure, peer rejection and behavioral problems.

Hence, it is vital to acknowledge the role of early peace education in the holistic development of children and incorporate peace education programmes in early childhood education. Given the

prevailing situation in the country, we need deliberated efforts to tailor peace education programmes, so that we can nurture a sense of peace and harmony among youth. This paper explores the effects of the peace education component on the holistic development of early years learners in school and natural settings.

Rationale

Many early learners experience severe disruptions in their lives, and it is well known that their families find it challenging to provide the sensitive care and love that young child need to thrive. Young children who grow up in unstable environments face abuse, neglect, and other stresses and are less likely to build trusting and loving relationships. It often leads to low self-esteem and long-term psycho-social and behavioral problems in them (National Research Council and Institute of Medicine, 2007). Evans (1996) and Ilfeld (1996) have pointed out that children should learn peace-making skills in early childhood but are often introduced to them too late in life. Similarly, Mahatma Gandhi (2001)has said that if we want to build peace in this world, we should start with children, and start very early. Because at age five and six children are determined to make sense of the world. Adults have a crucial role in supporting this process through scaffolding, modelling, and challenging (Wood et al. 1976, Vygotsky 1978). At this crucial stage, peace development programmes can be instrumental in boosting pro-social behavior and social-emotional skills such as cooperation, empathy, the capacity to see other perspectives, and the ability to relate to others peacefully.

Importantly, peace education in the early years has a significant impact. Therefore, it was imperative to conduct a research study to find the potential effects of peace education on the holistic development of young children in the context of Pakistan's Gilgit-Baltistan (GB) region. This study will possibly help stakeholders in this region become aware of the effects of peace education on early years learners and teacher's efforts, and their expertise to teach peace concepts to the students. In this way, we will help lay the building blocks for our future peace leaders.

Significance of the Study

Preschools are the institutions where, for the first time, children receive education outside their families. They are places where children interact and play with other children, develop their competencies and personalities. The daily routines and rituals in such places are important for children to gain a sense of orientation and ownership. These places are flexible, inclusive and adaptable to children's needs and requirements. Through various interactions with peers, adults and the environment, children learn about themselves, their abilities and feelings. And when children enter early childhood classes, they try to interact with peers and adults, which offers an excellent opportunity for them to enhance trust and confidence. Therefore, initiating a peace education approach will best prepare children to success throughout of their life. Hence, there is

a need to train the young generation on peacemaking skills to make a peaceful world for a better tomorrow. Therefore, this study will be significant to educational leaders and policy makers to understand the positive effects of peace education for the development of young children. It will also be fruitful to integrate peace education in their educational systems. This study will also help early years learners to boost their social skills to create harmony and collegiality among the people of GB.

Research Question

What is the effect of peace education on the holistic development of early years learners in the context of Gilgit- Baltistan, Pakistan?

Literature Review

Peace Education

Peace education has been defined differently in different contexts. Generally, it includes all the formal and informal actions that aim at attitudinal changes by imparting knowledge, skills, and attitudes. UNESCO (2008) defined 'peace education' as teaching and providing learners with knowledge, skills, and information to enthusiastically promote and cultivate a culture of peace.

More specifically, peace education teaches people to respect themselves and others. Ajala (2003) defines' peace education' as the type of education that influences learners with all the norms, values and attitudes that can create a supportive environment in human life. Similarly, Reardon (2001) classifies 'peace education' as education for peace, education about peace and peace knowledge. According to him, education for peace is concerned with creating necessary pre-conditions for peace, helping to develop skills and knowledge necessary for peaceful interactions and endeavors. Education about peace teaches peaceful conditions required for peace and peace knowledge includes peace research, peace studies and peace education.

Through peace education we can create harmony and tolerance among individuals in a society. Margarita and Kolegija (2019)say that peace education prevents the emergence of conflicts and creates conditions and situations for peace in the world. Peace education makes us aware of resolving the conflicts in agreeable manners and encourages us to accept the problems as learning opportunities for future development.

Early childhood/ early year age and definition

UNESCO (2017) defines *early childhood* as the period from birth to eight years old, a time of remarkable growth with brain development at its peak. The environment and the people surrounding them influence children very much during this stage. Similarly, the early years from birth to five years, is the foundation stage for learning and development of children. Therefore, in this research study, the age group taken into consideration is from three to eight years because public schools in GB give admissions only to children from age three years and above.

Significance of peace education during early years

The future of any nation or society depends on its ability to foster the advancement and well-being of its succeeding generation, because it is today's children who will become tomorrow's citizens. Investing and nurturing the younger generation means investing in future productivity and responsible citizenship(National Research Council and Institute of Medicine, 2007). Therefore, displaying lasting peace in education was the vision and ambition of Montessori. To be sure, ideally peace education should begin with the youngest children (Hinitz, & Stomfay-Stitz, 1998). Chopra (2017) reveals that the healthy social skills at the core of peace building, including emotional regulations, critical thinking, and behavior regulation, all develop during early childhood. It is found that introducing peace education in the early years can be extremely influential in building a child's later capacities for peace and behavioural control. Therefore, the critical early years should be used as a fertile period to lay the building blocks of future peace leaders. Brauneis (2019) agreed that early childhood is the optimal time to acquire foundational values and peace-making skills. Alfonso (2018) also states that peace education in early childhood has the strong potential to make a significant and lasting impact. Hence, it is necessary to look at early childhood's potential role in contributing to the construction of sustainable peace among early years learners.

Peace Pedagogies for the Early Years Settings

Teachers of early years children have the most critical and demanding of educational jobs. Coulbeck (2005)reports that teachers of early years children require a variety of interactions with children in a complex social setting in which the teacher seeks to motivate the children, organize activities, present information, and provide security within which the child may learn. Hence, teachers of early learners need to play a significant role in the teaching and learning processfor the proper upbringing of children. Therefore, they need to have proper knowledge and understanding of the teaching and learning process, child development and foundation curriculum that stimulate learning, enable the children to acquire skills and inculcate desirable attitudes in them. Apart from that, the teacher needs to apply the right choice of strategies, which enable children to learn at an optimum pace, grow and develop confidently while reach for the targets set before them.

It seems that child-centered and participatory learning methods such as circle time, story time and poem time, are well-suited for peace education. Through listening to the stories, children can explore the issues and problems that are important to them and help make sense and develop creative ways of responding to the world around them. In this connection, Lasi, Jiwan, Batool, Dhanani & Shrestha (2017) argue that stories and real-life examples are the best way to promote peace among children. Thus, collaborative, and participatory approaches are required to develop peace in the learners. Such approaches empower students to take responsibility for their own growth and achievement.

Potential effect of peace education on the holistic development of young children

Research has shown that peace education can positively impact the social, critical and emotional skills of early years learners, influence their future behaviour and foster more peaceful communities. A study by Vestal and Jones (2004) showed that preschoolers gained skills to solve interpersonal conflicts. This is supported by Ferber (2018) who says, "when peace education is applied to early childhood educational settings, children's greatest potential is recognized, they are provided with autonomy and decision-making within their classroom, and they are viewed as active agents of social change" (p.8The literature mentioned above highlights the significance of peace education and the potential effects of incorporating peace education on the holistic development of early years learners. It also reveals various opportunities to integrate peace education in educational settings. The literature also talks about the critical nature of the early childhood period in promoting the skills and structures for a positive and sustainable peace that enable children to become agents of change in building peace in their societies and around the world.

Methodology

This study employed a qualitative approach to understand the effect of peace education on the holistic development of early years learners of Gilgit-Baltistan. As the study intends to explore the effect of peace education on the development of young children in an early childhood classroom, it required an in-depth investigation of current practices of child development. Therefore, the case study approach was adopted within the qualitative paradigmin this small-scale study. The data was collected using semi-structured interviews, classroom observations and field notes. Classroom observations primarily focused on children's attitude, understanding, and skills toward pro-social behavior to determine the effects of peace education. Through purposeful sampling procedure, four government school teachers from two districts of GB with equal gender ratio (02 male: 02 female) and two head teachers (1male:1female) were selected as the participants of the study. The ratios of participants (gender and count) were kept same in both the districts.

DATA ANALYSIS

For the analysis of the data relevant themes were identified and analyzed to investigate the effects of peace education on the holistic development of young children.

DISSCUSSIONS AND FINDINGS

Teachers and headteachers understanding on Peace Education.

The data analysis shows that teachers and headteachers of both the districts have a common understanding of the concept of peace education. Teachers endorsed peace education as a physical, intellectual, emotional, and social developmental tool for children of all ages. As one of the female teachers from district A said that:

"Peace education is holistic development of children, which includes the physical, emotional, intellectual, and social growth of children. It is based on philosophy that teaches love, care, trust, fairness, cooperation, and respect for the human, family, and all life on our beautiful planet. (Interview, 20/06/2021).

During observation, the teacher made groups and give tasks to complete in groups. However, she was not aware of the rules of making groups. Some children took all the materials and were not sharing them with others. It seemed that the teacher was aware of peace education but was not implementing it in the classroom.

Male Head teacher from District A.His views on peace education (in his words):
Peace education is very much connected with the holistic development of a child. If we teach the children how
to understand each other, accept each other's concerns, and issues, then they will be able to be more tolerant and
friendlier and open to each other (Interview, 20/06/2021).
For instance, one of the head teachers was writing the science exercise questions and answers on board in Grade One. When a student responded to one of the questions, he said, "Don't teach me; just write down whatever has been written on the board" (Observation 21/06/2021). The headteachers himself was neither tolerant students, nor encouraged learners to write independently. A peaceful environment was lacking inside and outside the classroom. Students were shouting at each other while they were in class.

Similarly, headteacher from District Bsaid that that"definitely, peace education develops individual holistically. If this happens from a very young age, they get a peaceful environment and will become peaceful humans and peace makers" (Interview, 22/06/2021). However, he used harsh words in practice while teaching the early years students in a multigrade situation. For instance, he said, "Why did you not bringing your own stationery? Am I your servant to fetch your stationery? The teacher hit the child on his back for not bringing the English notebook. (Observation 23/06/2021)

On the other side, teachers from District A stated that there is no such phrase in Pakistan National curriculum. According to them, peace means an environment where students live together. Their way of living is giving space to each other and giving mutual help by understanding each other's ideas.

A female teacher from District B said:

Peace education is a modern concept of education. It focusses on the upbringing of children to make them civilized individuals for society. (It is) teaching students how to live peacefully with others, without fighting and without creating any disturbance. So, peace education means providing peaceful, loving and constructive environment so that the child could learn good actions. For example, there should not be quarrelling, fighting, cursing one another at home but there must be love, good dialogues.(Interview, 22/06/2021).

However, the teacher was found teasing two children who were below average in their studies and blaming their parents for not giving attention to their children. (Observation 23/06/2021)

The above discussion shows that teachers and headteachers in both the districts have some understanding about the need for peace education for the holistic development of early years learners but were not utilizing that understanding in their settings.

Significance of peace education during early years

Teachers perceive peace education as an important aspect of children's holistic development. According to the teachers in both districts, peace education is very important for children to become effective citizens. The teachers further said that it helps students accept and formulate their attitude towards other people and the community. Moreover, they thought that it helps children grow emotionally. District A's female teacher argued that "we do not have such practice in our school, but I think peace education helps students have a mutual understanding and develop common goals as a future community" Interview, 22/06/2021).Similarly, the teachers said it also helps students develop respect and good attitude towards other communities, people, and individuals. The headteacher in District A thinks that" peace education is important during early years because it is the primary pillar for preventing armed conflicts and violence for saving lives and freeing up limited resources for social needs"(Interview, 20/06/2021). He further suggested that including peace education in early childhood experiences can be highly influential in building a child's later capacities for peace, such as empathy, emotional regulation and behavioral control, which are essential elements.

However, the actual situation was different as the teachers also punished students and used harsh words. Non-cooperation among teachers and students and a negative environment prevailed in both the districts (Observation 21/06/2021).

Peace Approaches for early years settings.

The findings showed that the teachers and headteachers in both the districts were familiar with different peace approaches but were not implementing them in the classrooms. According to the male teacher from District A**, "**we teach students to respect others, their gender and beliefs. We teach them that they are equal in front of God and there is nothing that makes them unique or special"(Interview, 20/06/2021)

Another headteacher from District B responded:
There are some important methods for creating peace in the lives of young children. They are, being a role model for kindness, showing empathy, creating a democratic space, using project-based learning, encouraging collaboration in diverse groups, discussing controversial issues and integrating service- learning (Interview, 22/06/2021).

A female teacher from District A further suggested that "we need to use different strategies which make our students realize that peace is vital for our future. We need to create acceptance to progress through group work and interactions" (Interview, 20/06/2021)". Similarly, a male headteacher from District B noted that various cooperative learning strategies and celebration of occasions could be instrumental in furthering peace education.

> I think teachers can organize different co-curricular activities and programmes, such as celebrating world Peace Day, making posters, arranging walks and seminars for the children. They should use different discussion methods, pair work and other cooperative learning strategies, which helps them understand and respect each other (Interview, 22/06/2021).

A headteacher from District A maintained, "giving awareness to parents is very important to create peace in the community" (Interview, 20/06/2021).Pictures of parent-teacher awareness sessions displayed in the corridor showed this was a good thing and that they had initiate work (Observation 21/062021).

A female teacher from District A shared almost similar thoughts:
The most important thing for a teacher is acting as a role model by maintaining a positive attitude and contributing and maintaining peace in young minds by creating a classroom model of a peace zone. We can also implement conflict resolution skills such as taking turns and listening g skills and teach peace lessons by asking students to do role play(Interview, 20/06/2021).

The discussions above confirms that teachers in both districts understand different strategies to incorporate peace initiates in the classrooms. However, such a culture and its application were missing in the classrooms.

Potential effect of peace education in the holistic development of young children

The research data showed that the participants have good insight that peace education significantly impacts the holistic development of early years learners. According to the female teacher of District A:

  We can integrate peace education into our everyday lessons by adding activities and instructions related to

  peace education. For example, while teaching social skills, we can integrate activities on sympathy and

  respect for others, (Interview, 20/06/2021).

However, we found that almost all activities were teacher-centered during our observation. For instance, in the selection of activity materials, while encouraging children to memorize, in not allowing them to use their own will, in the teachers talking ninety per cent of the time and not allowing students to talk and so on(Observation, 21/06/2021).

The following comment was made by the headteacher of District A. He said: "Peace education is essential for transformation. It cultivates the knowledge base, skills, attitudes, and values that transform people(Interview, 20/06/2021).

While sharing the effects of peace education on holistic development of early years learners, a headteachers from District B said:

  Peace education shapes children's attitudes toward healthy and positive activities, and develops the attitude of sharing and caring, enabling them to differentiate between right and wrong. They can also know the

  values, norms, customs and enhance their essence of self-responsibilities in their daily practice in society.

  (Interview, 22/06/2021).

Interestingly, the children of District B were sharing their food with their class fellows and their teacher during lunchtime. They also shared some cherries with me (Observation, 23/06/2021).

Hence, in various instances, participants elucidated peace education as a critical essential for the holistic development of a child. Whether in a family, class, staffroom, community, or country, it is necessary to have a friendly atmosphere conducive to the meeting of minds and heads. Participants considered positive attitudes and behaviour necessary to support the holistic development of students of a peaceful society. But these claims needed to be practiced in their natural settings.

Therefore, from the above findings, it appears that although the participants realized the importance of peace educationin their classroom, it was not being practiced in the real sense. They found value in the theory but failed to practice it

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATION

- This small-scale research study revealed that early years play acrucialrole in the holistic development of young children. Hence, it is imperative to launch planned and organized peace education initiatives by developing a contextually relevant peace educational content package, training teachers, and providing awareness to the parent community of Gilgit- Baltistan, Pakistan.

- It was also seen from the findings that although teachers were aware of the importance of peace education for the overall development of early years learners, there was no practice of peace education in classrooms and natural environments. Therefore, the educational department of Gilgit- Baltistan pays specific attention to peace education and peacemaking activities in this socio-culturally and politically diversified region.

- Hence, this small-scale study is not enough to understand all the effects of peace education on the holistic development of early years learners. For that reason, conducting a mega research study spread over all ten districts of the region may provide more in-depth, more relevant, and richer insights into the broader impact of peace education in the context of Gilgit- Baltistan Pakistan.

Conclusion

Initiatives of peace education are essential in children's early years for their overall development and make a significant and lasting impact throughout their lives. Hence, this research sought to explore the contribution of peace education to the holistic upbringing of children. The literature discussed also highlights peace education's fundamental role in the lives of early years learners. Emotional skills, physical, social and cognitive capacities that emerge in the early years are essential prerequisites for success in the workplace and community (Center on the Developing Child at Harvard University, 2007).According to the findings of this research study, peace initiatives in the early years are fundamental and significantly impact on the future behavior of individuals and foster more peaceful communities.

Research findings also stressed a compelling need to create peace initiatives among teachers and parents. There is a greater need for teachers' capacity development and parental awareness on peace building, which is crucial but a neglected area today. Hence, educators, implementers and policy-makers have a huge responsibility to ensure that children who enter school at a young age get quality peace education and a facilitating learning environment.

Thus, though the need is dire, peace education still has not received its due in the educational system of Pakistan, especially in Gilgit-Baltistan. It will be too late and unfortunate if we sit back with folded hands and wait for a miracle to take place. No. A proper mechanism needs to be developed at the school level to induct a living system of peace values and practices into the daily life of early years learners.

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