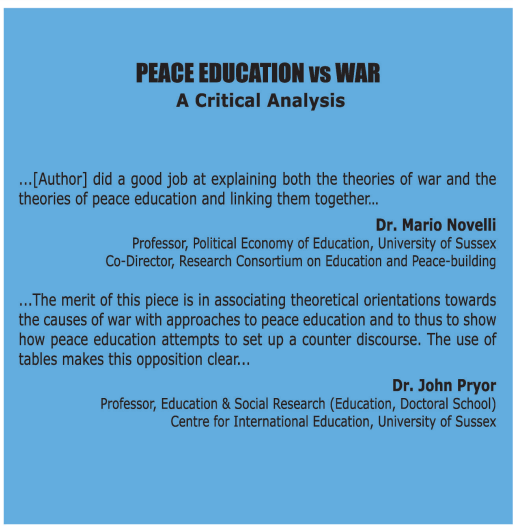Photo: Mesbah Sumon

Kazi Sameeo Sheesh is currently working as a Senior Research Fellow at the Center for Advanced Research in Arts and Social Sciences, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh. He graduated in Economics from the same university. Then, he persuaded post-graduation in Development Studies, International Education, and Educational Research and Evaluation from BRAC University, George Washington University, and the University of Sussex respectively.

Sameeo is passionate on the field of education for peace. He has experience of working in Bangladesh, USA, UK, Singapore and Thailand. His erudite repute is already flamboyant among his students, colleagues and supervisors for his sincerity, creativity and candour.

He is affianced with social and cultural activities and study circles. To add, he has a prodigious knack for creative writing and delivering presentations in seminars/ workshops. Already he is the author of four published books and a number of journal articles. He sometimes works as a film director also. He is the father of twins and knits the dream that the kids bring lush raindrops of peace and hopes for every life.

PEACE EDUCATION vs WAR
A Critical Analysis

...[Author] did a good job at explaining both the theories of war and the theories of peace education and linking them together...

Dr. Mario Novelli
Professor, Political Economy of Education, University of Sussex
Co-Director, Research Consortium on Education and Peace-building

...The merit of this piece is in associating theoretical orientations towards the causes of war with approaches to peace education and to thus to show how peace education attempts to set up a counter discourse. The use of tables makes this opposition clear...

Dr. John Pryor
Professor, Education & Social Research (Education, Doctoral School)
Centre for International Education, University of Sussex

PEACE EDUCATION vs WAR | Kazi Sameeo Sheesh

PEACE EDUCATION vs WAR
A Critical Analysis
Kazi Sameeo Sheesh

PE CE
A
W R

Peace educators have tried to raise awareness against the mass wreckage of arms war by pleading for world patriotism and advocating for reconciliation through dialogue. In fact, the time has been, however, experiencing the worst possible forms of fighting, fanatical cases of nationalism, fundamental ism and the use of most radical technology of warfare including the gruesome nuclear bombs.

Over time, not only has the longbow been replaced by the musket, rifles, machine guns, missiles and drones, but this change into brute machinations of war has also been paralleled by the conventional concepts of 'old wars' being replaced by those of 'new wars'. At this juncture, different strands of peace education conceptually or theoretically address the way to counter various causes of war.

This book has accomplished a commendable work at explaining the theories of both war and peace educa tion, at the same time it also linked them together. Hence, it shows how peace education attempts to set up a counter discourse. The use of tables makes this encounter distinct.

Cover Image by Armando Milani

PEACE EDUCATION vs WAR
A Critical Analysis

Kazi Sameeo Sheesh

To my Great Grandmother Kamrunnesa Begum

Her young daughter hugged a pathetic death in a pond. While she was drowning, some *Sanatan* devotees alongside were busy with their religious sacraments. "Why haven't you tried to save her life?" relatives asked the devotees. They simply reacted, "We would have become unconsecrated if we had touched the infidel as we were sanctified after bathing." Then the tear-dazed mother comforted her son, "Don't get dismayed; there'll be a time when people will accept others not by religious affiliations but humanness."

and

To our twins

Swapno and Sreejon

I believe that they will bring raindrops of peace and sunshine of hopes for everyOne.

Acknowledgements

This would be a matter of privilege to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Dr. Mario Novelli for his intellectually vivacious support. His pleasant prudence, cooperative guidance and invincible outlook towards quality work have made me truly indebted to him. In fact, this book is a product of my course work on the critical analytic study at the University of Sussex. To candidly note here, I had to go through a time of tough endurance and submit the draft several times to meet the set standards of the department. For this, I owe much to Professor Dr. John Pryor, Fahmi Ibrahim, Dr. Sean Higgins and Quazi Mosiur Rahman, to mention the few, for their sincere assistance and incessant inspiration.

Here, I would like to thank Mr. Abdus Sabur for his kind consent to publish this book from the International Institute of Peace and Development Studies (IIPDS). This gives me immense pleasure to work for IIPDS. I am also thankful to Saikat Habib, Armando Milani, Jasedul Hossain, Mesbah Sumon, Hossain Ahmed Taufiq, Shafiul Azam Sohel and Sultanuzzaman for their sincere support to enhance the quality of this publication.

Finally, let me extend my hearty appreciation to my wife and friend Radia Tamim for her great support during the time of my devotion to this work.

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Dhaka, August 2017
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Foreword

For ages it has been an innate desire of human beings to live in peace but unfortunately, conflict and war have been part of their history. According to social scientists, conflict is not necessarily always negative, but the challenge is how to transform conflict into an opportunity for mutual and collective benefits. Our inability to do effective dialogue leads to violence and eventually war with devastating consequences for human beings and nature.

In order to be able to engage ourselves in dialogue with unknown persons of different languages, cultures, religions and differing opinions we ought to develop and nurture our capacity and compassion from within. This capacity and compassion, unfortunately, do not come from present day education, social and political system and governance. Our education system teaches us to be morbidly competitive and therefore to become the number one and second to none. This system also instigates us only to accumulate wealth and consume without any compassion to share it with the deprived and weaker ones or towards the collective well-being. This always-winning-drive in education and socialisation paves the way to yield violence and conflicts which demand to produce weapons of mass destructions in a rocketed rate.

Alternative to such learning we may lodge peace education which empowers and inspires us to be involved and to engage others in dialogues in order to be able to address issues which violently affect us and the greater human society, and thus find the way to deal with conflict towards desired peace.

In this book, author meticulously summarised important works of some of the great thinkers, researchers, scholars and their approaches to conflict and wars. Accordingly, he has presented various models of peace education and peace movements.

I am sure it will greatly benefit those who would like to prepare and want to dedicate themselves for peace making and peace building tasks now and years to come.

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C H A P T E R 1

Introduction

For the last couple of decades, a number of initiatives of peace making, peace building and peace education have been taken by different organisations and institutes with the goal to stop or counter war (Harris 2004). Simultaneously, we see that the twenty-first century encompasses hideous forms of aggression, ecocide, ethnic cleansing, genocide, modern warfare, poverty, disparity, sexual abuse, terrorism and various other shades of the negative. These factors can be identified as either or both as the cause or outcome of war (Harris 2004; Heywood 2011). However, along with the various forms and factors of the prevailing danger of war, we have also witnessed a parallel history of the development of peace education. This peace education attempts to stimulate or enhance the knowledge, skills and attitudes of the populous from early childcare into adulthood, and discusses pathways to peace and the dreadful consequences of war (Harris 2004).

During the twentieth century, we have experienced the horrific upshots of the two World Wars, holocaust, the demise of colonialism and rise of new forms of oppressive structures or world orders, the danger of nuclear bombs, new forms of wars and terrorism. At the same time, the educators, thinkers, and scholars from different parts of the world have developed multiple initiatives to impart peace lessons with the vision to free the world from the terrible consequences of war. In this era of globalisation and high inter connectedness, the effects of war are not confined to war zones; rather they have wider and multiple impacts elsewhere. All these concerns build the foundations for the emergence and growth of peace education. Here, some questions emerge. Does peace education have the potential to counter war? If yes, then how? Historically peace education has emerged in parallel and opposition to war. Ultimately, peace education has a far broader scope than the mere cessation of war, however, for this critical analytical study, I have sought to narrow the focus to the specific approaches of peace education in countering war.

1.1. Research question

In this study, I want to understand different political theories on why war occurs and then critically analyse how selected or representative approaches of peace education interact with them. In order to investigate and analyse the potential of peace education aimed to counter war, the broader question is:

How do different approaches of peace education seek to contribute to counter war?

To address this question, I divided the research question into several sub-questions as follows:

Sub-question 1: How do different political theories explain the causes of war?

Sub-question 2: What is the history of peace education and how does it relate to the context of war and peace from which it emerged?

Sub-question 3: How do different approaches to peace education attempt to address the causes of war?

Sub-question 4: What are the strengths and limitations of the selected approaches (from sub-question 3) to peace education?

1.2 Methodology and structure

This work is based on a critical review of the literature on different areas or themes regarding theoretical explanations on causes of war, and historical emergence, theoretical postulates and approaches of peace education. For each area specified, I followed different strategies. These are summarised in Appendix 1.

In general, I adopted an iterative process to search for literature. A two-pronged strategy was followed. Firstly, I made a draft outline of the study, for example, theoretical interpretation of war, history and context of peace education, different approaches of peace education. Following this outline, I made a list of key words, (e.g., theories of war, peace education, history of war) and searched for them through electronic libraries—mainly that of the Sussex University library—and online journals. Then, I sorted out the relevant literature. Sometimes I traced some relevant articles, papers, books from the references of a text. After that, I revised the outline of the study. This outline again guided me to select further literature or to refocus on specific parts of the literature in which I deemed more relevant. Moreover, I discussed with experts and my supervisor Dr.Mario Novelli about the study and sought their suggestions for appropriate readings. While reading the literature, I annotated the texts used sticky notes in order to have a record of my reflections, and this turned out to be a very useful exercise to come back again to this literature and to categorise ideas.

Here, I should acknowledge that most of the literature I studied regarding theory, concepts, history of peace education and theories of war are quite euro-centric (e.g, Concepts of Peace Education: A View of Western Experience by Burns and Aspelagh 1983, published in *International Review of Education,* pp. 311-330). That is why the content and discussion for this study is more concentrated on the global North. This is a reflection of the available literature as well as a recognition of the limitations of this work.

The research sub-questions were used as an analytical framework for understanding and critically engaging with the issues around the potential of peace education to counter war. These sub-questions guided me to structure the study. After the introduction, in chapter 2, *Political theories on causes of war*, I address sub-question 1. Then, I answer sub-question 2, in chapter 3, *Historical emergence of peace education and the context of war and peace.* In the light of the arguments presented in chapter 2 and 3, the following chapter, *Potential of peace education to counter war,* explores the answers to sub-question 3 and 4. In chapter 5, *Concluding remarks,* in addition to overall reflections on the previous chapters, I address the broader research question along with my idea regarding the potential of peace education for future endeavours.

C H A P T E R   2

Political theories on causes of war

Wars are complex, dynamic and multi-causal and each one is uniquely grounded in very particular contexts and conjunctures. But are there underlying commonalities that can help us to understand them better? This chapter explores some of these explanations.

The political theoretical explanation of the causes of war can be divided into two parts: old wars and new wars. Over time, not only has the longbow been replaced by the musket, rifles, machine guns, missiles and drones etc., but this change in the brute machinations of war was also paralleled by the conventional concepts of 'old wars' being replaced by those of 'new wars'. Conventional views reflect war as an armed conflict between opposing states. These wars appeared to be confirmed within the Clausewitizian paradigm which sets out a Trinitarian theory of warfare involving masses (motivated by a sense of national animosity), national army (devised to take account of the contingencies of war) and political leaders (decision maker to establish aims and objectives of military action) (Heywood 2011,p.243; Clausewitz 1831/1976). However, these characteristics cannot be used to explain the many wars that have occurred during the post-cold war era. The end of the cold war has produced quite a different form of warfare. After the mid-1990s, the decline of traditional inter-state war and the rise of civil war can be marked as a feature of armed conflicts. One can observe that most of the wars during this period have occurred within states, not between states, for instances, Bosnian (1992-95) and Kosovo war (1996-99) (Heywood 2011,p.247-249). For these wars, issues regarding identity become prominent, and these have broken down the distinction between civilians and the military (Heywood 2011, p. 247). Kaldor (1999; 2013) analysed how globalisation made changes to the notion of war. She pointed out that these wars are based on claiming identity—not territory. Here, guerrilla[1] or terror tactics are used, and these wars played a role in changing patterns of international crime and source of funding. Thus, Kaldor (2006) defines the post-cold wars as 'new' or 'post- Clausewitizian' wars. That is why I have divided the discussion on the political theoretical explanations on causes of war into two parts: old wars and new wars. However, this does not automatically imply that theoretical explanations for old wars are completely irrelevant to explain the wars that occurred during the post-cold era.

2.1. Theoretical approaches to old wars

Key texts on war often divide the debate up into approaches based on Realism and Liberalism as the mainstream perspectives and 'new voices' such as Marxism, Feminism, Social Constructivism, Postcolonialism and so on as the critical perspectives (Baylis et al. 2011; Baylis, Smith & Owens 2011; Heywood 2011; Lamy et al. 2012; Lebow 2010). Each paradigm or approach has enriched our understanding regarding the causes of war but each also has limitations (Lebow 2010). This section presents the debates prevailing within each of these approaches to explain the causes of inter-state war. Firstly, let me focus on the arguments of each approach.

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[1] Guerrilla war is a Spanish term, literal meaning is 'little war' which is an insurgency or people's war. This war is fought by irregular troops using tactics of mobility and surprise attack (Heywood 2011,p. 241).

2.1.1. Approaches of the Realists

For Realists, the 'be all and end all' of global politics is the thirst for power and self-interest (Heywood 2011,p.54). The theoretical approaches of Realism analyse all international relations as the relation of states and their pursuit of power. They see the international system as anarchic or without a common source of power and believe that conflict or war is an endemic part of international relations and world affairs (Baylis, Smith & Owens 2011,p. 65-75; Heywood 2011, p.54-61,p.244). However, a variety of perspectives remains within the broader theoretical umbrella of Realism to explain the cause of war. On the basis of core assumptions about the driving force of power politics, the thoughts of Realism can be divided into two distinct schools, Classical Realism and Structural Realism (Heywood 2011,p.54-61). Even within each type, there remains a variation, and table 2.1 briefly presents the differentiations.

Table 2.1: A taxonomy of Realism on war

Type of Realism	Key thinkers	'Big ideas' on causes for war
Classical Realism (Human Nature)	Thucydides (ca.430-406) *The Peloponnesian War*	The self-seeking, competitive and aggressive human natures drive international politics.
	Machiavelli (1532) *The Prince*	The ultimate skill of state leader is to accept and adapt to the changing power-political configurations in world politics.
	Morgenthau (1948) *The Politics Among nations*	Politics is governed by laws that are created by human nature. The mechanism we use to understand international politics in the concept of interests, defined in terms of power.

Structural / Neo-Realism (Inter-national system)	Rousseau (ca. 1750) *The State of War*	It is not human nature but the anarchical system that fosters fear, jealousy, suspicion and insecurity.
	Waltz (1979) *Theory of International Politics*	Anarchy causes the logic of self-help. The states seek to maximise their security. The most stable distribution of power is the system of bipolarity.
	Mearsheimer (2001) *Tragedy of Great Power Politics*	The anarchical, self-help system compels states to maximise their relative power position.
	Mastanduno (1991) *'Do Relative Gains Matter? America's Response to Japanese Industrial Policy*	The states tend to prioritise security over power. The states are reluctant to go to war, regardless of the dynamics of the international system.

(Adopted and adapted from Baylis, Smith & Owens 2011 p.71; Heywood 2011)

One of the pioneers of Classical Realism, Thucydides contends that power politics is governed by the law of human behaviour (Thucydides n.d.; Baylis, Smith & Owens 2011; Heywood 2011). This notion was further developed by Morgenthau (1948). He depicted 'political man' as an innately selfish creature with an insatiable urge to dominate others. For both of them, the essential driving force of the power-seeking behaviour of states is rooted in the biological nature of human beings (Baylis, Smith & Owens 2011). Therefore, it is the self-seeking egotistical character of people that comprise the state and explain why international politics is necessarily power politics. In such conditions, Machiavelli (1532) prescribed how a leader is supposed to act for the purposes of gaining greater security (Baylis, Smith & Owens

2011,p.63-75). Thus, Classical Realism places human nature at its centre and fundamentally focuses on the struggle for belonging and security. This struggle can very often be violent or lead to all-out war.

While Structural Realists or Neorealists agree with the Classical Realists' contention that international politics is essentially a struggle for power, they differ over the assumption that the law of human behaviour is its central driving force. Hence, Structural Realists argue that the international system is anarchic and so sovereign states are the supreme authority in ensuring the ability to self-help to achieve survival and security (Heywood 2011, p.54-61,244). However, there remains disagreement among Neorealists regarding the relationship between structural instability and the likelihood of war. 'Offensive' Realists believe that the primary motivation of the states is to accumulate power. So in an anarchical system, if the balance of power breaks down, then there is a possibility that the momentum leading to war would also break down (Mearsheirmer 2001; Heywood 2011, p. 62, 234). On the other hand, 'Defensive' Realists argue that primary motivation of the states is to guarantee their own security and so states are generally reluctant to go for the option of war (Mastanduno 1991). So, 'Offensive' Realists assume a strong likelihood to war, whereas, Defensive Realists wish to avoid war and decide to go to war in order to prevent the aggression of others.

Here, all Realists agree that balance of power is the distinguishing factor between war and peace. Rational self-interest and cost-benefit calculation dictate the cause or avoidance of war. Again, as states pursue national interests, conflict is almost inevitable, and it is likely that this will be played out in military terms. Therefore, for Realists war is a continuous feature of international relations and world affairs (Heywood 2011,p.244). Again, the Classical and Neorealists raise the debate between 'human nature versus system or structure' to identify the core cause of war. I will discuss on

this argument later. Before that let us see how Liberals explain the causes of war.

2.1.2. Approaches of Liberals

Contrary to the Realists view, Liberals believe that peace is a natural but not an inevitable condition for international relations. According to Liberals, wars arise due to different sets of circumstances and each of them is avoidable (Heywood 2011,p.244). Table 2.2 demonstrates the variation within the Liberal theories to explain the causes of war.

Liberal theories about interdependence argue that war is often linked with economic nationalism and autarky[2]. Such quests for self-sufficiency can tend to bring states into violent conflict or war (Heywood 2011, p.244). They advocate that individual liberty, free trade and economic interdependence among states can make war economically costly. Thus, the people and the state have no organically arrived interest-point from which to take up the option of war (Baylis, Smith & Owens 2011).

Table 2.2. A taxonomy of Liberalism on war

Type of Liberalism	Key thinkers	'Big ideas' on causes for war
Interdependence (Human nature)	Richard Cobden (1804-65)	Interventions by governments, domestically and internationally disturbing natural order. Individual liberty, free trade, prosperity and economic interdependence can prevent war.

[2] The literal meaning of 'autarky' is self-rule. This term usually means that economic self-sufficiency is brought either by colonial expansion or withdrawal from international trade.

Republican (State)	Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924)	Undemocratic nature of international politics, especially foreign policy and the balance of power cause war. National self-determination, open governments responsive to public opinion and collective security can prevent war.
Liberal Institutionalism (the structure of the system)	Imanuel Kant (1724-1804)	The balance of power between states can cause war. A world government with powers to mediate and enforce decisions can prevent war.

(Adopted and adapted from Baylis, Smith & Owens 2011; Heywood 2011)

While Republican Liberals advocate the democratic peace thesis to prevent war, they believe that the constitutional characteristic of the states is a crucial determining factor towards war or peace. According to the Republican Liberals, authoritarian states tend to be militaristic and expansionist, and so these states are inclined to use force to achieve both domestic and foreign goals. Whereas in democratic states, governments are responsive to public opinion and look for bonds or collective security which can prevent war (Heywood 2011,p. 244).

Another school of Liberal thoughts, Liberal Institutionalism, asserts that a context of anarchy may lead to conflict and can be a possible cause for war. They reflect that such international anarchy can be controlled or resolved by the internal application of the rule of law. So, they promote the importance of supranational bodies to mediate or enforce decisions to prevent war (Heywood 2011,p.244; Baylis, Smith & Owens 2011).

Here, all the Liberals consider war as a last resort and keep faith in peace. Again, Interdependence Liberals align with the Realists' beliefs and believe in the self-seeking nature of the human being, but disagree on the explanations of self-seeking behaviour and causes of war. Republican Liberals advocate for a democratic peace thesis as a tool to prevent war. Institutional Liberals talk about global laws or standards. However, Realists have substantially differing views on the issue of human nature, democratic peace thesis and global standards. Before discussing these, I want to reflect on some of the thoughts of the Critical thinkers to explain the causes of war.

2.1.3. Approaches of the Critical thinkers

The following table indicates some of the approaches adopted by Critical thinkers to explain the origins of warfare.

Table 2.3: A taxonomy of Critical thinkers on war

Type of Critical thinkers	Key thinkers	'Big ideas' on causes for war
Marxists (capitalist economic system)	Karl Marx (1818-1883) Vladimir Ilich Lenin (1870-1924)	The origin of war can be traced back to the capitalist economic system. War is fought for economic interest. Socialism and Internationalism can prevent war.
Anarchist (hegemony)	Noam Chomsky (1928-)	The World's most powerful states use war to defend or expand their economic and political interests. A radical redistribution of global power can prevent war.

Feminist (institution of patriarchy)		War stems from warlike nature of male sex or from institution of patriarchy. Natural peacefulness of women and women's experience of the world can encourage human connectedness and cooperation to prevent war.
Social Constructivists		Culture and ideological factors make war more likely. These factors portray international environment as threatening and unstable and give a state or political group a militaristic or expansionist self-image.
Postcolonial		The colonialism left a heritage of ethnic and tribal rivalry. So, civil wars have become common in the postcolonial world.

(Adopted and adapted from Baylis, Smith & Owens 2011; Heywood 2011)

Critical thinkers from the Marxist school assert the capitalist economic system as the root cause of war. For example, Lenin (1970) claimed that World War I occurred for the pursuit of colonial gain in Africa and other colonial regions. They tend to preach that Socialism and commitment to Internationalism are the best ways to achieve peace or power for the anti-war movement. By contrast, the Anarchists (for example, Noam Chomsky) emphasise on the phenomenon of hegemonic war[3]. They believe that most powerful states directly or indirectly use war to defend or expand their economic and political interests. Therefore, war is

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[3] Hegemonic war means the war that is fought to establish dominance of the entire world order by restructuring the global balance of power (Heywood 2011,p.241)

associated with hegemony and peace can only be established through a radical redistribution of global power (Chomsky 2003). Thus, according to them, peace cannot be achieved without a radical redistribution of global power (Chomsky 2003; Heywood 2011,p.244). Again, some Feminist thinkers[4] draw the attention on the gender perspective of war and peace. They believe that war stems from the warlike nature of the male sex or from the institution of patriarchy. They draw attention to the intimate association between women and peace, as, according to them, women are peaceful by nature and women's experience of the world encourages an emphasis on human connectedness and cooperation (Heywood 2011, p. 244).

Social Constructivists stress the role of cultural and ideological factors in causing wars. They explain that these factors either tend to portray the international environment as threatening and unstable or give a state or political group a militaristic[5] or expansionist's self-image that can make war more likely. For example, the doctrine of the Aryan racial superiority of the German in the lead up to World War II or the Jihadist theories about a clash between the Muslim world and the West instigated the possibility of Islamist insurgency[6] or the terrorist movement (Heywood 2011, p. 242).

Postcolonial interpretations assign blame to colonialism, and its lasting legacy of ethnic or tribal hostility, economic underdevelopment, poverty, inequality and weak state power. All these factors cause the

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[4] For example, Barbara Ehrenrich said, "Men make wars... because war makes them men". (Ehrenreich, B. 1997)

[5] Militarism: 'A cultural or ideological phenomenon in which military priorities, ideas and values come to pervade the larger society.' (Heywood 2011,p.242)

[6] Insurgency: 'An armed uprising, involving irregular soldiers, which aims to overthrow the established.'

emergence of 'quasi or failed states', for example, several sub-Saharan African states—Somalia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and the Congo. These states often fail to maintain domestic order or security, from sporadic bouts of internal strife to full-blooded civil wars[7] (Heywood 2011, p. 247).

2.2. Arguments among the theoretical approaches of old wars

In the three subsections above, I have depicted the diverse arguments within Realists, Liberals or Critical approaches to explain the causes of war. In a broader sense, most of them hinge their arguments on the concept of 'structure versus agency[8]' to explain the causes of war. The following section divides the discussion within three categories: human nature, the internal characteristics of the state or state egotism and structural or systematic anarchy or balance of power in the international system as categorized by Waltz (1959).

2.2.1. Human nature

Realists view human nature as essentially fixed and governed by biological or genetic factors. Thinkers like Hobbes and Machiavelli influenced the Realists in their thinking about human nature. Realists believe that the nature of human being is self-seeking and egotistical. According to the Realists, aversions, fears, hopes and the desires to exercise power over others are the guiding forces to determine human nature. Thus, by nature, human beings are belligerent (Heywood 2011,p.56,244; Baylis, Smith & Owens 2011)

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[7] Civil war means the armed conflict between politically organised groups within in a state who fought either to control of the state or to establish a new state (Heywood 2011, p. 240).
[8] Is global politics best explained in terms of 'structures'(the context within which action takes place) or in terms of agency (the ability of human actors to influence events)? (Heywood 2011, p.72)

Liberal school contrasts with the Realists' images of ruthless power-seeking characteristics of human beings. Liberals keep faith in the moral dimension of human nature. Thinkers like Rousseau influence Liberals to draw ideas about human nature and Liberals in the broader context, agree with the self-seeking and self-reliant nature and emphasise the logical characteristic or tendency of human beings. As they believe in a moral dimension to human nature which is grounded in the possibilities of reason and progress, they express faith in the possibilities for resolving conflict through debate, discussion, negotiation and so on. Therefore, here war is considered as the very last resort (Heywood 2011).

Again, both Realists and Liberals believe that human nature is unchanging and fixed at birth, whereas critical thinkers hold the general view that human nature is plastic and social circumstances and experience frame human nature (Heywood 2011,p.56). Marxists argue that the social being determines consciousness, whereas, Social Constructivists and Poststructuralists refute such concepts of a unified 'human nature.' Again, Feminists differentiate the nature between men and women, as some schools of Feminists view that men are marshal, with competitive and dominative natures, while women are naturally sympathetic and peaceful (Heywood 2011,p.56).

2.2.2. State egoism

Realists consider war as a continuing feature of international politics, and it possesses an inescapable dynamics of power politics. According to them, states are propelled by the national interest that inevitably proceeds towards conflict which sometimes in many occasions can be played out in military terms. Classical Realists argue that the rivalry relationships among political communities are a reflection of the inherent tendencies of human beings' self-seeking, aggressive and competitive nature.

Neorealists argue that in the anarchic international system states are bound to depend on self-help for their survival and security, and so only the strong military power of states can ensure peace. Thus, they emphasise that in order to preserve peace, states must prepare for war (Heywood 2011).

Realists consider war as an enduring feature, conversely, Liberals believe peace is natural but not inevitable. According to them, state egoism, economic nationalism, autarky and authoritarian state systems present the causes for waging war. However, they advocate that the operation of the international rule of law can resolve this anarchy. In addition to this, free trade and other forms of economic interdependence can stimulate an atmosphere conducive for avoiding war. When cost-benefit analysis is considered in an economically interdependent world, war would most likely become more costly. Furthermore, since democracy preaches for negotiation and reconciliation, the spreading of democratic states instead of authoritarian, militaristic ones would more effectively promote peace (Heywood 2011,p.56).

Furthermore, there remains a debate among Liberals and Realists about the democratic peace thesis as a guarantee for peace. The Liberal view is that wars are caused by governments, not by people (Heywood 2011,p.66). If democracy prevails, public opinion would go against war, so the states would not go to war due to public pressure, whereas Realists argue that the factors that cause war can be applied to democratic and authoritarian states differently as the constitutional structure cannot alter the selfishness, greed and violent nature of states. Again, Liberals argue that since the essence of democratic government is a process of compromise, conciliation and negotiation, this approach would also apply to foreign policy. Thus, the states would be less inclined to use force and more interested in resolving international conflict through compromise and conciliation. However, Realists, by contrast, argue that the tendency towards war is less based on the constitutional makeup of states and more from fear and suspicion. So, International anarchy is an unavoidable circumstance (Heywood 2011,p.66). Marxist tradition strongly believes that a commitment to socialism can lead to internationalism which can only guarantee peace (Heywood 2011,p.66).

2.2.3. Balance of power

The concept of balance of power is one of the core themes of Realist theory. This balance of power is believed to play a vital role in shaping state behaviour and the role of power relations in structuring international politics. Realists argue that the achievement of an equilibrium between power blocs can bring a balance and in turn, this can lead to peace and stability (Heywood 2001, p. 268).

On the contrary, Liberals generally critique the notion of balance of power. They believe that the idea of balance of power can legitimise and ingrain international rivalry and generate instability and distrust among states. Liberals assert that balance of power is more likely to tempt war than to prevent it. So, they emphasise the construction of international organisations instead of a bipolar or unipolar balance of power systems as the principal solution to prevent war and establish peace (Heywood 2001, p.268). Realists view that human egoism generates state egoism, and this inevitably contributes to creating rivalries between countries as the countries are driven only by national interest. So, according to Realists, international cooperation or 'perpetual peace' is a utopian aspiration (Heywood 2011, p. 256, 268).

Again, there remains a variety of Critical approaches to the notion of the balance of power. Social Constructivists state that the assessment of the balance of power depends on 'perception, ideas and beliefs'. International society theorists argue that the balance of power emerges out of

common norms and values and a mutual desire of states to avoid war, while Feminists have some similar beliefs as Liberals—that a balance of power can tend to intensify international conflict and make war more likely. Moreover, they add that a gendered notion of balance of power, in which power is almost conceived as the strength of domination over others becomes a struggle for power to promote peace and stability (Heywood 2011, p.268).

From recapitulation of the above discussion, we can draw that in order to look for the causes of war, different political theories raise questions such as: is war rooted in human nature or is it a cultural or structural invention? (Heywood 2011; Gat 2006; Lebow 2010). One prominent explanation for war is that it emerges from the innate or inborn instincts and appetites of the human individual. Thucydides (n.d.) wrote that war is caused by 'the lust for power arising from greed and ambitions.' As there remains no boundary for desire and appetites, but resources are constrained, so struggle and competition are inevitable, and this can bring bloodshed and violence. Other explanations emphasise structural issues—for example, protecting the homeland, achieving national glory, advancing political or religious ideologies, establishing racial or ethnic dominance and so on—as the causes for war (Heywood 2011, p.241). Again, Social Constructivists emphasise cultural and ideological factors as the causes of war. Thus, distinct theoretical stances, psychological, cultural and structural, appear in the literature to explain the causes of war. This debate is still going on, for example, the relative roles of greed, cultural factors or grievances to explain the post-Cold or intrastate wars or 'new wars' (Keen 2012; Novelli & Cardozo 2008).

2.3. Theories on new wars and arguments

The demise of the Soviet Union and totalitarian regimes, the creation of power vacuum, the degrading of the Socialist ideology, the access to, and supply of, weapons, led to the development of a new type of international structure as well as the notion of warfare during the post-cold war era. Those factors challenge the conventional theories of warfare of international relations (Kaldor 2006; Snow 1996; Jung 2003). A key thinker and international relations theorist, Mary Kaldor, has defined this new sort of organised violence as 'new wars' (Kaldor 2006).

Table 2.4: A taxonomy of new wars

Root causes	Key thinkers and factor	'Big ideas' on causes for war
Micro-psychology	**Collier**- Greed	Warlords and terrorists cause war for economic reasons
Meso-culture	**Huntington**-culture	Clash of civilisations leads to conflict and tension
Macro-structural	**Duffield** – Structural	Global unequal order stimulates grievances

(Adopted and adapted from Picciotto 2005; Novelli & Cardozo 2008, pp. 475).

During the post-cold war era, the approaches to defining and analysing war and warfare have undergone a profound transformation. The spread of globalisation, the emergence of new patterns of cooperation and conflict among the state and non-state actors triggered the development of a new breed of warfare. These wars are significantly and qualitatively different from the earlier forms of war. From a new war perspective, a number of social, political, economic factors have been identified that aid in the analysis of the current trends of armed conflict. Newman (2004,p. 174) illustrated six prime factors. Firstly, the participants in new wars are nation-states or non-state actors: public or private actors, warlords, criminals or terrorists. Secondly, the spatial context: wars occurring in international, regional or interstate settings. Thirdly, ethnicities, political identity, income inequality, criminal activity, state failure are the root causes of war. Fourthly, the actors of wars are motivated by political ideology: grievance, greed, government control or territorial

secession. Next, the use of technology, training and military tactics are markedly different from those used to operate in 'old wars'. Finally, the social and human impacts, human displacement, terrorising and murder of civilians and noncombatants; are different from the old ones.

Considering the causes, actors and other factors along with different theories of new wars, Picciotto (2005) highlighted three contrasting 'grand theories' to explain the causes of 'new wars' (Picciotto 2005; Novelli & Cardozo 2008, pp. 475). One theory draws from Huntington's (1993; 1996) thesis on the 'Clash of Civilisations' in which the fault lines of divided civilisations have been identified as a major source of conflicts. Another theory focuses on structural inequalities within the global economy as derived by Mark Duffield (Duffield 2001; Picciotto 2005; Novelli & Cardozo 2008, pp. 475). On the other hand, Collier (1999) came from the Neoliberal rational choice perspective and emphasises individual 'greed' motives as the cause for violent acts (Collier 1999; Collier & Hoeffler 2004; Picciotto 2005; Novelli & Cardozo 2008, pp. 475). Each of these theories offers different explanations about the causes of war.

2.3.1. Clash of civilisations

According to Huntington's thesis, culture is destined to be a primary force in global politics. The major sources of conflict are located along the 'fault lines of divided civilisations' (Huntington 1993; 1996; Heywood 2011, p.190; Picciotto 2005; Novelli & Cardozo 2008). After the cold war, ideological (capitalism and communism) rivalry has faded significantly, and the role of states in generating a sense of civic belonging has become weakened. On the other hand, global or cosmopolitan identities have not become a reality (Huntington 1993; 1996; Heywood 2011, p.190). So, within such a context, people and nations are confronted with a fundamental

question of identity. This creates an impetus for people to define themselves increasingly regarding ancestry, religion, language, history, values and custom or in short in terms of culture (Huntington 1993; 1996; Heywood 2011, p.190).

A stronger sense of cultural belongings can inevitably lead to tension and conflict as different cultures, and civilisations carry a different set of values and meanings and pursue plural understandings of the world (Huntington 1993; 1996; Heywood 2011, p.190). This tendency can sharpen a global sense of 'us and them', or 'our civilisation versus those barbarians' (Heywood 2011, p.190). Such inclinations can "inflame tensions, nurture grievances and provoke conflict both within and across states" (Picciotto 2005). Therefore, states or groups from the so-called 'same civilisation' would support their 'kin countries' and political creeds: 'Islamisation', 'Christianisation', 'Hinduisation', 'Russianisation' and so on. According to this theory, these 'cultural' differentials can become a key driver for global insecurity and cause for 'new wars' (Huntington 1993; 1996; Heywood, p.190; Picciotto 2005; Novelli & Cardozo 2008). This thesis champions the importance of diplomacy as well as cultural exchanges to come to a resolution on ideological conflicts or competition and promote Liberal doctrines against fundamentalism to counter wars (Picciotto 2005).

2.3.2. Structural inequalities and (in) security

The Structuralist worldview to explain the new wars by Mark Duffield differs substantially with Huntington's 'ideological spectrum' (Picciotto 2005). Duffield (2001) argues that current conflict is an outcome of a highly exclusionary policy towards a vast population of the 'south' in relation to the economic benefits of globalisation. This Structuralist perspective asserts that the contemporary global information economy as well as the Neoliberal policy for integrated

supranational governance networks is more reliant on knowledge, skills and market institutions of the 'north'. They principally tend to emphasise 'north-north' cooperation. This significantly high numbers of population from the developing or less developed regions or so-called 'south', are becoming 'marginalised' due to Neoliberal policy which constrains their economic benefit through debt burdens, fiscal rigour and conditionality (Duffield 2001; Picciotto 2005).

This process of discrimination, marginalisation, and global policy can cause a high level of inflation, unemployment and corruption in the poor states. This increases the possibilities of violent acts, unlawful activities like crimes, robbery and the illegal trafficking of drugs and weapons and so on. Therefore, the issues of social exclusion, marginalisation and inequality can cause grievances and become a major concern for 'human security' or 'insecurity'. This is a potential ground for 'new wars' (Duffield 2001; Picciotto 2005; Novelli & Cardozo 2008). So, Duffield's conception invokes a human face of globalisation through highlighting the possibilities of policy coherence for development initiatives to thwart war (Picciotto 2005).

2.3.3. Home-economicus and rational choice theories

Contrary to Duffield (2001) and other 'structuralists' stances, the third doctrine of Collier (1999) reflects the mainstream Neoliberal ideas (Collier 1999; Picciotto 2005; Novelli & Cardozo 2008). This approach depicts warlords and terrorists as economic agents rather than as players or followers of any coherent ideologies and political agendas (Collier 1999; Picciotto 2005; Novelli & Cardozo 2008).

Collier (1999) asserts economic motivation as an important factor propelling violence for civil wars. Considering the rationale choice theories of human action, he eloquently describes the rise of intra-state conflicts as micro economic

factors or 'greed' (Picciotto 2005; Novelli & Cardozo 2008,p.477). He views that humans are engaged in conflict as 'economic agents' to seek profits. To get remedy from the conflicts, Collier proposes modifications of the incentive framework and promotion for legitimate and productive business enterprises at national and international levels.

In short, all three doctrines of 'new' wars have highlighted some aspects on the questions on why people go to 'new wars', with a greater degree of similarities and dissimilarities (Picciotto 2005; Novelli & Cardozo 2008, p.477). Huntington and Collier did not address issues of poverty and inequality whereas Collier and Duffield missed the issue of cultural conflict (Picciotto 2005; Novelli & Cardozo 2008, p.477-478). The stances between Collier and Duffield present the debate on greed versus grievances, or psychological (or personal) versus structural arguments to identify the propelling factors behind 'new wars', whereas Huntington emphasises the issue of culture.

2.4. Encapsulation of theories of war

Here, table 2.5 briefly presents the overall discussion on different theoretical perceptions about war, both old and new wars.

Table 2.5: Encapsulation of theories of war

War	Root Causes	Proponents view about roots	Proponents' reflections on war
Old wars	Micro-Human nature	**Realists**-self-centred;	aversions, hopes, desire cause war, and war is inevitable
		Liberals-self-centred; **Critical**	consider war as last resort
		Marxist-social and political context framed human nature,	capitalist system

		Feminists- men are competitive, women are sympathetic and peaceful,	dominating nature of male sex cause war
	Meso-state egoism	**Realists**- self-help;	for security and survival, war is an enduring feature
		Liberals- interdependence;	war is avoidable through economic connectedness
		Critical Marxist- capitalist economic system	pursuit of internationalism to stop war
		Anarchist- hegemony of global power	radical change of global order
		Feminists- patriarchal	institution of patriarchy causes war.
	Macro-balance of power	**Realist –**product of political intervention and statesmanship	lead to peace and stability through a check of power
		Liberals- legitimise international rivalry	emergence out of common norms and values can avoid war
		Critical Feminists- power or domination over others	gendered notion of balance of power
		Social Constructivists- depends on 'perception, ideas and beliefs'	common values mutual desire of states to avoid war.
		Postcolonial- Colonial legacy	colonialism left a heritage of ethnic

			and tribal rivalry. civil wars have become common in postcolonial world.
New wars	Micro-psychology	**Collier**- Greed	warlords and terrorists cause war for economic reasons
	Meso-culture	**Huntington**- culture	Clash of civilisations leads to conflict and tension
	Macro-structural	**Duffield** – Structural	global unequal order stimulates grievances

These theoretical classifications of the causes of war could have different implications for the analysis of the potentialities of peace education to counter war which I propose to discuss in Chapter 4. However, before that, let me try to address whether peace education has the potential to counter war for which a review of the development of peace education will be useful.

CHAPTER 3

Historical emergence of peace education and the context of war and peace

Why did peace education emerge? What were the contexts of war and peace while peace education was set to emerge? Can peace education contribute to stop war and establish peace? The search for contextualised answers to such questions persuaded me to look back the historical roots and their corresponding contexts of war and peace. Let us recall the early twentieth century, a matured stage of the age imperialism, when colonial states from Europe maintained substantial control over the world. For instance, during the early twentieth century, colonial empires of European states (Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal) dominated a major part of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and approximately 500 million of the world's population lived under colonial rule (Carruthers 2001, p.52). Therefore, for this study, the discussion on the historical emergence of peace education is very Euro-centric and so are the respective contexts of war and peace. This perhaps is an intrinsic weakness of peace education which is frequently applied, uncritically, to non-western contexts.

To search for the root of the development of philosophical and political literature in western culture, we often hark back to ancient Greek literature (see Appendix 2). Here, I will focus on the twentieth century, the century of the historical emergence of peace education and also century identifiable for the horrific nature of its incidences,

such as the two world wars, nuclear devastation, cold war and 'new wars'. Harris (2004) divides the history of peace education of the twentieth century into two parts: firstly, community-based peace education which contains the events of different peace movements initiated by various scholars, philosophers, educators and others; secondly, formal school-based peace education programmes initiated by different academic, national and international organisations. This historical emergence of peace education can also be traced as the transition from peace movement to peace education. In this chapter, I am going to highlight the historical incidences of war and the corresponding development of the peace movement and peace education focusing on their core conceptual underpinnings. At the same time, I will highlight so far what potential the transition from the peace movement to peace education has shown to counter war.

3.1. Community-based peace education and the context of war and peace

I am going to divide the discussion on the community-based peace education and its context into two subsections: firstly, Belle époque[9] to world war I, and secondly, World War I to World War II.

3.1.1. Belle époque to World War I

The emergence of peace movements led by the progressive intellectuals of the nineteenth century after the series of Naploleonic wars[10] influenced the growth of

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[9] Belle époque is a French term, literal meaning is 'beautiful era'. This refers to the period between late nineteenth century to the outbreak of WWI as period of peace and prosperity in Europe (Heywood 2011, p.28).

[10] Napoleonic Wars, series of wars fought between France and a number of European nations from 1799 to 1815. In 1799 France came under the domination of Napoleon Bonaparte, who later

peace education (Harris 2008; Woloch 2008). However, this emergence is indebted to a multitude of predecessors. One of them was the Czech educator Comenius who, during the seventeenth century's expansion of colonialist imperial power (concurrent with the expansion of the European notion of economic nationalism), argued for 'universally-shared knowledge as a road to peace' (Harris 2008; Heywood 2011; Comenius 1969). It sheds light on the ideals of harmonious living and the acceptance of diverse cultures as the ultimate goal for education. Harris (2008a) and Passy (1869) stated that during the last decades of the 19th century, different peace movement initiatives developed in Brussels, London, Paris, or Geneva, to promulgate arguments against the build-up of armaments and educate the masses about the intimidating nature of war[11]. During the last decades of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, peace organisations were formed in nearly all the European nations—including then newly formed Italy and Germany— and spread to the United States as well. Here, peace associations were formed with groups of teachers, students, professors and members of the civil societies. They campaigned for raising public awareness about the dangers of war (Harris 2008).

Another significant contribution of the peace movement was the introduction of the prestigious Nobel Peace Prize. Bertha von Suttner's novels against war and the international peace movement's lobbying convinced Alfred Nobel to initiate this prize (Hamann 1996). Peace movement organisations and congresses campaigned to resolve international conflicts through

mediation instead of the use of weapons. During this time public demonstrations were arranged to influence the ruling elites to adopt pacifist[12] policies (Harris 2008). In addition to this, the ambitious plan of the School of Peace League to incorporate 500,000 teachers from all over the United States with the slogan on "promoting through the schools… the interests of international justice and fraternity" started at that time (Stomfay 1993; Scanlon 1959, p.214). The irony was that this initiative was taken a year before the outbreak of World War I (Harris 2008).

Now, let me briefly sketch the context of World War I. During the beginning of the twentieth century European states at the peak of their powers vis-à-vis global politics and economies, as I have stated earlier (Heywood 2011, Carruthers 2001). This Belle époque, or the golden age, featured rapid technological advancement, development of steam-powered shipping, the spread of the railroads, innovation and commercial application of the telegraph, and so on. This tuned human society truly to the universal era (Bisley 2007). However, this so-called golden age agitated economic nationalism and caused the European states to conflict with one another in their lust for resources, power and prestige in 'a shrinking world' (Heywood 2011). This led the world to have its first experience of the horrific consequences of a total war.[13] It is therefore evident that in spite of the peace movement and the advocacy of pacifism during the late nineteenth to

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became Napoleon I, Emperor of France, in 1804. Napoleon met final defeat on June 18, 1815, at the Battle of Waterloo, which marked the end of the Napoleonic Wars (Woloch 2007).
[11] For instance, Paris congress in 1849 in which Victor Hugo was the President (Passy 1869).

[12] Pacifism is position on the moral principles of war. This principle believes that war is an unnecessary evil and can never be justified (Heywood 2011, p.254).
[13] Total war means the war which involves all aspects of society, large-scale of conscription, gearing the economy to military ends. The aim of total war is to achieve unconditional surrender through mass destruction of enemy targets, civilian and military (Heywood 2011, p.240)

early twentieth century, the world's geopolitical momentum was carrying it head-first into World War I.

Another significant event in the aftermath of World War I was the peace treaty known as the Treaty of Versailles, containing Wilsons' fourteen points. It was a desire to institutionalise a new international world order to achieve 'just peace' through the banishment of power politics. This treaty pioneered the promotion of the principle of 'collective security' based on the belief that war can be avoided by creating International organisations for 'peace lovers' such as League of Nations (Heywood 2011; Carruthers 2001, pp.51-73). Despite the emergence of intellectual, civil peace movement and active campaign against war in Europe and United States, the outbreak of the World War I was not stopped.

3.1.2. World War I to World War II

During the years between the World Wars teachers of Social studies emphasised the learning of international relations with the intention to motivate students not to wage war against foreigners. One of the leading proponents of progressive education, Dewey highlighted the significance of an international understanding of geography and history, with the teaching learning process geared to enable the learning community to 'reconstruct the past and cope with the present' (Howlett 2008, p.27). Peace educators extolled the virtues of the progressive peace movement to promote world patriotism instead of the intensification of ultra-nationalism, so that the youth would be educated with an awareness of a common humanity that would help them to break down the narrow barriers of nationalism which can often be a leading force to war (Harris 2008).

However, the state of world politics showed us a rather contradictory reality. World War I was meant to be the 'war to end all wars.' But, within a generation, World War II broke out and the world experienced the biggest military confrontation in the history of human civilisation. Historians and political scientists alike assert the consequence of the Treaty of Versailles, the crisis of the global economy, the rise of Nazism and fascism, and Japanese expansion in Asia paved the road to World War II. Critics of the Versailles treaty point out that this treaty had a wider faith in 'utopianism' or liberal internationalism, and in reality it aggravated the haves (winners of WWI) to drive the international affairs in favour of their interests and undermine the power of the 'have-nots' particularly Germany and Italy who later formed alliance with Japan during World War II (Carr 1939; Heywood 2011). Besides the disservice of the treaty, the slump in the global economy during 1929-33 fostered the rise and expansion of ultra-nationalism, fascism and Nazism. The World WarII was the consequence of all these manifestations.

I want to draw the attention to certain ideological subtleties of this era. Though the peace educators propagated for world patriotism rather than being confined with nationalism, the worst example of ultra-nationalism Nazism and fascism emerged and expanded during this period. Again, it can be viewed in other ways: the peace educators did point out at least philosophically or theoretically the cause of war and a resolution for peace during the intermediate period between World War I and World War II.

Parallel to the anti-war campaign, the wave of peace education movements was allied with the working class and Socialist political associations during the last decades of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. Many of the leading figures of this movement were women (Harris 2008), and one of the leading women was Nobel peace prize winner of 1931, Jane Addams (1907) who championed the inclusion of immigrants groups to schools. She articulated the slogan of 'peace and bread' and emphasised poverty as a cause

of war. She criticised the conventional state of the curriculum as a thwarting of women's educational choices and opportunities, and she was a lynchpin in the campaign for women-oriented reform. In addition to this, she was an active campaigner in the establishing of the League of Nations after World War I in order to create a global forum to prevent the future consequences of war (Harris 2008).

Another leading figure of peace education for this time was Italian woman Dr. Maria Montessori. She urged the rejection of the authoritarian pedagogy as authoritarian teaching-learning eased the way for such rulers to inculcate the young to go to war. She believed that construction of peace depends on the freedom of the spirit of a child, carrying love for others and getting rid of the blind obedience of authority. She developed a pedagogy of child-centred learning with the goal of building a peaceful world (Harris 2008; Duckworth 2008).

Ironically, in history, we have seen two of the most extreme examples of the presence and influence of authoritarian rulers, Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy. Economic depression, along with extreme authoritarian rule, fostered World War II. This dreadful war officially ended with the horrific incidence of the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and this, in turn, gave birth to the nuclear era. Again, the argument shifted to the potential of peace education. Montessori, at least philosophically, did address and connect the issues of an authoritative rule to the causes of war and derived the concept of democratic or child-centric education to prevent war. However, there remained a great gap between the educational philosophy of Montessori and the political situation during that time. Thus, the idea of peace education could not help to stop World War II.

The end of World War II gave birth to a nuclear era and the onset of the cold war. The peace movement and peace education also shifted regarding its form and content. After the World War II, peace education movement started to get a formal shape.

3.2. Formal, school-based peace education and state of war and peace

Soon after the introduction of the first academic peace studies program at Manchester College in 1948, the field of peace research developed as a 'science of peace' to counter the notion of the 'science of war' (Harris 2008,p.20). For the science of peace, the threat of the advent of thermonuclear weapons had manifested an area of great concern for human civilisation. In the following decades, the Vietnam War espoused more university and college programs to focus on the presence and expansion of imperialism and its further consequences on peace and war (Harris 2008, p.20).

Around the same time, the United Nations (UN) started its operations with a general aim to retain international peace and cooperation. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisations (UNESCO) took peace education as central to its constitutional mandate. The preamble of its constitution stated that as war begins in the minds of individuals, so the defences against war should be constructed in the minds of the individual (Fountain 1999, p.2; Page 2008). In 1953, the UNESCO established Associated Schools Project Network (ASPnet) following the UNESCO objectives of encouraging peace and international understanding, with the mission of "learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together, and learning to be," (Fountain 1999,p.2). ASPnet functions to promote the principles of peace education. Different activities, such as networking between schools of different

countries, student projects, transnational camps, conferences, campaigns and so on, have been taken by ASPnet in order to enhance respect for other cultures and traditions through quality education (Page 2008). Here, we find the influence of Contact theory and Integrated theory of peace to design peace education programme. I will refer this to the next chapter.

Again, the birth of nuclear age caused a fundamental change in nature and attitudes towards war and warfare. This technology and its potential for mass destruction became a serious concern on international and domestic politics during the cold war period. In the 1980s the menace of nuclear war became a catalyst for peace studies courses at all educational levels, as educators all around the world wanted to warn of the enormous threat of devastation. The birth of the nuclear age made a dynamic change in the nature of war as well as transformed the attitudes towards war (Heywood 2011, p.265). During the period of cold war (noted as the 'first nuclear age'), the USA and the former Soviet Union gained enough nuclear weapon capability to destroy the world several times over (Heywood 2011,p.266). Thus, many peace educators expressed concern about the 'threat of cataclysmic nuclear exchange between the United States and the former Soviet Union.' the two antagonists of the cold war (Harris 2008, p.21).

In the previous chapter, I have mentioned that after the demise of the Soviet Union or the so-called end of the cold-war, the world has experienced new types of war and warfare, which are more explicitly intra-state or ethnic. In Eastern Europe, the break-up of Yugoslavia prolonged bloodshed amongst Serbs, Croats and Muslims, and in the Bosnian war (1992-95), we have witnessed the longest and most violent European war during the last decade of the twentieth century. The twenty-first century starts with the conflict of 'war on terror' which is often reconciled as the 'civilisational' crisis

between West and Islam (Heywood 2011,pp. 45-47). So, the issue of religion and conflict is becoming a vital concern for peace education (Harris 2008).

Though to counter war is always the central focus of peace education, despite its varied expressions, peace educators also focus on the civil, domestic, cultural and ethnic forms of violence. In appendix-2, I have briefly illustrated the idea of some major proponents of peace education. The rise of the view is that all sorts of conflict or violent wars inevitably cause threats to the environment and ecology. Therefore, another strand of peace education developed at the end of the twentieth century is environmental education, which has its underpinnings in ecological thinking and the respect for life on earth. Since peace education bolsters a holistic appreciation for the value of life and interdependence of all living organisms, the thrust of environmental education is aligned with peace education. In the beginning of the new millennium, the peace educators endeavoured to spread a most organic gospel, that peaceful existence is deeply rooted in environmental health and sustainability (Harris 2008).

3.3. Peace movement to peace education

In the previous sections, I have narrated the developmental motion of the peace movement, from that of the pre-World War II period to the transition to peace education. During the post-World War period, the notion and nature of the development of peace education can be divided into three phases; reform, reconstructive and transformational. During the reform phase, dating from the end of World War II, the goal of peace education was to prevent war and control the arms races with a focus on nonviolent alternatives and changes in the behaviour of the people. The reconstructive phase, developed in the 1960s, seeks to

reconstruct international systems, abolish war, achieve total disarmament and initiate structural and institutional changes. The transformational approach looks for a broader or comprehensive goal, rejection of all violence, making violence totally unacceptable and changing not only behaviour but also to amend changes in thinking and values (Reardon 1988,p. XI).

For over a century, peace education has expanded and diversified its horizons with the carrying over of certain core values. Peace educators actively campaigned to raise awareness about the dangers of violence, threats of nuclear devastation, the holocaust, colonial aggression, cultural, domestic and structural violence and so on. In addition to this, peace educators are concerned with the issues of global warming, rapid species extinction, water shortages, adverse effects of pollution and other sorts of environmental degradation (Harris 2008). Mische (1989) stressed that for the protection of the citizens, military security is no more the sole solution. Rather, the world should be concerned with ecological security for the peaceful nourishment of the human beings. However, there remains some common platform for all these diversified fields of peace education. All of these peace educational efforts bear a desire to understand the roots of violence and teach alternatives to violence. This expansion of peace education towards the end of the last century made an important triangular relationship between peace movements, peace research and peace education. Besides the informal, community-based peace education endeavours, academic studies are going on in the field of peace education. Peace education programs in schools and colleges advocate for the awareness of the challenges of 'ecological sustainability, war and peace' (Harris 2008, p.19).

3.4. Historical evidence of peace education to counter war

We have seen that peace educators have tried to raise awareness against the mass devastation of arms war by calling for world patriotism and advocating for reconciliation through dialogue. The world has, however, experienced the worst possible forms of war, fanatical cases of nationalism and the use of the most advanced technology of fighting, including the dreaded nuclear bomb.

Here, several questions came to my mind. Can a peace making process even with a good intention prevent war? Why did peace movements fail to create a consensus of living with peace as a 'world patriot' rather than to ignite hatred for other nations? Two World Wars had occurred while peace education was emerging. Did peace education fail to address the issue, and so, fail in stopping the World War? Did the efforts of the peace educators towards a truce fail utterly? Another concern for the so-called 'postmodern war and warfare' is the use of technology of fighting. During the period of the Gulf war, the world witnessed the widespread use of computer and satellite technology (Heywood 2011). The experiential application 'drone attack' can be a burning issue for future wars. Since in this type of attack human beings are not directly involved in the battlefield, so here, the nature of emotional attachment with war, the role of the warlords may be different. Therefore, in future, this can bring different dynamic, implications and challenges to analyse the cause and effect or cost-benefit analysis of 'new wars.' Can peace education counter the 'new wars'? This question leads me to think about a hypothesis. Does (or doesn't) peace education have the potential to stop war?

The hypothesis on 'does not have' can be negated. As we have seen, peace education responded according to political context during the intermediate period between

World Wars, for example, world patriotism against nationalism, reconciliation through dialogue instead of mass armed deployment. Nonetheless, war could not be stopped. Theoretically, peace education correctly addressed the cause of war. However, the recommendation or initiatives for reconciliation did not bring the desired result in favour of peace or were not enough to stop the war.

Yet, in my view, it would not be fair to lose confidence in the potential of peace education. For the twenty-first century, the cause and nature of war and warfare are substantially different from the 'old wars.' Here, I intend to look for the theoretical strengths of peace education to counter the wars of the new millennium, as a means of evaluating its relevance and potential effectiveness.

C H A P T E R   4

Potential of peace education to stop war: Strengths and Weaknesses

In chapter 3, I argued that to some extent, peace movements and peace education can claim their contributions to potentially countering war, at least through pointing out its causes and attempting to raise consciousness against war, though empirically they have not shown success in preventing war. Now, I want to take my analysis further by pinpointing how different strands of peace education conceptually or theoretically may address the various causes of war—greed, grievance, structural and cultural factors—referred to by key commentators.

For any qualitative quest, 'what is a theory' may be a tricky one. The word 'theory', particularly in educational discourse, can have a wide variety of meanings (Woods 1992; Scheffler 1967; Chambers 1992; Thomas 1997; Thomas & James 2006). Theory can portray a system of 'evolving explanation, personal reflection, orienting principle, epistemological presupposition, developed arguments, craft knowledge, and more' (Scheffler 1967; Chambers, 1992; Thomas 1997 as cited in Thomas & James 2006, p.771). Again, Thomas and James (2006, p.771) have commented that it is not only in the education domain that there remain such 'definitional conundrums.' rather, in any sociological discourse, but examples of the application of multiple conceptions of theory can also be found, even in the same volume of literature.

On the notion of theory, Thomas and James (2006) suggest that in a broader sense theory can talk about (a) inspiration involving patterning or accommodation, and (b) explanation and prediction. Here, the notion of 'inspiration involving patterning or accommodation' shows a sense that theory, in principle, is about to bring different ideas together. While the impression of 'explanation and prediction' conveys that theory is a tighter form of adherence to positivist and functionalist expectations about a particular concept or a group of concepts.

Since peace education reflects upon peace and conflict, inherently social and educational issues are embedded within its theoretical underpinnings. Peace education brings a wide range of ideas and tries to bring them together. So, considering the theoretical underpinnings of peace education, I am drawing the notion 'a' ('inspiration involving patterning or accommodation') as a relevant analytical framework for understanding the nexus between theoretical explanations on causes and the core philosophy of the selected approaches of peace education.

4.1. Theoretical propositions of peace education

Harris (2004) formulated the theoretical postulates (as the word used by Harris 2004) of peace education on by the goals, global history, philosophical propositions, educational perceptions, and social, political theories and practices. His assertion about the theoretical premises is cemented with the very basic objectives of peace education, namely 'what it [peace] is, why it [peace] does not exist and how to achieve it '(Harris 2004, p.6). Taking them into account, Harris (2004) traces the theoretical postulates for peace education and states five   key postulates as follows:

Postulate 1 : [Peace education] explains the roots of violence,

Postulate 2: [Peace education] teaches alternatives to violence,

Postulate 3: [Peace education] adjusts to cover different forms of violence,

Postulate 4: Peace itself is a process that varies according to context,

Postulate 5: Conflict is omnipresent.

Postulate 1 warns about the hazards of violence. This postulate focuses on the demystification of images of the enemy, highlighting the need to analyse the causes of violence which prevail within the society or among the states. After probing the roots of violence, peace education, therefore, endeavours to impart lessons to solve the identified war-related problem with nonviolent ways such as, negotiation, reconciliation, nonviolent struggle and peace treaties and so on, which are claimed as a key area of the peace education curriculum in postulate 2. These first and second postulates reflect the core mission and goals of the concept of peace education (Harris 2004).

Peace education also contemplates the wide diversities in the forms of violence on the basis of contexts. While postulate 3 addresses the general issues to do with the broad dynamics of conflict and peacebuilding, postulate 4 embeds peace education theory and practices to work within specific social, political and cultural contexts. Thus, postulate three and four can be viewed as the applied pragmatic component of peace education (Harris 2004).

Postulate 5 addresses the complex role and existence of conflict in the personal and social spheres of life. Conflict has been accepted as an essential 'ingredient in social change' by many sociologists (Simmel 1956). Like many social theorists, Danhrendorf (1959) asserted that social conflicts are inherent components of social organisation and structure. Thus, the elimination of conflict is a 'myth.' Here, Harris (2004) mentions that for

peace educators it would be an exercise in over-expectation to assume that it is possible to eliminate each type of conflict. However, peace education can provide knowledge and competence to manage conflicts in nonviolent ways, while simultaneously accepting the omnipresence of conflict.

The theoretical postulates suggest that primarily violence, conflict or war and an attempt to map the strategies through which they may be addressed are important concerns of peace education. To analyse and understand the theoretical potential of peace education to counter war I propose to discuss how key strands within the purposes specified in postulates 1 to 4 may be considered to address specific factors highlighted within the body of commentary already reviewed as causes of or predisposition towards war. This analysis will, therefore, attempt to bring into alignment the conceptual framework for understanding the causes of war with the conceptual framework for understanding the contribution of peace education to peace-building.

4.2. Selected approaches of peace education to counter war

Peace education theory mostly focuses on divergent understandings about the problems of violence and how to achieve peace (Harris 2004). Harris (2004) and Gutek (2006) distinguish five separate types of peace education which can and have been, extended to the larger field to categorise the various orientations that exist within peace education. These include: (1) international education (dealing with the aspects of globalisation), (2) human rights education (concerning universal laws on human rights), (3) development education (imparts lessons on social justice and peace building strategies), (4) environmental education (concentrates on the well-being of the natural world), and (5) conflict resolution education (imparts lessons to solve conflict within individuals or

between societies or nations) (Harris 2004; Burns & Aspeslagh 1983,pp.311-330).

It is arguable that a combination of approaches of peace building and peace education might work together to address and counter identified causes of war—whether psychological, cultural, structural or rooted in individual and collective grievances. Here, for this evaluation of peace education, I have selected three representative approaches—the integral model, Intergroup contact theory and Freire's philosophy—for the discussion. These three approaches are representatives of broad approaches to peace education but not exhaustive of all ranges of peace education.

4.2.1. Integral model for peace education

The integral model for peace education was developed on the basis of the Integrative theory of peace. Danesh (2006,p. 55) states that the fundamental idea of the integrative theory of peace:

> …[The integrative theory of peace is] based on the concept that peace is, at once, psychological, social, political, ethical and spiritual state with its expressions in intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, international, and global areas of human life. (Danesh 2006,p.55)

The Integrative Theory of Peace is founded on four principles:

1. Peace is a psychosocial and political as well as a moral and spiritual condition.

2. Peace is the main expression of unity-based worldview.

3. The unity-based worldview is the prerequisite for creating both a culture of peace and a culture of healing.

4. A comprehensive, integrated and lifelong education within the framework of peace is the most effective approach for a transformation from the conflict-based meta categories of survival-based and identity-based worldviews to the meta-category of unity-based worldview

(Danesh 2006,pp.55-78). For example, the influence of the integrative theory of peace is reflected in the Integral Model for Peace developed by University for Peace. The framework of the model is centred around a person and then incorporates the contexts of peace with oneself, with others, and with nature, at ethical, mental, emotional and activist levels (Brenes 2004, p.83).

This model emphasises the importance of personal or inner peace concerning the body, heart and mind, and then it encompasses more public spheres, explicitly including political and social participation. One idea to implement this model can be to introduce 'building a culture of peace[14]' as a classroom project or theme for the school year. To promote the essence of a culture of peace, the students can initially get exposed to the lessons on peace and conflict resolution and then go beyond classroom walls and extend their efforts the entire school, community and to some extent the wider world. So, peace education efforts may start in the mind of a learner and then it can expand its horizon to advocate for anti-war sentiment.

4.2.2. Intergroup contact theory for peace education

After the World War II, social scientists began to theorise about intergroup contact and social scientists, psychologists, criminologists described the contact hypothesis as one of the best ways to improve relations among groups those are experiencing conflicts (Pettigrow 1998; Brown & Hewstone 2006; Wright 2009). Gordon Allport (1954) is often credited with the development of the Contact hypothesis, also known as intergroup contact theory. The premise of Allport's theory states that under

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[14]. The culture of peace is a set of values, attitudes, modes of behaviour and ways of life that reject violence and prevent conflicts by tackling their root causes to solve problems through dialogue and negotiation among individuals, groups and nations (UNESCO 2010)

appropriate conditions interpersonal contact is one of the most effective ways to reduce prejudice between rival members. Allport (1954) identified four key conditions in order to have positive effects of intergroup contact and based on them Pettigrew (1998) developed intergroup contact theory. The key conditions are:

1. **Equal Status**, both groups are taken into an equal status relationship,

2. **Common Goals**, both groups work on a problem/task and share this as a common goal, sometimes called a *super ordinate goal*,

3. **Intergroup Cooperation**, both groups must work together for their common goals without competition,

4. **Support of authorities, law or customs,** some authority that both groups acknowledge and define social norms that support the contact and interactions between the groups and members.

Several common essences of the intergroup contact theory are reflected in the transformative model of peace education. This transformative model of peace education includes five elements: diversity, participatory learning, globalized perspectives, indigenous knowledge and spiritual underpinnings (Turray & English 2008). This model emphasises on creating a culture of peace, and in order to create this, a fundamental change in knowledge, attitudes and world view is essential. In this way, the respectful coexistence of multiple cultures can avoid violent conflicts.

Interfaith or interreligious dialogue initiative can be an example of applying this approach. Interfaith dialogue conveys cooperative, constructive and positive interaction between people of different religious traditions and spiritual or humanistic beliefs, at both the individual and institutional levels. Such initiatives can raise respect for other religion and reduce prejudice about religious sects. In this way, the probability of interreligious conflict or war can be eliminated.

4.2.3. Freire's philosophy for peace education

Paulo Freire (1921-1997) is one of the best known and most influential and radical education theorists and activists of the twentieth century. His philosophy and teaching-learning approach have had a great impact on peace education (Bartlett 2008). According to Freire (1990), the social order consists of oppressors and oppressed. To maintain unequal power relations, the oppressors use education as a form of oppression. The unjust social relations between the oppressed and the oppressors cause dehumanisation of the oppressed. So, the struggle begins alongside the oppressed to restore humanity and transform reality to liberate for all humanity, both oppressed and oppressor.

According to Freire, there remain two stages for the pedagogy of the oppressed:

Stage 1 addresses the consciousness of the oppressed as well as oppressors. Freire argues that the oppressed lack awareness about how to transform their situation. Indeed, as a result of their oppression, he considers that they exist in a state of self-deprecation which may lead to self-destructive behaviours (Freire 1990, p 58, .64).

Stage 2. In order to transform this consciousness, critical dialogue can be applied. This process for transformation of consciousness is called 'conscientisation' or critical consciousness, which is achieved through dialogue and praxis. This critical consciousness results in a greater ability for taking action to achieve true liberation. The true liberation rejects the banking system of education which reproduces the mechanism of oppression, and embraces horizontal relationship between teachers and students (Freire 1990,p. 71-73).

Freire's philosophy can be applied in various forms. For example, the movement for Theatre of the Oppressed' was founded by Boal on the basis of the

principles of Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (International Theatre of the Oppressed Organisations n.d.). This format of theatre provides an opportunity for the spect-actors[15] to express the challenges and limitations they encounter in their lives. So, this platform can be an vital place to advocate about the sufferings of war victims. This can also raise a voice against the use of war as a mechanism for oppression. Thus, the techniques of 'Theatre of Oppressed' can actively engage the participants in dialogues to liberate humanity.

4.3. Potential of selected approaches of peace education to counter war

To frame my analysis of how peace education may counter war I have extracted 3 key propositions about the causes of war and for each will consider the relevance of strategies and approaches of peace education.

4.3.1. Proposition 1: War is the innate nature of human beings, so to counteract war, peace education should start its focus from individual's world view.

The psychological perspectives for war focus on human nature and the 'greed' characteristic of human beings. Here, to counteract war, the persons should remain at the centre. In this approach, the notion of peace renders from personal to family to world level.

4.3.1.1. Potential peace education: Integrative theory of Peace

In response to postulate 1 (the root cause of conflict) of peace education theory, in chapter 2, we have seen how Realists, Liberal views and Collier (1999) speak of the self-

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[15] In 'Theatre of the Oppressed', spectators are turned up into 'spect-actors' and are encouraged to actively participate in the theatrical event.

seeking, greed characteristics of human nature which predispose them to war. Realists believed that the rivalry between and among communities, is a reflection of inherent tendencies of self-seeking, competition and the aggressive nature of human beings (Heywood 2011, p.56,244). Conversely, Liberals view war as a last resort and explain the use of force on the grounds of self-defense or as a means of countering oppression. Collier (1999) focuses on economic motivations as the main factor to provoke warlords and terrorists to cause new wars. Thus, according to them, human beings are involved in war due to extreme competitiveness power struggle or a 'survival' mentality. These reflect the identity-based or survival-based worldviews. The essences of humanities 'fundamental oneness' (core of unity-based world view) to resolve conflict do not remain here.

In section 4.2.1, I have mentioned that the integrated theory of peace education presents three notions of worldviews—namely survival, identity and unity based. The causes of war and the remedy for war can be explained through these notions of world view as stated in the Integrated theory of peace education.

According to Danesh (2006), during the period of infancy and childhood (or agrarian period or pre-industrial period), the survival-based worldview seems like a normal phenomenon. The dynamics of this worldview are applicable to both small groups such as family and school, and to large groups such as nations and religions. The use of power in the survival phase reflects a form of 'hierarchical power structure' and considers that conflict and violence remain within the mindset. Within the mentality associated with the survival based world view, the world is viewed as a dangerous place and is ruled by the principles of force and control. So, the ultimate twin aims are survival and security for oneself and one's group. Moreover, authoritarian and dictatorial practices are common and are considered to be justified. Thus, this survival-based worldview manifests itself

through unequal power relations, use of forces with blind obedience, orthodoxy and passive resignation. This sort of world view tends to concentrate wealth and power and results in a state of disenfranchisement for large segments of a given population. So, we can say that the survival-based worldview is not conducive to peace (Danesh 2006, pp.55-78).

The identity-based worldview is also characterised by extreme competition and power struggle. Here, the political, economic and social processes are shaped by the concept of the 'survival of the fittest' (Danesh 2006, pp.55-78). The objective of the identity-based worldview is to operate the individuals or groups within a framework, and this view propagates to prevail and to win. So, this identity-based worldview is not also very convincing to stop violence or war.

The objectives of survival and identity-based worldviews can adversely affect the approaches of the rule of law, regard for human rights, respect for democratic practices and so on (Danesh 2006,pp. 55-78). Both the survival-based and identity-based worldviews are compatible with a conflict-based worldview, in which conflict is considered an inevitable part of (and for) human existence. However, the unity-based worldview contains a new level of consciousness and proposes that humanity becomes aware of a 'fundamental oneness.' The unity-based worldview states that society is operated according to the principle of 'unity in diversity.' This promotes an idea of equality for all participants of society through a cooperative power structure. Unlike the survival or identity-based worldview, the unity-based worldview believes that once unity is established, conflicts can be easily resolved or prevented because it would promote to work with and for all instead of the mentality controlled by individual's greed or lust. So, here, conflict is not considered as inevitable. Rather, it is preventable according to the unity-based worldview.

Hence, to urge for teaching alternatives to violence or war (postulate 2), the main tenet of integrative peace theory promotes a comprehensive, integrated and lifelong process of education because it renders from individual to global spheres for seeking to peace. This approach proposes a transformation from the conflict-based meta-categories of survival and identity-based worldviews to the meta-category of unity-based worldview (Danesh 2006). Thus, I view that the essence of the Integrative theory of peace can show its potential to counter the 'greed or psychological' propositions of war.

4.3.2. Proposition 2: War is the result of the clash of civilisations or a conflict of cultures, so peace education should emphasise the mutual cooperation among diverse cultures.

Huntington's (1993; 1996) clash of civilisations hypothesis asserts the 'cultural conflicts' as the cause for conflict. Each civilisation keeps several types of pride (and prejudice) about its own and other cultures. This cultural pride and prejudice can lead to war. Here, I view Intergroup contact theory of peace education as a way to counter this.

4.3.2.1. Potential peace education: Intergroup contact theory

In section 4.2.2, I have stated that the intergroup contact theory emphasises four conditions—**Equal Status (**an equal status relationship), **Common Goals**, (work on a problem and share this as a common goal), **Intergroup Cooperation** (work together for their common goals without competition) and the **Support of authorities, law or customs** (acknowledge and define social norms to support the contact and interactions)—to ensure intergroup cooperation in order to eliminate conflict.

In response to postulate 1 regarding the causes of war, Intergroup contact theory identifies stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination as the crucial factors for conflicts between rival groups. Again, 'Clash of civilisations' thesis provokes that a strong sense of cultural belongings can lead to tensions. Different cultures and civilisations carry different values and meanings. Cultures promote their own diverse understanding(s) of the world (Heywood 2011, p.190). This difference can cause extreme violence. To avoid this, a desirable cross-cultural understanding is very important. To bring out this cross-cultural understanding, Intergroup contact theory draws importance on the setting of common goals. So, I view, to counter war, in principle, identifying a common goal can create room to avoid conflict.

However, in application, this desirable cross-cultural understanding is not easy to bring about since there remains a tendency in people that perpetuates a division between 'us versus them' or 'our civilisation versus those barbarians' (Heywood 2011, p. 190). For example, by a group of Islamists, 'war on terror', may be interpreted as a war of the West against Islam, whereas others can perceive this as a war against fundamentalists who are mainly Muslims. In such circumstances 'painting them with the same brush' is very crucial. If the people of conflicting civilisations get some sense of an equal status in a given adverse situation, mutual cooperation will follow and the avoidance of war may be possible.

Yet, the instances of Israel-Arab wars, Jihad, Crusades, ethnic cleansing in Bosnian civil wars and so on show that there remain no common goals and very little scope for intergroup cooperation. The case of US-led wars in Vietnam, Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan demonstrate the absence of equal status in war situation as those wars were asymmetrical (Heywood 2011, p.248). Chapter 2 and chapter 3 mentioned that one of the characteristics of the new wars is the weakening of

the state. This indicates that the scope to get support of authorities and laws or customs to resolve conflicts has been narrowed down. So, the condition for 'Support of authorities, law or customs' to counter war is facing a difficult challenge.

Again, hypothetically, if we can apply these components—common goals, equal status in the situation and inter group cooperation—then all the groups can come to a consensus about a set of norms and a shared authority of law. If all these supports and goals are assured, then a premise to communicate for avoiding war and resolving conflicts may be achieved. Again, if one can have the opportunity to communicate with others, then they would be able to understand and appreciate different point of views. As a result of new appreciation and understanding, each culture may relinquish their prejudices. Allport's proposal was that properly managed contact between the groups should reduce these problems and lead to a better interaction. Moreover, Inter group contact theory of Pettigrow (1998) emphasises cooperation among rival groups to resolve prejudice against 'others' and resolve conflicts. So, Intergroup contact theory of peace education can, at least theoretically, show its potential to counter war.

4.3.3. Proposition 3: War is the reflection of the grievances embedded in social, economic and political structures, so peace education needs to be critical and must focus on the liberation of human-beings.

The Structural theory of war sheds light on the need for overall changes in the economic and political structures to counteract conflict and war. Here, the power relation between 'North and South' and the 'Oppressor and Oppressed' are identified as the root cause of war. Thus, to counter this phenomenon, my view is that peace

education has to correspond with this cause of war through liberation: both of the oppressors and oppressed. Therefore, Freire's philosophy about 'pedagogy of the oppressed' can be applied to analyse both conceptual and applied aspects of peace education to counter war.

4.3.3.1. Potential peace education: Freire's philosophy of peace education

Section 4.2.3 illustrated Freire's ideas about transformation and liberation and their sequential stages. In the first stage, to unveil the cause of oppression, Freire explained that the oppressors' consciousness intends them to dominate the oppressed. On the other hand, the consciousness of the oppressed maintains a sense to fate to be dominated. Moreover, they are also likely to be attracted by the oppressors' way of life. So, no person solely belongs to one group. Thus, Freire's concept for peace education concentrated in the structure or social order to find the cause of oppression.

In chapter 2, I have discussed 'Structuralists' perspectives regarding the causes of war. Duffield (2001) stated that current global policy favours a group of countries in the developed regions and deprives (or oppresses) a large number of people in the less developed part of the world. According to Duffield (2001), this deprivation or the oppression due to global economic policy causes war. Again, Freire's concept also points out this unequal power relation and asserts that oppressors' use of education as the cause and tool for oppression. In this sense, Freire's philosophy reflected on oppression as the very root cause of war (postulate 1 of peace education theory).

Again, in order to transform consciousness, Freire recommends critical pedagogy. Critical pedagogy shows a process of transformation to achieve critical consciousness. This critical consciousness can bring 'true

liberation' for both the oppressor and the oppressed. This would reject the 'banking system of education' which Freire (1990) identified as a mechanism to reproduce oppression. Instead of the banking system of education, problem-posing education and praxis would transform the vertical relationship between teachers and students into a horizontal relation.

Again, Duffield (2001) addressed exclusion, marginalisation and inequality, in other words, unequal power relationships, as the causes for war. As a remedy from war, Duffield (2001) evokes and champions a 'human face' of globalisation. The core concept Freire promotes for a change in the horizontal relationship (instead of the vertical relationship) between teacher and student. Here, again, I want to draw attention to the issue of relationship transformation and the role of education in achieving this. The vertical relationship between teachers and students reflects a position of power and superiority. This is similar to the current power structure of the world. So, the transformation from vertical to horizontal relationship is analogous to the shifting of the power relationship between the marginal and dominant groups of the world. This indicates a potential scope for the world to counter war through the omission of grievances occurring due to the existence of unequal power relations.

In sum, Freire's philosophy of critical peace education aims to build a population that can independently analyse the situation and be capable of preventing physical or structural violence. Simultaneously, they can promote equality, respect, sustainability and other elements of positive peace (Barber 1984). In this way, the 'oppressive' structure of the world can be transformed into a 'liberated' one. Thus, this would eventually eliminate the structure of oppression and consequently eradicate the possibility of war occurring due to grievances. Thus, it seems that Freire's ideas of education, both in their content and process, can possess a great potential to counter war.

4.4. Strength and weakness of the selected approaches

In the previous section, I have discussed the potential of the integral model, inter group contact theory and Freire's philosophy of peace education to counter war. Each approach of peace education has its particular aspect and theoretical or philosophical foundation. Again, there remains a wide range of diverse explanations, for example, intrapersonal, cultural and structural, to explain the causes of war. And therefore, they can all lay some claim to have potential counterweights to the causes of war. Again, each contains its limitation as well. Table 4.1 briefly illustrates this.

Table 4.1. Strength and Weakness of the selected approaches of peace education

Causes of War	Theoretical proponents for war	Approaches of peace education	Strength	Weakness
Psychological, Human nature, greed	Realists, Liberals, Collier	Integral model for peace education	Stimulate self-esteem	Less attention on structural issue, social justice
Cultural, World view, identity	Huntington	Inter group contact approach of peace education	Promote respect for multicultural, mutual understanding.	Less attention on personal and structural issues
Structural, Grievance, global inequality	Marxists, Duffield	Liberation (Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed)	Transform structural of oppression, consider education as a political act, focus on social justice	Less attention on personal and cultural issues

The Integral model for peace education is person-centric. It promotes a unity-based world view in order to stop conflict or war and is a proponent of 'stimulating' awareness among human beings with a purpose to generate unity with an acknowledgement of diversity. This model emphasises the ethics and moral values of human beings and considers conflict to be preventable. Thus, I view that the Integral model for peace education is psychology oriented and is compatible with the moral principle of pacifism, as both believe in the commitment of human beings to stop war and do not consider violent conflict or war as a political solution for any problem. However, I want to point out some problems or limitations of this approach. Analysing the classrooms of Israel and Cyprus, Bekerman & Zembylas (2012) critically challenged psychologically oriented peace education. Social justice and other structural issues are missing in this approach. This model advocates more for human consciousness, passions and reconciliation. Here, I want to point out that the promotion of reconciliation can provide room to the oppressors to justify or continue their oppressions. Thus, the structure of oppression may continue and can inflame ignite sentiments of war or violent conflict. Again, the issues of a 'unity-based world view' is complicated and challenging. I want to raise a question here: how can a unity-based world view be achieved without solving the prevailing cultural conflict(s) or issues of structural and societal injustice? This model has not explicitly addressed these issues.

The cultural issues have been focused on the Intergroup contact theory of peace education. It proposes to bring different groups together and advocates for resolution of cultural conflicts through dialogue, negotiation, recognition and mutual respect. So, this approach of peace education can provide room for rival parties to sit together and resolve the problems in a non-violent way. For example, the Israel-Palestine conflict has gone on for about fifty years, and this can generate intergenerational rival relationships. Thus, it can be said that Palestinians may view Israelis as their 'born enemy' and vice versa. Therefore, a common platform of intergroup contact may provide a room to understand each other through cultural exchange, dialogue and change their 'enemy image' about each other. Thus, both nations might look for alternatives to armed conflict.

However, this approach has also several limitations. Huntington did not address the issues of political and social circumstance as important factors to formulate cultural or civilisation conflicts (Heywood 2011,p.188). For example, rising tensions about militant Islam in the Middle East can be interpreted as a reaction against autocratic regimes or an insurgency against 'the global imperial power' (Heywood 2011,p.188). So, countering such wars following the inter group contact theory of peace education might backfire or help the imperialists to continue hegemony. Moreover, I want to pose a question: Can the armed conflict be resolved solely through mutual respect and understanding, without resolving the issues of land-settlement and decisions about the sovereignty of that region? I view one of the major flaws of the Intergroup contact theory of peace education is that—it has not addressed these socioeconomic and political—structural issues operating at a global as well as a national level.

Freire is vocal about the structural issues and oppression. His philosophy advocates for the liberation of both the oppressor and oppressed. This liberation can bring a radical transformation of the global structure and thus eradicate the possibility of war. Again, on many occasions, the cultural issues and doctrine—both nationalist and racial—predominately lead to armed conflicts. Freire's philosophy focuses less on the cultural conflict issues to do with religious or ethnic identity. My view is that Freire's philosophy may not be an effective

approach to explain and show possible remedies to counter instances like the upsurge of ethnic conflict and genocide of the early 1990s in Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Bosnia and Kosovo.

Nonetheless, all the approaches of peace education aim to eliminate war. Human beings are the sole agents to cause war, and so their psychological characteristics deserve much attention in the analyses that seek to explain the causes and look for the remedy from war. Again, (Cardozo 2008,p.13) stated that structural challenges can undermine the goals of peace education and may lead a state into 'pieces' instead of 'peace'. So, if the mechanisms of deprivation and oppression prevail, then implementing the Intergroup contact theory of peace education, or the Integrated theory of peace education may catalyse 'a momentum war' instead of eliminating them, as these approaches do not focus much attention on structural challenges. Again, where the mutual understanding and respect for other cultures are required to resolve the conflict or war, Freire's philosophy for peace education would not be the right approach to apply. So, peace education needs to be very cautious and contextual in its response to war. Otherwise, when peace education fails to address the issues of conflict critically, it runs the risk of manifesting war (Gur-Ze'ev 2001, p.315; 2010).

To sum up, I want to say peace education can play a vital role in raising the consciousness to stop war. Peace education can help learners to address the causes of war and suggest thoughts to look for a remedy from it. So in this sense, I consider that peace education can enhance learners' competencies on 'conflict sensitivity'[16]. So, my

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[16] A conflict sensitive skill involves gaining a sound understanding of the two-way interaction between activities and context and acting to minimise negative impacts and maximise positive impacts. interventions on conflict, within an organisation's given

argument is that peace education is not the sole solution to stop war, though different approaches of peace education do possess certain potential dynamics to counter war.

4.5. Conclusion

According to Harris (2004), the prime postulates for peace education are explaining the roots of violence, teaching alternatives to violence, adjusting to cover different forms of violence and its solution according to context and omnipresence of conflict. These postulates put importance on goals, history, philosophical propositions, educational perceptions and social and political theories and practices. The core essences of the postulates are to explain the roots of violence and ways to get remedy from it.

In chapter 2, three factors—greed or psychological, cultural conflicts or clash of civilisations and grievances or structural—have been identified as the causes of war. On their basis, three propositions were drawn. Each proposition addresses the root causes and potential theories to analyse the underpinnings of peace education to counter war.

To address the psychological proposition, human nature and greed characteristics have been highlighted as the causes of war. As a potential counterweight, the Integral model of peace education has been identified because this model keeps a person at the centre and its inherent logic integrates psychosocial, political, moral and spiritual conditions for peace. This approach emphasises the transformation—from an identity-based or survival-based world view to a unity-based world view—to act as a remedy to war.

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priorities/objectives (mandate) or and actively including peace—building as a primary or secondary objective (Brown etal. 2009).

I have proposed the Intergroup contact theory of peace education as a potential counterweight to cultural conflicts as a cause of war. Prejudice fules cultural conflicts. This plays a crucial role in causing war, and so, by setting common goals and ensuring equal status in a situation and intergroup cooperation with the support of authority (through laws or customs), resolutions may be found to avoid war or a mental propensity to war based on cultural conditioning.

According to the structural propositions for war, reaction to oppression is identified as the root of conflicts or war. Here, Freire's philosophy for peace education and his ideas about liberation, for both the oppressed and the oppressor, have been illustrated as a potential premise for peace education to counter war.

However, each approach of peace education has its strengths and limitations. The Integrated theory of peace focuses much on the person and less on structural issues, whereas Freire's philosophy of peace education emphasises more on the structure and less on a psychological or cultural issue(s). Again, intergroup contact theory of peace education can promote dialogue between rivals but cannot give much indication on how to resolve the structural factors that cause war.

Concluding remarks

Reflecting on the knowledge and insights, I have gathered from different works of literature; this chapter is going to answer the research question and sub-questions regarding the potential of peace education aimed at counteracting war. Then, I will present an outline of a research topic for future research. Let me address the sub-questions first.

5.1. Reflections

Sub-question 1. How do different political theories explain the causes of war?

Analysing history, underpinnings of war and so on political and social scientists, psychologists and other scholars have developed several theories to explain underlying causes of war. One explanation is that the tendency for war is embedded in the innate instincts of human nature. Other schools of thinking point to unequal structural issues or unequal global orders as a cause of war. Again, during the post-cold war era, a shift took place regarding the conceptualisation, nature and character of war and some arguments arise among theorists regarding this transformation. They make a distinction between 'old' and 'new' wars.

For old wars, three categories: human nature, state egoism and balance of power; are stated as the root causes for war. There remain substantial differences in the views of different political theories to explain these three categories.

Realists view human nature as fixed and reveal that instincts triumph over intellect. They regard aversions, hopes and the desire to exercise power as determining forces of human nature and therefore believe that war is an unavoidable fact of life. Since Realists consider war as an inevitable and continuing feature of power politics, so they assert that states are bound to depend on self-help for their survival and security. Thus, according to the Realists, strong military power of states can ensure peace. Realists advocate that balance of power bolsters peace and stability.

Conversely, Liberals keep faith on moral, logical characteristics of human beings and rely on the possibilities for resolving conflict through debate and negotiation. So, war is considered as a last resort. Liberals believe peace is natural and law, free trade and other forms of economic interdependence can create congenial conditions to avoid war. Liberals assert that the balance of power is more likely to tempt war than to prevent it.

Alternatively, Critical theorists have different premises of thought. For example, Marxists assert that human nature is framed by experience and contexts of social and political life. They believe that the capitalist system is the root cause of war and commitment to Internationalism is the best way to achieve peace or the elimination of war. Some Feminists view that men are, by nature, competitive and dominating, on the other hand, women are naturally sympathetic and peaceful, and war is originated from warlike nature of male sex or from the institution of patriarchy.

For 'new wars' there emerge three contrasting 'grand theories'—clash of civilisations, structural inequalities and insecurity and Home-economicus and rational choice theories—have been pointed out the causes of war. Huntington's (1993; 1996) thesis focuses on culture as the primary source for conflicts, while Duffield (2001) and other

Structuralists argue that current conflict is an outcome of discrimination and the marginalisation of a large segment of people from the benefits of globalisation. Contrary to Duffield and other 'Structuralists' stances, Collier's (1999) approach focuses on the economic interest for profit-seeking as the cause of war. All three doctrines of new wars possess a greater degree of differences. Huntington and Collier did not address poverty or inequality issues, whereas Collier and Duffield ignore the issue of cultural conflict. The argument between Collier and Duffield raises the debate between 'greed versus grievances' or 'psychological versus structural concerns' regarding the causes for 'new wars.'

Sub-question 2: What is the history of peace education and how does it relate to the context of war and peace from which it emerged?

The history of peace education can be divided into two parts: one, community-based peace education, two, formal peace education. The community-based peace education emerged during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and this contains the events of different peace movements initiated by various scholars, philosophers and educators from the different part of Europe. Ideas of different educationists have later influenced the concepts of peace education. For example, Dewey's philosophy of progressive education and the idea of world patriotism, Montessori's rejection of authoritarian teaching-learning and the development of child-centred pedagogy all arose during this first half of the twentieth century. During those decades the peace movement campaign focused on international relations with the intention to motivate youths not to wage war against others. Parallel to the anti-war movement, the extreme form of nationalism or Nazism, and fascism were fostered, and as the outcome of these, the world experienced the most horrific wars (World War I and

World War II) of the human history. World War II ended up with the horrific incidence of dropping atom bombs and gave birth of the nuclear era and the onset of the cold war. Simultaneously, peace education started to acquire a more formal shape and became a discipline in academia. During this time, the spectrum of peace education has broadened its horizons and diversified its focus to include civil, domestic, cultural and ethnic forms of violence.

Freire's revolutionary idea of the 'pedagogy of the oppressed, conscientisation and critical consciousness' sets a radical dynamism in education and provides a strong premise for the essences of peace education. During the last decades of the twentieth century and early twenty-first century, the features of war and warfare have shifted. Currently, the features of new wars tend to be more civil wars rather than inter-state wars, issues of identity become prominent, wars are more asymmetrical, the distinction between civilian and military has been broken down and in some senses, these wars are more barbaric than 'old wars.' Thus, the dynamics of peace education have a new challenge in responding to the issues of psychology, ethnicity, religion, global structure and culture to counter war.

Sub-question 3: How do different approaches of peace education attempt to address the causes of war?

Proposition 1: War is the innate nature of human beings, so, to counteract war, peace education should start its focus from individuals' world view.

This proposition places individuals at the centre of the cause and remedy of war. The psychological perspective and greed characteristics of human nature are considered as the root causes of war. I have identified the Integral model for peace education as one with a potential to counter war. For a remedy, the Integral model for peace education focuses on the psychosocial, political, moral and spiritual condition of human beings. This Integral model for peace education contends for a transformation from the conflict-based meta-categories of survival and the identity-based world views to the meta-category of unity-based worldview.

Proposition 2: War is the result of clash of civilisations or conflicts of cultures, so peace education should emphasize on mutual cooperation among diverse cultures.

This proposition focuses on 'cultural conflict' as the cause for conflict, and to counter the prevailing prejudice through contact can be a way to resolve this. Different civilisations have developed different references of pride about themselves and points of prejudice about others. I have selected Intergroup contact theory as having the potential to counter this prejudice. To reduce prejudice or intolerance between the rival members, according to the intergroup contact theories, some key conditions—equal status in a situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation, support of authorities, laws or customs—need to be addressed.

Proposition 3: War is the reflection of the grievances embedded in social, economic and political structures, so peace education needs to be critical and focus on the liberation of human-beings.

The current global order or power relation between the 'north and south' and the 'oppressor and oppressed'- is the root cause of war and the corresponding liberations of both the oppressor and the oppressed can be the solution for the conflict. The current global policy favours a group of people in the developed regions, and deprives or oppresses a large segment of people in the less

developed regions and this tends to the rise of grievances or insurgency and can cause war. The unjust social relations between the oppressed, and oppressors causes de-humanisation of the oppressed and to remedy this; a struggle begins alongside the oppressed to restore humanity and transform reality to liberate all—both the oppressed and the oppressor, as stated by Freire. Again, Freire does not only confine his thoughts with the 'north-south gap' or 'class struggle.' His idea of liberation embraces the internal struggle of both the oppressed as well as the oppressor to achieve the strength to transform the realities with the rise of critical consciousness or 'conscientisation.'

Therefore, I have tried to draw the attention of the different propositions on causes of war. Peace education has the potential to explain the causes and teach of the alternatives to war.

Sub-question 4: What are the strengths and limitations of the selected approaches (from sub-question 3) to peace education?

Each approach of peace education has its strengths and limitations. The Integrated theory of peace focuses much on the person and less on structural issues, whereas Freire's philosophy of peace education gives more emphasis on structure and less on psychological or cultural issues. Again, Intergroup contact theory of peace education can promote dialogue between rivals, but cannot give much indication on how to resolve the structural factors that cause war. So, applying the approach according to context is important. Otherwise, it could tend to distract people from the deep-rooted issues like social justice, human rights of conflict, and may work as a weapon for the oppressors to continue their oppressions, and those can lead to future and violent war.

Research question: How do different approaches of peace education seek to contribute to counter war?

Research sub-question 3 addresses how different approach of peace education can counter different theoretical explanation on the causes of war (addressed in sub-question 1). The limitations of the approaches have been highlighted in sub-question 4. The historical emergence of peace education (sub-question 2) has shown its potential through a campaign to raise anti-war awareness, and provide people ideas to look for alternative or non-violent means to stop war. It seems that peace education has its potential to sharpen the knowledge, skills and attitudes to stimulate 'conflict sensitivity' among human beings. Again, specifically, of the objective of Peace education is to teach and learn about the roots of violence and strategies for peace whereas Peace building aims for a long term strategy for peace that removes causes for violence. So, peace building has broader goals and diversified areas of work while the activity of peace education is limited with teaching and learning. Peace education can help to achieve the goals of Peace building through creating awareness and knowledge, but, the probable success to stop war depends on the efforts of peace building.

After going to the literature and analysing the content regarding the potential of peace education to counter war, my realisation is that the questions of this study are just the tip of the iceberg. We have a lot more questions to consider for promoting peace and looking for alternatives to war and armed conflict. It is important for us to think about the way to engage political leaders in the endeavours to stop war and also hold them responsible for their decisions. Here, to counter war, peace education needs to ask further questions like: what are the moral resources we need to cultivate in order to respond non-violently? What are the infrastructures (social, political, moral) we need to develop at the local, national and

global levels to address the crisis by peaceful means? In this critical analytical study, these questions have remained unanswered and, yet, peace education has the scope to address these sort of questions in the future.

5.2. Identification of area for future research: a personal reflection

This study has raised a range of important issues which can be identified as potential areas for future study. Historically and also currently, religion is one of the vital political factors in war and the study of peace. The different religious texts refer to numerous ways and benefits of peaceful existences (examples of text from different religious scriptures are illustrated in Appendix 4), paradoxically, the pages of history show that various conflicts or wars have occurred due to religion. So, it can be hypothesised that there could be a potential gap between the texts from the scriptures and its impartation to the followers. Again, the questions of religious identities can be conceivable areas for war and conflict during the post-cold war era. This concern leads me to design a proposal for the study which I am going to propose in the later part of this section.

Again, great religions have taken dual roles by contributing both to peace as well as war. On many occasions, organised religions impart their own versions of peace. The irony occurs when this itself ends up igniting hatred and tempts its followers to destroy 'others' by sketching them as enemies. We have seen the example of the crusade, Jihad, religious violence and riots in different spheres of the past two thousand years of world history. In the aftermath of 9/11, the 'war on terror' and the emergence of different fundamental groups (especially the rise of political Islam) have promoted the lessons and thoughts of religion as an important component for peace education.

In the previous chapter, I have mentioned the potential of peace education for 'conflict sensitivity' and also about of importance for contextual analyses of conflict. I want to focus my studies on the issues around conflict sensitivity, religious education and its context in Bangladesh (Appendix 5 highlights the essential contextual backgrounds).

5.2.1. Research title and question

The proposed title for the research: **Conflict Sensitivity, Religion and Education in Bangladesh: A Critical Analysis of Secondary School Islamic Studies Textbooks and their Interpretations by Islamic Studies Teachers and Students.**

Research question:

To what extent are secondary school Islamic studies textbooks sensitive to issues related to conflicts in Bangladesh, and how do both students and teachers interpret the texts?

Sub-questions:

1. To what extent are secondary school Islamic studies textbooks sensitive to issues related to conflicts in Bangladesh?
2. What are the interpretations of secondary school subject teachers on the secondary school Islamic studies textbooks in relation to issues of conflict sensitivity?
3. What are the interpretations of students on the secondary school Islamic studies textbooks in relation to issues of conflict sensitivity?

5.2.2. Objective

The objective of this study is to analyse the secondary school Islamic studies textbooks in Bangladesh through a

'conflict sensitivity' lens and to explore how this is interpreted by Islamic studies teachers and students. In Bangladesh, the curriculum for secondary school (grade VI to X) is centralised and the National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) is responsible for preparing, publishing and distributing the textbooks. The NCTB is a central body consisting of education experts who are assigned to write textbooks. It is mandatory for all teachers and students of secondary schools to follow these textbooks. For secondary schools (grade VI to X) religious studies are compulsory. Currently, the NCTB publishes religious books for Islam, Hinduism, Christianity and Buddhism studies. Each student studies the textbooks on his/her respective religion as a compulsory subject. Harris (2008) in his work on the history of peace education acknowledged that diverse religious thought and written scriptures are a rich and influential source for peace learning, but there are also examples of religious education which promote hostility to other religions. Religion and religious education can thus be a source of both conflict and peace. Therefore, this research seeks to analyse the secondary school Islamic studies textbooks through a conflict sensitivity framework to assess the extent to which these textbooks are promoting social cohesion, tolerance and positive relationships in Bangladesh. In recognition of the fact that teachers do not automatically transmit curriculum and textbook content to students, the research will also seek to explore how teachers and students interpret the textbooks.

5.2.3. Research Methodology

I adopt a Critical Constructivist position for this research. I will use interview methods for data collection. I will apply Critical discourse analysis to analyse the textbooks.

Data Collection

I will interview ten teachers and ten students. The participants will be selected as per conveniences.

Data Analysis

I will collect and analyse the data in three phases as follows:

Phase 1: Critical Discourse Analysis of secondary Islamic studies textbooks through a conflict sensitive lens.

Here, I will follow Fairclough's model of CDA (see Appendix-6) to do the analysis.

Phase 2: Teachers' interpretation of texts and the discourse derived from phase 1

On the basis of the discourse derived in phase 1 I will formulate the questions to interview the teachers.

Phase 3: Student' interpretation on the texts and discourse derived from phase 1 and phase 2

Similarly, on the basis of the discourses and analysis of phase 1 and 2, I will design the interview questions for the students. Again, I will apply content analysis to interpret their responses. Moreover, here, I will also look for information about their attitudes, other available sources of information and learning regarding conflict sensitivity and religion.

Ethical Consideration

I recognise that religion is a sensitive issue in Bangladesh, and so the protection of the informants and data are my prime priority. The following norms will be maintained.

Informed Consent: I will use the information sheet and a consent letter with full details of the objective of the research. I will only select those to participate who are willing to sign the consent letter after thoroughly going through the information paper and consent letter.

Right of Withdrawal: In the information paper and consent letter, I will clearly state about participants' dignified right to withdrawal from this research project. Also, I will make sure that the participants understand about their right to withdraw from the research. They will be ensured that if they want to withdraw then their identity and views will not be disclosed and they will not have to pay any price for that. Moreover, the information they provide me will not be used anywhere in my research.

Confidentiality: The participants will decide the place of interview according to their convenience. Hence, it is expected that in the place of interview each participant will feel comfortable to express his/her views. It will be one to one interview, therefore, none but the researcher will only know the identity of the participants.

I will not use their real names but identify the participants by code. I will do the transcription by myself so that no one else can identify them. Again, in transcription, I will use the codes.

I will use digital devices for audio recording with the consent of the participant. The audio will be kept secured in the computer, and those will be protected by passwords. Data will be stored on a password-protected computer.

APPENDIX 1

Areas for searching literature

Area: Different political theories to analyse the causes of war, both 'old wars' and 'new wars'.

To look for the theories on war, firstly, I explored the academic textbooks of political theories along with books on international relations. I prioritized the latest versions of the textbooks, especially those which have been published within the last five years. I have also placed importance on the names of the more renowned publishers (Oxford Press, Palgrave Foundation and so on) for publishing textbooks, for example, in this study, I have widely cited Heywood (2011)'s book on *Global Politics*. Secondly, I selected in the core literature the authors whose theory I have discussed, for example, Huntington, S. (1993) The clash of civilizations. *Foreign Affairs* Vol.72 (3),pp. 22–49, although I strongly disagree with the notion of this.

Area: Historical evidences of war

For the historical evidences of war, I primarily considered information within various Encyclopedias (e,g., Encarta, Britannica) because they lent an authentic source. Then, I selected the relevant chapters of the textbooks I had collected on the theories of war (as I have mentioned above).

Area: Peace education

Regarding the literature for peace education, I divided the search into several sub-areas:

For the historical emergence of peace education, I started to look for the Encyclopedia of peace education, e.g., Harris, I. (2008) 'History of Peace Education', in Monish Bajaj, ed., *Encyclopedia of peace education,* Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing. Then, I have sorted out the relevant articles and other publications regarding the historical emergence of peace education from the reference or citation sections of the article. For example, the article, Reardon B. (1988) *Comprehensive peace education: Educating for global responsibility,* NY: Teachers College Press, helped me to get an outline and interpretation on the dynamics of the historical emergence of peace education.

For conceptual and theoretical postulates of peace education, along with the Encyclopedia of peace education, I searched journal articles and grey literature on peace education. Here, to get ideas about the content and pedagogy of peace education initiatives, I also looked for the handbook of peace education programmes.

Here, I need to mention that my focus is not peace studies per se but a narrower one: 'peace education.' Regarding the concept of peace education, a wide variety of literature is available. The encyclopedia of peace education was a helpful beginning. Then, on the web, I have got different kinds of literature on peace education. I have gone through the academic journals (e.g., Journal of Peace Education), grey literature, and peace education programmes of different organisations (e.g., *Dr. Joseph Hungwa Memorial Peace Education Program* by Teachers without Borders, *Peace education in UNICEF* by Fountain,1999)

I confined my search within the term 'peace education theory' through google (also scholar google) and ask.com for general readings, and frequently used the electronic journal section of University of Sussex electronic library (which is a subscriber of web of knowledge, j-stor, Taylor and Francis and others) for searching academic and peer-reviewed journals on peace education (e.g., *Journal of Peace Education*). Regarding 'peace education theory' I found Harris (2004) article on 'Peace Education Theory' as a widely referred one. Other academic articles focus on the influence of different theories or theorists towards peace education, for example, 'Towards an integrative theory of peace education' by Denesh (2006) published in the *Journal of Peace Education* or Elise Boulding and peace education: theory, practice and 'Quaker Faith' by Stephenson (2012), published in *Journal of Peace Education*.

APPENDIX 2

Reflection of war and peace in Greek literature

In ancient Greek literature, we can find some examples corpulent with the issues of war and reconciliation. For example, Homer's lines in the *Iliad* are full of contrary emotions, conscious of two poles of war's "ugly brutality and its terrible beauty." (Knox 1965, p.7). We often find the involvement of god and goddess in warfare. The aftermath of war and the complications for establishing peace have been reflected in Homer's *Odyssey*, Aeschylus's *Agamemnon*, Sophocle's *Antigone*, Euripides *Trojan Women* and so on. Thucydides History of *Peloponnessian War* is also a very prominent work regarding war and peace. A common characteristic of the

masterpieces of Greek literature regarding war is "men in battle and women [whose] fate depends on the outcomes" (Knox 1965, p.9). Here, I want to mention the outstanding Aristophanic comedy *Lysistrata* that asserts how women with no recognized political rights take the initiative of stopping war by abjuring men from having the scope to enjoy sexual pleasure.

APPENDIX 3

Some major proponents of peace education

In brief, I am going to shed light on some of the major proponents of peace education, though I admit all of them can demand a detailed discussion. Freire's (1990) revolutionary idea of the pedagogy of the oppressed, conscientisation and critical consciousness set in motion a radical dynamics in education and his idea continue to resound in the field of peace education (Bartlett 2008,pp.39-45). Brocke-Utne (1985) pinpointed the devastation of masculine belligerence in the manifestation of militarism, war and domestic violence. She strongly supported feminism as the initial summit for effective disarmament. Moreover, she argued that societies without war should not be defined as a peaceful one if considerable consequences of domestic violence prevail there. Around the same time, Reardon (1988) identified that the core values of schooling should be 'care, concern and commitment' and the key concepts for peace education ought to be 'planetary stewardship, global citizenship and humane relationships' (Reardon 1988; Harris 2008; p.18). Contemporary prominent figure Ian Harris emphasised a holistic approach to peace

education and this approach could be applied to community, elementary, secondary and college level education. Another leading protagonist Johan Galtung is known for his life-long contributions to peace studies and peace research and developing his framework of positive and negative peace (Galtung 1983). Another influential thinker Elise Boulding addressed peace education as an amalgamation of global perspective and local action (Morrison 2008). It is evident that during this time teaching conflict resolution education in schools became one of the fastest growing areas for school reforms in the West. For example, at the end of the twentieth century, approximately one in ten schools in the USA introduced some peer mediation programme, in which the students learn to resolve the dispute between the conflicting parties through the use of communication skills (Harris 2008,p.20).

APPENDIX 4

Religious teachings and peace education

Harris (2008a) acknowledged diverse religious thoughts and written scriptures as a rich and influential source for the peace learning, notwithstanding, that there are examples of war and violence occurred in the name of these religious traditions. The 'golden rule[17]' maxim has been echoed in scriptures of world's great religion; such as, Hinduism, Budhism, Bahai's faith, Confucianism, Taosim, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, Islam; as a core philosophy for a peaceful way of living for human-

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[17] The **Golden Rule** or **ethic of reciprocity** is a maxim, ethical code or morality that states 'One should treat others as one would like others to treat oneself'

beings (Flew 1979, p.134; Harris 2008, p.16; Kidder 2003). Let me draw a few quotes from different religious scriptures in the following which reflect the same philosophy of the so-called 'golden rule':

O son of man! Deny not My servant should he ask anything from thee, for his face is My face; be then abashed before Me. –Bahá'u'lláh, (Bahá'u'lláh, p.52)

Comparing oneself to others in such terms as "Just as I am so are they, just as they are so am I," he should neither kill nor cause others to kill. –Sutta Nipata :705 (The Tripitak, from the Encyclopedia of Religion)

..And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise. -The Bible/ Luke 6:31 (The Bible)

"How about 'shu' [reciprocity]: ...never impose on others what you would not choose for yourself?" – Confucius, Analects XV.24 (Els, 2012)

The sage has no interest of his own, but takes the interests of the people as his own.

—Tao Teh Ching, Chapter 49 (Kohn, 1993)

One should never do that to another which one regards as injurious to one's own self. This, in brief, is the rule of dharma. Other behaviour is due to selfish desires.

—Brihaspati, Mahabharata, Anusasana Parva, Section CXIII: 8 (The Mahabharat)

 Love your neighbour as yourself. - Leviticus 19:18 (The Jewish Bible)

"O you who believe! Spend benevolently of the good things that you have earned... and do not even think of spending worthless things that you yourselves would be reluctant to accept." — Surah 2, "The Calf," v. 267 (The Quran)

The context of Bangladesh

The following pieces of information are relevant for my research proposal.

One, Bangladesh won its independence after a long struggle and finally achieved through a bloodshed war in 1971. So, the history of independence is considered as the pride of Bangladesh and this also reflects in the school curriculum.

Two, Bangladesh is one of the largest Muslim populated countries. Here, I want to mention that though at birth the secularism was noted as one of the main pillars of the constitution of Bangladesh, now Islam has been stated Islam as the State religion.

Three, there remains three broader streams; General, English and Madrasa; of school education in Bangladesh. For the general medium (popularly known as Bangla medium) of schools) which are noted as the 'mainstream or general school', the study of one's respective religion as a subject is compulsory according to the national curriculum. Currently, in Bangladesh, the curriculum for primary and secondary school (grade I to X) is centralised, and the National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) is responsible for preparing, publishing and distributing textbooks which are to be mandatory to be followed by all teachers and students of respective levels. As indicated, NCTB is the central body consisting of education experts who are assigned to prepare textbook contents. At this time NCTB publishes 'Religion and Moral Studies' books for the lessons of Islam, Hinduism, Christianity and Buddhism. and every student has to study one 'Religion and Moral Studies' subject.

Yet,religious studies have the potentials to impart a lesson in sensitivity to conflict. Here, an important concern for me is that in the secondary school of Bangladesh, under the same stream each student studies one's own religion and is not getting access to learn about other religions. As a result, during the session on religious study, students are divided according to their 'religious identity', and they study different textbooks. Here the inevitable question appears- can this division (physical, spiritual and content-wise differences of the texts) pave the way to generate conflict among different religious groups?

APPENDIX 6

Fairclough's model of CDA

(Fairclough 2004)
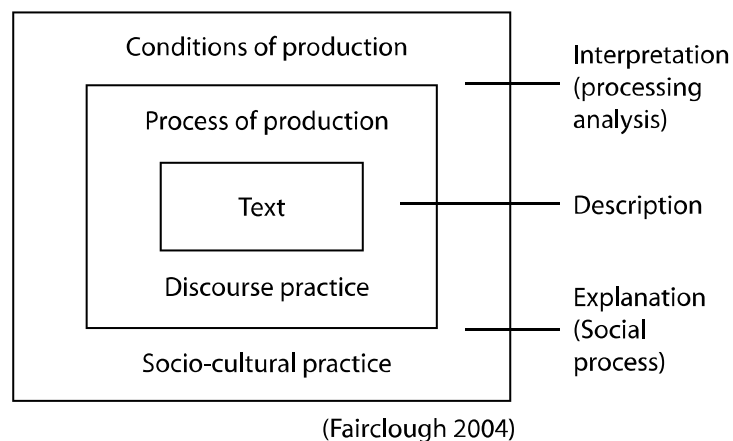
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