What Fosters and What Hampers Sustainable Peace Education?

Policy Insights, Practical Experiences and Recommendations from Europe and Beyond

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Abstract: This report studies the practice of peace education. It offers an introduction into the way peace education has developed over time and how it is addressed academically. It draws from concrete examples mainly from Europe, while considering lessons from successful experiences for Israel/Palestine. In section 2 core concepts are presented that are of key importance when dealing with peace education, namely the concepts of "peace education", "conflict" and "peace" as well as the notions of "(local) peace-building" and "(post-) conflict societies". Section 3 looks at peace education in detail. It is divided in three sub-sections. It, firstly, offers an overview on how peace education is defined today in key policy documents, mainly from the international level where this concept has become mainstreamed. It secondly provides for an overview on the history of the practice of peace education, a history that dates back to the 19th century and attempts in that period for pedagogical reforms, on the one hand, and peaceful political relations between nations, on the other. Thirdly, by looking at contemporary practical experiences mainly in Europe this section discusses achievements but also pitfalls of peace education. Special attention will be given here to the cases of Northern Ireland and Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as the process of European integration under the umbrella of the EU. Section 4 looks at two specific intervening contexts of relevance to peace education. On the one hand, the role of everyday dynamics and concrete life experience of people in conflict-settings are addressed and how they are fostering or hampering peace education. On the other hand, the impact exposures to violence have on peace education. What is emphasized here is the central role of violence in rendering mutual distrust a fundament of social relations, but also the strategic use of violence that works against peace education. Throughout sections 3 and 4 reference to the Israel/Palestine case is made in order to highlight similarities and differences with European experiences. The paper closes with a summary of successful examples from Europe and policy recommendations for Israel and Palestine.

Keywords: peace education; pedagogy; conflict; violence; Europe; Israel/Palestine

1. Introduction

Peace education – based on the fundamental idea, enshrined in the UNESCO[1] Constitution, on that topic, "that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed"[2] – is a response to a major challenge humans confront.[3] This challenge is the pervasiveness of conflicts, war, violence and genocide in human history. This is all too obvious with a view to our modern, globally interconnected world. Our world, in general, and the Israeli-Palestinian arena, in specific, is - contradicting modernity's underlying narrative of universalism, progress and rationality - to a considerable extent shaped by war, violence, trauma and **protracted conflicts** (Azar 2002). Look at the time that passed since the late 18th and early 19th century - the period many academics take into focus when studying how modern societies emerged across the globe, and the time during which our modern international system got formed too. Ever since, international politics has seen many examples of (asymmetric) conflicts, hegemonic impositions, great power rivalry, racist political ideologies, colonial expansion, anti-colonial opposition, regional and world wars, genocides and countless "new and old wars" (Kaldor 1999) of varying intensity and many of them along ethno/religious/nationalist divides. All these tensions and conflicts bring with them, as Israelis and Palestinians are well aware, alienation, human suffering, exploitation, oppression, discrimination and stereotypes between conflict parties. Such tensions also underpin broader violence-prone **"conflict cultures"** in "hot" conflict zones, but also, as pedagogues tell us, filter through into schools, families, and other everyday settings (Bar-Tal 2013).

In this world of strive and violence though, peace education is also a child of our modern times – and aims to address these aforementioned challenges stemming *inter alia* from group alienation and violent-prone conflict cultures. Peace education belongs to a wider set of ambitious, and occasionally pervasive approaches that developed during the last two centuries. Peace education aims at mediating, alleviating, or even overcoming deep-seated conflict dynamics, rivalries and enemy images. It complements other peace-building measures such as international diplomacy, international law or other forms of international cooperation. Thus, peace education is one amongst several approaches within and beyond educational institutions aiming to foster cooperation, integration, consensus building and peace between civilizations, nations, societies, groups and individuals (see Noddings 2012). And it occurs through instruments from the local to the international level. Looking at the role of peace education in protracted conflicts, the truth though is

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[1] United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
[2] http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=15244&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.
[3] This report is the outcome of an inspiring collaboration with Dr. Khalil Shikaki (Palestinian Center for Policy & Survey Research; PCPSR) and Dr. Roby Nathanson (Macro Center for Political Economics) in the framework of their project on peace education funded by the EU under the umbrella of the EU Peacebuilding Initiative. I am grateful to Khalil and Roby, as well as Hamada Jaber of the PCPSR for giving me the chance to be part of this important project and entrusting me with writing this report. The report has received a lot of valuable feedback at an international conference where it was presented in January 2021. I would like to express my gratitude in particular to Dr. Sara Clarke-Habibi as well as Prof. Daniel Bar-Tal and Professor Sami Adwan who were excellent discussants of my paper at this conference. Many thanks also to all other participants at the conference and their invaluable inputs.

– as Israelis and Palestinians were well aware even during the now by-gone days of the erstwhile peace process - that in many political arenas "conflict" and "peace" co-exist alongside each other. This can be observed from Israel/Palestine to Colombia and Kashmir, and from the Congo to Eastern Ukraine and Northern Ireland. More often than not, what can be seen is a parallel expansion of conflict dynamics, on the one hand, and multi-faceted forms of external and domestic interventions and mediation meant to prevent escalations, on the other. Peace education is one such intervention – alongside other instruments such as diplomacy. Institutionally speaking, peace education is often orchestrated through the activities of International Organizations (IOs), spearheaded since the end of World War II by the United Nations (UN) and its many specialized agencies, in particular its **agency specializing on education: UNESCO**. But it also comprises the activities of regional organizations – such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), states as well as many external and domestic Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs).

The public attention which efforts of peace-making in conflict zones garners often centers on "first-track" diplomacy, i.e. the role of political leaders or the work of diplomats, peace-keepers and bureaucrats. However, this official level is only one, and as the literature highlights by far a sufficient, source of peace-building. What is referred to as second-track or second-tier diplomacy, and has today acquired recognition as **local "peace-building"** (de Coning 2013) also occupies a pivotal role in order to turn agreements that end open violence and hostilities into lasting versions of peace. And this is an arduous task, given that more than half of all peace agreements falter in the first five years after their conclusion, with societies often returning to or maintaining high violence-levels. The demise of the 1990s Israeli-Palestinian peace process is a good example of such deteriorating dynamics. It is in precisely this context that both at the level of **practitioners** as well as **academic research** peace education was identified as a central factor in working towards a **sustainability of peace**. It needs to be noted, though, that in the academic realm peace education is an inter-disciplinary endeavor that brings together philosophy, ethics, pedagogy, psychology, political science and international relations, peace and conflict studies, and many other fields. While progress has been made, the academic debate is still defined by learning to merge different disciplinary angles.

This report offers an assessment of this practice of peace education based on a thorough analysis of key practices, in particular in Europe. Doing so, it will proceed in four steps. The report starts in section 2 with a discussion of the **core concepts** constituting the political and wider societal contexts of peace education: namely the concepts of "peace education", "conflict" and "peace" as well as the related notions of "(local) peace-building" and so-called "(post-) conflict societies". Having laid out this, section 3 presents in detail the **practice of peace education**, highlighting here and in the rest of the paper also how this relates to the situation in Israel and in Palestine. Section 3 is divided in three sub-sections. It, firstly, offers a condensed overview on the **definition** of peace education in key international policy documents. The report provides, secondly, for an overview on the **history** of the practice of peace education, a history that dates back to the 19th century and attempts in that period for pedagogical reforms, on the one hand, and peaceful political relations between nations, on the other. After taking roots across the globe during the 19th century, there was a further international institutionalization of peace education after World War II. This historical perspective is important in order to get a better grasp of the long history of this global dimension of peace education, often, albeit falsely, understood as something recent, novel or Western. Thirdly, the report

then addresses the balance sheet of **contemporary** peace education by discussing the achievements but also pitfalls of peace education, looking here at concrete **empirical examples** particularly but not exclusively from **Europe.** Special attention will be given in sections 3 and 4 to experiences with peace education in **Northern Ireland, Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as Cyprus**, three sites of protracted conflict often discussed by practitioners and academics alongside Israel/Palestine. But the report highlights other examples as well, first and foremost the relationship between peace education and **European integration**. Two core intervening factors that often support, but can also severely hinder, sustainable peace education are addressed in section 4. The report firstly studies the great importance **everyday dynamics** and concrete life experience of people in conflict-settings have on peace education, both in rendering peace education a legitimate political objective but also as an arena in which conflict identities are securitized and peace education is resisted. This is a warning against "peace education romanticism" that views the participation and inclusion of local communities as a panacea to resolve allegedly elite-driven conflicts. The report turns secondly to the impact which exposures to sustained and widespread **violence** in conflict-settings have on peace education. Pivotal in this context is a discussion on how violence engenders a culture of mistrust, on the one hand, and how violence is often used in conflict-settings as a strategic resource by conflict parties in order to undermine rather than foster peace, on the other. The report closes with a summary of successful examples from Europe and policy recommendations for sustainable peace education that also reflect on their applicability in Israel and Palestine.

2. Core Contexts

2.1. Peace Education

Peace education is, according to a general definition put forward by a globally leading NGO on that topic, the Tubingen-based Berghof Foundation, "the process of acquiring the values and knowledge and developing the attitudes, skills and behaviour to live in harmony with oneself, with others, and with the natural environment." [4] The more specific definition, linked to inter-group (violent) conflicts, then pertains to the role of peace education in aiming "to reduce violence, support the transformation of conflicts, and advance the peace capabilities of individuals, groups, societies and institutions".[5] Peace education aims to address violence from a multi-dimensional approach (cf. Smith, Datzberger and McCully 2016: 27). Thus, it has been defined as tackling **direct violence** (e.g. violent conflicts, human rights violations, corporal punishment, sexual abuse and how all this affects educational realms), **indirect violence** (e.g. illiteracy, inequality in access to education opportunities, poor infrastructure) as well as **repressive violence** (absence of democracy and

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[4] https://www.berghof-foundation.org/en/publications/glossary/educating-for-peace/. For the sake of coherence also subsequent quotes from the NGO-community are from the Berghof Institute – however, the general definitions do not differ substantially between this and other core non-governmental actors of peace education. There are many other important NGOs working on peace education (this report refers to some of them in section 3.1).

[5] Ibid.

participation opportunities in schools for pupils and others) and **alienating violence** (e.g. culturally-biased curricula, glorification of war and violence).

Peace education thus works in particular through **educational contexts** from kindergartens, to schools and higher education and various formats of life-long learning. Its main objective is the **transformation of conflict identities and everyday behavior in (inter-group or inter-personal) conflict situations** (see section 3). While it is true that policy-makers tend to discuss peace education mainly in relation to political conflicts at various scales and as an instrument of intervention conducive for overcoming hostilities, stereotypes, mutual distrust and enemy images, the ambition and intellectual grounding of peace education is much wider in scope: it appeals to the general ambition to strive for peaceful education and **non-violent conflict resolution** in everyday life also outside the conflict zones of international politics. That is why peace education tools and policy decisions are today considered a core feature of education policies also in societies outside of conflict zones, e.g. throughout most parts of the EU. Take for example the German law of 2000 banning violence in the upbringing of children (based on the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child) or the *Service Center Peace Education* for schools in the German Federal State of Baden-Wurttemberg that provides peace education material to be used by schools in that state.[6] As Werner Wintersteiner (2003: 319), a leading academic capacity on peace education noted - having the Austrian education system in mind, but describing a general perspective: "how much peace education takes place […] is largely a question of the definition. The broader one defines the concept, the more one will find". If we "only" include concrete **curricula reforms or schools devoted to shared education** in zones of protracted conflicts probably less - an exception pertaining to the Israeli-Palestinian arena would be the Arab-Jewish School for Peace Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam in Israel - and even less when we look at the actual impact of such measures in changing the overall conflict dynamics (see also section 3). But if we also include allegedly "stable" societies and look at **broader patterns of education** in schools and civic education more generally and how peaceful conflict resolution tools are taught, we find much more peace education at work, as the examples relating to Germany above highlight. Before looking at the history and the balance sheet of peace education in the following section, let us quickly address the broader context within which peace education takes place. This is necessary because the concept of peace education is closely linked to the way we understand conflicts, peace, peace-building and (post-) conflicts societies.

2.2. Conflicts

The first context relates to our understanding of conflicts. Conflicts refer to concrete states of a given social relationships – be it between individuals, in a family, at the workplace, within a nation or between ethno-national groups. Peace education aims to better such relationships. The objective is to **overcome stereotypes and enemy images** in social relationships defined by conflict – or as Karin Aggestam, Fabio Cristiano and Lisa Strömbom (2015) note, building on the work of Chantal Mouffe (2013), turning antagonistic relationships into a harmonious, or at least a neutral or "agonistic" encounter (Bar-Tal 2002). In such agonistic settings social groups maintain their differences but confront each other through non-violent means and without framing the other as an (eternal) enemy.

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[6] https://www.friedensbildung-bw.de/fuenf-jahre (in German).

Peace education is thus not necessarily about overcoming conflicts, but about **transforming** the nature of conflicts. This fits particularly well with a key insight from conflict studies. Thus, a core feature in the escalation of conflicts is an increasingly harsh distinction between two sides: as conflict dynamics progress, opposing parties consider themselves increasingly as adversaries or even enemies (see Messmer 2003; Stetter 2014; Bar-Tal 2013). In short, conflicts lead to a world-view in which more and more parts of social life are viewed through the prism of a seemingly unbridgeable binary between Self and Other, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict being a case in point. Almost every issue at hand can be drawn into the binary divide of conflict identities. On the other hand, though, as key protagonists of peace education emphasize, conflicts cannot and should not be simply ignored or suppressed. There is a social function in conflicts insofar as they often point to **legitimate appeals to voice, justice and equity** that ought to be addressed (see Korostelina 2012). This is for example the case in international conflicts when basic human rights are threatened by (asymmetric) conflict dynamics, e.g. with a view to the widely documented devastating effect of the Israeli occupation on basic political, cultural, social and economic rights of the Palestinian population in the West Bank and Gaza. It is also important to highlight that peace education is not only a concept but first and foremost a **practice** that requires a concrete working ethos - and addressing such grievances through concrete work on the everyday level by teachers and mediators but also by students at schools and other educational institutions (see section 4), having the transformation of the social relationship between Self and Other as its central pedagogical objective.

2.3. Peace

The second context is about the definition of peace. Here, peace education can be seen as a counter-project to what is at times referred to as negative peace, i.e. a definition of peace that hinges on the mere absence of war and of outright physical violence. That is why peace education is often associated with the notion of "positive peace", as famously coined by peace research icon Johan Galtung (2011). **Positive peace** pertains to "the absence of structural violence, such as social injustice, oppression, and discrimination" (Oxford 2014: 5). It even relates to secular or religious philosophies of how to arrive at "intrapersonal (inner) peace" (ibid.: 6), considered to be a precondition for peaceful encounters with others, including productive ways of engaging in conflict. This is therefore a wider understanding of peace that has, in addition to ending violence, the establishment of a more harmonious, equal and just relationship between erstwhile opponents as its objective. This also includes drawing from local knowledge about peace available to specific cultures, such as religious traditions. Take for example Christian, Jewish or Muslim reflections of peace. Another key peace researcher, Dieter Senghaas (1982), has in that context and with a view to political conflicts, developed the notion of a **"civilizational hexagon"** that is highly relevant to peace education (see figure 1). Lasting peace thus not only requires ending violence, e.g. through the establishment of a monopoly of force, rule of law and other means. That is the stuff of political peace agreements and constitutions. There also is a wider, **societal dimension at the heart of peace education**: for example, peace education requires the active participation of "normal" people (e.g. implementation of curricula changes by concrete teachers on the ground), but also a pervasive intrusion of new modes of "constructive conflict management" throughout conflict societies, including educational institutions. And not least, peace education hinges on a recognition of "interdependencies" between opponents and the need for "affect control", including a transformation

of Self/Other relations. Finally, it includes addressing the concerns of "social justice and equality" that underpin and fuel many conflicts at the everyday level (see Salomon & Cairns 2010).
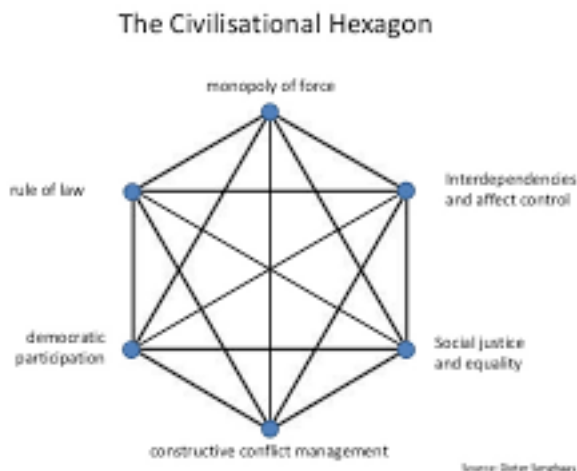
Graph 1: The civilizational hexagon (Senghass 1982)

This latter focus on social justice and equality as peace indicators overlaps well with the daily life-experiences of people in conflict zones, where socio-economic grievances such as in Gaza but also the West Bank are a major factor in driving conflict dynamics as far as the Israeli-Palestinian arena is concerned (see also section 4). Mac Ginty and Richmond (2013) have focused on these peace indicators and have mapped the factors which people in conflict zones associate with the concept of peace. What is striking here is that people living in conflict zones are often not predominantly concerned with the political settlement only, but tend to devote a lot attention to issues of **development and social and economic security** when defining what peace means for them on the ground. This focus on everyday life-chances is actually very close to what peace education strives for – issues such as the inclusion of (young) people, a viable school education, food security, medical supplies and bettering the chances for economic prosperity (on this see Benzing 2020).

2.4. (Local) Peace-Building

This wider understanding of peace that pays attention to the daily life experiences of people living in conflict zones, and in particular to their socio-economic and justice-related needs, has impacted strongly upon key academic debates on peace during the last two decades. It also informs the work of practitioners trying to reach out and interact with local populations in conflict zones, e.g. the work by various UN agencies and NGOs in the Israeli-Palestinian context. This debate is often referred to as so-called "peace-building" literature. Central here is the notion, advanced for example by Roger Mac Ginty and Oliver Richmond (2013), that throughout conflict zones in the world we witness the hegemony of "liberal peace-building". **Liberal peace-building** relates to the specific programs, world views and policies that are frequently deployed in conflict zones by a mix of actors from within and the outside: conflict parties, external states, IOs, NGOs and private actors. And it hinges on a mix

of strategies: military, security-related, constitutional, development-focused, economic, educational strategies and others. What becomes clear here is that over time the notion of "liberal peace" has transformed. This can well be studied when looking at UN missions that are set-up after violent conflicts. While early UN-missions had quite limited security-related mandates, focusing mainly on securing ceasefires or separating conflict parties (e.g. in the Golan or in Cyprus), UN missions increasingly had wider political mandates. They were linked with broader political objectives, such as setting in place a political process, overseeing constitutional assemblies and securing elections as well as "good governance", democracy and human rights – in places such as East Timor as well as in Bosnia and Herzegovina that even included the establishment of an international administration with far-reaching executive, legislative and judicial powers. While in the Israeli/Palestinian context there are manifold examples of such an international presence - from the Middle East Quartet to private NGO initiatives - no such international administration was so far foreseen, although this has been brought up by the non-governmental Geneva Initiative which had suggested an International Verification Group with some authority meant to oversee the implementation of eventual peace provisions for the Old City of Jerusalem. As Séverine Autesserre (2014) has shown with a view to the UN mission in Congo, the largest UN-mandate ever deployed, such broad political involvement can, if it works well, stabilize to some extent the macro-political context and contribute to ending systematic violence. But such involvements fail regularly in transforming the underlying conflict dynamics, because as Autesserre (2014) shows external actors and national elites often tend to frame the persistence of some post-conflict violence as "normal" rather than addressing its root causes, a phenomenon very present in the Israeli-Palestinian context where allegations that Israelis and/or Palestinians would be "culturally" prone to violence are often invoked, both on the ground and internationally. **Emancipatory peace-building** (Richmond 2007) aims to address these underlying root causes, such as social and economic disparities. It pertains to broad and participatory efforts that aim addressing socio-economic disparities and ensuring real agency and inclusion of the "local level", including groups often neglected such as women and children or marginalized groups. In other words, the concept of local peace-building/emancipatory peace relates precisely to the way of thinking that shapes the concept of peace education.

2.5. "(Post-)-Conflict" Societies

A final context is the notion of so-called (post-) conflict societies. The term is not unproblematic for it seduces us to equate peace education with locales shaped by overt violence between political parties, nations, confessional groups and others, i.e. with conflict zones such as Israel/Palestine, former Yugoslavia, Colombia, Afghanistan and so on. But that is, as will be elaborated in the following section, only part of what peace education aims to address. The problem here is that such a focus on "hot" conflict zones leads to the wrong assumption that peace education mainly is something from the West and made for non-Western societies. This is not only historically wrong (see section 3) but also politically problematic for it amplifies the (relative) imbalance of power relations that already exists between the West and the rest of the world. Thus, it reproduces an image of the world in which security problems, such as conflicts and their repercussion, are attributed to the Global South. The Global South, and people living there, can thus easily be labeled as a threat or, linking up to Autesserre's aforementioned argument as somewhat more inclined to violence. In this way of thinking, the solution then comes from the allegedly stable West. Of course, this is problematic on

several accounts. For one, it ignores the role, which military and political interventions by the West have had in creating the very conflicts that today shape parts of the non-Western world, Israel and Palestine being a case in point. Secondly, it belittles the capacity, resources and abilities of non-Western societies in arriving at peace on their own, without Western interference. And finally, it magically makes the on-going conflicts in Western societies disappear, including those that in fact are strongly in the focus of peace education: from the mal-functioning criminal justice system in the US to threats to societies in the West stemming from rightwing extremist groups. Peace education is also relevant in the West when it comes to relations between people in multi-national states in this part of the world, from Canada to Switzerland and Belgium. And peace education is relevant with a view to tensions in urban arenas in the West, some of them being fueled by a lackluster integration policy or outright prejudices vis-à-vis immigrants and/or shortcomings in integration on the side of immigrants. While thus not denying that peace education looks different in different locales – Gavriel Salomon and Ed Cairns (2009) suggest distinguishing between ethno-political conflicts (e.g. Eastern Ukraine, Israel/Palestine), non-violent intergroup tensions (e.g. Belgium) and relative tranquility (e.g. relation between social groups in Denmark; for the notion of tranquility see Hakvoort 2009) – peace education as a concept has all these settings as its objectives. There are always stereotypes, enemy images, conflicts and different dimensions of violence that can, and according to peace education, ought to be transformed – be it in Libya or in a Munich suburb. Peace education is **for every society**.

3. Peace Education: History and Practice

3.1. Peace Education in International Practice

As highlighted above, understanding the concept of peace education fundamentally requires distinguishing between a narrow and a wider understanding (see also Carter 2010; McGlynn et al. 2009 and Bekerman/McGlynn 2007). Let us have a closer look at the narrow understanding first and how this shapes international and national policy decisions on peace education. This relates to the way in which societal dividing lines, both in countries affected by violent conflicts and in those that are not, are addressed in the context of the broader **education system**. As the World Bank (2005, quoted in Emkic 2018: 24) puts it, "peace education is used to describe a range of formal and informal education activities undertaken to promote peace in schools and communities through the inculcation of skills, attitudes, and values that promote non-violent approaches to managing conflict and promoting tolerance and respect for diversity". Peace education hence addresses the question how educational bodies – from kindergartens, to schools and higher education but also pertaining to places of life-long learning such as workshops, seminars and on-the-job-education – can help overcoming social frictions as well as dividing lines, within and outside of regions characterized by violent conflict, war and genocide. As already mentioned, and with a view to so-called post-conflict zones, institutionalizing some form of peace education is today a common practice in international peace-building efforts, thereby supplementing the political provisions set out in peace treaties. Peace education is thus a form of "global learning" through which non-violent education and violence prevention" is fostered; working practically through "developing and implementing curricula, […]

providing training workshops for multipliers in the formal and non-formal education system, […] developing and publishing learning media, and […] creating spaces for joint reflection."[7]

Peace education is, thus, not a one-dimensional approach and we can distinguish between highly formalized (e.g. state-led curriculum reform; workshops by peace education NGOs) and more informal ways of implementing peace education (e.g. private teacher or parents' initiatives; grass-root activities by young people at local schools, etc.). Then there is the distinction between direct and indirect peace-building (Bar-Tal, Rosen & Nets-Zehngut 2010), i.e. addressing enmity and negative stereotypes between conflict parties head-on, or working – in the sense of Senghaas' civilization hexagon – on "affect control" more generally speaking, i.e. some version of inner peace (within individuals or in-groups) that is then considered to positively feedback on inter-group encounters. And, as already mentioned, peace education addresses different target groups and stakeholders: from kids in kindergartens and schools, to students in higher education and adults in life-long learning schemes - and the wider public through the spread of peace education in the media, i.e. peace journalism (see Ellis and Warshel 2009).

Central for the analysis in this paper is, then, that peace education has become, over the last decades, part and parcel of **international interventions** in conflict zones, including in Israel and in Palestine (Abu-Nimer 2000; Salomon 2013). Peace education is **mainstreamed** and institutionalized in policy decisions in various conflict settings – including in Europe such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, Northern Ireland, the Basque Country, the Baltics and other places (see the next sub-section). Often, such efforts work under the guidance or advise of IOs, in particular UNESCO or the OSCE in the European context. But there are also many private initiatives, both from secular (in particular NGOs) and religious actors, the latter highlighting the central role of "inner peace" as a guiding principle in world religions such as Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, Judaism, New Age forms of spiritualism or other religious traditions (see Dai/Chen 2017). Here we see again the wider understanding of peace education at play that addresses the fundamental way in which identity is expressed in society. Peace education actors link up to a long tradition of global peace education ideals that dates back to educational ideas, which as will be shown in the next sub-section, emerged during the 19th century. Core actors of peace education today include the Japanese Peace Boat[8] but also important think tanks engaging in peace-building on the ground, examples being the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), which has an office branch in Cyprus too, or NGOs engaging in peace education training in Europe and beyond such as the aforementioned Berghof Foundation and the Nansen Center for Peace and Dialogue in Lillehammer. The peace education programs of these institutions aim at overcoming conflict stereotypes in many settings, including in "hot" conflict zones. They have a broad pedagogical ambition, namely to foster a "renunciation of all forms of corporal punishment, violence and psychological pressure as a means of delivering education"[9] through concrete projects that have the educational sector in conflict zones and elsewhere as its target (this includes transformative learning practices, including pedagogies of remembrance, pedagogies of healing and reconciliation, and others). It is precisely here where we see a merger of the narrow (education-oriented) and wider (society-oriented; identities of in-group and perception of out-group) notion of peace education. This

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[7] https://www.berghof-foundation.org/en/publications/glossary/educating-for-peace/.
[8] https://peaceboat.org/english/.
[9] https://www.berghof-foundation.org/en/publications/glossary/educating-for-peace/.

is the level at which educational measures are meant to foster, in the words of Betty Reardon (2001), a broader **"culture of peace"** which is shaped by peace capacity, peace competence and peace action in manifold social arenas. The expectations, as discussion on peace education in Israel (Basman-Mor 2021) show, should not skyrocket. Major societal and political change is very difficult in conflict settings. Thus, in many conflict arenas – including in Israel and in Palestine – the wider climate is often detrimental to encompassing peace-building. This sets limits to the overall reach of peace education, but one should at the same time "not wait until the socio-political conditions change in order to implement peace education" (ibid.: 19).

There is thus a gradual shift towards a recognition of the necessity to include, in the context of peace agreements and international peace-building missions, wider segments of society in conflict zones and to aim at a wholesale transformation of identities – i.e. a "negation of enemy images" (Adams, quoted in Salomon and Cairns 2009: 2) that got formed in a conflict. Against this background, it comes as little surprise that the concept of peace education has over the course of the last decades become **formally institutionalized** in various policy decisions, e.g. in the 1998 UN Resolution on the Culture of Peace.[10] Therein it is defined as an encompassing policy that starts in school education - to turn the individual classroom into a "small peace culture" (Oxford 2014: 6) - but should then reach out to society as a whole. Peace education is based, according to the UN, on an "integral approach to preventing violence and violent conflicts, and an alternative to the culture of war and violence based on education for peace, the promotion of sustainable economic and social development, respect for human rights, equality between woman and men, democratic participation, tolerance, the free flow of information and disarmament".[11] As Sara Clarke-Habibi (2018: 2) puts it, "the international community has mainstreamed peace education into intervention programming over the past three decades, attracting both praise and critique". Critique relates in particular to the perceived lack of effectiveness. Thus, while the good intention of peace education activities is obvious, the actual success in fundamentally transforming deep-seated conflict identities usually lags considerable behind, partial exceptions such as Northern Ireland or parts of the Balkans, South Africa, or Latin America notwithstanding. An evaluation of concrete peace education programs underlines this dilemma (see also sub-section 3.3.). Thus, in many conflict zones we find manifold individual peace education activities at schools and elsewhere, and also governments might comply by being willing to reform curricula, e.g. in history teaching. Yet, a broader impact on society as a whole – in line with John Paul Lederach's concept of a transformational platform[12] – often remains elusive. The objective to embed peace-education in a general societal diffusion of training in various education settings of "civic education, democracy, human rights, life skills" (Clarke-Habibi 2018: 37) appears often as too demanding. Take for example the few shared education projects in Israel that include both Arab and Jewish Israeli pupils (as mentioned above) or the activities of the Arab-Jewish Israeli educational center *Givat Haviva* that in 2001 even received the UNESCO Prize for Peace Education. Notwithstanding the relevance of these activities, their impact on overcoming segregation in the Israeli school system or Israeli society at large has so far been limited. Albeit with somewhat better balance sheets, similar observations have been made with a view to the persistence of segregated

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[10] https://www.un.org/press/en/2019/ga12226.doc.htm.
[11] https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000105029.
[12] http://peacebuildingforlanguagelearners.pbworks.com/w/file/fetch/73426925/Lederach%20and%20Maiese_Conflict%20Transformation.pdf.

schooling in Northern Ireland and, to a lesser degree, in Bosnia and Herzegovina (see below). On the more positive side, though, it can be concluded that peace education is today part of the broader non-legal efforts to mitigate conflict dynamics. It has become a regular part of decision-making of what is known as Transitional Justice (TJ) in countries and communities trying to overcome the divisions of war, violent conflict or authoritarian rule. It is not about the legal efforts to foster justice by punishing perpetrators – as in the Nuremberg and Tokyo Trials after World War II against German and Japanese war criminals, in the tribunals on Ruanda or Yugoslavia or within the International Criminal Court that was established in 1998. And neither is it about the steps taken in national legal systems to hold authoritarian rulers and bureaucrats accountable, as this happened (with mixed success) in Latin America, South Europe and also in Central and Eastern Europe after the end of Communist rule. Peace education is a third **(extra-legal) pillar of TJ** and is meant to foster a sense of justice through dialogues within and across communities. As such it can be compared to the work made in truth commissions such as in South Africa or the Historical Clarification Mission in Guatemala. But as shall be outlined further below this renders peace education – as also the legal approach - **potentially divisive**: it can stir up cultural conflicts, can generate fears about interacting with the "enemy", and can be seen as a provocation by (parts of) society that fears to open the Pandora's box associated with a violent past and is hesitant in confronting its own responsibility for the conflict at hand.

3.2. The History of Peace Education

As is evident by now peace education is a mainstreamed (European Intercultural Forum 2014) and globally diffused policy-approach within and beyond "hot" conflict zones. It is closely linked to post-World War II peace-building and the activities of IOs, such as UNESCO and various NGOs but also private actors - such as Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein in the Peace Science Manifesto of 1955[13] which linked education to the fight against nuclearization, in a similar way as today peace education is often closely related to environmental protection objectives or to the achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) of the UN. However, and with a view to better understand European experiences with peace education, it is paramount to look at peace education as a practice that has a much longer history than often assumed. This is a history that takes us back to the 19th century. Unfortunately, this **deep historical grounding** of peace education often escapes the attention of core protagonists of contemporary peace education. Thus, the claim can be heard that the "international discourse on this topic is still in its infancy"[14], which is somewhat of a problematic statement given the almost 200 years in which peace education has played a role in transnational forums and various pedagogical debates in Europe and beyond. This amnesia about the long history of peace education might tell us less about peace education itself, but very much about the **hegemonic forces that belittle peace education** and about the potency of conflict dynamics that make peace education appear, often in an attempt to delegitimize it, as not much more than a novel (and Western) fashion that does allegedly not work in conflict zones. This might also be one of the reasons why peace education is often not considered central in peace agreements, from the interim Oslo-agreements, to the Belfast or Dayton agreements while lobbying to include peace education in the Abbas-Olmert talks of 2008 were reported but did ultimately not bear fruition.

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[13] https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/11/russell-einstein-peace-manifesto-archive-1955.
[14] https://www.berghof-foundation.org/en/publications/glossary/educating-for-peace/.

In contrast to this perception of peace education as a relatively new-kid-on-the-bloc a more thorough look shows that the practice of peace education gained ground during the 19th century (see Harris 2009). This was an era in which intellectuals and practitioners (as far as Europe is concerned often in Christian or secular, e.g. liberal and socialist, circles) ventured in ideas of universal rights, progress and modernization. Part of that exercise was a belief that international conflicts can be overcome through mobilizing people on the ground and appealing to their rational and affective interest in peace, and investing in educating them more about this. That was the ambition by Florence Nightingale following the Crimean War of the 1850s or by Victor Hugo during the Paris Peace Conference in 1849, and it is no coincidence that this was precisely the period in time in which in Europe and elsewhere compulsory schooling was introduced. For Nightingale, Hugo and their likes, the modern world should see education in schools as a "pedagogical supplement to the political and diplomatic efforts at achieving peace" (Wintersteiner 2004: 90). This "forgotten past of peace education" (Thelin 1996: 96), also relates to the belief of other peace-oriented figures during that period, such as Henri Dunant who after the battle of Solferino set up the International Red Cross, or Bertha von Suttner who lobbied business-heavyweight Alfred Nobel to establish an international award for peace, the later Nobel Peace Prize (Suttner was eventually awarded the prize in 1905). This **novel way of linking (compulsory) schooling and (modern) education centering around a belief in peace** figured particularly strong in **Scandinavia**. In **Sweden**, a teacher training college dedicated to the idea (albeit not under this name) of peace education was set up by Fredrika Bremer in 1861, while the Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society (SPAS) was established in 1883, the "oldest, still-existing peace association in the world' (ibid.: 100). All this was guided by the idea, figuring today in UNESCO documents and elsewhere, to ensure that "upbringing has to be cleansed from war elements" (ibid.: 101) as a well-known Swedish women organization of this period argued - a point recently made in an excellent study by Noddings (2013) on the psychological factors that makes "us" hate or love war. The ideals of peace education also shaped the thinking of writers such as 1909-Nobel Literature Prize laureate Selma Lagerlöf or the world-famous children-book writer Astrid Lindgren (2017), who received a well-known Peace Award in Germany in 1978, accompanied by her famous acceptance speech entitled "Never Violence!". These efforts over time translated also into reforms of the school system, the *Undervisningsplan* for Swedish schools is a policy-decision from 1919 which cautioned against readings in school that glorify war "because such texts can counteract the endeavors to peaceful coexistence between individuals and peoples" (Thelin 1996: 101). Other examples, such as the School Peace League in the USA, underline that this was not a Swedish deviation but rather a general trend to **reform education** that reached out to many different corners in the world. This is visible as well in the work of Maria Montessori, a leading Italian pedagogical reformer in the first half of the 20th century. A noteworthy aspect here is that the history of peace education has been shaped by many women or women organizations, probably also being one of the reasons why there is the aforementioned trend to belittle its long history within a broader global context in which conflicts are often associated with a certain understanding of "muscular masculinity" (see Noddings 2013).

As Wintersteiner (2004) emphasizes, the concept of peace education must therefore not only be studied in relation to core international policy-decisions, such as the key UNESCO documents on that topic from 1974 and 1995, or the UNESCO prize for peace education, or even article 4 of the UN SDGs which highlights the role of peace education for sustainability. There is a much longer tradition

originating with **pedagogical reform movements** that, as Senghass (quoted in Salmon and Cairns 2009: 51) elaborates, made "education for peace thinkable and possible in a world of organized belligerence". It is thus probably no coincidence that key protagonists of peace education have been shaped by the experience of war, both in the 19th and 20th century, Nightingale and Dunant being early examples here. This is also true for the Second World War, both on the side of perpetrators - such as the former German soldier Hermann Röhrs who wrote an influential paper on peace education in 1972 or, on the other side of this spectrum, Shoah survivor and psychiatrist Victor Frankl who out of his abysmal experience as a Jew being imprisoned in a German extermination camp developed his nowadays world-wide applied method of logotherapy (for these two examples see Salomon and Cairns 2009 as well as Oxford 2014). And it also relates to the aforementioned Maria Montessori – with Montessori-kindergartens and Montessori-schools today being located on all continents of the world, including the Palestine Montessori School in Ramallah or the Haredi Yahalom Montessori School in Jerusalem. Thus, "having lived through two world wars, Dr. Montessori also introduced peace education into her educational curriculum and many see her as the founder of that discipline. Montessori called for ethical, empathetic, and social educational practices that did not exist in the typical public school." (Manojlovic 2018: 9). Such educational settings, Montessori maintained, are "creating the suitable environment for each child to enjoy harmonious interactions that nourish and love" (Finley 2014: 5) and that ultimately contribute to peace: in the family, at the workplace, within the nation – and between adversaries in violent inter-group conflicts. And it is important here to stress that this was not a Euro-American endeavor, as *inter alia* the globally influential work of Brazilian pedagogue Paulo Freire and his main work on the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (see Manojlovic 2018) or the writings of Mahatma Gandhi in (colonial) India on non-violent education highlight (Allen 2007).

3.3. The Practice of Peace Education: Successful Experiences From Europe and Beyond

As evident, given the persistence of many protracted conflicts, peace education alone cannot trigger a wholesale transformation of identities in conflict societies. That should also not be the major expectation against which the success of peace education schemes is measured. Peace education has long-term objectives: there then is a practical purpose in providing niches, and at best, contributing to at least a partial mitigation of conflict intensity. This is what happened in several settings, e.g. in Europe, as will be highlighted in this sub-section. As can be noted with a view to two long-standing European protracted conflict zones, "although the examples of peacemakers in the Balkans and the Basque Country do not feature prominently in the public space, media or education systems, their ideas of non-violent and peaceful action have served as examples of how change can be introduced in the most constraining circumstances of conflicts" (ibid.: 137). In **Spain**, for example, the end of the dictatorship by General Franco in the mid-1970s resulted in various attempts to overhaul the education system, the Spanish Foundation for a Culture of Peace being central here. As Angulo et al. (2016: 171) explain, a process of examination of school textbooks set in that aimed at better understanding how "war and peace are articulated in the Spanish education system". It was observed that one of the problems of peace education in post-Francoist Spain was the "cold, emotionless, and

factual" (ibid.: 178) language to promote peace education as something rational but hardly a concept that could win the hearts of people hardened by previous conflicts. With a view to the **Basque Country**, a part of Spain, but also a nation with a history of resistance striving for national independency, also by means of violence, Uranga Arakistain (2003) has observed that attempts to introduce peace education in school curricula encountered resistance not so much in ministries and amongst school principals, but rather on the ground. It was in everyday contexts (see also section 4), that "a culture of resistance" could be observed, in which it "has been very difficult to talk about peace education because most educators identified this expression with what we now call negative peace, the absence of violence" (ibid.: 293) but missed the positive, affective element of it. That is why Gernika Gogoratuz, the Basque Peace Centre established in 1987, used to refer to "conflict transformation" rather than the contested concept of peace education. This only changed gradually, and decisive was that at one point many Basques felt a "weariness of the violence that affects our society" (ibid.: 293). Only under these circumstances, namely a widespread and lasting fatigue with violence, was it possible to elevate a culture of peace to a formal status, with peace education and positive peace being today one of the priorities of the Spanish Ministry of Education when it comes to curricula development. Similar dynamics are reported in **Bosnia and Herzegovina** where peace education encountered local resistance by being perceived as a foreign, Western European concept which many local stakeholders considered "not [to] be the most appropriate strategy for providing access to quality education" (Manojlovic 2018: 54). These are experiences also made in the Israeli-Palestinian setting. History teaching in both Israel and Palestine is often based on established nationalist perspectives that leave little room for the perspective of the other side, let alone showing empathy – while the school system, as the Israeli case demonstrates, is strongly segregated, e.g. between Arab/Palestinian and Jewish Israelis.

Looking at school education shows that, albeit under different terminology, peace education played a crucial role in changing conflict dynamics, and transforming underlying conflict identities for much longer periods than usually assumed when only looking at peace-building efforts in "hot" conflict zones. As Paul Kennedy (1973, quoted in Rathenow 1997: 24) famously noted in his study of how national history has been taught in European schools from 1900 to 1970, "the stability of postwar Europe has been partly due to the remarkable decline of nationalist propaganda, especially in European schools" (for newer data see Elmersjö 2014). The example of post-World War II West **Germany** and the US-led re-education program is well known in that context, but Kennedy reminds us that this has been a broader trend that affected schools not only on the side of the erstwhile perpetrator but also in those countries, such as France, Britain or the Benelux countries that were either occupied by Germany or resisted the Nazi onslaught. Policy-decision in relation to history teaching have focused on overcoming overtly nationalist ways of teaching history, including the way erstwhile enemies are portrayed. In (West) Germany, to stick to this example, the process was from the outset integrated into international contexts, namely the "U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the Brunswick International Schoolbook Institute in Germany" (ibid.: 42). In Germany and other countries "these institutions oversaw textbook exchanges whose purpose was to force the educators of each country to answer foreign complaints about their curricula, with the aim of causing Europe to converge on a single shared version of European history. Their efforts were a dramatic success, largely ridding Western Europe of hyper-nationalism" (ibid.: 24). Current cases in point here are bilateral textbook commissions such as between Germany, on

the one hand, and Poland, the Czech Republic and Israel, on the other. But also as Alan McCully (2009) elaborates, the Schools Council History Project in the **UK** during the 1960s. In Germany and France this has taken a particularly ambitious direction in the framework of the project *Histoire/Geschichte* (see Manojlovic 2018: 32), a joint French-German school book for history classes in schools in both countries published in 2007: „the lesson from such a collaborative project is that if **France** and Germany have succeeded in framing history together, there is the potential for other countries to undertake similar projects" (ibid.: 33). Decisions taken in Germany highlight the general relevance of peace education beyond "hot" conflict zones. Peace education figures prominently – sometimes under the banner of education for human rights, global citizenship and diversity – in federal and state law as well as many activities in schools across this country. An early example here is the recommendation of 1980 by the ministers of education of the German federal states (note that education is not a national but a state responsibility in Germany) on the promotion of human rights education in German schools, and as early as 1947 the provision of the Berlin School Act that renders "education for peace" a core goal of any work at schools in the State of Berlin. More recently, the resolution of the German UNESCO commission for the implementation of the UN Education Agenda 2030 in German educational institutions deserves attention, an agenda that defines broad objectives such as inclusive education and overcoming inequalities. There are countless examples of grass-root activities by students from schools across Germany – focusing on mediation, cultural diversity, environmental protection and other topics - that give flesh to such policy-decisions from the state and federal level (see UNESCO Club Berlin 2018).

Other cases, from **Northern Ireland**, to the aforementioned Basque country or the successor states of Yugoslavia in South-East Europe then attest to the relevance, and partial success, of peace education in those European settings shaped by protracted ethno-national conflicts rather than inter-state conflicts such as Germany/France. These are cases that are closer to the Israeli-Palestinian experience. As the cessation of war in the case of inter-state wars, peace agreements were the necessary prerequisite for peace education to set in in these context: such as the Belfast, Ohrid or Dayton agreements for Northern Ireland, **Northern Macedonia** and Bosnia and Herzegovina respectively. As Shepherd Johnson (2007: 31) notes in that context a prior history of at least some form of critical engagement with the own past has been helpful in Northern Ireland. Thus, "bolstered by formal diplomatic efforts toward peace agreement in the society at large, the educational system of Northern Ireland has been able to pursue many incremental peace education efforts that have helped to move its society along thus far. Perhaps some of this is due to the fact that reconciliation and restorative justice efforts have had a longer history in Northern Ireland, as illustrated by the public inquiries that have been established such as the Bloody Sunday Tribunal running over the past six years" (ibid.). This triggered programs, such as the Northern Irish Education for Mutual Understanding (EMU) framework that launched curricula changes in Ireland and the UK or the Local and Global Citizenship (LGC) scheme which increased teaching on citizenship education and diversity in Northern Irish schools. In the context of Northern Ireland two policy measures have been credited as relative success stories. The one are initiatives that engage kids in school with people that were imprisoned due to militant action at the heights of the Northern Ireland conflict and that have since then renounced violence. One example here is the Peace Counts initiative in which former militants, that received prison sentences, engage with school children on why they joined the violent struggle and why they eventually rejected violence as a political tool (see Davies 2017: 13). Baily (2019) then

highlights the limited but positive experience with shared education schemes, i.e. schools in which Catholic and Protestants kids learn together rather than being segregated. This comprises both a handful of "integrated" schools as well as institutionalized encounters between students who formally receive education in segregated schools. Twenty years after the first shared school was established in 1980 only 6 per cent of Northern Irish pupils attend shared schools (Smith 2011: 11; for an assessment of integrated schools see Department of Education 2016). Analysis of such programs shows that regular encounters - at least once a week for a period of more than year – helps in reducing tension and inter-group prejudice amongst many participants of inter-school encounter projects (Baily 2019: 17). For that purpose, and because an entire overhaul of the segregated school system was not implemented in Northern Ireland, the Shared Education Program (SEP) as a "collaborative network across Catholic and Protestant schools" (Davies 2017: 9) has been launched for that purpose. In contrast, one-off encounters and short-term projects in Northern Ireland showed a more negative effect, often exacerbating existing prejudices and alienations between students from different backgrounds (ibid.). Finally, while no classical truth and reconciliation commission was established in Northern Ireland following the Belfast Agreement, a Consultative Group on the Past was founded in 2009, which made recommendations for how the conflict and non-violent conflict resolution should be taught in schools (Smith 2011: 21). Over the course of the years, the shared education schemes in Northern Ireland have evolved: in the absence of "integrated" schools, positive experiences have been made with a **flexible and pragmatist approach**. Thus, rather than merging schools for Catholics and Protestants, shared education in Northern Ireland experiments with "the establishment of collaborative networks of schools in local areas, with pupils and teachers moving between schools to take classes and share experience" (Gallagher 2016: 362).

The balance-sheet in South-East Europe is more mixed, but there are nevertheless local success stories to be told, as H.B. Danesh (2009: 264) emphasizes with a view **to Bosnia and Herzegovina**, such as the Education for Peace (EFP) Program from 2000, that has received quite positive evaluations (ibid.: 264) and were it was argued that this program contributed to a larger "culture of healing" in Bosnia and Herzegovina. A concern was that following the Dayton agreement separate schooling was implemented across the country. Even if not formally segregated the concept of "two schools under one roof" (OSCE 2016) that was meant "encouraging returnee children to integrate, [...] has come to represent a very sharp form of educational segregation" (Magill 2010: 53; see also Smith 2011). EFP started in 2000 "as a poorly funded pilot project in six schools, but in a little over 12 years it has been adopted and mainstreamed as an integral part of BIH's educational system", reaching out to 1.5 million students and more than 100000 teachers and school staff. EFP also has been included into the curricula for teachers' education at universities in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Tinker 2016: 39). Another example is the District Education Reform program in Brčko, a mixed Bosnian-Croat-Serb, and self-governing autonomous province in Bosnia and Herzegovina where some positive results have been achieved (Emkic 2018). In Brčko segregated schools were transformed into integrated schools, but this depended not only on the distinct legal status of this province within the state, but even more on the executive powers of the Office of the High Representative (OHR), i.e. the international administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina that as a result of the Dayton agreement "had sufficient powers to make integration compulsory" (Magill 2010: 53). International interventions and coercion thus were pivotal (ibid.: 35) but also highlight the fragility of such educational reforms. As in Northern Ireland also in Bosnia and Herzegovina shared education

programs – such as the US funded Education for a Just Society scheme – have triggered some success in increasing students' openness to engage with peers from other parts of the country (Zhang 2016: 29). Under the guidance of the OSCE and with the active support of education ministries in the federal state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, some textbook changes on the basis of the Guidelines for Textbook Writing and Evaluation of History Textbooks *inter alia* by the aforementioned Brunswick Institute for International Textbook Research have been proposed and partly implemented, while a Teacher Manual on modern history teaching was also adopted (see Davies 2017: 10).[15] Finally, the central government as well as the federal entities adopted a program in order to meet the UNESCO objective "Education for All" which promotes (non-conflict related) objectives closely linked to peace education, such as increasing inclusion and participatory means of education throughout the country's education system (Ministry of Civil Affairs 2015). With the financial support, and inclusion, of international actors from peace education NGOs to the OSCE, the Council of Europe and US AID a wide variety of cross-border encounter projects between Bosnia and Herzegovina and neighboring countries have been implemented over the course of the last twenty years. Particularly positive evaluations emerged from programs in the realm of non-formal education that focus on dialogue encounters and from those projects in which youth are actively involved, while in the field of formal education piecemeal steps towards improvement of history teaching have been noted, where a lot of material has been developed – with stakeholders on the ground, however, often being reluctant to make use of it (Clarke-Habibi 2019: 101-102). This points to another key factor to take note of: thus, conflict settings in which peace education takes place are dynamic and change. The centrality of inter-generational features has in that context been noted as central to peace education, and in particular involving young generations in peace education schemes in contexts in which (disillusioned) adults (leaders, teachers, parents) occasionally appear as barriers to renewed efforts in achieving peace.

The picture that emerges from this overview on key experiences in conflict societies is that while peace education might not change identities overnight, it nevertheless offers a lot of potential on the ground when taken up by teachers, students and others. That is why Vedrana Spajić-Vrikaš (2003: 288) emphasizes that "peace education has been well placed in Croatia throughout the" late 1990s, when a post-war awareness about the importance of human rights, participation, non-violent conflict resolution skills and "the quest for peace in the everyday life of a culturally plural community" (ibid.) gained traction in Croatian society and its school system. Jean Gasanabo and Jade Maître (2006) list a range of other programs from across **South-East Europe** in that context, e.g. the translation of the international manual "Learning to Abolish War" into Albanian and its diffusion in the Albanian school system. As can be noted from a comparative perspective on the Lebanese Ta'if Agreement, the Belfast Agreement for Northern Ireland and the Ohrid Agreement in Northern Macedonia, all these peace agreements, in addition to their political provisions, also "mapped extensive reforms of formal education" (Fontana 2017: 1). With a view to Ta'if, Belfast and Ohrid, all these three agreements – in contrast to, for example, the Oslo Agreements - "present education reform as a tool for long-term peace-building through amendments of the history education and civic education curricular (in Lebanon), changes in the languages of instruction (in Northern Ireland and Macedonia) and promotion of contact between children of different backgrounds in schools (in Lebanon and Northern Ireland)" (ibid.: 12). This probably is one of the core challenges of peace education, namely that in

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[15] https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/1/7/110167.pdf.

zones shaped by protracted conflict the school system is **highly segregated** (as in the Israeli-Palestinian context, including within Israel when it comes to Israel's Palestinian/Arab citizens, see Bekerman 2007). In such "consociational" systems, i.e. in which society is based on relative autonomy but also institutionalized segregation of different ethno/religious/national groups from each other, the "political function of education in consociations is remarkably similar to that of education during conflicts: it socialises children into different group identities and political allegiances through the curricula and separate schools" (Fontana 2017: 16). Even in settings such as Northern Ireland, that are generally considered to have made some achievements in overcoming such divisions, the educational system apart from some exceptions tends to "reproduce group boundaries and consolidate the different political communities, thus legitimising consociational government and facilitating its operation" (ibid.). What is often overseen in this context is that multi-national/ethnic states must not necessarily follow the patterns of Lebanon, Northern Macedonia and Northern Ireland – McCully makes this point by looking at how multi-national states such as Canada, **Belgium** and **Switzerland** have managed to integrate ideals of peace education in their national curricula and school organization, being therefore defined by him as learning societies. The fragile, but not negligible successes of peace education in Northern Ireland may show that, at last, Northern Ireland "may also be on its way to joining those ranks as a learning society" (McCully 2009: 72).

As the encompassing pedagogical ideas about peaceful education in Scandinavia, the work of Montessori and others, and the aforementioned experience with curricula changes in Germany, Northern Ireland and across South-East Europe and elsewhere show: a core purpose of these educational efforts was to overcome the "poisoned international relations" (van Evera 1990-91: 23) in Europe. This was not only about putting in place policy decisions that were based on pedagogical ideals of non-violent education and widening spaces of (democratic) participation in school education. It also aimed at what can be described as a double transformation of identities. On the one hand, transformed national (or ethnic, religious, etc.) identities characterized *inter alia* by a more critical take on the "own" history rather than celebrating ""chauvinist mythmaking and hyper-nationalism" (ibid.). The reluctance of conflict parties to admit - in the light of grave wounds inflicted by the Other - their own participation in violence (that is legitimized as justified) and ownership of own perpetrator-hood is a great barrier to implementation of peace education, as *inter alia* examples from Bosnia and Herzegovina indicate. On the other hand though, it was also about transforming identities through an increased awareness of shared **European (political) identity**, a "new form of trans-national democracy" (Wintersteiner 2004: 92). This importance of an emerging shared (political) identity between former enemies of course figures most strongly in the context of European integration project, namely the EU. As Wintersteiner, Spajic and Teutsch (2003: 15-16) explain, "any discussion of peace education in Europe must also take into account the European process of integration as its frame of reference and – going beyond 'national' peace education – develop a European peace education" (ibid.). Institutionally, this is reflected in manifold programs of the European Commission and other **EU** bodies that support study abroad programs, such as the Erasmus exchange program, or the Education for Democratic Citizenship and human rights Youth Program, that aim to „enhance students' global learning and development and lead to the cultivation of cultural empathy and increased understanding of world issues and relations" (Manojlovic 2018: 13). Through EU projects millions of people throughout Europe – and in the context of the European-Neighborhood Policy (ENP) also across the north and south of the Mediterranean – have been able

to participate in such exchange programs that underpin the gradual emergence of a shared European political identity. It also relates to sub-national cross-border educational cooperation projects such as the Peace-Castle in the Alps-Adriatic region of **Austria-Italy-Slovenia** or to bi-national/multi-lingual educational projects in the Italian, mainly German-speaking region of **South Tyrol** (Guggenberg 2003).[16] But it also relates to private initiatives that emulate 19th century efforts of transnational cooperation and identity building, such as the EURED (Education for Europe as Peace Education) curriculum of European peace education in which Wintersteiner (2004: 96) took an active lead, e.g. in the context of a Europe-focused study program in Peace Education and Human Rights for practitioners that has involved today into the Centre for Peace Research and Peace Education at Klagenfurt University.[17] Other examples are large networks between schools in Europe – and also beyond as in the Euro-Arab School Dialogue - that jointly engage in peace education projects, such as identifying common cultural heritage or organizing workshops on issues such as diversity and sustainability – other examples pertain to a network of ca. 300 schools in the Baltic region or a network of schools from ten countries bordering the river Danube (see UNESCO Club Berlin 2018: 87).

This ultimately points to the larger contribution which **European integration** – both through formal programs and funds but also through a subtle transformation of identities that comes from grass-root activities – plays in sustaining if not peace education in name, then its central objectives. This is also underlined in a comparative study by Thomas Diez, Stephan Stetter and Mathias Albert (2006). They have identified a positive structural impact of European integration in mitigating conflicts and transforming identities in Northern Ireland and the Baltic states, and to a lesser extent, in **Cyprus** (on Cyprus also see section 4). The **Baltic and Central European states**, however, point to another challenge to peace education, namely how European identity can be used for exclusionary and even nationalist objectives. As Deborah Michaels and Doyle Stevick (2009) observe with a view to **Estonia** and **Slovakia**, challenges after independence led in these two countries to a reassertion of nationalism that merged in the school system with an exclusionary understanding of European identity – an "appropriation of Europe to advance exclusion and nationalist ends", that negatively affects relations with others, be it states like Russia or immigrants in domestic contexts. Similar challenges are faced throughout Europe today, and demand on-going investments in tools of peace education, in order to deal with **contemporary conflicts in Europe** triggered for example by **right-nationalist extremism** directed *inter alia* towards refugees and migrants (Kyuchukov and New 2016); or with a view to conflicts and social tensions related to economic grievances in neighborhoods, often underpinned by poor immigration policies or failed integration; or in order to counter **negative stereotypes within the EU** either between (parts of) people from different regions or between (parts of) immigrants and (parts of) the established population (see Rathenow 1997 on German prejudices against Eastern Europeans during the 1990s; a good counter-example here is the Multaka-project in which refugees work as guides in Berlin Museums, see UNESCO Club Berlin 2018: 83). In short, rather than having learned the lesson of peace education once and for all, contemporary

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[16]   https://www.aspr.peacecastle.eu/peace-education/kooperationen/internationale-aktivitaeten/.   South Tyrol is trilingual with German, Italian and Ladin being all represented in regional legislation and education schemes.

[17] https://www.aau.at/erziehungswissenschaft-und-bildungsforschung/arbeitsbereiche/friedensforschung-und-friedensbildung/lehre/.

problems and challenges throughout the EU show that **peace education is a permanent task**, that needs to be adapted to ever new social relationships.

4. Challenges on the Ground: Peace Education Romanticism and Exposure to Violence

4.1. The Local Level and Everyday Life Experiences: Avoiding Peace Education Romanticism

The previous section has presented a wide range of examples from practical experiences with peace education in Europe and highlighted in that context the strong linkages between peace education and everyday life experiences. Obviously, the "local" and everyday life-contexts are, practically speaking, a major target of peace education. But this centrality of the everyday is related to opportunities and challenges. The opportunities relate to the very fact that as a concept peace education is not only theoretical, but inherently a practical task. It is for practitioners. In order to become operative, peace education needs to work in everyday life, e.g. on the level of concrete schools or in classrooms and workshops. Andria Wisler (2010: 17) underlines this when showing with a view to Bosnia and Herzegovina that peace knowledge necessitates a "careful description of ordinary experience of everyday life" (17), while Danesh (2009) studies how **local cultures of dialogue** (Baraldi/Iervese 2010) – the notion of *muabet* in Bosnia and Herzegovina – can be used in order to strengthen local peace cultures.

But this only is part of the balance sheet. The practical experience with implementing peace education in conflict zones – be it a suburb of a Western European city or a "post-conflict" setting like Northern Ireland, let alone an on-going "hot" conflict like between Israel and Palestine – highlights that opposition to peace education does not only stem from (often nationalist) forces at the national level or geopolitically minded decision-makers. By challenging identities and also concrete negative experiences with the "out-group" and because of the forced necessity, in many locales, to live side-by-side with (erstwhile) perpetrators and enemies, peace education is **often resisted by local communities** (Bar-Tal, Rosen & Nets-Zehngut 2010). That is why a securitization of the identity of the "in-group" is often documented, i.e. a fear that peace education threatens the own identity as Zembylas and Bekerman (2018) show in a study on Cyprus. One local resident taking part in a Cypriot peace education program felt "like a fly in the milk" (ibid.: 156) and became more and more angry because s/he "feared that the idea of peace education involved a kind of compromise at the expense of justice and morality" (ibid.: 157). Bekerman and Zembylas use this as an example to warn against **"peace education romanticism"**. They "question whether – given the present emphasis that conflict and post-conflict societies put on identity, be this religious, cultural, ethnic, national or other, and/or the ways in which they nourish memories – there is any real possibility for reconciliation efforts to be nurtured" (ibid.; see also Mac Ginty 2011 on this kind of local resistance). Also experiences of survivors of the Shoah show, that "in reality, reconciliatory ideas and practices often impose

tremendous demands on traumatized and mourning communities" (Bekerman and Zembylas 2012: 5). Groups that address the grievances of both sides – such as the joint Israeli-Palestinian Parents Circle Family Forum (PCFF) of people that have lost immediate family members due to the on-going conflict – remain relatively isolated in their respective societies at times even being accused of collaborating with the enemy.

As Eleni Christodoulou (2014: 14-15) has shown in the most comprehensive study on these counter-effects of peace education, and focusing on Cyprus,

> "a recent educational objective promoting 'peaceful coexistence' (introduced by a leftist government in 2008) has stirred intense public and educational debates within the Greek-Cypriot community. In a circular sent by the Minister of Education and Culture, the objective highlights 'the development of a culture of peaceful coexistence, mutual respect and cooperation between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, aiming at getting rid of the occupation and re-unifying our country and our people' [...]. This particular recommendation has generated considerable debate and controversy, among not only teachers and teacher organizations, but also members of Parliament, the government and the wider Greek-Cypriot society. The debate and controversy have raised, among other things, the issue of whether teachers and the educational system have any right to promote reconciliatory ideas through education, while a large part of Cyprus is still occupied".

Debates in Palestine and worldwide about whether to engage with Israelis under the reality of occupation or the perception in many parts of Israeli society about an alleged lack of partners on the Palestinian side are driven by comparable concerns.

In many settings, peace education becomes, thus, **easily politicized** being either branded as a leftist/liberal/Western/naïve project or as being insensitive towards the reality of inflictions of pain exerted by the other side that nurture understandable distrust. Christodoulou (ibid.: 16) thus rightfully suggests that peace education should not be seen as a universal idea, but as a "controversial matter as it dares to 'invade' matters that have almost been set in stone for decades", like negative Self/Other relations, mutual distrust, hegemonic conflict narratives, etc. Also in the more successful case of Northern Ireland Gallagher (2009: 24) notes a power of de-centralized resistance in the "politics of peace education" stemming from the local level. In sum, while acknowledging that peace education can contribute to "sustainable peacebuilding [and] requires changes in attitudes, perceptions and behaviours, as well as structural inequalities" (Christodoulou 2014: 140), its proponents should be more aware of resistance not only from political actors but also from people on the ground. There is no quick solution to this dilemma, "but there is a point in arguing that peace educators need more empathy in order to achieve this i.e. to place themselves into the shoes of those hegemonic actors and try to reduce the distance without imposing stereotypes that will only serve to alienate these people more" (ibid.: 327). This empathy for spoilers, as it were, is needed in order to increase the societal reach of peace education by "re-ontologiz[ing] life events in the treatment of individuals suffering from developmental and post-traumatic stress disorders" (Kyuchukov and New 2016: 2), i.e. to render individuals open to re-assess their identities.

4.2. Exposure to Violence: The Long Shadow of Ruptures

As the last sub-section underlines, violent conflicts should be seen, from a psychological and political perspective, as **traumatic events that lead to stress disorders** in individuals and social groups – as research on how experiences with violence affect both Israeli and Palestinian society and underpin opposition to reconciliation in both societies have underlined. As with everyday experiences, peace education meets opportunities and challenges here. As Dan Bar-On (2009) shows, even under extreme circumstances – one could think here of the Rwandan genocide - reconciliation efforts in carefully orchestrated workshops is possible. This has also been shown with a view to reconciliation efforts between (descendants) of victims and perpetrators of the Shoah. Inter-generational linkages have proven of great significance here, as Bar-On discusses with a view to descendants of Shoah survivors and perpetrators. However, the "storytelling method of encounter, interaction, and intervention" (ibid.: 211) that is central to peace education and that aims at transforming identities often meets its limits when confronting previous or current exposures to violence. Such experiences render it difficult for individuals to recognize one's/one's group own "potential for violence" as a "precondition for learning and living the contradictory conditions for peace, nonviolence and tolerance", as Wisler (2010: 21) notes.

Apart from resistance triggered on the basis of these traumas, there are two more sociological factors that have to be taken into account when studying how and why exposures to violence are a major challenge to peace education. This is firstly the **culture of distrust** that emerges in social spaces shaped by high levels of (domestic) violence, be it the educational system in Germany in the late 19th and early 20th century with widespread corporal punishment and a militaristic values taught in educational institutions and in families or, as Bettina Benzing (2020) has studied in a recent work on Colombia, in locales shaped by civil war. As Benzing (ibid.) notes, wide parts of Colombian society are shaped by a structural expectation that outbreaks of violence are always possible in everyday social encounters. She observes as a result a **securitization of everyday spaces** with people defending their immediate surroundings against potentially harmful others – aiming to render their everyday life more secure, at least in perception. The social effects of these dynamics are tremendous and result, not only in the case of Colombia, in so-called **chain exclusions** (see Stetter 2008): thus, people in weak sectors of society become ever more excluded from participation in regular political and economic life, and excluded from many services of the health or education sector. It is, for example, reported for Northern Ireland that segregation in schools has a significant negative effect on employment opportunities later on (Smith 2011: 6). One might compare this here with the effect of the Israeli occupation – and in particular the restrictions of movement - on the everyday life of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. As Benzing (ibid.: 15) notes, exposure to violence fosters a rationalization of violence and exclusion in social interactions, what "emerges are everyday interaction patterns, that are based on distrust in relation to the intentions of action by others". What is established then are protection mechanisms that work "at the expense of development and peace". In sum, "violence gets reproduced whenever there is [subjectively] justified or unjustified doubt to be able to successfully interact on the basis of non-violent communication" (ibid.: 247).

This should, finally, also sensitize for the strategic use violence has for conflict parties, a topic addressed by Teresa Koloma Beck and Tobias Werron (2018) in an insightful study. They show that conflicts – and violence – should not only be regarded as some form of (troubled) relationship between a victim and a perpetrator – bearing in mind that in protracted conflicts usually each side views itself as the victim, and the other as the perpetrator – Israel and Palestine being no exception here. In fact, "the social dynamics of violence […] constitutively include a third position, namely the 'observer'" (Koloma Beck 2011: 347). Koloma Beck and Werron (2018) then identify a **global competition for attention and legitimacy by parties involved in violent (protracted) conflicts**, i.e. a strategic use of violence – e.g. framing oneself as the victim, or gaining attention in global political arenas and vis-à-vis allies through acts of selected violence or renunciation of violence. This is a practice deployed in international arenas by countless conflict parties, also here the Israeli-Palestinian conflict being no exception. In other words, in contrast to peace education, which views violence as a problem that needs to be overcome, it has to be understood that the study of the actual social dynamics of violence highlights that there are sociological and political factors that legitimize and rationalize violence as a means, working through international competitions for attention, to gain the upper hand in relation to the other conflict party. This imposes limits on peace education and shows why recourse to violence is not merely a sign of emotional stress but a much broader strategy characteristic for conflict spaces.

5. Lessons from Successful Examples and Recommendations

This report has offered a comprehensive assessment of the practice of peace education. After a short overview on core concepts, it has taken a closer look at the definition, as well as the political institutionalization and mainstreaming of peace education on the level of key policy decisions, mainly at the international level. The report has highlighted also the degree to which peace education today has become mainstreamed across conflict arenas, as well as in allegedly "stable" societies. Based on this, it has discussed the history of the practice of peace education and the ways it gets implemented on the ground, in particular in Europe. It has finally discussed how everyday life experiences as well as exposures to violence affect the viability of peace education. With a view to (successful) examples the report zoomed-in on the cases of Northern Ireland, Cyprus as well as Bosnia and Herzegovina – but has also referred to experiences from other parts of Europe and has highlighted in particular the central role of the EU and European integration and European identity as settings and contexts of successful peace education.

The general conclusion to be drawn is that peace education requires patience. But, then, patience is a particularly scarce resource in conflicts in which a lot is at stake politically speaking and where people suffer from real distress. In order to counter disappointment and misunderstandings from the outset, peace education needs to work from the **realistic assumption** that it cannot replace broader political processes that provide for justice, security and equality between conflict parties and contribute to transforming conflict identities. These are necessary condition for sustainable peace. A philosophy of focusing on **"small projects"** should be a strong guidance for peace education in order to avoid frustration, but also in order not to loose ground of the **"local level first"** philosophy of peace education. As the rise of notions of emancipatory peace – including the in the meantime broad

international institutionalization of peace education schemes based on a growing awareness about the necessity to better concrete life experience of people in conflict zones - shows, peace education is while not a sufficient a **necessary condition** for the transformation of conflicts. As has been shown in this report, the practice of peace education has a long history and dates back to the 19th century. It is global in scope and does not belong to any specific nation, religion or culture. This needs to be highlighted in order to **counter objections on the ground that frame peace education as something foreign**. Yet, it also requires from peace educators, both local and international, to **be more sensitive to local traditions of fostering dialogue**, understanding and inner-peace – and to engage with people on the ground with **empathy for alleged spoilers**, being sensitive to their concerns. Peace education is not rocket science, but if there is one thing that is clear it is that there can be no peaceful society without investing in educational and pedagogical reform: geared towards infusing the **entire education system** – from toddlers to senior citizens – with the values and ideas nurturing peace education. With a view to areas of protracted conflicts particular attention should be given to the systematic institutionalization of peace education in the context of **peace agreements and peace processes, including monitoring its implementation**. Attempts to belittle peace education do neither correspond with the long history of peace education nor with its balance sheet. In particular successful experiences from **post-World War II Europe**, as they have been presented in this report, underline the pervasiveness of peace education and show that peace education works in areas of protracted conflicts - but in the end is needed in every society, at every point in time. It is on this basis that this report concludes with recommendations and lessons for the Israeli-Palestinian context that derive from the manifold examples of (relative) success of peace education schemes in Europe discussed above. For that purpose the following recommendations (a) enlist a summary of successful peace education examples from Europe that were presented in this report, (b) suggest how these examples relate to core dimensions of peace education and (c) propose how this relates to the Israeli-Palestinian context. Rather than closing this report with a long list of individual experiences the manifold examples presented in section 3 of this report will be clustered into three fields of action, each of which characterized by its own stakeholders and decisions of relevance.

Field of Action 1: Peace agreements, Peace Processes and Transitional Justice

The first field of action relates to the level of conflict transformation and how peace education should (a) be part of peace agreements and peace processes and (b) contribute to equality and justice for all conflict parties involved. As has been shown with a view to concrete examples, including peace education elements in **peace agreements and peace processes -** such as in Northern Ireland, Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as Northern Macedonia - has been a crucial component in improving the pervasiveness and societal reach of these agreements. However, there is room for improvement insofar as even for the agreements mentioned in this report, education has been a rather marginal element of these peace agreements. But on the positive side it can be noted that all these agreements enabled a consideration of peace education in particular in the school system later on. As has been noted, sometimes peace education elements had to be enforced by international actors, e.g. by the Office of the High Representative in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina with its executive powers which allowed the OHR to mandate educational reforms. Particularly pervasive has, finally, been the

process of European integration – understood as a process between erstwhile hostile European nations and people – in the context of which peace education in particular on the level of textbook reform and overcoming entrenched nationalism has been a core objective, underpinned by a shared European political identity. More recently notions of global citizenship education play a considerable role, often funded by the EU Commission (e.g. the Education for Democratic Citizenship scheme). With a view to **equality and justice**, and transitional justice more generally speaking, the report has highlighted positive experiences for example with the Bloody Sunday Tribunal – which is regarded as an important precursor for the establishment of the first integrated schools in Northern Ireland and, after the Belfast Agreement of 1999, the Consultative Group on the Past. Important in all these transitional justice schemes is that conflict parties encounter each other – as in viable peace processes – in a symmetric setting, i.e. that neither side can play out power advantages and that both sides are willing to confront the own contribution to the conflict at hand. This has figured also as another positive example when former Republican or Unionist militants in Northern Ireland engage in workshops at schools where they discuss why they once have resorted to violence, and why they have in the meantime renounced violence as a means to achieve political goals. Conclusions to be drawn from this for Israel and Palestine include the following:

- Any future peace process and in particular peace agreement should include substantive sections on peace education schemes, both within Israel and Palestine as well as between both nations. This has been lacking in the Oslo Agreements and the erstwhile peace process.
- There has to be a strong international presence in providing and monitoring peace education implementation over time, in particular by international organizations such as UNESCO.
- In the context of the current absence of a peace process the international community as well as stakeholders from both countries should support existing peace education schemes (some of them mentioned in this report) and identify areas in which under the current circumstances new peace education projects can be launched, both in Israel and Palestine as well as joint Israeli-Palestinian projects.
- The asymmetry in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a particularly problematic dimension from the perspective of peace education. In the context of the occupation the necessary equality between both sides is undermined. Reconciliation, in specific, and peace education, in general, however requires settings at which equality of all parties is the fundament for encounters.
- As part of peace education, there should not only be formats that allow for joint consultations on the (violent) past but also formats in Israel and in Palestine in which stakeholders from both societies critically engage with their own past and contribution to the wider conflict rather than attributing the bulk of responsibility to the other side. Particular attention should be paid here to projects that successfully relate to those people and segments of both societies, which are skeptical with a view to reconciliation. Moreover, as the European post-war experience shows, searching for shared identity – even amongst (former) enemies - is a key component of viable peace education. In the Israeli and Palestinian context such explorations of possible shared identity features should be encouraged.

Field of Action 2: Legislation and Civil Society Organization

The second field of action pertains to the level of activities by state bodies as well as non-state organizations. The European experience shows that central here is the wider understanding of peace education with the aim of strengthening peace culture in society as a whole. This has a practical dimension on the level of decision-making. Examples referred to in this report include the German Federal Law banning violence in child education (based on a UN Convention), the integration of education-related goals from the UN Sustainable Development Goals into national legislation. Other examples are the related UK's Global and Local Citizenship Scheme or legislation in Croatia that translated objectives such as diversity education and human rights education into national law. It also relates to examples that underline the historical depth of peace education such as the Swedish instruction plan for schools of 1919 and the Berlin School Law of 1947. However, the European experience shows that the availability of peace education provisions stemming from international declarations and national legislation alone does not suffice. The report has highlighted the central role of a variety of (historical and contemporary) peace education stakeholders from the level of civil society that are paramount for a societal outreach of peace education. Examples mentioned have been the Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society, the Basque Peace Centre, the School Peace League (in the USA) but also more generally speaking pedagogical reform movements, such as Montessori kindergartens and schools. Moreover, the report has highlighted that across Europe a range of NGOs specifically devoted to peace education training and research, both domestically and internationally, have emerged over the course of the last decades, including the Berghof Foundation, PRIO, the Nansen Center, the Service Center Peace Education, the Italian-Austrian-Slovenian Peace-Castle in the South-Eastern Alps, study programs for peace education practitioners at European universities such as the University of Klagenfurt and many others. Amongst the conclusions from such successful examples in Europe for the Israeli-Palestinian context can be mentioned:

- Provisions from international conventions (UNESCO, etc.) on peaceful education and global citizenship education should be comprehensively translated into national law in both Israel and Palestine.
- There needs to be a broad domestic and international support for existing civil society actors, study programs at universities and training modules in Israel and Palestine devoted to peace education. The foundation of new organizations and programs – e.g. university programs in peace education, service organizations that produce manuals for peace education to be used in Israeli and Palestinian schools, etc. - should be actively encouraged, politically and financially. Particular support should be lend to joint Israeli-Palestinian organizations in the field of reconciliation and peace education, as well as, within Israel, to organizations devoted to cooperation (in the field of education and beyond) between Arab/Palestinian and Jewish Israelis. Examples for such educational stakeholders and activities in Israel and Palestine have been mentioned in this report. The author of this report is aware that such organizations encounter domestic opposition, as is the case in areas of other protracted conflicts too (Northern Ireland, Cyprus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Basque Country, etc.). However the experiences from these places show that while contested

peace education niches can nevertheless be used and optimized. Nevertheless, the impact of asymmetry in conflicts should be approached explicitly in the context of peace education understood as a transformative project that unseats unequal power relations.

Field of Action 3: Schools, Textbooks and Students

The third field of action addresses the "core" element of peace education: namely educational institutions (schools, universities, etc.) and people being educated or educating there. The present report has outlined a great variety of such activities. As the European experience has shown there are three main practical elements on which concrete decisions were taken. The first one is the level of textbook reform, primarily with a view to overcoming nationalist ways of history teaching but also wider reforms that aim to anchor peaceful education and renunciation of violence and war in the core readings at schools. It has been highlighted in this report how, with the support of the International Textbook Commission, such reforms of national history textbooks has been a central component first in Western Europe and after 1989/90 for Europe as a whole. A particularly powerful example is the joint French-German history book that allows teaching history to students in both countries from a shared perspective (which raises other concerns though, such as a too Eurocentric perspective). Textbook reforms were reported here with a view to Spain (Spanish Foundation for a Culture of Peace), the UK Schools Council History Project and also in the context of protracted conflicts such as the Northern Irish Education for Mutual Understanding or, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Manual Guidelines for Textbook Writing and Evaluation of History Textbooks or the Albanian Teacher Manual "Learning to Abolish War". The societal backlash to such reforms should, however, not be underestimated as the protest to the inclusion of teaching about the *Nakba* in Israeli schoolbooks in the early 2000s documents. The second level relates to school reforms. In this report I have highlighted in particular and with a view to zones of protracted conflict the establishment of shared education that tries to overcome or counter-balance widespread segregated education. Positive examples here are the Shared Education Program in Northern Ireland as well as the Education for Peace Program in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in this latter country also the District Education Reform Program in the bi-communal province of Brčko. For the cases of Northern Ireland as well as Bosnia and Herzegovina it has also been shown that if segregated schooling persists (as often in such conflict settings), educational schemes that ensure enduring interaction between teachers and students from segregated schools on a regular basis can decrease prejudice and create a sense of shared identity. Thirdly, and with a view to all three fields of action highlighted here, peace education requires the active participation of stakeholders on the ground. Particularly positive examples here are grass-root activities by students in as diverse places as the UNESCO Club Berlin, the Education for a Shared Society scheme in Bosnia and Herzegovina (which is US-funded) and school networks that link dozens of schools in the Baltic region or across the river Danube. For the Israeli-Palestinian context the following recommendations can be brought forward:

- Supported by international bodies (like textbook commissions) history textbooks in both Israel and in Palestine – and other core readings in educational institutions - should be critically evaluated by historians, pedagogues and the responsible ministries. This should also include, based on institutional frameworks based on equality, joint Israeli-Palestinian examinations, as it happened in Western Europe after World War II.

- Existing projects that aim to overcome segregation in schools (this relates in particular in the Israeli context: Arab/Palestinian and Jewish Israelis) should be supported and new fields of fostering integrated education be strengthened. Even in the absence of integrated schooling reform pedagogical projects that build on a strong sense of cultures of peace and non-violent education should be further strengthened in the separate school systems in both Israel and Palestine. Key principles of the wider understanding of peace education as it stems from key international policy-decisions (global citizenship education, linkage of education and sustainable development goals, diversity education, human rights education) should be mainstreamed as far as possible in both the Israeli and the Palestinian school system. Particular attention should be paid to flexible ways of facilitating shared education, e.g. by relating to the Northern Ireland experience of collaborative networks of schools, with organized temporary encounters. Moreover, the grass-root dimension of peace education stands out and schemes and support of local activities, in particular by youth, should be actively encouraged and funded.
- Sustainable (not one-off) encounters and networks between Israeli and Palestinian educational institutions – involving also reconciliation schemes based on values of equality and justice – should be strengthened. This should also extent to cross-border networks with other countries, both neighboring and internationally.

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